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EXPLORING RESIDENT EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACEMENT IN A NEIGHBOURHOOD UNDERGOING GENTRIFICATION AND MEGA-PROJECT DEVELOPMENT
A Montréal Case Study

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ABSTRACT

While there has been extensive research into the causes of gentrification in inner-city neighbourhoods, its effects on incumbent residents have received far less critical assessment due in part to methodological constraints inherent in finding the displaced. More recently, the onset of new-build gentrification has led researchers to emphasize the need to explore the effects of indirect displacement, i.e. the effects of neighbourhood change wrought by gentrification as experienced by incumbent residents still living in place. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the literature through conceptual refinement of the concept of indirect displacement into four constituent types: cultural displacement, social displacement, political displacement and exclusionary displacement. Through the use of a case study methodological strategy, we test this framework in order to assess whether it is useful in order to understand the meaning of displacement in the lives of incumbent residents in Saint-Henri, a gentrifying neighbourhood in Montréal. Furthermore, it adds substantive knowledge on the experience of direct displacement through key informant interviews with residents whose housing is slated for expropriation due to the redevelopment of a major piece of transportation infrastructure in Montréal. A typology of different types of resident reactions to the threat of displacement is presented. It utilizes semi-structured interviews with 40 incumbent residents in order to nuance existing knowledge on displacement in both direct and indirect forms.

Resident perceptions of physical and demographic changes underway in Saint-Henri reveal the tenuous cohabitation of incumbent and incoming populations in a gentrifying neighbourhood. The typology of resident experiences of the threat of direct displacement highlights complex emotional landscapes in the face of such changes, which are particularly acute for long-term elderly residents and serial displacees. The refinement of the concept of indirect displacement adds significant nuance to the varied meanings of displacement in incumbent renters' lives in Saint-Henri and the structures of feeling associated with it. Recommendations for future displacement research arising from this analysis include the need for further investigation of displacement from below, and for deeper understanding of the impact of displacement (in direct and indirect forms) upon the mental health of disenfranchised groups.

Key words: gentrification; mega-projects; displacement; direct displacement; indirect displacement; neighbourhoods; Saint-Henri; Montréal; Canada.

RÉSUMÉ

S'il existe un nombre important de recherches portant sur les causes de la gentrification dans les quartiers centraux, très peu portent un regard critique sur ses effets sur les résidents de longue date. Cette lacune s'explique en partie par les contraintes méthodologiques implicites liées à la recherche les personnes déplacées. Récemment, l'arrivée du concept de « new build gentrification » a conduit les chercheurs à s'interroger sur les effets du déplacement indirect, c'est-à-dire les effets des changements causés par la gentrification dans un quartier, tels qu'ils sont vécus par les résidents de longue date. La présente thèse fait une contribution importante à la littérature en déclinant le concept de déplacement indirect en quatre types: déplacement culturel, déplacement social, déplacement politique et déplacement d'exclusion. Afin de vérifier s'il permet de comprendre les significations du déplacement à partir de l'expérience vécue des résidents de longue date, ce cadre a été mis à l'épreuve dans une étude de cas du quartier Saint-Henri, un quartier en voie de gentrification à Montréal. Des entretiens semi-dirigés avec 40 résidents de longue date ont permis d'approfondir les connaissances sur le déplacement dans ses formes directes et indirectes. De plus, des entrevues avec des informateurs clé apportent de nouvelles perspectives sur l'expérience vécue du déplacement direct. Ces informateurs habitent des logements ciblés pour expropriation, suite au réaménagement d'une infrastructure de transport importante à Montréal. La thèse présente également une typologie des différentes réactions émotionnelles liées à la menace de déplacement.

Les perceptions qu'ont les résidents des changements physiques et démographiques en cours à Saint-Henri révèlent la cohabitation fragile entre les résidents de longue date et les nouveaux arrivants dans un quartier en voie de gentrification. La typologie des expériences vécues liées à la menace de déplacement souligne la complexité de la palette d'émotions liées à ces changements, qui touchent particulièrement les personnes âgées et celles qui ont été délogées plusieurs fois. Les déclinaisons du concept de déplacement indirect nuancent de façon importante les différentes significations du déplacement telles que vécues par les résidents de longue date à Saint-Henri et la configuration des sentiments qu'il suscite. Cette thèse émet des recommandations pour les futures recherches sur le déplacement, incluant une attention particulière portée aux points de vue des anciens résidents et à l'approfondissement de l'impact du déplacement (dans les formes directes et indirectes) sur la santé mentale des groupes marginalisés.

Mots clés : gentrification; embourgeoisement des quartiers; mégaprojets; quartiers urbains; déplacement; déplacement directe; déplacement indirecte; Saint-Henri; Montréal; Canada.

Conformément à la politique linguistique de l'INRS, nous fournissons en annexe (Appendix I) un résumé long en français de la thèse.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS / REMERCIEMENTS

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NOTES ON LANGUAGE

Extracts from interview transcripts:

The majority of quotations of interviews come from verbatim transcripts. I use the following conventions:

…	An ellipsis indicates a pause in speech.
–	An em-dash indicates an interruption or self-interruption (change of subject).
(…)	An ellipsis in circular brackets indicates that I have omitted some material, to improve clarity or relevance.
[translation]	Indicates that the passage was translated from French to English.

Minor changes to actual speech have been made to facilitate reading (e.g. deleting repeated "you knows").

Attribution

To protect people's identities, I do not use their real names, and given the large number of interviewees, I decided to use numbers rather than pseudonyms. Quotes from interviews are attributed as follows:

Direct Displacement Interviews	DD-(interview #)
Interviews with long-term renters to explore Indirect Displacement	ID-(interview #)

This gives, for example, **DD-01** for the first interview exploring direct displacement related to the Turcot Interchange, or **ID-17** for the seventeenth interview exploring perceptions and experiences of gentrification and neighbourhood change.

List of acronyms:

HLM - Habitation à loyer modique = public low rent housing

OBNL - Organisme à but non lucrative = non-profit housing

INTRODUCTION

My personal interest in displacement began in 2003 when in the process of applying to graduate school in Urban Planning I received a 'Notice of Repossession' from my landlord after living in the same apartment for seven years. After fighting the repossession unsuccessfully at the Régie du logement, I, among countless others, was displaced by the forces of gentrification gathering momentum in the Plateau-Mont-Royal Borough. Between 2001 and 2003 there was a housing crisis in the Montréal rental housing market, with vacancy rates at all time lows below 1% (CMHC 2003, 1). On a pragmatic level, I experienced enormous difficulty in finding a replacement apartment and despite almost six months of searching, up until two weeks before the impending eviction I did not know where I would relocate. When I finally received word that one of the lease applications I had filled out in past months had been accepted, I accepted blindly, relieved at least to have a place to continue living nearby, on the edge of Mile End adjacent to the railway tracks. I was relieved, as having to put my life into storage and couch surf until an apartment came up had seemed increasingly likely as the weeks and months of unsuccessful apartment hunting passed by. Moving under these constrained circumstances implied both an increase in housing costs (of approximately 23%) and a decrease in housing conditions, as the apartment I relocated to was much smaller than my previous apartment. These pragmatic concerns aside, the most difficult aspects of this experience were much less tangible. The years of investment creating a place in which I felt at 'home' and the comfort and belonging I experienced there were stripped away from one day to the next. The loss of contact with neighbours I had greeted daily for the past seven years, and the unfamiliar 'ballet of the street' that unfolded in my new neighbourhood, bore little resemblance to what I had become accustomed to over the many years at my previous residence. Experiencing these difficulties as an educated, white woman, with considerable access to social, economic and cultural capital, led me to ponder: If this experience has been trying for me on so many levels, tangible and intangible, must it not be that much more challenging for those in inner-city neighbourhoods who have access to fewer resources than myself?

While there is voluminous urban geographical research exploring the causes of gentrification, its effects in terms of resident displacement have received rather scant attention. This is due in large part to the methodological difficulties inherent in finding displacees post-displacement in order to better understand the impact of the experience of displacement upon their lives. Moreover, while there is a large body of research that explored the effects of displacement due to expropriation caused by an earlier phase of urban renewal, this literature

lacks direct qualitative accounts of displacees recounting their experience in their own terms. More recently, with the advent of new-build gentrification (i.e. adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings into housing targeted at higher income groups than residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods) scholars have called for further investigation of *indirect* displacement (i.e. even if residents are able to remain in a neighbourhood once it is gentrifying, if the place changes, dis*place*ment may still be underway). I embarked on this thesis with the hope of addressing these gaps in the literature through the use of qualitative interviews with incumbent residents in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Montréal, in order to understand what meaning(s) displacement had for them, how they experience it, and in what ways it is (or is not) significant in their lives.

In the following pages I build the case for, and go on to investigate, resident experiences of displacement in a Montréal neighbourhood that is simultaneously undergoing gentrification and mega-project development. The wider pertinence of my thesis is rooted in the contemporary debates surrounding the 'right to the city,' first introduced by Henri Lefebvre. In his work by the same title Lefebvre argues: "The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city" (Lefebvre 1996 [1968], 174). Thus Mitchell (2003) argues:

> The right to the city implies the right to the uses of city spaces, the right to inhabit - the right to inhabit implies the right to housing: a place to sleep, a place to relax, a place from which to venture forth. Simply guaranteeing the right to housing may not be sufficient to guaranteeing a right to the city, but it is a necessary step towards guaranteeing that right! (Mitchell 2003, 19)

It is in keeping with this line of reasoning that my work on displacement related to gentrification and mega-project development in the Montréal context gleans its wider relevance.

I will explore the impact of gentrification and urban mega-projects in Montréal, upon low and modest-income residents living in rental housing in the inner-city neighbourhood of Saint-Henri. The proposed McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) mega-hospital is to be built by the fall of 2014 on the former Glen Yard (MUHC 2012, 4). In addition to the 280,000m^2 hospital complex, at least 1.6 million m^2 of office space will be needed offsite for medical offices, laboratories and spin-off research companies (Arbour 2005; MUHC 2007). The mega-hospital will create substantial employment in the area for both professional and non-professional tertiary workers. There is widespread concern that the development will accelerate gentrification already underway, with competing land-uses leading to increasing property values and speculation in adjacent neighbourhoods (such as Saint-Henri) and the subsequent displacement of existing residents. Additionally, there is concern that there will be increased demand for housing in the

abutting neighbourhoods as professional employees of the new mega-hospital seek to live closer to their new place of employment. Equally, the consumption practices of professional tertiary workers (both as employees and residents) will likely lead to a change in local consumption patterns, which may subsequently leave its mark on the neighbourhood landscape through the process of commercial gentrification.

More recently, the provincial government has announced a second mega-project, which will be undertaken directly adjacent to the MUHC (see Figure 4.1). The Turcot Interchange is a very significant piece of transportation infrastructure for the Island of Montréal since it comprises the intersection of three urban expressways: Autoroute(s) 15, 20, and 720. It is an integral part of the Montréal economy, accommodating 280 000 vehicles each day (Transports Québec 2008, 5-3). While the primary motivation for the redevelopment is the premature deterioration of the existing structure, the surrounding area contains both current and future activity poles including the Gadbois Recreation Centre, the future MUHC, the Turcot Yards and the Cabot industrial sector. Despite their proximity to three major expressways, access to these activity poles is very difficult at present (Transports Québec 2008, 5-6) (see Figure 4.1). According to the City of Montréal, a principal objective of the project is to improve accessibility and to enhance these employment sectors, which offer development potential, in particular the Glen and Turcot sites (Ville de Montréal 2007, 1). The redevelopment plan in its initial form (in 2008) would have liberated approximately 100 hectares of land for redevelopment and necessitated the expropriation of approximately 160 housing units in the north-western part of Saint-Henri. However, residents mobilized to contest the proposed expropriations and call into question the plan for redevelopment (Mobilisation Turcot 2008). Such mobilizations have been partially successful; a second version of the redevelopment plan lessened the number of proposed expropriations to 100 households. That said, the project has been widely criticized on other grounds such as the fact that it fails to incorporate sustainable development imperatives, proposing to increase car capacity from the current 280 000 vehicles per day to 347 000 vehicles per day by 2016. Furthermore, the MTQ argues that the increase in capacity will not lead to more ambient pollution, because cars will be more efficient and pollute less (Kentworthy and Townsend 2009, 21). Moreover, the redevelopment plan is incompatible with sustainability in terms of its failure to integrate sustainable transit-oriented goals, such as those articulated in the Montréal Transport Plan 2008 (Brisset and Moorman 2009, 37). Nonetheless, Mayor Gerard Tremblay has argued: "The Turcot Complex Reconstruction Project represents an occasion to improve the quality of life of citizens of the South-West and to change the face of Montréal" (Province du Québec 2007, 2). More recently however, the definitive version of the project

redevelopment released in May 2012 has responded to some of these concerns. For example, the definitive plan reduces projected vehicle volumes to 300 000 per day, as well as adding additional bike lanes and increasing the number of sound muffling walls around the structure in the hope of responding to quality of life concerns of residents living in adjacent neighbourhoods (Transports Québec 2012, 1-2). I will argue that these two mega-projects are integrally linked through the economic development approach adopted in Montréal in the face of widespread economic restructuring, which combines strategies aimed at establishing the city as a hub of advanced tertiary employment (a centre of knowledge production) on the one hand, and the city as a consumption centre on the other, which aims to provide a landscape of consumption for these same tertiary workers.

The primary aim of this thesis is to explore through fieldwork, whether indirect displacement as articulated in my conceptual framework is useful for understanding the experiences of long-term residents who remain in place in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification and mega-project development. The secondary goal of this thesis is to add nuance to existing knowledge on direct displacement through examining the lived experiences of residents whose housing is under threat of expropriation for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange.

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 explores the urban geographical literature on the processes of capitalist urbanization. First is a brief review of the various phases of capitalist urbanization and their links to the displacement of working-class residents. Particular attention is paid to urban economic restructuring and the economic development strategies adopted by cities in the face of deindustrialization and fiscal crisis, and the use of the mega-project as a catalyst for wider urban economic development. This is followed by a brief discussion of the changing role of community mobilization in order to assure that local benefits are accrued by residents in the neighbourhoods adjacent to mega-project developments. Next is a review of the existing literature on gentrification, followed by a discussion that explores the connections between gentrification and displacement. I will argue that policy support for gentrification is a constitutive element of a wider approach to economic development. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the effects of displacement on residents of inner-city neighbourhoods.

Chapter 2 focuses on the urban sociological literature exploring the significance of the neighbourhood for different groups and geographical literature examining 'sense of place.' This urban sociological literature explores the significance of the neighbourhood for different groups,

with a particular emphasis on social class and generational status. The raison d'être for this section is that if the neighbourhood is not of particular importance for certain groups, then displacement in and of itself is of no consequence. This is followed by an introduction to the debates in the 'sense of place' literature, with a particular emphasis on the often-conflicting representations of gentrifying neighbourhoods held by incumbent and in-coming populations. These debates serve to highlight the ways in which those with economic power often have a heightened ability to recast urban neighbourhoods in their image.

Chapter 3 presents the articulation of my conceptual framework, which draws upon a particular combination of relevant concepts from each of the aforementioned research sub-fields in order to create a three-part displacement typology. The first part of this typology outlines the relationship between displacement and urban restructuring. The second and third parts of this typology divide the experience of displacement into direct and indirect forms. A key contribution of this thesis is the conceptual refinement of the concept of indirect displacement, which by drawing upon this extensive literature is sub-divided into four constituent forms: social displacement, cultural displacement, political displacement and exclusionary displacement.

Chapter 4 begins by introducing the case study neighbourhood, Saint-Henri in order to ground my justification for it being the ideal context in which to explore displacement in its various forms. My research objectives, research questions and hypotheses are then presented. I then go on to outline my methodological strategy, providing a succinct presentation and justification of the specific methods employed to explore my research questions, beginning with my data collection methods, which consisted primarily of semi-structured interviews, complemented by documentary research and compilations and analysis of relevant census data. I close this chapter with a brief discussion of the ethical considerations raised by this research project, my approach to analysing the data and some potential limits of my methodology.

Chapter 5 begins by presenting background descriptive context of the qualities of Saint-Henri as a neighbourhood. It then introduces the different sectors or micro-neighbourhoods within the area, operationalized into census tracts. This is followed by a more detailed statistical portrait, which begins by reviewing existing census-based analyses of gentrification in Saint-Henri up until 2001. This descriptive statistical portrait is then carried forward as close to the present as possible by undertaking a detailed analysis of the 1996 and 2006 censuses to measure gentrification underway in Saint-Henri, using the Plateau Mont-Royal (Montréal's most extensively gentrified neighbourhood) as a point of comparison and to wider trends on the Island of Montréal. This is followed by presentation of an inventory of commercial activities on the main

commercial street in the neighbourhood, rue Notre-Dame, which compares the businesses and services located on Notre-Dame in 2011 to the predefined base year of 1996 (using the Montréal Lovell's Directory), in order to create an approximate portrait of shifts in commercial service provision in the past fifteen years and the onset (or not) of commercial gentrification. Last, sources that examine the changes in market values for housing in Saint-Henri are considered, bringing us up to 2011 and providing as contemporary portrait of the degree of gentrification to date as possible.

Chapter 6 begins to delve into the heart of the matter, by exploring long-term renters' perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood change. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were undertaken with both public and private sector renters who had been residing in the neighbourhood for five years or longer. It begins by exploring the primary physical changes observed by residents in the neighbourhood. Second, it goes on to detail the demographic changes noted by residents in terms of recent newcomers to the neighbourhood. Last, this chapter examines long-term renters' perceptions and experiences of 'social mix' between themselves and the more affluent incoming residents living along the Lachine Canal.

Chapter 7 examines direct displacement and the threat of forced relocation. The chapter begins by briefly exploring the experience of direct displacement due to repossession, through the stories of those still living in the neighbourhood. The bulk of the chapter however, is dedicated to exploring the experience of living with the threat of direct displacement through expropriation, by examining the experiences of five key informants whose housing was slated for expropriation for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. Particular attention is paid to the wide range of psychosocial reactions residents' had while living with this threat.

Chapter 8 is aimed at understanding the importance of the neighbourhood in everyday life for its long-term renting residents. This is where we set out to test the indirect displacement typology developed in my conceptual framework, in order to ascertain whether indirect displacement in its various forms provides a useful categorization for understanding the experiences of long-term renting residents in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification and mega-project development. The chapter is structured into five main sections. The first explores the neighbourhood as a source of locally-based community in order to understand whether social displacement is a useful concept for changes in residents' social networks. Second, it explores the role of neighbourhood facilities and services in everyday life, in order to ascertain whether there are shifts underway in the neighbourhood that leave long-term residents feeling as though the culture within their neighbourhood has changed (i.e. cultural displacement). This

is followed by exploration of residents' feelings on the quality of the built environment in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. The chapter goes on to explore the political engagements of long-term renters within the neighbourhood, with the goal of understanding whether there have been shifts in power within neighbourhood organizations as a result of the influx of more affluent residents (i.e. political displacement). Lastly the concept of exclusionary displacement is explored in order to ascertain whether over time, Saint-Henri in particular, but the inner city more generally, is becoming inaccessible to a wider range of income groups.

This thesis concludes by summarizing the evidence for the four constituent types of indirect displacement identified in Saint-Henri. The conclusion highlights the contributions of this thesis to existing knowledge on direct displacement, presents the limitations of this thesis, and explores future directions for displacement research.

CHAPTER 1 URBAN ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING AND RESIDENT EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACEMENT FROM CENTRAL CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

The goal of this chapter is to review the relevant literature concerning the different phases of urban economic restructuring and their implications in terms of the displacement of low-income residents. Drawing primarily upon urban geographical perspectives, it begins with an overview of resident displacement from central city neighbourhoods from the industrial revolution to present, during three distinct phases of urban economic restructuring. It then goes on to review the historical intersections between economic development policy and housing policy in Montréal, the frequent use of mega-projects as catalysts for wider economic development and the implications of such approaches in terms of resident displacement historically in Montréal. Next, we explore the causes of gentrification and its links with economic policy. The bulk of the chapter however, reviews the effects of displacement and forced relocation based on an extensive review of the literature on gentrification and urban renewal. This review is undertaken in order to summarize existing knowledge on the individual experience of displacement in both direct and indirect forms and to identify gaps in existing knowledge on displacement to which this thesis will address itself in later chapters.

1.1 The industrial revolution and cities as production centres:

The industrial revolution in the later part of the 20th century spawned rapid urban growth (Paddison 2001, 2). Cities, which had always served as centres of exchange, were transformed simultaneously into centres of production, with separation of land-uses according to industrial, commercial or residential function. This section will highlight the ways in which the industrial revolution itself caused massive displacement of working-class residents, who congregated in the inner city living within walking distance of employment opportunities.

The modernization of central Paris during the Second Empire caused a wave of mass displacement of inner city working-class residents. In 1853, Baron Haussmann was hired by Napoleon the III to direct a massive public works program. Sutcliffe (1981) argues that the immediate stimulus for the street improvements proposed was the need to provide better access to the new railway stations. However, this opportunity simultaneously enabled new sewerage and water distribution systems to be built (Sutcliffe 1981, 132). These massive public works were also motivated by the looming threat of revolution among the disaffected working-class living in the inner city and the street modernization plan eliminated some of the worst slum

districts, as well as providing more easy access to central Paris by way of the boulevards. Thus, the motivations for the modernization were the need to provide more ready access to light and air in the city's most persistent slums while at the same time providing a means for easier control of the masses to prevent insurrection (Shapiro 1985, 33). Haussmann estimated that 117 552 families or approximately 350 000 people had been displaced from central Paris as a result of the demolitions required for his modernization plan (Shapiro 1985, 35).

Soon after in central London, a similar process of mass displacement of the working-class took place to accommodate infrastructure necessary to fuel the industrial revolution. Stedman Jones (1971) argues that four main agents were responsible for the demolitions and forced evictions that took place in central London before the 1880s: 1) the railway companies, which displaced approximately 76 000 people due to the line extensions which cut through and gutted the city's most populous neighbourhoods; 2) dock developments; 3) the building of adjacent warehouses as well as conversion of housing into workshops and offices; and 4) the urban improvement and street clearance schemes of the late 20th century, which displaced approximately 100 000 people (Stedman Jones 1971, 165-166; see also Hall 2002, 19). In 1875, the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act was passed giving London's Metropolitan Board of Works the power to clear large tracts of unsanitary housing, on the condition that they rehoused all displacees, onsite, within three years of demolition (Rose 1981, 342). However, as early as 1882 the obligation to rehouse the displaced was dropped to 50%, resulting in widespread conversion to commercial land use.

1.2 The post-war boom, urban renewal and urban transportation infrastructure:

The period following WW II was characterized by significant economic growth and government investment in central cities. In both Europe and North America governments launched slum clearance programs to improve the housing conditions of inner city residents through the state provision of public housing and redevelopment of central cities. In the U.K., slum clearance programs would last twenty years and the replacement public housing was based on the orthodoxy of "build dense, build high" (Hall 2002, 223). By this time, modernist architecture and planning principles were firmly entrenched. In London, early developments were in the style of Le Corbusian 'slabs,' while in later developments slightly less oppressive high towers became the norm (Hall 2002, 225). In Europe, resident relocation was regarded as a public responsibility and extensive public assistance was provided. As a bare minimum, alternative accommodations were offered. In addition to moving expenses, compensation was

usually paid for other burdens of dislocation such as higher costs of alternative housing (Grebler 1964, 84-85).

In the U.S., urban renewal began with the Housing Act of 1949 and in the following twenty years the Housing and Home Finance Authority (HHFA) implemented massive urban renewal programs. However, in contrast to the U.K. case cited above, the HHFA used its authority in order to tear down slum neighbourhoods and instead of providing replacement housing, it offered prime land to private developers with public subsidy: "In city after city – Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Boston, San Francisco – the areas that were cleared were the low-income, black sections next to the central business district; and the promised alternative housing did not materialize (…)"(Hall 2002, 229). Hammel (2005) argues that Chicago has been a paradigmatic city in terms of U.S. public housing policy since the end of WW II. During the 1960s in Chicago, all but one of the 33 family housing projects completed were in areas that were at least 84% black and the majority of projects required significant dislocation of residents and slum clearance (Hammel 2005, 176).

In North America, urban renewal policies were implemented in the context of what Altshuer and Luberoff (2003) term the "great mega-projects" era (1950 - late 1960s) which was facilitated by the massive injection of federal aid, enabling both cities and states to undertake massive infrastructure programs, intended to align cities with the corporate preferences of the mid-twentieth century (Altshuer and Luberoff 2003, 8). Slum and derelict inner-city areas were bulldozed and their residents displaced in order to stimulate for-profit commercial development and investment in central cities (Altshuer and Luberoff 2003, 26). Although there were significant differences in urban renewal programs in the U.S., Canada and the U.K., the criticism voiced against such projects was similar: such programs ignored the heavy psychological cost of forced relocation and the social cost of the destruction of healthy communities (Carmon 1999, 146; Jacobs 1992 [1960]; Teaford 2000). While urban renewal eventually fell out of favour and programs became more geared towards neighbourhood revitalization as opposed to slum clearance, massive displacement of poor inner-city residents continued unabated with the development of urban transportation infrastructure, such as urban expressways, aimed at enhancing the competitiveness of central cities. For example, in the U.S. in 1968-69 the annual rate of displacement for federally aided highway projects was 64 000 people. However, this was a period of transition during which the social consequences of such projects were being pushed to the fore, and the need to minimize or mitigate negative impacts such as direct displacement became more important to project success (Altshuer and Luberoff 2003, 88). This renewed

interest in the fate of inner-city residents led to an era of transition (mid-1960s to mid-1970s) whereby the effects of mega-project development on adjacent communities became more central to project success. As a result, the second generation of urban renewal policies (mid-1970s) was more oriented towards neighbourhood rehabilitation (as opposed to clearance) while simultaneously attempting to address the social problems facing the resident population through the provision of better social services. In Canada, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.) was approved in 1973. It combined renovation of existing housing with selective demolition, while simultaneously providing funds for improving social and community services and for providing mechanisms for the participation of existing residents in the decision-making process (Carter 1991, 11). This shift eventually ushered in the 'do no harm' era (mid-1970s - present) whereby mega-projects remain central to the economic development strategies of cities, but both project types and implementation strategies are usually required to avoid or fully mitigate any significant disruption caused (Altshuer and Luberoff 2003, 8).

1.3 Deindustrialization and the role of policy support for mega-projects and gentrification in urban economic restructuring:

Knox and McCarthy (2005) argue that deindustrialization involved a mutually reinforcing series of problems, which culminated in fiscal crises for cities. Manufacturing plant closures led to losses in ancillary industries which in turn led to recession in retailing and personal services. Unemployment and underemployment increased, which worsened poverty. These dynamics converged with the continuing out-migration of the skilled working class and middle class to suburban areas underway since the early 1950s. The suburbanization of more privileged households was facilitated by both supply-side factors (such as favourable mortgage rates for outlying suburban housing and the completion of the interstate highway system) and demand-side influences (such as the coming of age of the Baby Boom generation and thus increased competition for housing space to raise families) (Knox and McCarthy 2005; Sternlieb and Hughes 1986). Meanwhile, inner city neighbourhoods began to deteriorate, which was reflected in aging housing and infrastructure. City governments suffered an inability to maintain or improve services due to the combination of loss of tax revenue and the increasing demands for infrastructure maintenance and better service provision. It was the mixture and complex interaction of these different factors that created the fiscal crisis, which threatened to bankrupt cities (Knox and McCarthy 2005, 85). Hall (2003) argues that numerous British government reports exploring the problems of deprived inner-city areas during the mid-seventies reached the same conclusion: "deprivation was no longer a matter of individuals or households falling

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below the poverty line; rather, it had become a matter of the failure of entire urban economies" (Hall 2003, 382). The transition to post-industrial society has recreated the economic fabric of society, altered the behaviour of capital radically, broken down traditional national boundaries and is 'remodelling' government (Savitch and Kantor 2002, 1). In North America and Western Europe, older industrial capacity has been replaced by the growth of the tertiary sector – business, professions, services, high technology and government. Cities themselves have been the sites where technological, social and global transformations have taken place (Savitch and Kantor 2002, 3).

Explanations for the underlying causes of urban restructuring in Western cities tend to emphasize the interplay of structural forces and political dynamics. Harvey (1989) argues that the difficulties that have constrained capitalist economies since the 1970s include: deindustrialization; structural unemployment; fiscal austerity; declining power of the nation-state; and the shift from a Fordist regime to one based on flexible accumulation. These constraints have lead to a transformation in urban governance from a managerial to an entrepreneurial approach (Harvey 1989a, 5). The new entrepreneurialism takes as its centrepiece the 'public-private partnership (PPP),' which combines local boosterism with local government powers to attract funding, new employment sources, etc. (Harvey 1989a, 7). The activity of the PPP is entrepreneurial because it is speculative and the public sector is willing to absorb risk. Further, entrepreneurialism focuses much more closely on the political economy of place than of territory (Harvey 1989a, 7). This change in governance approach has caused a shift in the focus of urban planning from its historical role as a provider of guidance and control of growth, towards an obsession with growth at almost any cost (Hall 2003, 347).

The shift towards entrepreneurialism is manifest in four basic approaches to urban economic development and results in distinct forms of competition between urban centres: competition for position in the international division of labour; competition for position as centres of consumption; competition for command and control functions (particularly in finance and administration); and competition for government redistributions (Harvey 1987, 264). These approaches are not mutually exclusive and cities may combine them in trying to increase their competitiveness. Two of these strategies are most pertinent here: competition based on position as centres of consumption and competition for command and control functions.

Economic development strategies based on inter-urban competition for command and control functions in high finance, government, or information gathering (including the media), create the image that the city of the future will be the 'informational' city of pure control and

command functions, a post-industrial city where the export of services (financial, informational, knowledge-producing) becomes the economic basis for urban survival (Harvey 1989a, 10; see also Sassen 2002). This approach typically involves the provision of expensive urban infrastructure: airports, international convention centres, communications networks, convention centres, hotels etc. (Knox and McCarthy 2005, 483). This approach has been pursued with the most success in what Sassen (2002), inter alia, identifies as 'global cities,' i.e. centres of global finance, such as London and New York.

Competition for position among cities as centres of consumption is an economic growth strategy focused on 'quality of life' which not only generates jobs, incomes and tax revenues by itself but that also enhances the prospects of being able to secure investments in any activity that utilizes well-paid workers – whether in production activities, government research and contracting or management and business services (Knox and McCarthy 2005, 483).

> Gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical up-grading of the urban environment (including the turn to post-modernist styles of architecture and urban design), consumer attractions (sports stadia, convention centres, marinas, exotic eating places) and entertainment (the organization of urban spectacles on a temporary or permanent basis), have all become much more prominent facets of strategies for economic regeneration (Harvey 1989a, 9).

For a Montréal example of the creation of consumer attractions in the CBD to promote economic development, see Bélanger's (2003) work on the Molson Center.

As such, cities are primarily drawn to mega-projects as a way to pursue economic growth. Mega-projects are typically high-profile and strategic and are often linked to infrastructure upgrading, tax-advancement or enhancement of a city's image (UNCHS-Habitat 2004; Paul 2004). Historically, mega-projects have taken the following forms: transportation infrastructure such as highways, airports and mass transit systems; urban renewal; sports infrastructure such as stadiums; and convention centres. For a typology of urban mega-projects and their accompanying economic development strategy, see Table 1.1 below.

Mega-projects can vary in both scope and scale, but even when project aims are narrow, the expectation is that there will be positive 'spillover effects' (Flyvbjerg et al. 2003; Storey and Hamilton 2003). Examples of such spillover effects range from creating a new image for the city on the global stage to neighbourhood revitalization. However, mega-projects are often 'planning disasters' which frequently run over-budget and create a range of negative impacts (Hall 1980; Flyvbjerg et al. 2003). Bornstein (2007a) argues: "Moreover, while benefits from such projects are likely to accrue at the municipal or regional level, residents in nearby areas incur many

disamenities, whether through displacement to accommodate facilities, increased traffic, noise and air pollution, or a shift to non-residential uses in the area. For all these reasons, the literature identifies mega-projects as a factor increasing spatial and socio-economic polarization in contemporary cities" (Bornstein 2007a, 4).

Table 1.1: Mega-projects Typology

Type of mega-project	Economic development strategy		
	Command and control	Consumption	Recipient of federal (or state) surpluses
Convention centers	X		
Airports	X		
Teleports	X		
Mass transit systems: i.e. subways		X	
Stadiums for professional sport franchises		X	
Downtown festival malls		X	
Waterfront redevelopment schemes		X	
Organization of spectacle (on a temporary or permanent basis – festivals and cultural events)		X	
Provision of office space with good linkages	X		
Education provision (business and law schools, high tech production sectors, media skills etc.)	X		
Military and defence and high-tech			X
Health and education infrastructure			X

Based on Harvey 1989a; Altshuer and Luberoff 2003.

Since the shift towards flexible accumulation and urban entrepreneurialism, the 'mobilization of spectacle' has become a key urban development strategy. The 'mobilization of spectacle' is defined as the organization of urban spectacles on a temporary (e.g. Expo, festivals, Olympics) or permanent basis (e.g. the designation of entertainment districts such as the Quartier des spectacles in Montréal) as a means to promote economic growth through strategies to encourage consumption to compensate for deindustrialization (Harvey 1987, 276). Spectacle has always been a powerful political weapon. Harvey has argued that historically, 'bread and circuses' have been a primordial form of social control (Harvey 1987, 275). In the post-industrial city, the mobilization of spectacle fits nicely with urban governance strategies that seek to capture consumer dollars and is used as a symbol of 'unity' in fragmented urban societies (Harvey 1987, 277). Ley and Olds' (1988) work however, examines individual agency

and consumption at the Vancouver World's Fair, in order to interrogate the claim that Expo (and 'mobilization of spectacle' more generally) is used as a means of social control. Individual agency is placed at the heart of analysis, and no empirical backing is found for the claim that the 'mobilization of spectacle' is a means of social control meant to distract and ensconce the masses, co-opting individuals in terms of politics or preference in urban governance (Ley and Olds 1988, 209). Nevertheless, Harvey argues further:

> The ability to dominate space through community solidarity and mutually supportive patterns of appropriation weakened at the very moment that many spaces became vulnerable to invasion and occupation by others. A tension arose between increasing unemployment of workers in traditional occupations and the employment growth triggered by downtown revivals based on financial services and the organization of spectacle. A new and relatively affluent generation of professional and managerial workers, raised on the cultural discontents with modernism in the 1960s, came to dominate whole zones of inner city urban space…(Harvey 1987, 277).

Zukin (1998) argues that cultural strategies of economic redevelopment "reflect the growing importance, in all mature urban centres, of a symbolic economy based on such abstract products as financial instruments, information and 'culture' – i.e. art, food, fashion, music and tourism. The symbolic economy is based on the interrelated production of such cultural symbols as these and the spaces in which they are created and consumed – including offices, housing, restaurants, museums and even the streets" (Zukin 1998, 826). Thus, the rise of the office-complex city has been accompanied by the rise of the tourist city (Savitch and Kantor 2003, 18-19).

The tendency towards the mobilization of spectacle is also evident with cities increasingly moving towards large-scale redevelopment projects incorporating a new combination of activities: recreation, culture, shopping, mixed-income housing. They also were based on the new idea of adaptive reuse: the rehabilitation and recycling of old physical structures to new uses (Hall 2003, 350). As such, the mobilization of spectacle is a strategy used to re-imagine and re-appropriate large parts of cities, which have been rendered obsolete by the process of deindustrialization.

Savitch and Kantor (2003) argue that attempts at dynamic theory building must address a range of market and political variables that are bound to influence urban development, including: market conditions, the exercise of popular control, the intergovernmental mesh of policy conditions and the dispositions of business leaders (Savitch and Kantor 2003, 32). They characterize these factors into two categories: driving and steering variables. Driving variables include market conditions and intergovernmental support, as they confer economic power upon

cities and grant public leaders leverage as they bargain with business. By contrast, steering variables, such as popular control and local cultures, have more to do with choices about the strategic direction of government.

> It is not too much to say that driving variables, like market conditions and intergovernmental support, determine *if things can be built*. By the same token, a steering variable like popular control will give expression to the *how, where, and whether things are built*, while local culture will reveal dominant priorities about *what is likely to be built* (Savitch and Kantor 2002, 47-48).

This distinction between driving and steering forces in urban development is useful because it helps us to examine the interplay of structure versus agency in city building (Savitch and Kantor 2002, 50).

Sharon Zukin (1991) too offers an explanation of urban economic restructuring which examines the interaction of structure and agency in the process, in much the same vein as Harvey (1989a) cited above. Landscape represents the 'spatiality' of the capitalist mode of production in each of its distinctive phases. Capital thus creates and destroys its own landscape (Zukin 1991, 19). The conditions of creative destruction (or structural shifts) engendered by the new market culture include: abstraction of value from material products to images and symbols, global markets (internationalization) and a shift in the major source of social meaning from production to consumption (Zukin 1991, 41). Urban form is heavily influenced by market culture, in numerous ways such as: what districts look like, who uses them, their relative diversity or homogeneity, or how long they last before being torn down. These qualities reflect the constraints of a market culture (Zukin 1991, 42). What Harvey termed the 'mobilization of spectacle' (i.e. the economic development strategy which promotes cities as centres of consumption) has taken place through the implementation of large-scale projects such as the redevelopment of water fronts and the insertion of waterfront shopping centres, presenting shopping as a means to enjoying urban life (Zukin 1991, 50). Moreover, shopping centres have replaced political meeting and civil gatherings as arenas of public life and are believed to open downtowns by creating a 'sense of place': downtown developers derive a theme from former economic uses – the harbour, the marketplace, the factory – and offer consumers the opportunity to combine shopping with touristic voyeurism into the city's past (Zukin 1991, 51) (for a more detailed discussion of 'sense of place' see Chapter 2, Section 2.4). Ironically, through the process of 'revitalizing,' the places of consumption project the image of locality, yet they are marketplaces for goods that are not locally produced. "Like the high-class shopping street, these shopping centres unify international investment, production, and consumption" (Zukin 1991, 51). Urban form has become increasingly vulnerable to an asymmetry of power

between city governments vis-à-vis the private sector. The fiscal crisis of the 1970s entailed the withdrawal of federal funding, forcing city governments into a more dependent relationship with the private sector (Zukin 1991, 53). Public-private partnerships create material landscapes that entail the shifting of public life inside from the streets. "While most people really want to enjoy the pleasures of fine buildings, good stores, and beautiful urban spaces, the processes that create them make the city more abstract, more dependent on international capital flows, and more responsive to the organization of consumption than the organization of production" (Zukin 1991, 54).

1.3.1 Mega-projects and their adjacent communities – confrontation or collaboration?

As aforementioned, since the mid-1970s we have been in the midst of the 'do no harm' era, such that mitigation of any negative outcomes of mega-projects is now much more central to project planning and project implementation strategies (Altshuer and Luberoff 2003, 8). Recent research exploring the politics of mega-projects suggests that project promoters have become more receptive to accommodating community concerns. Perhaps the earliest documented case of community mobilization against, and eventually successful gleaning of concrete community benefits from proposed mega-project development, was in San Francisco's centrally located but impoverished Tenderloin District. In 1980, the Ramada, Holiday Inn and Hilton Hotel Corporations announced plans to build luxury hotels on the eastern border of the neighbourhood, which would increase San Francisco's total hotel rooms by 12% (Robinson 1996, 494). Local activists formed the Luxury Hotel Task Force (LHTF) and voiced concern over the "displacement of residents due to conversion of residential hotels and rising rents from the increased land values and transformation of the Tenderloin neighbourhood to a tourist-economy" (Robinson 1996, 495). LHTF proposed that community organizations, in conjunction with government officials, propose various correctives to provide for those who might be harmed by the development. In 1981, the City adopted various mitigations, which were to be paid by the developers. When the hotels agreed to these mitigations, this constituted a legal precedent in the United States.

Olds (1998) explored the Canadian case of the mega-event as an inner-city redevelopment planning tool and argued that it created a range of types of housing impacts: on-site impacts; post-announcement speculation; pre-event tourist accommodation supply impacts; and post-event impacts (Olds 1998, 5). Community responses to mitigate the potential negative housing impacts of mega-events varied depending on the case at hand. For example, in the

Downtown Eastside in Vancouver, the community actively sought to prevent the forced evictions from occurring due to Expo '86. Once forced evictions were underway, the Downtown Eastside Residents Association sought to halt them as well as to lessen their negative social impact (Olds 1998, 12). However, despite the fact that the resources and power existed on a political level to prevent these evictions, a decision was made to allow the evictions to occur. Olds explains this in terms of Blomley's framework (see below), and the politicians' and event sponsors' "belief that Downtown Eastside residents do not live in a 'community' (…) but [r]ather (…) in a geographic area without bonds to the physical or social environment" (Olds 1998, 17). More generally, because, as we have discussed above, mega-events (and the 'mobilization of spectacle' more generally) are closely linked to 'image' creation on national and international stages, local citizens, business leaders and politicians feel that their name and reputation is at stake. This provides a potential leverage point for community groups, in that they can use this concern with image to force issues into the public sphere via the media (Olds 1998, 40). However, the large-scale and multi-year nature of the mega-event requires the involvement of a plethora of different actors over time. Consequently, it becomes very difficult for community groups to address issues such as potential housing impacts or evictions. "This case study suggests that community groups must be extremely well-organized, and expend considerable resources to have a significant impact. Where resources are limited, strategic planning, coalition building and task sharing is requisite to any success" (Olds 1998, 41).

More recently, Blomley (2004) explored two proposed mega-projects in the Downtown Eastside, Vancouver, in order to highlight forms of community-based resistance that relied upon collective claims to property not easily understood within the dichotomous ownership model which deals in private (individual) and public (state-owned) property. This dominant narrative of property (to which we return in Section 1.5) naturalizes the displacement of low-income communities as part of the 'natural' evolution of the city, an inevitable outcome of 'progress.'

Fainstein (2009) explored four mega-projects in Amsterdam, London and New York and found that there were striking similarities in terms of the physical attributes of each project and in their private sector involvement and market orientation. However, there were differences in terms of the extent to which each project provided affordable housing and tied together physical and social goals. While all four projects had requirements for affordable housing and jobs, and thus had a minimal commitment to socially just policies, their primary orientation was towards profitability and competitiveness. She argues that: "the extent to which the gains from increased competitiveness are spread throughout society depends on the size of the direct governmental

commitment to public benefits" (Fainstein 2009, 783). Not surprisingly, the greatest government commitment to public benefits was in the case of Amsterdam, where the welfare state is still somewhat intact. The least government commitment was in U.S. cases, where minimal national expenditures on housing and social welfare means that low-income people must depend almost completely on trickle-down effects in order to gain from new project developments.

Bornstein (2007) explores large-scale urban redevelopment projects in Montréal, Vancouver and Los Angeles and suggests that although mega-projects are adopted with global ambitions, community organizations are demanding that such developments also be used to satisfy local needs, resulting in innovative practices that prioritize the needs of low-income residents (Bornstein 2007a, 1). In the case of Montréal, the redevelopment of the Old Port served as an example of a large-scale planning project which local citizens were able to influence through the formal public participation process (Bornstein 2007b, 7). The publics' participation – and the guiding vision, principles and plans for development they participated in developing – are considered key to the success of the project (Courcier 2005). The recent Vancouver Agreement has served as an example of the way in which diverse interests (such as local business, government and neighbourhood-based groups) can be brought together in a cooperative manner moving towards a strategic planning approach, guided by the leadership of key government officials (Bornstein 2007b, 8). Such coalitions could have significant potential in mitigating the most problematic aspects of mega-project development, including displacement in its various forms. As such, a variety of approaches to ensuring community benefits arise from proposed mega-projects are emerging in North America, ranging from collaborative approaches through established government channels to more confrontational approaches relying upon coalition-building among diverse community actors, unions, religious organizations, etc. Such practices and approaches to ensuring community benefits could prove essential in, at best, preventing, or at least mitigating the detrimental effects of mega-project development, such as displacement and ensuring that projects respond to the needs of those already in place.

Carmon (1999) divides the processes that have transformed inner cities since the fiscal crisis into two groups: public-private partnerships (as previously defined) and public-individual partnerships. Public-individual partnerships refer to instances where investments by individuals, households and small business owners in deteriorated neighbourhoods are supplemented either directly (in the form of subsidized loans) or indirectly (through special regulations or investments in surrounding services) by local authorities. Public-individual partnerships have

taken three main forms: gentrification (which is explored in detail below in Section 1.5); upgrading by incumbent residents; or upgrading by immigrants (Carmon 1999, 148).

1.4 **Approaches to economic development and housing policy in Montréal:**

The overall aim of this section is to explore the historical intersections between economic development and housing policy in Montréal and their implications in terms of resident displacement. This section begins by highlighting the ways in which mega-projects (as a tool for economic development) have been employed historically in Montréal and draws attention to residential displacement caused by such projects. It goes on to highlight the interconnections between economic development policy and housing policy initiatives. Finally, we continue in order to make the case that Montréal (an advanced tertiary city but not a global city in the sense used by authors such as Sassen), has combined two approaches to economic development: that which aims to redevelop the inner city as a consumption centre, and that which aims to concentrate certain command and control functions (notably in the pubic and para-public sectors) in the inner city.

The policy context in which mega-project development took place in Montréal is unique by virtue of the fact that between 1960 and 1994, the City only had two mayors: Jean Drapeau (1960-1986) and Jean Doré (1986-1994). Drapeau served seven consecutive terms, which resulted in an enforced continuity in terms of policy in the city. Between 1960-1978, Drapeau's vision focused on 'grands projets' which were supposed to make his city internationally renowned and modern, drive the economy through economic spin-offs and promote a strong Central Business District (CBD) (Kaplan 1982, 423). Examples of 'grands projets' undertaken during the Drapeau era include: Expo '67 and accompanying infrastructure improvements (subways, highways); the 1976 Olympic Games; large-scale core public buildings such as Complexe Guy Favreau, Maison Radio Canada and Complexe Desjardins (Léveillée and Whelan 1987, 155). This focus on large-scale projects took precedence over other policy matters, such as housing, zoning and neighbourhood planning (Kaplan 1982, 421). Additionally, Drapeau used large catalytic projects such as Expo '67 as vehicles for an urban expressway expansion program: between 1960 and 1976, seven expressways were built, mostly through densely populated urban neighbourhoods. The Autoroute program was viewed as key in sustaining the large-scale projects initiated by Drapeau, in terms of promoting the economic health of the City (Barcelo 1988, 31). In this way, Montréal serves as a case in point with regard to the phases of urban development and renewal outlined earlier.

The link between 'grands projets' and residential displacement can be traced to the City of Montréal's (1961) 'Comprehensive Urban Renewal Study', which outlined an ambitious 19 year schedule to 'renew' over 48 600 dwellings deemed obsolete in 17 neighbourhoods, including 70% of the Montréal's south west (Keklikian 1978, 65). This led to the demolition of parts of Griffintown and the entire Victoriaville neighbourhood. Victoriaville, in contrast to many areas slated for 'renewal,' was a strong neighbourhood-based community, with a low crime rate, a higher home-ownership rate then the rest of the city, and was a historic stronghold of the Italian community, where owner-occupiers had made substantial investments of sweat equity to improve their properties. The 'renewal' of this area led to the eviction of 1500 people whom the City did not help to relocate (Kaplan 1982, 452). The site was then cut in half by the construction of the Bonaventure Autoroute in 1966.

In the Little Burgundy neighbourhood, the City undertook urban renewal on a bigger scale with the objectives of systematic and progressive improvement of the social, physical and economic conditions of the area and dividing the area into residential and industrial sectors distinct from one another (Ville de Montréal 1966, 69). The demolitions in Little Burgundy created a severe housing shortage with 4750 housing units demolished between 1965 and 1974, while only 2900 housing units (mostly public) were built (Ville de Montréal 1977). These demolitions led to substantial population decline from 14 000 in 1966 to a meagre 7700 ten years later and necessitated the eviction of 3000 families (Morin 1987, 43; Blondin 1967, 8). Between 1957 and 1974, in the City of Montréal, more than 28 000 housing units were demolished, with an average annual rate of 1 578 units per year (Carreau 1976).

Victoriaville and Little Burgundy were not the only neighbourhoods where massive resident displacement took place. In 1963, the City undertook major demolitions in order to create the Maison Radio-Canada in the Centre-Sud district. In total, 778 housing units were demolished, 5000 residents evicted, as well as 12 grocery stores, 13 restaurants, 8 garages, 20 factories and 4 print shops (Morin 1987, 30). A new function was being defined for this district of the City: it was envisioned as the new home of the public tertiary sector, including Radio-Canada and the development of the Université du Québec à Montréal campus, to provide a counterweight to the largely English CBD farther west (Morin 1987, 33).

Another 'grand projet' initiated during the Drapeau era was the Ville Marie Expressway (Autoroute 720). In 1964, expropriations in Saint-Henri and Little Burgundy began. The concept plan for the Autoroute 720 extended Autoroute 20 from Décarie across the CBD to Autoroute 25 in the east end (Lavigne and Carlos, 1975). By 1970, Drapeau had lost interest in the project but

the provincial government decided to push it forward despite the City's objections. Construction of the first section of the 720 (between Décarie and Guy Street) led to the eviction of 1160 households and the demolition of several hundred dwellings along the northern edges of Saint-Henri and Little Burgundy (Lavigne and Carlos 1975, 38). In preparation for the construction of the eastern portion, approximately 2020 households were evicted in the Centre-Sud and Hochelaga-Maisonneuve districts. Thus the project, fiercely pursued by the provincial government, despite considerable opposition, led to the eviction of at least 3180 households (Lavigne and Carlos 1975, 38-39).

In 1973, due to the problematic nature of the urban renewal programs (emblematized by the widespread displacement of residents and the demolition of viable neighbourhoods), the Federal government adopted an approach more grounded in neighbourhood renovation and restoration, coined the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.) (Morin 1987, 43). In 1974, the N.I.P. (Programme d'amélioration des quartiers P.A.Q.) was implemented in the Centre-Sud district. One effect of the renovation subsidies provided through the program was the widespread eviction of renters in the neighbourhood, as rents were often increased by as much as 50% after renovation (Morin 1987, 53). One study revealed that 36% of the population living in newly renovated housing worked in the tertiary sector and further 60% of new residents cited the principal reason for moving to the neighbourhood as being its proximity to downtown (Morin 1987, 56-57). The socioeconomic structure of the district also changed dramatically, with the 'petite bourgeoisie professionelle' representing 8.6% of residents of the district in 1971 and 18.3% in 1981, while the number of working-class residents living in the neighbourhood decreased by 16.8% over the same period (Morin 1987, 70-72).

Having briefly explored the link between mega-project development during the Drapeau era and its outcomes in terms of resident displacement, we know turn to Montréal's particular approach to economic growth and housing policy. Montréal's approach to economic development combines strategies aimed at enhancing the CBD as a consumption centre (including but not limited to the 'mobilization of spectacle') and the competition and pursuit of command and control functions, particularly in the public and para-public sectors.

In the early seventies, the City of Montréal moved away from large-scale demolition characteristic of urban renewal and moved towards restoration. In 1971, it created the Operation 10 000 logements program which had two main objectives: 1) to attract families back to the city by providing homes on vacant land; 2) and to more affordably house the Montréal middle-class (Lacroix 1989, 28).

Emblematic of the post-fiscal crisis entrepreneurial approach to urban governance, many public-private-partnerships were created in the late seventies. In 1979, housing concerns and economic development were linked in Montréal through the creation of the CIDEM (Commission d'initiative et de développement économique de Montréal) with the following mandate: "elaboration, planning, coordination and execution of City programs and projects relating to housing and the promotion of economic development" (Ville de Montréal, Bylaw #5380 cited in Morin 1987, 47). In 1981, in order to promote economic development, the City created the Société de développement industriel de Montréal (SODIM) with the mandate of acquiring, renovating and administrating industrial buildings, as well as managing the Programme de coopération industrielle de Montréal (PROCIM), which provided financial assistance for the restoration and expansion of industrial buildings (Morin 1987, 47). Also, the Revitalization of Commercial Arteries Program (Sociétés d'initiative et de développement d'artères commerciales S.I.D.A.C.) was created in order to make commercial streets more attractive for both existing residents and a new potential clientele moving into the area (Morin 1987, 48).

In 1982, the 10 000 logements program was extended and renamed 20 000 logements, and more emphasis was placed on regenerating inner city neighbourhoods that had been most affected by flight to the suburbs (Ville de Montréal 1986, 4). Overall, the Southwest contained 16.5% of the 19 624 units built in the life of the program (Ville de Montréal 1986, 4). The program generally involved attracting a clientele with incomes higher than the existing population (CREESOM 1989, 276). More than half of the units created under this program were sold to owner-occupiers, while 22% were private rental units and 24% were social housing, including housing cooperatives and non-profit housing agencies (Germain and Rose 2000, 166). The acquisition-renovation programme of the Société habitation et de développement de Montréal (SHDM) was more than just a municipal housing programme, but rather serves as an example of the neighbourhood-oriented vision of urban revitalization (Germain and Rose 2000, 184). In the mid-1970s, the City of Montréal combined municipal, provincial and federal funding to target particular neighbourhoods in Centre-Sud and Saint-Henri for 'improvement'.

> Street infrastructure was improved, parks developed, public housing was built on infill sites and home-owners and small landlords were offered grants to cover the cost of renovation. Much of the municipal expenditure would, of course, be recouped through increased property taxes. While this program did create new housing units for low-income families, an underlying goal was to make these neighbourhoods more attractive to middle-class homeowners, in other words foster gentrification (Germain and Rose 2000, 184)

The 20 000 logements program was combined in some neighbourhoods with the Programme d'intervention dans les quartiers anciens (P.I.Q.A.) established in 1980 to renovate and restore dilapidated streetscapes and housing in inner-city areas to make such neighbourhoods more attractive to the middle-class (Morin 1987, 49) as well as maintain the existing population (Côté and Lachapelle 1989, N1). The P.I.Q.A. was inspired by and intended to complement the Federal Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.). Germain and Rose (2000) argue that this program, which targeted urban neighbourhoods where the housing stock was of clear architectural merit, had the intent of stimulating gentrification.

During the late nineties, the City moved away from trying to attract families to the city, instead focusing on professionals employed downtown or working out of their homes. It has focused on trying to attract a diversity of household types drawn to the prospect of practicing 'urbane' lifestyles (Germain and Rose 2000, 167). The City also developed a policy of acquiring vacated industrial buildings with architectural merit and turning them over to be recycled for residential use. However, in the 1990s virtually all 'recycling' projects were carried out for profit and sold as condominiums due to the absence of funding for housing coops. The Lachine Canal has been the main focus of such recycling projects despite the dismay of community groups concerned with retaining such buildings for industrial use (Germain and Rose 2000, 171).

> The appeal of these former industrial spaces to gentrifiers is enhanced by their proximity to sections of the Réseau Vert; this partially completed network of recreational paths (for cyclists, in-line skaters, joggers, etc.), aptly referred to by Sénécal as the 'reconquest of marginal spaces,' runs along both shorelines, the Lachine Canal, and the Old Port as well as along both still-used and defunct railway lines that were crucial in opening up sectors of the city for industrial development a century ago (Germain and Rose 2000, 171).

Mega-projects such as the Lachine Canal redevelopment (e.g. Réseau Vert, Atwater Market) and Old Port redevelopment are clear examples of the 'mobilization of spectacle,' as outlined earlier.

During different types of mega-projects are likely to stimulate different types of displacement. For example, large infrastructure projects, such as urban expressways or the redevelopment of existing infrastructure are likely to cause direct displacement due to expropriation in order to accumulate the large urban parcels necessary to accommodate infrastructure. However, mega-projects, which concentrate important public and para-public sector activities in inner cities, are likely to cause gentrification-induced displacement, in both direct and indirect forms. Recall Morin's (1987) work showing how the combination of clustering important public and para-public infrastructure (such as the Maison Radio-Canada and UQAM) combined with the Achat-

Rénovation Programme, led to the direct displacement of many tenants in the Centre-Sud neighbourhood and a drastic increase in the number of petite bourgeoisie professionals living in the area. However, as aforementioned, more recently gentrification is taking new forms in the contemporary city, such as new-build development. Non-residential mega-projects on former brownfield sites adjacent to inner city areas can act as catalysts for wider neighbourhood redevelopment, including new residential developments. Types of mega-projects likely to stimulate gentrification-induced displacement in both direct and indirect forms will include any projects that aim towards a reimaging of inner-city areas to make it more attractive to the middle-class and professional workers in the tertiary sector. For example, the clustering of public or para-public facilities such as universities, hospitals etc., which employ large numbers of the professional-managerial class, who will likely want to live close to their place of employment.

This clustering of important public and para-public facilities may in turn create sufficient incentive for developers to undertake new housing development nearby, such as infill development or conversion of industrial buildings. Such developments may lead to indirect displacement among low and modest-income residents in adjacent neighbourhoods as they imply the rapid implantation of large numbers of incoming gentrifiers and this rapid influx of affluent residents may act as a 'beachhead' from which gentrification can extend reaching into existing neighbourhoods (Davidson and Lees 2005, 1184). Indirect displacement may be stimulated by mega-project development and accompanying new-build through local commercial and social service displacement, re-appropriation of neighbourhood public spaces by in-comers, changing dynamics of power within local neighbourhood associations and the like.

Montréal, like most other major Canadian urban centres, has experienced a significant decline in the relative importance of manufacturing employment and a growth in employment in the tertiary sector. By 1991, 3/4 of employment in the CMA was in services (Germain and Rose 2000, 129). The old industrial core around the Lachine Canal provides a glaring example of the diminishing industrial employment in the inner city, with over 20 000 manufacturing jobs disappearing between the late 1960s and the late 1980s (Germain and Rose 2000, 147). By the beginning of the 21st century, manufacturing only constituted 12.7% of employment in the Montréal Metropolitan Region (Polèse 2009, 33).

The cores of Canadian cities have retained their attraction as areas of concentration for high-level corporate and government activity, higher education and health care, telecommunications and arts and culture (e.g. Rose 1996, 139). The attraction of the inner city

as a place of residence is related to the clustering of advanced tertiary activity combined with a variety of social and cultural characteristics, which contribute to the 'liveability' of such neighbourhoods. In Montréal, education, health, social services and government sectors continue to employ the lion's share of inner-city professionals (Rose 1996, 140). Expansion of the public and para-public sectors has been "central to the expansion of high-level employment in or near downtown, including the head offices of many government ministries and provincial corporations, several teaching hospitals and four universities" (Rose 1996, 144). Harkavy and Zimmerman (1999) argue that institutions of higher learning "(eds)" and medical facilities "(meds)" are some of the largest employers in North American cities. Not only do "eds and meds" contribute substantially to the economic health of cities, they are unique in so far as they are rooted in a particular place, i.e. their identity is tied to the city and the community in which they are located (Harkavy and Zimmerman 1999, 3). "Eds and meds" may have an impact on their surrounding communities in the following ways:

- purchasing power – i.e. purchasing agreements with local service providers;
- hiring practices – i.e. providing training in order to hire the local workforce;
- research and teaching – i.e. bringing community concerns into the classroom through service learning etc.
- real estate – i.e. eds and meds own large tracts of land which when invested in and put into productive use lead to community stability through increased land values and improved local environments;
- tax-base – eds and meds increase the local tax base thus allowing localities to reinvest in their neighbourhoods;
- home-ownership – eds and meds can help rebuild their surrounding neighbourhoods through giving their employees affordable home-ownership opportunities there;
- by being a good neighbour – through helping to keep the community clean, safe and economically viable, which creates a positive environment for residents, students, patients and workers (Harkavy and Zimmerman 1999, 3-4).

In the Montréal case, Germain and Rose (2000) argue that between 1960-1990, the economy was given an enormous boost by the mushrooming of public and para-public sector employment. Montréal universities (of which there are four) draw more federal funding than any other Canadian city. The hospital sector also expanded significantly during this period and strengthened its links to universities and research.

> Moreover, within Québec, there is a strong centralization of the province's major medical and higher education institutions in the Montréal area. The hospital sector alone is the largest single source of jobs located within the City of Montréal; it employed some 90 000 workers in the mid-1990s, many of them inner-city residents. However, since educational, health and social services are highly

dependent on funding from the provincial government, a city that is strong in these sectors is also very susceptible to cutbacks, which have been implemented on a massive scale in the late 1990s. Especially hard hit have been jobs in the hospital sector where several large institutions have closed or merged as a part of major restructuring operations aimed at cost rationalization and modernization of facilities and organizations (Germain and Rose 2000, 125).

By 2008, 23% of employment in the Montréal Metropolitan Region was in education, health and social services and public administration (Polèse 2009, 33). The recent plan to create two mega-hospitals (McGill University and Université de Montréal teaching hospitals), and to locate the new facilities on brownfields in former industrial areas now ripe for development, will likely have a catalytic impact on their surrounding neighbourhoods. Recall the mega-projects typology (Table 1.1) and it becomes evident why the City of Montréal is intent on harnessing the mega-hospital as a catalyst for wider urban redevelopment. The mega-hospital will create substantial tertiary employment (in particular for professional tertiary workers) thus anchoring important command and control functions. It will also lead to significant changes in the local landscape of consumption as changes in demand inherent in the influx of professional tertiary workers (both as workers and residents) gives way to commercial gentrification. Moreover, such infrastructure investments (i.e. health and education) place Montréal in a strategic position to harness federal surpluses. This final point is evidenced by the recent allocation of $100 million from the federal body the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (Canadian Foundation for Innovation, 2008). Attaining such redistributions from the federal government is extremely strategic for the City of Montréal, as the grant will be used to strengthen already established partnerships between the McGill University Health Centre and bio-pharmaceutical partners in Montréal, including Novartis, Samaratin Pharma, Ciphergen and Adherex. One result has been the creation by the MUHC and McGill University of the 'Montréal Excellerator': "whose goal (…) is to substantially increase the creation of new companies by 50%, to multiply license revenues and to establish strong relationships with international institutions and industry leaders" (MUHC 2008).

This section has explored the historical intersections between economic development (and the use of mega-projects as catalysts) and housing policies in Montréal with particular emphasis on the outcomes of such policies in terms of resident displacement. We have argued that Montréal's approach to economic development since the onset of the Drapeau era has combined the strategies aimed at developing the CBD as a consumption centre and strategies aimed at concentrating advanced tertiary employment (particularly in the public and para-public sectors) in order to revitalize inner city areas. As such, the restructured post-industrial landscape in Montréal has been formed by the combination of the concentration of production of

knowledge services in the city centre, with the consumption practices of these same workers. It is the dynamic interaction of structure and agency that produces urban space.

1.5 The Causes of Gentrification:

The following section will explore the theoretical debates surrounding the causes of gentrification in order to highlight the interplay of both structural forces and individual and collective agency in shaping the contemporary post-industrial inner city.

Sociologist Ruth Glass first coined the term gentrification in the 1960s in order to describe the transformations taking place in certain working-class neighbourhoods in inner city London. Glass defined gentrification as follows:

> One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes- upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages - two rooms up and two down - have been taken over, when their leases have expired and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period - which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation - have been upgraded once again.... Once the process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed (Glass 1964, xviii).

As such, gentrification is simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, which involves the 'invasion' of previously working-class neighbourhoods by middle or upper-income groups, and the subsequent displacement of many of the original residents (Hamnett 2000).

Since the mid-nineteen-sixties there has been a plethora of literature exploring the causes of gentrification and the protagonists (both individual and collective actors [Warde 1991]) in the process. There have been two main types of explanations for the causes of gentrification, highlighting either the supply of gentrifiable housing (supply-side arguments focused on structural causes) or the demand for inner city housing by middle and upper-income groups (demand-side arguments focused on individual agency). In fact, gentrification became for a time a key theoretical and ideological battleground between those stressing culture, individual choice, consumption and consumer demand, and those emphasizing the importance of class and capital (Hamnett 1991, 173). More recently, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) have provided a comprehensive review of these debates. In the following paragraphs, a brief account of each type of explanation follows.

The primary proponent of supply-side explanations for gentrification is Neil Smith. In the late 1970s he proposed the concept of the 'rent gap', which refers to the emergence of a growing distance between the current value of property on an urban site and the potential underlying value of the land if converted to another land use. Hamnett (2000), reviewing Smith's work, states: "Suburbanization and subsequent inner-city decline leads [sic] to the existence of devalued inner-city property on potentially valuable land, which opens up the potential for profitable reinvestment" (Hamnett 2000, 332). Thus, gentrification is understood as a product of urban land and property markets. Accordingly, it is capital and the institutions of the capitalist land market (i.e. developers, real-estate agents, mortgage lenders etc.) that are central to understanding gentrification. Scholars who were broadly supportive of this thesis (for example Hackworth and Smith 2000; Wyly and Hammel 1999) later went on to argue that State involvement in the revalorization of urban land became increasingly important to the activation of gentrification in the 1990s (after the recession as brownfield sites became more readily available).

Supply-side explanations for gentrification are intrinsically linked to the concept of market-driven 'highest and best use', which is frequently invoked in discussions around urban development. This concept implies that there are good and bad uses of land. Blomley (2004) traces the roots of this concept to master narratives of liberal property put forth by philosophers such as John Locke. The 'story': "begins in a plenteous state of nature, carries through the growing personal accumulation of goods, then proceeds to the development of a trading economy, and culminating in the creation of government to safeguard property" (Blomley 2004, 85). In this dominant narrative of property it is the mixing of human labour with the soil that creates private property. In contrast, land that is not enclosed and used 'productively' is termed 'waste' (Blomley 2004, 86). Therefore, urban development processes, such as gentrification, must be understood not only as material processes, but also as processes rooted in powerful metaphors and narratives that justify and naturalize them (Blomley 2004, 86). It is when the gap in value between the current land use of an urban parcel and that of its 'highest and best use' is large enough that the potential of windfall profits encourages investment by the real estate industry, thus kick-starting the gentrification process. In fact, Rose (1981) argues that the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (mentioned previously in Section 1.1.) passed in 1875 in London and the resulting widespread conversion of former low-income neighbourhoods to commercial land use constituted one of the earliest precedents for State allocation of land according to its: "'highest and best' use rather than according to any criteria of 'social rationality,' defined independently of capitalist production relations (…) Yet it has been

enshrined as a *natural* and eternal 'law' in neo-classical urban land rent theory and incorporated into contemporary urban planning doctrine"(Rose 1981, 344).

In later work, Smith linked the 'rent gap' to another concept that he developed, that of the 'revanchist' city. The term 'revanchism' dates back to the right-wing populist movement in France, which during the late 19th century reacted violently against the relative liberalism of the Second Empire and the socialism of the Paris commune (Smith 1996, 45). "The 'revanchist' city and gentrification find common conjecture in the restructured urban geography of the late capitalist city. The details of each conflict and of each situation may be different, but a broad commonality of contributing processes and conditions sets the stage" (Smith 1996, 47). Smith's conception of the 'revanchist city' views the inner-city as a combat zone in which capital, personified by middle-class gentrifiers, battles it out block by block to retake the inner-city from working-class people. More recently, Atkinson has asked whether a 'vengeful' public policy is emerging in British public spaces (Atkinson 2003, 1829). In his view, intent is key, i.e. is the intent of urban policy to exclude the poor or is it just an unintended consequence? However, some authors contend that Smith's (1996) claim that 'revanchism' is a defining feature of all cities undergoing gentrification needs more critical assessment (Slater 2004, 1209).

Supply-side explanations have been countered by numerous authors who contend that the roots of the gentrification phenomenon are better explained by the increasing demand for inner city housing by middle-class households. Some authors initially explained gentrification in part by a 'back to the city' movement by suburban families; however, there is little empirical evidence to back this claim. In fact, the majority of families involved in gentrification of inner-city areas had not come from the suburbs, but were instead in-migrants from beyond the urban area or central city residents from other parts of the city (Bourne 1978, 62). Lipton (1977) found that this tendency of middle-class households moving into inner-city neighbourhoods was strongest in cities that had both high proportions of service and professional occupations and long commuting distances from the suburbs. London et al. (1986) argued that the baby-boom generation placed a huge burden on the existing housing supply, which was partially rectified through the rehabilitation of inner-city housing. Changing demographic trends such as waiting longer to marry and have children, the entry of women into the workforce and the rise of two earner families have also been invoked as potential causes of gentrification: "The relatively affluent, young, childless couple, not having to worry about the quality of inner-city schools and the shortage of playgrounds, is likely to choose to live in the city, close to places of work and recreation" (London et al. 1986, 372).

Some demand-side explanations for gentrification have also invoked the concept of the 'emancipatory city', in which the inner city is portrayed as an emancipatory or liberating space. For example, David Ley (1996) explores the relationship between the legacy of the counter-culture of the 1960s and gentrification and argues that in fact middle-class settlement of the inner city is not primarily a convenience in an attempt to minimize the journey to work downtown. Rather, it is also a statement of social identity and cultural politics (Ley 1996, 24). Caulfield (1994) similarly views gentrification itself as an emancipatory social practice, which is defined as: "efforts by human beings to resist institutionalized patterns of dominance and suppressed possibility" (Caulfield 1994, xiii). Those who use the concept of the 'emancipatory city' to explain gentrification, regard encounters with others who are 'different' as both enjoyable and liberating (Lees 2000, 393). However, a more recent study of gentrification in the inner city Toronto neighbourhood of South Parkdale concluded that there was no evidence of 'emancipatory' potential in the gentrification underway there. Slater (2004) argues: "…one would be hard pressed to find anything positive to say about the *current* middle-class resettlement of South Parkdale" (Slater 2004, 1209). For example, incoming middle-class homeowners were active in mobilizing against the continued presence of single-room occupancy units, which have historically housed many of the more vulnerable members of the neighbourhood's incumbent population (Slater 2004, 1199). Nonetheless, Slater (2004), among others, argues that the divisions between leading theorists (i.e. Ley - demand vs. Smith – supply) are in fact overdrawn. "It is preposterous to suggest that Ley (1996) ignored the economy in his comprehensive account of the emergence of a new middle class in the post-industrial city, and it is simply wrong to argue that Smith (1996) ignored the impact of cultural factors in his influential work on the emergence of the 'revanchist' city" (Slater 2004, 1192).

Numerous authors have argued that the attempt to demonstrate the superiority of either 'supply-side' or 'demand-side' explanations for gentrification has lead to a theoretical 'log-jam' (Lees 2000; Hamnett 1991; Rose 1989). An early attempt to integrate demand and supply side perspectives was put forth by Rose (1989) who drawing on a feminist perspective, argued that a dynamic urban theory must focus on the inter-relationship of production and consumption rather than focusing on an analytical separation between the two (Rose 1989, 119). Exploring gentrification in Montréal neighbourhoods from this perspective Rose (1989) argues further:

> Gender divisions influence [professionals'] employment incomes and the job security of 'new middle-class' fractions from which gentrifiers are produced. Yet in order to explore how this interrelation might influence gentrification, we also need to break down the professional population of these neighbourhoods in terms of the types of household they live in. Household type is likely to influence the effect of

occupational position on consumption practices, and on where these take place (…) and, more broadly, on ways of living and forms of reproduction (Rose 1989, 127).

Reasons why non-traditional households (such as female-headed households) may have particular preferences for inner city neighbourhoods include: these milieus offer a diversity of ways of carrying out reproductive work; they offer a concentration of supportive services; and last, they often have a 'tolerant' atmosphere (Rose 1989, 131).

Another attempt to reconcile supply and demand-side explanations for gentrification is made by Hamnett (2000) who argues that the shift from manufacturing based society to post-industrial society has resulted in changes in class-structure such as the growth of an expanded middle-class and their social relations, cultural tastes, and consumption practices.

Such an explanation sees gentrification not as the inevitable consequence of the prior existence of a rent-gap, but primarily as a result of the continuing economic transformation of many Western cities from manufacturing centres to centres of business services and creative and cultural industries, with consequent changes in the occupational structure, income distribution, gender relations, the housing market and cultural tastes (Hamnett 2000, 333).

Thus, changes in demand are central to explaining gentrification; while gentrification does indeed involve changes in the structure of the land and property markets, it is better understood as a product of the shift from industrial to post-industrial society.

Hamnett argues it is this shift from industrial to post-industrial society and the resulting demographic changes that have given birth to the 'new middle-class.' Rose and Villeneuve (2006) integrate household demography, life course and gender dimensions more systematically into their version of this line of argumentation. For Lees (2000) a defining characteristic of this new middle class has been its ability to exploit the emancipatory potential of the inner city, creating a new class fraction, which is more culturally engaged and less conservative than the old middle class (see also Ley 1996). Gentrification can be regarded as the spatial manifestation of these values (Lees 2000, 396). Lees critiques Smith's 'revanchist city' on the grounds that it does not examine the desires of middle-class gentrifiers for inner city housing, close to amenities and services. Instead, they are represented as instruments of abstract economic forces, cleared of any responsibility for their actions (Lees 2000, 399).

Some authors such as Zukin (1991) have explored how the changing tastes and lifestyle choices of the 'new middle-class' have interacted with wider economic processes (such as those highlighted by Smith) to provide developers with opportunities to 'rehabilitate' inner-city areas. During the 1980s, financial institutions expanded on their existing urban base and took

advantage of proximity to urban cultural amenities to satisfy the recreational needs of their employees (Zukin 1998, 830).

> Gentrifiers generally worked as teachers, lawyers, artists, writers, creative staff in advertising firms or retail stores and government or corporate managers. Many of them were interested in good food and the arts – the types of cultural consumption that grew so rapidly with gentrification. Unemployed artists and underemployed performers often found jobs in new gourmet food stores, restaurants and galleries…Thus gentrifiers provided a material base for both new cultural production and consumption (Zukin 1998, 831).

Gentrification can thus be understood as a symbolic and material recasting of an area in accordance with the tastes of dominant groups. Through this process of re-imaging, the local incumbent population is disenfranchised, as social and cultural transformation of the inner city is imposed in accordance with an international market culture inherent in globalization. More recently, Smith (2002) has also tried to understand this intersection between lifestyle choices of the 'new middle class' and the wider economic processes.

Smith (2002) focuses on the generalization of gentrification as neo-liberal urban strategy. Five inter-related characteristics highlight the general dimensions of this phenomenon: the transformed role of the state, penetration by global finance, changing levels of political opposition, geographical dispersal and the sectoral generalization of gentrification (Smith 2002, 441). Since the earlier waves of gentrification in the 1970s and 1980s, the role of the state has transformed dramatically, with much greater collaboration between private capital and the local state, resulting in larger, more expensive developments. Second, global capital has become increasingly implicated in the generalization of gentrification, evident in the reach of global capital down to the local neighbourhood scale (Smith 2002, 441). Third, is the rise of urban 'revanchism', which as a new form of authoritarianism both stifles opposition and makes the streets safe for gentrification. Fourth, is the outward diffusion of this latest phase of gentrification from the urban centre to more peripheral areas (Smith 2002, 442). Last, what marks this generalization of gentrification is a new constellation of corporate and state powers that have put forward a much more ambitious effort to gentrify the inner city than their predecessors (Smith 2002, 443). He argues further:

> Most crucially, real-estate development becomes a centrepiece of the city's *productive* economy, an end in itself, justified by appeals to jobs, taxes and tourism. In ways that could hardly have been envisaged in the 1960s, the construction of new gentrification complexes in central cities across the world has become an increasingly unassailable capital accumulation strategy for competing urban economies (Smith 2002, 443).

According to Smith, this results in more than simply providing gentrified housing. Rather, third-wave gentrification has evolved into a conduit for transforming large areas into new urban landscapes that reflect a remaking of urban space imbued with middle and upper class attributes. As such, Smith like Zukin, explores the interaction of middle-class lifestyle choices and wider economic processes. Such landscape complexes include housing mixed with shopping, restaurants, cultural facilities, open space and employment opportunities (Smith 2002, 443).

This joins the recent debates surrounding the extension of the concept of gentrification by scholars to take into account the shift towards new-build development, ranging in scale from infill development to the creation of entire new urban neighbourhoods on brownfield sites (Davidson and Lees 2004). There is still debate surrounding whether such developments can properly be termed gentrification without rendering the concept 'chaotic.' However, Davidson and Lees argue that 'new-build gentrification' is not a misnomer because it involves middle-class resettlement of the inner city, the creation of a gentrified landscape and the displacement of lower-income residents in the adjacent communities via the process of 'indirect displacement' (Davidson and Lees 2004, 1169). The new gentrified landscape can be understood in the broader terms outlined by Smith (2002) above, which go beyond providing gentrified housing and include other cultural facilities, amenities, green spaces etc. In fact, the new gentrified landscape is the landscape of urban restructuring which combines shopping with touristic voyeurism into the cities' past in order to recreate inner city areas not only as hubs of tertiary employment but also middle-class consumption.

Shaw (2005) argues that while both causes and effects of gentrification are still disputed, what is undisputed is that gentrification plays out differently in different contexts, linking directly to (2000) call to explore specific 'geographies of gentrification.' Shaw (2005) highlights characteristics that serve as local limits to gentrification. While the pace and extent of gentrification is varied across neighbourhoods, where the process takes place slowly at least two of the following four characteristics were present: 1) the housing stock was not conducive to gentrification; 2) residents' experienced some security in housing tenure; 3) areas were characterized by a relative 'embeddedness' of local communities and presence of political activism; 4) there was the existence of a local government willing to intervene in the interests of low-income housing (Shaw 2005, 173). More recently, Canadian scholars have explored local limits to gentrification in Canadian cities. In Toronto, Walks and August (2008) explored two neighbourhoods (one which failed to gentrify despite widespread gentrification nearby and

another where gentrification stalled), in order to understand the historical conditions responsible and to suggest ways to limit the spread of gentrification in the absence of policy support for local affordable housing. In addition to the four conditions set out by Shaw (2005) above, additional local limits to gentrification in these two cases included: significant industrial employment lands; neglect on the part of City officials towards nuisances and environmental externalities; and access to and reliance upon alternative/ethnic forms of housing finance capital among incumbent residents (Walks and August 2008, 2608). In the same vein, Ley and Dobson (2008) explored local limits to gentrification in two Vancouver neighbourhoods (the Downtown Eastside and Grandview-Woodland). The authors outline a number of characteristics of districts with impeded gentrification: minimal stock of residential properties with architectural character (like Shaw above); limited access to environmental amenities or desirable cultural institutions; generally, presence of a low-income and often immigrant populations (including areas of deep poverty); and location at a considerable distance from existing elite areas (Ley and Dobson 2008, 2475). Moreover, even under un-regulated market conditions, the presence of certain population groups and industrial land uses can stall the arrival of gentrification (Ley and Dobson 2008, 2493).

With specific reference to Montréal, Rose (1996) argues that the diversity of residential form (i.e. better quality and gentrifiable housing mixed at the micro-scale with plexes and apartment buildings that remain affordable to low-income households) has reduced, though not eliminated, the direct and indirect displacement of low-income residents out of gentrifying neighbourhoods (Rose 1996, 155).

While the causes of gentrification have received an enormous amount of scholarly attention over the last 40 years, its effects on particular neighbourhoods, and for residents, have received far less critical attention (Slater et al. 2004; Van Weesep 1992). Atkinson and Bridge (2005) summarize the positive and negative consequences of gentrification (see Table 1.2 below). As can be gleaned from Table 1.2, gentrification may result in a variety of potentially positive or negative outcomes depending on the particular context at hand and whose interests one has in mind. The main potentially positive outcomes of gentrification include stabilization in areas that were experiencing decline (through rehabilitation of deteriorating property), increased property values for homeowners in such areas, and decreased vacancy rates in rental housing and in neighbourhood commercial spaces. Such changes lead to increased fiscal revenues, which in turn may lead to better quality local services. Middle-class preferences for inner-city gentrifying neighbourhoods are also positive in so far as they reduce demand for suburban

housing and may thus overtime lead to a reduction in suburban sprawl. Another potentially positive outcome of gentrification is increased social mix, although the debates around the benefits of social mix for low-income residents are far from conclusive (please refer to section 2.1).

Table 1.2: The positives and negatives of gentrification

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological effects of displacement
Stabilization in declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
	Increased cost and changes to local services
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas
Source: Atkinson and Bridge 2005, 5	

However, the potential negative consequences of gentrification are extensive. Displacement from gentrifying neighbourhoods through rent increases is a significant problem facing incumbent populations. Moreover, there may be secondary psychological effects of displacement for affected residents. In some cases, such events could lead to homelessness. Further, for incumbent residents who remain in place, gentrification may led to a sharpening of community resentment and conflict, and increasing cost and changes to local services upon which incumbent populations relied, in some cases resulting in commercial displacement. Industrial displacement is also an issue (with the adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings to housing) and such changes may decrease local employment opportunities for incumbent residents. As gentrification accelerates, loss of affordable housing accessible to the long-term population is increasingly likely. This is turn may lead to displacement pressure in surrounding poor neighbourhoods due to increasing housing demand. Further, gentrification may eventually lead to increasing speculation, which in turn could result in unsustainable increases in property

prices. The effects of gentrification on incumbent residents (including displacement in both direct and indirect forms) will be explored in detail in the section 1.7 below.

1.6 **Displacement typology:**

The following section will briefly outline the various types of displacement that may take place in urban neighbourhoods undergoing change. *Forced relocation* refers to direct resident displacement, which occurs as a result of government intervention and expropriation (such as urban renewal or an urban transportation project). *Gentrification-induced displacement* occurs when pressures on the housing market from more affluent groups lead to inflated rents and prices, which can push out low and modest-income earners over time (Atkinson 2000a, 307). Marcuse (1986) sets out a typology of different types of displacement that can occur in gentrifying neighbourhoods: (a) last-resident displacement, which takes into consideration only the last resident of an apartment unit; (b) chain displacement, which also counts previously displaced households occupying the same unit; (c) exclusionary displacement, which occurs when a household is not able to move into a given dwelling because rents already exceed their financial means; and (d) displacement pressure which occurs when a household sees the fabric of their neighbourhood change so substantially that they move before they are 'forced' out by rent increases and the like. More recently, there have been attempts to reconceptualize c) and d) in terms of various kinds of '*indirect displacement*,' which we explore further below.

Indirect displacement refers to the idea that although a resident has not been directly displaced from her neighbourhood, there might be other indirect effects upon her. Indirect displacement can take diverse forms. Chernoff's (1980) case study of a gentrifying commercial district in Atlanta explored the concept of '*social displacement*,' defined as:

> The replacement of one group by another, in some relatively bounded geographic area, in terms of prestige and power (…) For example, the loss of political control in an area can lead to demoralization, or a sense of one's lifestyle being threatened. At some point, residents or businesses may feel compelled to leave the area; thus physical displacement may stem from social rather than economic pressure… (Chernoff 1980, 205).

Martin (2007) argues that the concept of social displacement as articulated by Chernoff (1980) has received very little conceptual development and needs refinement because it can refer to cultural, social or political displacement. Davidson and Lees (2004) argue that gentrification can also lead to 'socio-cultural' displacement, as gentrifiers take control of the socio-cultural institutions in the neighbourhood. For the sake of clarity then, in referring to types of indirect displacement I will distinguish between political, social and cultural displacement. *Political*

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displacement addresses issues of political influence and power at the neighbourhood level. For example, long-term residents may be active in their neighbourhoods through local churches, civic organizations etc. Political displacement occurs when they become out-voted or out-numbered within their organizations or through the creation of parallel organizations that are dominated by new residents (Martin 2007, 605). *Social displacement* addresses issues surrounding neighbourhood residents' social ties and social networks, a topic explored in depth in the first part of Chapter 2, which explores the importance of the neighbourhood for different groups. *Cultural displacement* addresses issues surrounding of contesting 'senses of place' held by incoming and incumbent residents. This concept will be explored in greater detail in the second part of Chapter 2, which explores the literature on 'sense of place.' Last, perhaps the most abstract form of indirect displacement that arises in gentrifying neighbourhoods is what Marcuse (1986) terms *exclusionary displacement* (see previous page).

1.6.1 Who are the displaced?

Early research into forced relocation caused by urban renewal processes in the United States, revealed that black and immigrant communities in centrally located neighbourhoods were disproportionately affected (see Hammel 2005; Hartman 1966; Gans 1959.) Later investigations into gentrification-induced-displacement documented the demographic characteristics of displacees: low-income populations, members of certain racial and ethnic groups, female-headed households and the elderly were disproportionately represented (Lee and Hodge 1984; Henig, 1984). More recent examinations of displacement have confirmed this (see Atkinson 2000a; Newman and Wyly 2006). Canadian studies of gentrification-induced displacement are sparse. A study exploring the effects of forced relocation due to urban renewal in Montréal revealed that the bulk of evictees were native-born Francophones and that single-parent households and the elderly were disproportionately affected (Melamed et al. 1984, 31-33). Other early explorations of displacement in Montréal explored the extent of direct displacement caused by neighbourhood revitalization projects and concluded that the implications of displacement for those with no choice but to remain renters (i.e. low-income groups and the elderly) were much more extreme than for younger or more affluent households who enjoyed greater residential mobility (Lessard 1983, 62; see also Duplantie 1984). Interestingly, more recent research on displacement in Vancouver's West Side found that one quarter of residents surveyed had experienced residential displacement in the past three years and that households who had experienced forced relocation were not from the traditional low-income communities, but rather were well-educated, full-time employed, moderate income

groups (Holt 1991). This would seem to suggest that while the implications of residential displacement are most extreme for marginalized groups, it is a widespread phenomenon that affects a variety of income groups.

1.7 The effects of displacement/forced relocation

1.7.1 Increased housing costs:

It is widely documented that forced relocation has led to increased housing costs for displaced residents. Hartman (1966) reviewed evidence on the housing of those relocated due to urban renewal projects throughout the U.S. concluded that: "The phenomenon of increased housing costs following relocation is characteristic of virtually all the rehousing efforts reviewed. With only one exception, every relocation study, from the early 1930s until the present, reports increased rents, in some cases relatively small, but in most instances quite substantial" (Hartman 1966, 309). Similarly, in the West End of Boston, residents were forced to bear the financial burdens that resulted from having to pay higher rents for new apartments that were unlikely to be of better quality than the old ones, resulting in drastic budgetary changes which implied consequent deprivation in other spheres of life (Gans 1959, 19). Canadian studies of housing costs after relocation have reached similar conclusions (Blondin 1967; Henry and Pineo 1973; Lavigne and Carlos 1975). In the case of Montréal, a study examining the effects of relocation due to the Victoriaville, Côte-des-Neiges, Radio-Canada and Jacques Cartier Bridge expropriations revealed that the average rent increase post relocation was 32 percent (Melamed et al. 1984, 32)!

In addition to increased housing costs, numerous researchers found there was an additional increase in net costs after relocation including increased travel costs to work, as well as one-time costs such as direct costs such as lawyers' fees, charges for the installation of utilities, the value of time spent looking for new housing, increasing debt and the cost of subsequent moves if the first relocation housing proved unsatisfactory (Henry and Pineo 1973, 51-53; Blondin 1967, 28). An extreme example is the case of Lafayette Shores, in Norfolk, Virginia, where some residents were simply too poor to find replacement housing. Thus, the City intervened on behalf of residents, asking utility companies to overlook unpaid bills so that tenants could move in, as well as paying deposits, first month's rent etc., for residents that could not afford to do so. Soon, however, stories began of former Lafayette Shores residents, who were again being evicted as they had been moved somewhere they couldn't afford to live (Carr 1994, 197). Further, race was a significant issue, in that every study that analyzed the effects of

relocation for white and non-white households indicated that the effects of discrimination made housing relocation more difficult and expensive for non-whites and forced them to pay higher rents, even for poor housing (Hartman 1966, 311).

More recent studies of gentrification-induced displacement such as Atkinson (2000a) and Newman and Wyly (2006) have again confirmed that displacement results in increased housing costs for households, which creates more difficulties for marginalized groups. People with mental health problems, low-income families, single people and ethnic minorities shared a disproportionate amount of the displacement burden. Further, the elderly were over-represented among the displaced, and faced increasing housing prices without an increase in their income. (Newman and Wyly 2006; Atkinson 2000a, 317; Lessard 1983; see also Joyce 1963).

1.7.2 Housing conditions:

In some cases displacement can lead to an improvement in, and increased satisfaction with, housing conditions (Henry and Pineo 1973). However when compared to the control group of non-movers, it appeared that voluntary change (as opposed to forced mobility) would have resulted in still greater satisfaction (Henry and Pineo 1973, 63-64). However, this was not always the case, as the lack of supply of affordable housing in the neighbourhood meant that those with the means would go to other neighbourhoods, while those who could not afford to pay more would often be obliged to accept housing conditions that were worse than before (Blondin 1967, 19-20). A study exploring the effects of forced relocation in Montréal revealed that almost half of the relocatees surveyed found their new dwelling less comfortable than their old one, nearly all paid higher rent and a large proportion paid higher rent for less space (Melamed et al. 1984, 33). More recent scholarship suggests that new immigrant groups are particularly vulnerable, often accepting poor housing quality (Newman and Wyly 2006, 47). Further, studies that examined the housing conditions of public and private housing separately indicated that those who relocated into private housing fared far worse than those who moved to public housing projects (Hartman 1966, 305).

1.7.3 Overcrowding/doubling up:

A comprehensive review of studies exploring the housing of families relocated by urban renewal projects revealed that overall, relocation did very little to improve the overcrowded conditions that existed formerly in the clearance areas (Hartman 1966, 302). More recent research exploring the effects of gentrification-induced displacement in New York City, found that as a result of increasing housing costs after displacement, the elderly (especially elderly

women) frequently doubled-up or moved out of the city altogether. New immigrant groups were also particularly vulnerable to overcrowding (Newman and Wyly 2006, 47).

1.7.4 Fracturing of social networks:

A number of researchers have examined the impact of relocation upon residents' social networks. Key's (1967) research in Topeka, Kansas, led to the following conclusions: forced relocation, like voluntary relocation, led to a larger degree of isolation in the local milieu, but this was more extreme in the case of forced mobility. Not surprisingly, the greater the degree of personal involvement in the neighbourhood and neighbouring relationships before relocation, the greater the degree of isolation that resulted from moving (Key 1967; see also Lavigne 1974; Lipman 1969; Atkinson et al. 2011). Similarly, Fried (1965) found that involvement, engagement and participation in local life were important dimensions of residents' social and spatial orientations. For example, the greater the familiarity with the world immediately outside the local community, the clearer the perceptions of social and spatial dimensions of the external world, and thus the greater the capacity to adapt well to forced relocation. However, among those whose interpersonal relationships were essentially local before forced relocation the frequency of reported satisfaction with the new residential environment was lower (Fried 1965).

Both Key (1967) and Fried (1966) examined the impacts of relocation on particular immigrant communities and reached similar conclusions. In both the case of an Italian-American community and a Mexican-American community, there was the existence of a sub-culture founded on the extended family and intense neighbouring relationships. Forced relocation and the complete destruction of a familiar space and the social ties rooted in the neighbourhood created an important rupture, in particular for those who were very rooted in the local neighbourhood (Key 1967; Fried 1966).

Gans's (1959) work in the West End of Boston revealed residents valued proximity to relatives and friends and the availability of local institutions within the neighbourhood. These characteristics were found to be much more important than the image of the neighbourhood, which was perceived by outsiders to be a slum. Fried's (1965) work with relocated West End residents highlighted that the experience of forced mobility and adaptation to a new environment was much more dire and was often accompanied by periods of resentment and stress, particularly in the cases of the disabled, the elderly, recent immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Gans's (1959) work confirmed that the break-up of the neighbourhood in fact destroyed a functioning social system (Gans 1959, 19). Since relocation procedures did not allow for the

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transfer of the social system, the shock of the relocation process is likely to affect a number of residents negatively, as they had never lived anywhere but the West End and their social and emotional ties were entirely within the neighbourhood (Gans 1959, 21). Further, relocation procedures were often modeled on the assumption of the self-sufficiency of the nuclear family-household. However, many households were strongly tied to other families by bonds either of kinship or of peer-group membership. Thus, if they are relocated individually, so they are no longer accessible to these other households, negative social and emotional consequences may result. This is particularly acute for the elderly, who will suffer the most from a lack of pedestrian accessibility to relatives and neighbours. Similarly, Young and Willmott's (1957) exploration of family and kinship ties in an East End neighbourhood in London, revealed that prior to relocation residents did not want to leave the neighbourhood, because the effectiveness of the kinship system upon which they relied heavily was contingent upon the geographical proximity of key figures. In particular, the three-generation family (grandparents, parents, children) was a key institution with reciprocal relationships. Not only did grandmothers help with caring for the young, but the presence of the three-generation family also provided a principal method for families to care for their elderly relatives (Young and Willmott 1957, 164). The disruption of this system of care and reciprocity through forced relocation constituted a serious hardship. If there is no alternative to forced relocation, Young and Willmott suggest that through the movement of street and kinship groupings as a whole to a new setting, the city could be rebuilt without squandering the fruits of social cohesion. Ultimately though, not only is there a profound attachment to one another but also to the place itself, leading them to suggest building new housing around already established social groups in the neighbourhood (Young and Willmott 1957, 166). Similarly, Henry and Pineo (1973) found that the relationships most affected by relocation were those with close relatives, particularly parents and children, and led to a reduction in social contact. Relocatees experienced greater loneliness when compared to the control group of voluntary movers, and attributed more importance to seeing friends and desired more friendships. Relocation resulted in a decrease in informal social activities (such as spending time with neighbours) among adults (Henry and Pineo 1973, 74-75, 106). In Montréal, prior to relocation, residents of Little Burgundy knew their neighbours well, felt at home in their old neighbourhood and considered their neighbours as friends (most residents interviewed lived in the neighbourhood for 15-20 years before eviction) (Blondin 1967, 25). However, through relocation the social life that had developed in the old neighbourhood was fractured. This was particularly difficult for parents who didn't know their new neighbours and did not establish relationships with them, and for the elderly, who had limited mobility, who now found themselves

ignored and isolated whereas before their neighbours knew them and would visit (Blondin 1967, 26). While forced relocation permitted many households to improve their housing conditions in terms of its physical dimensions, it was at the expense of social dimensions (Lavigne and Carlos 1975, 346).

Further, Joyce observed that where elderly residents had relatives living in the neighbourhood, it created a greater sense of security among this group (Joyce 1963, 71). Moreover, the greater the length of residence in a particular neighbourhood, the greater the likelihood that elderly persons had friends or acquaintances that could be called upon in case of emergency (Joyce 1963, 72; see also Blondin 1967). (A more detailed discussion of the elderly and social networks in the inner city will be found in Section 2.3, which explores the significance of neighbourhood by generational status).

1.7.5 Political disempowerment:

Early research on forced relocation in Montréal revealed that residents of Little Burgundy complained of a dire lack of information concerning the details of the imminent forced relocation and experienced strong feelings of powerlessness (Blondin 1967, 29). Many felt that the situation was unjust and wanted to revolt against it, but had no idea of the means by which they might be able to protect themselves (Blondin 1967, 33). In the same vein, the experience of forced relocation in Hamilton, Ontario led to decreased participation in neighbourhood life and institutions, especially among women (Henry and Pineo 1973, 90).

More recently, Martin's (2007) study of political displacement in Atlanta revealed that in three of four case study neighbourhoods, political displacement emerged as an important issue. Long-term residents organized in order to prevent political displacement and in so doing expressed concerns about: the rising political influence of and increasing involvement of new residents; they also expressed worry that long-term residents would lose both power and belonging in their neighbourhoods (Martin 2007, 623). Such concerns are validated by the work of Fraser (2004) who found in Highland Park, Chattanooga, that a subset of new residents essentially dominated the course of neighbourhood change and actively fought against and discursively constructed incumbent groups as being obstacles to the dominant image of what the neighbourhood should be (Fraser 2004, 454).

1.7.6 Cultural disappropriation:

Early research on the impacts of forced relocation revealed that it can have a detrimental effect not only on personal relationships, but more generally in terms of 'cultural

disappropriation,' which refers to the incursion of a new culture that is imposed upon the culture that has existed historically in a particular space/place (in terms of our discussion here, the neighbourhood) (see Jess and Massey 1995; Rose 1995).

> External stability is also extremely important in interpersonal patterns within the working-class. And dislocation and relocation involve a fragmentation of the external bases for interpersonal relationships and group networks. Thus, relocation undermines the established interpersonal relationships and group ties of the people involved and, in effect, destroys the sense of group identity of a great many individuals (Fried 1966, 366).

Coing (1966) found that the neighbourhood itself was a central aspect of life to which residents were attached. A 'community,' i.e. a space of unified social life, was created through the combination of the proximity of the workplace, commercial activity, memorable places and the similarity of conditions governing family life. As such, demolition modified not only the landscape, commercial and demographic structure of the neighbourhood while up-rooting long-term residents, but above all, it dismantled the structure of patterns of working-class populations financial conditions, as well as the relationship between work and local sociability (Coing 1966, 244-268). Thus, in the case of forced relocation, residents may experience a loss in terms of disconnection with the more general working-class culture of their neighbourhoods.

Additionally, access to shops and services relevant to residents' lives may be less convenient after relocation. For example, in the case of displacees in Hamilton, the location of recreational facilities after relocation was less suitable and led to a decreased patronage of neighbourhood facilities (Henry and Pineo 1973, 117). In Montréal, some former Little Burgundy residents continued to shop in the old neighbourhood because they did not feel at ease at the shops within their new neighbourhoods; others expressed regret that they could no longer go to the corner grocery, which accepted credit and provided the opportunity to meet neighbours (Blondin 1967, 27). Further, some residents felt alienated by their new church where they were anonymous, as opposed to the old church where everyone knew each other (Blondin 1967, 28).

However, exploring the question of cultural disappropriation is equally relevant for remaining incumbent residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods to glean better understanding of their perceptions of the wider changes taking place around them. Lehman-Frisch's (2002) study of changes in commercial and community services in a newly gentrified neighbourhood in San Francisco, Noe Valley, revealed that institutions and services to serve long-term residents were absent. As a result long-term residents lived on the margins both culturally and economically (Lehman-Frisch 2002, 68). Lehman-Frisch (2008) reveals that in the Mission Hill neighbourhood, some incumbent residents felt 'culturally' excluded from the neighbourhood with

the rapid influx of newcomers, in particular with the 'culture of money' that some long-term residents were unable to identify with (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 157). Further, incumbent residents sensed a lack of interest among gentrifiers in getting to know incumbent residents and their practices and in participating in local life. This combination of feelings of devalorization and injustice explains why some long-term residents felt dispossessed of their neighbourhood (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 157). Interestingly, there was significant discrepancy between how newcomers and long-term residents perceived sociability between the two groups. Gentrifiers invoked the dynamism of local life, and its 'authenticity' was a common theme in their discourse. This was a strong contrast with the representations of the neighbourhood presented by long-term residents of Hispanic origin, who described on the contrary a very limited sociability in the neighbourhood. Further, members of the incumbent population characterized relations between in-coming gentrifiers and the long-term residents of the neighbourhood as ambivalent (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 151). Spatial proximity between groups was accompanied by social distance (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 159). This links to the concept of 'social tectonics' used by Anglophone gentrification scholars such as Butler and Robson (2001) and Slater (2005) whereby "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" (Butler and Robson 2001, 2157). Atkinson's (2000c) work in inner city London uncovered that gentrification eroded not only long-term residents' ability to stay in the neighbourhood but also their desire to do so. This was the case primarily because social, physical, economic and environmental changes took place that were "unrelated to the patterns of their own lifestyles and the resources on which they lived" (Atkinson 2000a, 321). Further, the shops and services in the neighbourhoods were also affected, with new service infrastructure catering to upper-income groups.

Nevertheless, one cannot assume that the reactions of longer-term residents to the changes induced by gentrification in their neighbourhoods will be negative in all cases. Pashup-Graham's (2003) study of two Chicago neighbourhoods revealed that longer-term residents had the most positive reactions to gentrification. Positive changes associated with gentrification by long-term residents included a drop in gang activity and related crime. It is important to note, however, that the majority of long-term residents interviewed in this case were homeowners, who were thus also benefiting from increased property values induced by gentrification (Pashup-Graham 2003, 74). More recently, Freeman (2006) found in two black inner-city neighbourhoods of New York City, that reactions of long-term residents to the gentrification of their neighbourhoods were mixed. On one hand, some residents appreciated increased access to services and the physical improvement of the neighbourhood induced by gentrification and

welcomed the possibility of upward mobility of their neighbourhoods. On the other hand, some residents greeted the process with cynicism, in particular expressing that improved services only resulted from collaboration of city officials with white residents, as well as expressing persistent fears of displacement (Freeman 2006, 2).

1.7.7 Increasing exclusion of low-income residents from inner-city neighbourhoods:

Millard-Ball's (2002) study of exclusionary displacement in inner-city Stockholm led to the following findings: a) a direct result of the tenure conversions was a reduction in the number of rental vacancies, thus making it more difficult for low-income households to obtain inner-city housing; b) competition for the remaining rental vacancies increased, thus increasing the advantage of upper-income households; c) the residential mobility of low-income households already residing in the inner-city neighbourhoods (both those which are gentrifying and those that are not) decreased, as they will have fewer opportunities to move elsewhere (Millard-Ball 2002, 852). Similarly, in Toronto's Little Portugal, Teixeira (2007) found that gentrification of the neighbourhood prevented elderly Portuguese from returning to the area from more peripheral suburban areas.

1.7.8 Difficulty finding replacement housing:

A number of researchers have found that finding replacement housing within one's means is a major challenge facing those forcibly relocated (Gans 1959; Blondin 1967; Carr 1994). Additionally, Lipman (1969) found that important differences existed in terms of the effects on relocation upon households. For example, renters often experienced far more difficulty in finding new housing than did owners. Lavigne (1974) found that the lower a household's income, the more time was required to find replacement housing. Consequently, the last to leave could be those most attached to the neighbourhood and those who will have the most limited range of choice on the market (Lavigne 1974). Gans (1959) found that the costs and benefits of relocation were unevenly distributed, with low-income residents assuming the costs, as demolitions significantly reduced the supply of low-rent housing available, making it more difficult for low-income residents to find low cost housing (Gans 1959, 18).

Finding appropriate replacement housing may be most acute in the case of the elderly (Blondin 1967, 20). This is due to a number of considerations including: finding decent, sanitary replacement housing; the accessibility of such housing – i.e. first floor apartments because of limited mobility; access to public transportation facilities and easily accessible commercial and social services (Joyce 1963, 73).

1.7.9 Deteriorating residential environment:

Lavigne's (1974) review of available literature revealed that even the looming prospect of forced relocation can have a negative effect on the surrounding residential milieu even before a project has begun. For example, if demolition is imminent, there is little motivation for landlords to maintain housing units in the meantime. As housing deteriorates and tenants move, there is often a brutal increase in vandalism and violence in the neighbourhood (Lavigne 1974; Carr 1994). A study by Lavigne and Carlos (1975) of expropriation for the Autoroute 720 in Montréal led to the conclusion that that type of public intervention leads to the systematic skimming off of the most autonomous population, as those with the resources to move elsewhere do so, which in the long term leads to the concentration of a dependent population, which is non-diversified and thus leads ultimately to the ghettoization of a neighbourhood (Lavigne and Carlos 1975, 373).

1.7.10 Source of stress:

A number of researchers have examined in more depth the psychological cost of displacement. The experience of displacement can have a sizable impact upon the lives of those displaced as the loss of an important place represents a change in a potentially significant component of the experience of continuity. This is the case for two main reasons: the residential area is often the region in which a vast and interlocking set of social networks is localized. Second, the physical area has considerable meaning as an extension of home in which one feels a sense of belonging (Fried 1966, 362). Indeed, the greater the person's pre-relocation commitment to the area, the more likely he or she is to react with grief (Fried 1966, 364-365). Key (1967) found that forced relocation provoked a sufficient amount of stress that it could be characterized as traumatic. Moreover, the depth of grief resulting from relocation is related to the depth of personal relationships with friends of neighbours in the area. For example, among those women in the West End of Boston who had very positive feelings about their neighbours, 76% showed extreme grief reactions (Fried 1966, 367).

Carr's (1994) examination of the experience of forced relocation revealed that extreme social stress was created by what she termed the 'can't move – must move' contradiction. The primary 'can't move' factors that constituted a barrier to moving were economic: more than half of residents could not afford to pay more rent and there was very little housing left within their means. Other barriers to moving included unpaid utility bills and the like, which would prevent hook-ups at their next place of residence etc. (Carr 1994, 194). 'Must-move' factors included such things as bulldozers that were moved onto the site once vacancies rose and those who

could move did, and additionally that many vacant buildings were set on fire, both of which inspired intimidation and fear among remaining residents. Other vacant units were broken into and vandalized. Such problems and the stress that they created for remaining residents could have been avoided if owners of the buildings had properly boarded up the vacant units (Carr 1994, 196). The experience of the 'can't-move-must-move' contradiction created diverse symptoms of distress among residents including: fear, anger, frustration, nerves, hysteria, crying and grief, depression, heart pain and heart attack (Carr 1994, 192).

More recently, public health psychiatrist Mandy Fullilove (2004) has asserted that existing labels such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety etc., do not adequately describe the depth of psychological reactions and emotional pain that have resulted from the experience of direct displacement due to urban renewal in the United States. She developed the concept of 'root shock' to describe the traumatic stress reaction which results from the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem. The individual has a way of maintaining external balance between herself and the world, which is referred to as a 'mazeway.' When this mazeway (external system of protection for navigating one's environment) is damaged through the experience of displacement, the person will go into root shock. It represents a profound level of emotional upheaval that essentially undermines and destroys the working model of the universe that had existed in the individual's head.

Furthermore, past research has revealed that the elderly found it much more difficult to adapt to the change in circumstances engendered by forced relocation than did young people (Gans 1959; Lipman 1969). This was the case due to the social and psychological losses, which resulted from the destruction of the neighbourhood social system. "The scattering of family units and friends is likely to be especially harmful to the many older people. The younger West Enders feel that they can adjust to a new neighbourhood, but they expect that many of the older ones will not be able to do so and will die during the process" (Gans 1959, 19). For the elderly, forced relocation produced an emotional shock, a stress that could accelerate the death. Even the prospect of having to move led to an increase in mortality among the elderly population (Aldrich and Medkoff 1963; Joyce 1963, 72). Additionally, there was evidence of adverse effects of relocation on both their physical and psychosomatic health (Henry and Pineo 1973, 81).

1.7.11 The individual experience of direct displacement:

The meaning of home for the individual will have a very direct bearing on their experience of direct displacement. Home is itself a multi-dimensional concept (Moore 2000; Vandemark 2007). For example, home is often conceptualized as a haven or refuge from the

outside world, where one experiences comfort, belonging etc. (Mallet 2004; Després 1991). Displacement might then result in residents experiencing grief, anxiety, stress, depression or other associated psychological costs (Fried 1965; Key 1967; Carr 1994; Kleinhans 2003; Vandemark 2007). Equally, it could result in loss of security and control (Després 1991) or in the case of the elderly, loss of local social contact with friends or neighbours who might be called upon in case of emergency (Joyce 1963). Home has also been depicted as a place of permanence and continuity and thus displacement from one's home might result in alienation and feelings of uprootedness, or even loss of one's sense of self (Després 1991; Fried 1966; Vandemark 2007). The experience of direct displacement could also result in 'root shock' due to the destruction of all or part of an individual's 'mazeway' (Fullilove 2004). Additionally, depending upon the process leading up to and the experience of displacement itself, residents might experience feelings of powerlessness with regards to being able to fight an unjust situation (Blondin 1967). With regards to forced relocation due to expropriation, they might feel politically disempowered by a lack of official information with regards to details surrounding expropriation (Blondin 1967; Kleinhans 2003). However, elsewhere in the literature, home has been conceptualized as a prison or trap, as might be the case for residents who are homebound for one reason or another, such as the elderly or the unemployed (Moore 2000). As we have mentioned, research exploring one case of forced relocation revealed the presence of the "can't move-must move" contradiction (Carr 1994). Thus, the meaning of home to the resident in question prior to displacement will have a significant impact on the experience of displacement itself.

With regards to the resident experience of integration into their new residential milieu, a resident might experience a sense of cultural disappropriation, if their new neighbourhood is significantly different from where they lived previously (Fried 1966; Coing 1966). Additionally, they may feel isolated as a result of the fracturing of their formal locally-based social networks (Key 1967; Lavigne 1974; Lipman 1969; Young and Willmott 1957), or may feel as though they do not fit in with their new neighbours in their new residential area (Kleinhans 2003).

Further, residents may experience more pragmatic difficulties including: increased housing costs (Gans 1959; Joyce 1963; Hartman 1966; Blondin 1967; Henry and Pineo 1973; Lavigne and Carlos 1975; Lessard 1983; Atkinson 2000c; Kleinhans 2003; Newman and Wyly 2006); and increased net costs, e.g. increased travel costs to work, moving related expenses, etc. (Blondin 1966; Henry and Pineo 1973). Further, they may experience improved housing conditions (Henry and Pineo 1973; Kleinhans 2003) or not (Blondin 1966). Displaced residents

may also experience difficulty finding replacement housing (Gans 1959; Blondin 1967; Carr 1994), which can be especially acute in the case of elderly (Blondin 1967; Joyce 1963). In some cases, this may also result in residents experiencing increasingly overcrowded living conditions as difficulty finding replacement housing leads them to double up with friends or relatives (Hartman 1966; Newman and Wyly 2006).

1.7.12 The individual experience of indirect displacement:

The individual experience of indirect displacement will be summarized here according to the four types of indirect displacement already conceptualized in the previous sections. In terms of social displacement resulting from fractured social networks, residents might experience feelings of loneliness and grief due to loss of, or diminished contact with friends and/or neighbours (Fried 1966).

In terms of political displacement, residents might experience a feeling of political disempowerment as newer/more affluent residents take more prominent roles within existing neighbourhood organizations or create parallel organizations (Martin 2007). However, it is possible that residents may be politically empowered through access to new social capital provided by more affluent incoming residents, although previous research has show there are significant barriers to this taking place (see Blokland 2003).

With regards to cultural displacement, residents may experience a sense of economic and cultural exclusion resulting from the displacement of commercial and community services upon which they relied (Lehman-Frisch 2002). This may manifest itself in long-term residents feeling ill at ease in neighbourhood shops and/or community spaces. Residents may also experience cultural dispossession and exclusion from the newly imposed 'culture of money' accompanying the influx of more affluent residents as the influx of new shops caters to the tastes and preferences of more economically privileged newcomers (Lehman-Frisch 2008). The displacement of both commercial and social services may also result in inconvenience as residents have to travel farther to gain access to shops and services which meet their needs and may thus result in feelings of frustration. However, it is also probable that long-term residents will be appreciative of the better (i.e. more diverse) range of commercial services available to them (Freeman 2006). There is also the question of feeling comfortable in public space: for example, the plaza in some places plays a critical role in the lives of elderly residents (Low 1992). In Montréal neighbourhoods, local parks, commercial streets and linear parks (such as the Lachine Canal) can be seen as extensions of the dwelling and are also part of the home environment, as residents appropriate such spaces through their daily practices (Bélanger 2008;

Rapoport 1985). This raises the issue of whether there are conflicting uses of public space among new and long-term residents (Freeman 2006; Schaller and Modan 2005). Moreover, attachment to place (i.e. neighbourhood) is not static; one's attachment to place may change as the place itself changes (Brown and Perkins 1992). Thus a dynamic view of relationships to places must allow for an exploration of how places hold meaning both through positive and negative experiences (Fried 2000). As such, our emotional connections to places can be shaped by negative experiences of omission just as much as by positive experiences of belonging (Manzo 2003). Indeed, Atkinson (2000c) revealed that changes wrought by gentrification eroded not only long-term residents' ability to stay in the neighbourhood, but also their desire to do so.

Last, is the individual's experience of exclusionary displacement, which will likely result in increased difficulty finding appropriate housing; decreased residential mobility as increased competition results in fewer opportunities to move (Millard-Ball 2002); and finally, the inconvenience and frustration inherent in remaining in unsuitable housing due to a lack of supply of affordable options better suited to one's needs.

It is important however, not to inadvertently present individuals who experience displacement in its various forms as victims. Individuals resist displacement in various ways, for example in the case of direct displacement through mobilization and the creation of anti-displacement coalitions (Lehman-Frisch 2008; Dulchin 2003; Mobilisation Turcot 2008). Further, individuals have agency in terms of the strategies and tactics they utilize in order to re-create home. For example, the meaning of home can be re-created by investing in one's dwelling (including physical, financial or emotional involvement with one's dwelling unit) (Després 1991). Likewise, at the scale of the neighbourhood, involvement in local community institutions can help the individual to remake their place in a new environment.

1.8 **Methodological caveats, critiques and gaps in existing knowledge surrounding displacement:**

A number of researchers have used quantitative methods to examine residential displacement. Many early explorations of the effects of forced relocation on displacees used the questionnaire survey technique (see for example Lavigne and Carlos 1975; Henry and Pineo 1973; Key 1967). However, a significant limitation of much of this literature is that in the majority of cases, researchers merely created a before and after portrait of the effects of displacement on a single group (the displaced), with no control group (i.e. voluntary movers or non-movers).

However, a notable exception is Key (1967) who compares the displaced populations to each other, to a population of voluntary movers, and to a population of non-movers.

Quantitative methods have also been employed in attempts to measure the extent of displacement caused by gentrification. Early American studies, such as Lee and Hodge (1984) who measured the incidence of displacement as a percentage of total residential mobility, found that the incidence of displacement was relatively low (Lee and Hodge 1984, 149). A key early debate surrounding gentrification and displacement was that between Howard J. Sumka and Chester Hartman. Sumka (1979) argued that the potential for displacement is widespread but that very little reliable information on displacement existed, with existing work impressionistic in nature and generally lacking carefully constructed research instruments. Ultimately, what was needed was a careful analysis of the magnitude of displacement along with consideration of the benefits of revitalization (Sumka 1979, 486). Hartman (1979, 489) countered this by asserting that the presence of popular activism against displacement in numerous American cities was adequate evidence for the existence of substantial displacement induced by gentrification that merited federal, state and local policies and programs to counteract it!

More recent American studies (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004) have again used quantitative methods in an attempt to measure the extent of gentrification-induced displacement using econometric models and citywide housing and vacancy surveys. Indeed 30 years later, a resurgence of quantitative studies to measure displacement (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004; Atkinson 2000b) has again found that it is difficult to find a quantitative evidence base for gentrification-induced displacement.

Newman and Wyly (2006) used a mixed methods approach to explore gentrification and displacement in New York City, using the same data set as Freeman and Braconi (2004) (the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey - NYCHVS), and pointing to the limitations of the latter's methodology. They take particular issue with Freeman and Braconi's definition of who has been displaced, which has severe limitations including that it will tend to over-estimate displacement by including households that move voluntarily in search of cheaper living arrangements, while at the same time it will under-estimate the problem by ignoring those who leave the city, fall into homelessness, or double-up with friends or relatives. Newman and Wyly's analysis of the NYCHVS differs from Freeman and Braconi's in so far as they focus on the dynamics of local, intra-urban mobility and set aside the question of how gentrification is affected by newcomers to the city and those forced to leave it. Ultimately, they acknowledge that even their own quantitative analysis has its limits, as it is ill-suited to understanding the full

social complexity of individual and family circumstances. For example, those who move to New Jersey because they cannot compete in the real estate market become invisible to researchers (Newman and Wyly 2006, 42). In light of these limitations, they use qualitative methods to complement their quantitative analysis, examining the strategies currently being used by community organizers and residents in order to resist displacement (Newman and Wyly 2006, 23). Atkinson (2000a) used a similar mixed-methods approach to measure the relative incidence of gentrification and displacement in inner city London. Proxies of gentrification included: the increase in numbers of residents employed in the professional and managerial spheres; the increase in university degree holders; the increase in owner-occupiers (Atkinson 2000a, 311). Four groups were selected to be rough indicators of displacement: percentage change of working class residents, private renters, elderly persons, and unskilled workers living in the three boroughs (Atkinson 2000a, 311). Further, qualitative interviews with project workers in local tenants' rights organizations were used to complement the quantitative analysis, although no interviews where conducted with displacees themselves (Atkinson 2000a, 314).

The recent American studies (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004) referred to above have led to ambiguous results. Thus, they conclude: "The primary mechanism seems to be normal housing succession; when rental units become vacant in gentrifying neighbourhoods, they are more likely to be leased by middle-income households" (Freeman and Braconi 2002, 4). One could however, obviously take issue with the use of the term 'normal' to describe the process of inner-city housing filtering-up to higher income groups. Atkinson was thus led to conclude that: "The difficulties of directly quantifying the amount of displacement and replacement and other noise in the data are hard to overcome. It may be that further research at a finer spatial scale using a more qualitative approach could usefully supplement this work" (Atkinson 2000a, 163).

Some researchers have adopted more qualitative approaches to explore direct displacement due to urban renewal and urban transportation projects and its effects upon residents (Young and Willmott 1957; Gans 1959; Joyce 1963; Fried 1965, 1966; Blondin 1967; Carr 1994). Methods employed in such studies include: formal and informal interviews; participant observation in varied contexts including within the tenants' coalitions and demonstrations with tenants; as well as serving on various committees as a liaison with city officials, housing advocacy groups, lawyers etc.

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Chester Hartman makes a particularly poignant critique of urban renewal generally and the amount of effort invested in rehousing those whose housing conditions are deemed unsatisfactory:

> With few exceptions, relocation in this country has not been a rehousing effort (…) In city after city, one sees that the great amount of time and effort spent in investigating and condemning housing conditions in the slums that local authorities wish to tear down is in no sense matched by corresponding public and professional interest in the fate of displaced families once they have been dislodged (Hartman 1966, 321).

Similar critiques can be levied against such urban transportation projects, as historically very little effort has been put into assuring that such projects for the 'public good' actually amount to assuring that those displaced are rehoused in a satisfactory manner, or that their basic needs are met more generally. Overall, little detailed information exists of residents' experience of forced mobility in their own words or on their own terms.

Recently, some authors have asserted that the absence of a 'reliable' (i.e. quantitative) evidence base on gentrification-induced-displacement has meant no policy to address it (Slater 2006, 748). Indeed, such a claim echoes Hartman's (1979) aforementioned call to action regarding displacement 30 years earlier. Further, Slater (2006) points out that in a huge literature on gentrification, there are still almost no qualitative accounts of displacement, and further, that such accounts are vital if the literature is to return to a critical stance focused on social justice (Slater 2006, 749). Allen (2008) argues that what is needed is to assign legitimacy and authority to the marginalized voices who have direct experience of gentrification and who are seldom heard or listened to (Allen 2008, 180). Wacquant (2008) argues that the eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research is emblematic of a broader process of rendering the working-class invisible in both the public sphere and social inquiry, which has taken place in the last two decades. This tendency is reinforced by what he terms 'the growing heteronomy of urban research,' whereby urban research has become increasingly tethered to the concerns of city-rulers and uprooted from self-defined and self-motivated theoretical agendas:

> And both tendencies in turn reveal, confirm and abet the shifting role of the state from provider of social support for lower-income populations to supplier of business services and amenities for middle and upper class urbanites, chief among them cleansing of the built environment from the physical and human detritus wrought by economic deregulation and welfare retrenchment so as to make the city into a pleasant site of and for bourgeois consumption (Wacquant 2008, 199).

In the view of [Atkinson 2000b; Slater 2006; Allen 2008], future research exploring direct displacement (whether induced by gentrification or by expropriation for urban infrastructure) should adopt qualitative approaches so as to explore and privilege the voices of those with direct experience of such neighbourhood changes in order to nuance existing knowledge.

1.8.1 Gaps in existing knowledge on indirect displacement:

Until recently, indirect displacement (in its various forms) had received scant attention in the literature. The methods used to explore indirect displacement include: interviews; documentary work to highlight changes in commercial and social service provision (Lehman-Frisch 2002; Davidson and Lees 2010); descriptive statistics from the most recent census; consultation of planning and research reports; field observations; and non-participant observation at neighbourhood meetings (Lehman-Frisch 2002, 2008; Atkinson 2000c; Millard-Ball 2002; Pashup-Graham 2003; Freeman 2006).

Recently there has been renewed interest in forms of indirect displacement such as social displacement and exclusionary displacement. This is the case because as aforementioned, gentrification is taking on increasingly diverse forms such as new-build gentrification (which will either take place as infill development or as the creation of entire neighbourhoods on brownfield sites). In such cases, developers and municipal governments alike argue that displacement will not occur, as these developments create new additional housing units rather than rehabilitating existing housing, as was the case with traditional gentrification. However, others argue that displacement may still occur, but it will be 'indirect' (Davidson and Lees, 2004). While there is a growing body of literature exploring 'indirect' displacement in both the U.S. and Europe, there is a total dearth of research on indirect displacement in the Canadian context. For example, Rose (1996) argues that little research exists that explores the perceptions of gentrifiers held by existing residents. "At what point, and how, for example, does a neighbourhood become 'culturally appropriated' by one group so that another no longer feels at home there even if they can still afford to live there?" (Rose 1996, 159). While Lehman-Frisch (2008) answers this call to some degree, there is a need for more case study work on this question, in particular in Canadian cities.

With regard to exclusionary displacement, Millard-Ball concludes based on his Swedish study: "the underlying principle here can almost certainly be translated to other situations; gentrification has a direct impact on housing supply, increasing the quantity available to the affluent and, in most cases, reducing the opportunities available to the poor" (Millard-Ball 2002, 853). Similarly, in the case of New York City, Freeman and Braconi argue: "Only indirectly, by

gradually shrinking the pool of low-rent housing, does the reurbanization of the middle-class appear to harm the interests of the poor" (Freeman and Braconi 2002, 4). However, more empirical investigations of exclusionary displacement are needed in order to verify to what degree this is a generalizable finding. Indeed in response to Slater (2006), Shaw (2008) argues that in light of new-build gentrification there should be renewed interest in exploring exclusionary displacement, as while such developments do not involve direct displacement, the transition to more affluent users is in fact exclusionary.

1.9 **Synthesis:**

This chapter has reviewed the literature on urban economic restructuring in order to highlight the ongoing link between the use of mega-projects as a catalyst for wider economic development and resident displacement. Moreover, it has explored the links between economic development policy and housing policy in Montréal in order to highlight that it provides a ripe opportunity for a case study of the intersections of mega-project development, gentrification and displacement. Resident displacement is not a new phenomenon, but rather has been a consistent feature of inner city urban life throughout the different phases of capitalist urbanization. Since the fiscal crisis of the 1970s, cities have shifted governance strategies towards 'urban entrepreneurialism' in order to attract investment in inner cities. Cities have combined different economic development approaches in order to increase their inter-urban competitiveness. Most pertinent here are strategies aimed at promoting cities as centres of tertiary employment and as centres of consumption.

Research into forced relocation caused by urban renewal and urban transportation projects in an earlier phase of urban restructuring (1950s-1960s) revealed that displacement causes significant hardship for relocatees, a challenge that has not been overcome in the contemporary city. Several scholars have argued that the specific trajectories of neighbourhood change are linked to local contexts and thus further research will have to grapple with particular 'geographies of gentrification' (Shaw 2005; Lees 2000). While research attempting to quantitatively measure direct displacement caused by gentrification has led to ambiguous results, numerous researchers have called for the need to glean a better understanding of the effects of gentrification on existing residents through the use of more qualitative approaches. Further, due to the fact that gentrification is taking increasingly diverse forms (i.e. 'new-build gentrification'), there is a renewed interest in exploring the diverse forms of indirect displacement as it is argued that while this does not directly displace existing residents, there is a need for research to explore whether such adjacent developments have lasting impacts on

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their neighbouring communities, and what the nature of those impacts might be. Last, research exploring the intersection of gentrification and displacement related to mega-projects suggests that such projects are often used to kick-start the redevelopment of adjacent areas. However, certain types of mega-projects are more likely to stimulate gentrification of adjacent areas. In Montréal, the clustering of public and para-public infrastructure has been a key factor in encouraging gentrification of inner city areas. Policy makers sought to encourage economic revival through simultaneously entrenching professional tertiary employment opportunities in the inner city and providing policy support for making inner city neighbourhoods more attractive to those same workers. Thus, the likelihood that the insertion of a mega-hospital on a former brownfield will cause gentrification of adjacent areas seems high. Increasingly, however, mega-projects seem to offer unique opportunities for community groups to negotiate to assure that concrete community benefits arise for the neighbouring communities, due in part to the high-profile nature of such projects.

CHAPTER 2   THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND SENSE(S) OF PLACE

This chapter has two aims. First, it will explore the urban sociological literature that focuses on the significance of the neighbourhood for different groups. My thesis hopes to uncover the thoughts, perceptions and challenges faced by long-term residents in light of neighbourhood change. Such an exploration however, must be situated in an understanding of the broader debates surrounding the neighbourhood as a social space. If the neighbourhood is not of particular importance in residents' lives, then displacement, be it in direct or indirect forms, is of no consequence. This section begins by briefly outlining some of the 'classic' ideas surrounding the neighbourhood and social networks, followed by a brief discussion of the 'community' question. Next, discussion turns to debates surrounding the significance of the neighbourhood according to salient dimensions, namely social class and generational status. The second aim of this chapter is to introduce some of the basic concepts from the urban geographical 'sense of place' literature which explores the often contesting 'sense(s)' of place held by incumbent and incoming residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

2.1   Classic Ideas on Neighbourhoods and Social Networks:

Early urban sociology was preoccupied with the consequences of the industrial revolution and the growth of the industrial city in Western nations. The implicit understanding behind these early explorations was that due to rapid rural/urban migration in search of employment opportunities, the nature of social ties and networks of urban dwellers was qualitatively different than those of the rural communities from which migrants had arrived. Ferdinand Tönnies (1957 [1887]) argued that in rural areas, social order was based upon multi-stranded social ties, such that rural dwellers knew each other in a range of roles – as parents, neighbours, co-workers, friends, kin etc. However, in the context of urban neighbourhoods, residents lived in *gesellchaft* (or association), knowing each other only in single-stranded ties (i.e. knowing each other only in single specialized roles such as a neighbour or as a co-worker etc.) These *gesellchaft* relations were more instrumental, calculating and contractual when compared to the *gemeinschaft* relations that characterized rural areas. The implicit assumption underlying this conception of rural versus urban social ties was that the birth of the industrial city manifested a 'decline in community', which has been a pervasive theme in urban sociology.

Georg Simmel sought to understand the changes wrought by the industrial revolution, such as the indifference urban dwellers showed each other in the streets, and to explain the

adaptations of the individual personality and psychology that helped city dwellers adapt to external conditions beyond their control (Simmel 1900, 409). The key concept used to explain this adaptation is that of the 'blasé attitude' (Simmel 1900, 414), a state of mind that results from the constant and contrasting stimulations of the nerves that the individual experiences in the city. "An incapacity thus emerges to react to new sensations with the appropriate energy. This constitutes the blasé attitude which, in fact, every metropolitan child shows when compared with children of quieter and less changeable milieus" (Simmel 1900, 414).

Simmel concluded that the city liberates the individual, in the sense that one is no longer subject to small town pressure towards conformity with the larger group. In the city, the citizen experiences extreme physical proximity to others, while at the same time feeling distance in terms of anonymity and freedom when compared to more rural settings. Further, the social relations engendered by the 'blasé attitude' were a reflection of the capitalist economy: they were both impersonal and neutral (Bridge 2002, 4).

However, subsequent urban sociologists questioned the idea that social ties in urban neighbourhoods were disappearing into the mass of industrial capitalist society, thus becoming more specialized and less rich. A number of studies highlighted the significance of the neighbourhood for working-class or ethnic communities and the latter's role in sustaining rich ties in urban neighbourhoods. For instance, Louis Wirth explored the Jewish ghetto in Chicago in order to understand its role in the integration of Jewish migrants into American society. Wirth invokes the concept of urban ecology, borrowed from the Chicago School. More specifically, he draws on Burgess's (1926) idea of succession, that within a city there is a natural evolution through which expansion occurs outwards, characterized by the tendency of the inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone, similar to plant ecology (Burgess 1926 [1967], 56). Second, he argues that the segregation of different cultural groups in the city is a natural phenomenon, which may serve a distinct purpose such as helping the integration of new immigrants. Wirth employs the concept of the ghetto both as a mentality and as an institutional space that defines social relations. The process of ghetto formation is cyclical, as the new Jewish immigrant arrives in the ghetto, tires of it and seeks to integrate into gentile society, but later suffers racism and discrimination and thus returns to the ghetto radicalized (Wirth 1998 [1928], 269). Nonetheless, this work represents a departure from the 'community lost' (Tönnies (1957 [1887]) assumption, instead exploring how the social ties developed in the ghetto enable the new Jewish immigrant to integrate (albeit in a limited fashion) into Chicago society. Similarly, Herbert Gans (1962) explored the role of the neighbourhood in the lives of Italian immigrants in

Boston and concluded that these spatially segregated ethnic communities constituted 'ethnic villages.'

More recent work has explored neighbourhoods, networks and social ties in contemporary urban settings. Wellman and Leighton (1979) sought to address the 'community' question: "the study of how the large-scale divisions of labour in social systems affect the organization and content of interpersonal ties" (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 365). A common trend in Anglophone urban sociological research at the time (and to some degree still to this day) is to conflate neighbourhood and community and treat these terms as interchangeable synonyms. Davies and Herbert (1993) argue:

> Community is … related to the term 'neighbourhood' for which it is sometimes used as a synonym. However, usually neighbourhood is much more restricted in spatial dimensions. It relates to the area around the residence within which people engage in neighbouring, which is usually viewed as a set of informal, face-to-face interactions based on residential proximity (Davies and Herbert 1993, 1).

So while some Anglophone literature treats neighbourhood and community interchangeably, neighbourhood usually connotes spatial dimensions that are not necessarily implicit in the concept of community. However, some have suggested that community tends to be used to refer to spatial concentrations of poor black or ethnically mixed populations, while neighbourhood tends to refer to poor white populations (Cowan 2005, 78). This author however, does not offer any insight into how to describe non-poor neighbourhood-based communities. Members of oppressed groups often use the term "community" to refer to their own group, such as the African American community or the gay and lesbian community, thus not only describing a social group but also communicating a political ideal and a politics of identity. In this usage locality does not necessarily play a significant role in identifying the group. "Rather the term community appeals to a sort of shared identity that transcends geography and a common experience that unites strangers" (Caves 2005, 83). In fact, equating neighbourhood and community does the reverse i.e. geography as common experience transcending class differences within the neighbourhood. As such, there is significant conceptual ambiguity surrounding these two terms.

This links with research that has explored neighbourhood heterogeneity, such as Gans (1961), which revealed that there was not necessarily a connection between spatial proximity and social proximity. Planned heterogeneity is defined as the idea of planning to create a mix of ages, social, cultural and economic groups in a particular residential area. The assumption is that such a mixing will be mutually beneficial for all those involved. However, a quick survey of

the available literature led Gans to problematize this notion. A key consideration for Gans was that of scale. At the scale of the wider neighbourhood there is little room for doubt or questioning as to whether heterogeneity is a desirable end. However, heterogeneity at the scale of a single building or block is not likely to achieve the desired outcomes and may be resented by residents (Gans 1961, 181). Gans concludes:

> A mixing of all ages and class groups is likely to produce at best a polite but cool social climate, lacking the consensus and intensity of relations that is necessary for mutual enrichment. Instances of conflict are as probable as those of cooperation (Gans 1961, 177).

Other studies, such as the classic French study by Chamboredon and Lemaire (1970) have confirmed Gans's position. Thus, past research would seem to suggest that in fact neighbourhood does not equal community.

More recent research exploring the outcomes of planned social mix in Montréal has reached similar conclusions. Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard (1997) begin by highlighting that many of the assumptions underlying this concept are questionable. For example, the argument that exposure for low-income residents to higher income groups will somehow increase their life chances has been questioned, as micro-scale social mix has been shown to exacerbate social differences rather than promote 'egalitarian' attitudes (Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard 1997, 2). Further, the assumption that physical proximity will enable social proximity has been shown to be true only in so far as social proximity has been previously 'filtered', i.e. it will only occur with others that are perceived as close in status to oneself (Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard 1997, 2).

Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard studied two different municipally planned social mix projects in Montréal and reached the following conclusions: first, echoing Gans (1961), the scale at which social mix is to be carried out is of crucial importance. Second, there must be a clearly understandable variety of spaces ranging from private, semi-public, public etc. in order that residents can be free to either stay with likeminded people or mingle with 'other' people. Third, contrary to popular belief, social mix in terms of interaction between different groups cannot be dictated or programmed, but rather, it can only be facilitated through urban design (Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard 1997, 30). Research on the lived experience of social mix tends to lead to the conclusion that many of the supposed benefits of mixed neighbourhoods are far from being verifiable.

Wellman and Leighton (1979) unpack the concept of 'community,' and define it in the following terms: a 'community' has three key ingredients: a network of inter-personal ties

(outside the household) that provide both sociability and support; a common place of residence; and solidarity sentiments and activities (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 365).

The authors identify three basic community forms in terms of the structure of social ties within them. First, is the *community lost*, where both communities and social ties within them have been weakened by the transformation of Western society towards increasingly bureaucratic centralized forms of management. In the community lost: urbanites are limited members of several social networks; primary ties are narrowly defined, weak in intensity, fragmented, sparsely knit and loosely bounded; with little solidary activities or sentiments and difficulty in mobilizing resources (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 370). Second, the *community saved*: in which the centralizing tendencies of bureaucratic institutions have instead encouraged the maintenance of primary ties as more flexible sources of sociability and support. In saved communities residents are heavily involved in a single neighbourhood-based community; there are multiple strands of relationships between members; neighbourhood ties are organized into extensive networks and are tightly bound; and are characterized by a large amount of solidary activities and sentiments; and the structure of their networks facilitate community mobilization when the need arises (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 374). Last, is the '*community liberated*,' in which the neighbourhood-based community is not necessarily seen as a supportive haven. Instead, residents have the ability to mobilize networks and create them anew where they do not already exist, in order that urbanites might find supportive places (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 379). Thus, according to Wellman and Leighton, in the contemporary world the importance of the neighbourhood would seem to be diminishing, as social networks are increasingly being 'liberated' from neighbourhood spaces. This point is open to question however. Numerous authors assert that certain groups have greater reliance upon the neighbourhood, depending for instance upon one's economic class, generational status, or status as a recent immigrant (Bridge 1994; Fortin 1998; Rose et al. 1998).

2.2 Social class and the significance of neighbourhood :

2.2.1 Social class and social networks :

For low-income groups, the neighbourhood holds greater importance because residents' social networks are more locally-based. This is intensified through what geographers have termed 'spatial captivity' whereby low-income people's daily activity spaces are bounded by available finances, poor public transit, and other restrictions on personal mobility. Additionally, they experience less choice of residential location. Mark Granovetter's (1973) work "The

Strength of Weak Ties," demonstrated that in certain endeavours (such as looking for employment), having networks of weak ties (acquaintances) can have important functions that cannot be served by 'strong ties.' For example, an individual who has only strong ties (and thus not many acquaintances or weak ties) when searching for employment will only have access to information from his densely knit network of close friends. However, an individual that has many 'weak ties' will actually be able to have much wider access to information regarding job opportunities because each 'weak tie' or acquaintance he has, belongs to a different network of strong ties. As such, weak ties far from being trivial acquaintances, essentially serve a '*bridging*' function between networks of close friends (Granovetter 1983, 202). However, living for numerous years in a neighbourhood characterized by strong ties in the context of a high concentration of poverty may constitute in certain cases a barrier to weaving a network of weak ties that serve the 'bridging' function towards resources which encourage social mobility (Rose and Séguin 2006, 224).

The finding that lower income groups tend to have more locally based networks (compared to more affluent groups whose networks are less spatially based) is complemented by the work of Andrée Fortin, which explored social networks in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Québec City. Again, lower income groups tended to have a more local network, while upper-income groups' social networks had greater geographic range (Fortin 1988, 149). In the formation of new social networks, especially those not based on direct family, space and place play a fundamental role. It is in the immediate neighbourhood that both parents and children make new friends (Fortin 1988, 150). For women in particular, the space of daily life is confined through their gendered responsibilities for family care and the demands this places on their time (Fortin 1988, 150; Bridge 1994, 46). Further, neighbourhood-based community spaces (such as housing cooperatives) are particularly favourable for the blooming of new networks not based on kinship. Lastly, despite the presence of multiple types of networks on the same territory, each network had a tendency to be ignorant of each other's existence (Fortin 1988, 151). Henning and Lieberg (1996) conducted extensive network analysis in Sweden and concluded that the neighbourhood tends to be more important for blue-collar workers than for white-collar workers in terms of the relative importance of weak ties. Further, white-collar workers tended to have a more comprehensive network. Similarly, in a study of nine neighbourhoods in five French cities, Authier (2005) found that women, couples with children, individuals from 40-60 years of age, people without higher education, working-class people, those collecting employment insurance and those outside the workforce, were over-represented among inhabitants that have a 'traditional' use of their neighbourhood, i.e. for whom the neighbourhood

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functions as a space where social ties are forged and maintained (Authier 2005, 215-216). These findings clearly indicate that for lower-income residents the neighbourhood is of essential importance as the primary space where networks are formed. These networks can enable bonding and mutual aid, which is of crucial importance, especially where residents lack other types of capital. The findings on the importance of the neighbourhood for middle-income groups are more ambiguous.

However, other research leads one to question to what degree this is a generalizable finding. For instance, Wellman (1979) found in the case of East York, a lower-middle class neighbourhood in Toronto, that most residents' lives were divided between memberships in multiple networks. The majority of residents simultaneously participated in both spatially bounded neighbourhood networks and more spatially diffuse 'liberated' networks (Wellman 1979, 1225). Similarly, in the case of a gentrifying neighbourhood in London, Bridge (1994) revealed that working-class residents were no more dependent on local ties than middle-class residents and that city-wide networks were typical for both groups (Bridge 1994, 46). This finding can be conceptualized in terms of what Guest (1985) proposed as an alternative to Wellman and Leighton's typology of communities "liberated," "lost," and "saved," in proposing a fourth hypothesis: the "community mediate", in which individuals maintain ties at both neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood levels. Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) contend that the concept of 'community mediate' is a fairly realistic way of describing the contemporary situation in the United States. However, they do qualify this statement by asserting that for the elderly, those outside the labour force, and the poor, the importance of neighbouring and the neighbourhood is greater in the maintenance and development of social networks (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999, 109). Ascher and Godard (1999) introduce the concept of a 'third solidarity' to describe the nature of contemporary social networks in France, which are characterized by weak ties that are fragile, variable and diversified, numerous and chosen. In this context, people experience belonging to numerous social groups (Ascher and Godard 1999, 184).

2.2.2 Social class and social capital :

In contrast with the social network literature, which has overall suggested a declining importance of the neighbourhood in the development of social networks (with important exceptions such as the elderly and marginalized groups), the development of the concept of social capital has had the effect of placing a strong emphasis on the importance of locally-based social networks and even a normative orientation to the re-creation of "community" at the neighbourhood scale.

Social capital has been defined in a variety of ways. Generally speaking, a distinction can be made between those who define social capital structurally as a characteristic of a set of relations in which individuals engage, (such as Bourdieu, 1985) or as a community matter (such as Putnam 1996). For Bourdieu, social capital is defined as: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network or more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1985, 248). According to this conception, social capital is composed of two elements: first, the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by those with whom they associate; and second, the amount and quality of those resources.

Kearns and Parkinson (2001) note that some neighbourhoods and localities (in addition to both individuals and groups) can be subject to discrimination and social exclusion as places and communities. Place-based discrimination at the neighbourhood level can have notable effects on the behaviour of residents. In response to social exclusion, residents might partake in 'mutually supportive behaviour,' in order to survive in trying conditions: the neighbourhood has often served as a arena for 'bonding' social capital that enables people to 'get by' rather than as a forum for 'bridging' social capital that enables people to 'get on' (Kearns and Parkinson 2001, 2105).

Talja Blokland conducted extensive network research in two gentrifying neighbourhoods in the U.S. and Netherlands in order to try and understand whether participation in neighbourhood organizations resulted in more local network ties for residents and more diversity within the networks themselves, with the understanding that if so, participation in neighbourhood organizations would lead to increased social capital for disadvantaged residents. However, with regards to network diversity, she concludes that:

> All in all, local networks of lower educated, lower-class minorities did not have substantial numbers of white, highly educated members. Living in a mixed neighbourhood might mean rubbing shoulders in streets and squares, but this does not result in very diverse neighbourhood networks overall (Blokland 2003, 30).

This finding substantially undermines one of the key raisons d'être behind the current widespread advocacy for socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods, i.e. that if disadvantaged residents can come into contact with more privileged residents, this might, via bridging social ties, create social capital they need in order to improve their social positions, or at least solve their immediate daily problems. Certain authors have cautioned against presuming that policies geared towards creating social mix at the neighbourhood scale in low-income neighbourhoods will have the effect of encouraging the weaving of weak ties with the potential of providing

'bridges' to more interesting employment opportunities (Rose and Séguin 2006, 224). Indeed, evaluations of programs geared at dispersing residents of large housing estates or geared towards creating a mix of tenures within such estates, have shown consistently that in the case of successful employment integration, such success is not attributable to weak ties established with middle-class neighbours (Dansereau et al. 2002, Atkinson and Kintrea 2000).

Regarding the question of how middle-class social capital could become available to lower-income residents, Blokland found that even well-intentioned middle-class residents who attempted to share their resources with the poor faced boundaries due to the huge differences in their daily lives and 'bridging' this divide proved difficult. Thus, she hypothesizes: "The gaps in life experiences, the wider stigmatization of the poor and the recognition by the poor that they have to work hard to present and maintain an image of themselves as decent and hence deserving poor makes it hard for social capital on the individual level to develop in informal relationships that originate in neighbourhood contexts" (Blokland 2002, 12). As such, future urban research needs to grapple with this question, i.e. to what degree access to increased social capital for marginalized residents is an actual as opposed to presumed outcome of increasing socio-economic mix in gentrifying inner city neighbourhoods. Moreover, Rose (2004) argues that very little is known about lived experiences of social mix in the context of new-build gentrification, where middle-class settlement happens suddenly and in an 'in your face' manner through the widespread conversion of former industrial buildings and infill development, rather than through the more incremental changes associated with traditional gentrification (Rose 2004, 284).

2.3 Generational status and the importance of the neighbourhood

As will be gleaned from the discussion that follows, some effects of place-based discrimination due to social class, are further compounded by other factors, notably age, while other effects are due to generation or age, independent of social class.

An effect of place-based discrimination at the neighbourhood level identified by Kearns and Parkinson (2001) is that it has a negative impact upon the mobility of residents, especially young people. Further research is needed in order to better understand whether this decreased mobility is due to fear and anxiety of the unknown or whether it is the result of the comforting benefits of familiarity and 'knowing one's place' (Kearns and Parkinson 2001, 2106). This contrasts with the findings of Bacqué and Sintomer (2002), who found that residents of two large housing estates in the Parisian suburbs experienced significant mobility in terms of

recreation, frequenting places beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Both adults and youth spent recreational time in Parisian public spaces and did not seem to be limited to their immediate surroundings (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002, 39). This suggests that the relationship between socio-spatial exclusion and the mobility of young people is context-specific (e.g. access to public transportation) and needs to be explored further.

Urban sociological and geographical research reveals that the local neighbourhood may hold greater importance in the lives of elderly residents. With the advancement of old age, personal geographies tend to become more restrained (Lalive D'Épinay et al. 1983; Clément and Membrado 1998; Wiles 2005). Numerous scholars have found that the neighbourhood and neighbouring retain greater importance for the elderly; while younger residents tend to develop more spatially diffuse networks (e.g. Guest and Wierzbicki 1999; Henning and Lieberg 1996). Bridge's (1994) work in a gentrifying neighbourhood in London revealed that the social networks of elderly residents tend to be more curtailed (due to loss of friends through death) and more locally bounded, especially in the case of elderly women. Fischer (1982) argues that the cost of maintaining distant relationships affects different socio-economic groups to different extents. Thus, proximity is important to the extent that distance is an unsupportable cost. This tends to be the case for the elderly (Fischer (1982) quoted in Bridge 2002) as daily activity spaces are bounded by available finances and by other restrictions on personal mobility. What geographers have termed "spatial captivity" is thus not limited to suburban residents (women especially) without access to means of transport (see e.g. Coutras 1983; Metton and Bertrand 1974) but may also affect inner-city residents such as "the poor elderly [who] may live within a very tightly packed activity space within the inner city" (Golant 1984). However, Thomese and van Tilberg's (2000) research in the Netherlands measured the relative importance of neighbouring relationships in personal networks. Bridge (2002) summarizes their conclusions in the following terms:

> There was no evidence for an increased dependence on neighbouring relationships with age or that older people have smaller neighbouring networks. Residents on lower incomes are most susceptible to the influence of variations in the neighbouring environment (Thomese and van Tilberg 2000 cited in Bridge 2002).

Thus, there is a distinct lack of consensus as to whether or not the elderly are in fact more dependent on neighbouring networks then other groups. However, the frequent combination of old age with economic marginality seems to suggest this would be the case. A recent study of the impact of gentrification on the elderly in Montréal's Petite-Patrie neighbourhood revealed that the majority of French-Canadian residents had highly dispersed social networks. However,

the recent closing of neighbourhood Golden Age Clubs and bingo halls was lamented by those with limited mobility who could not count on their families to take them elsewhere outside the neighbourhood (Lavoie et al. 2011, 71). Further investigation of the impact of gentrification on elderly residents' social networks is therefore warranted.

2.4 **Sense of Place literature :**

This section will explore briefly the geographical literature that explores "senses of place." Agnew and Duncan (1989) argue that the geographical concept of place has been defined according to different approaches, which stress separate elements rather than their complementarity. For example, economists and economic geographers have emphasized *location* exploring the spatial distribution of social and economic activities, while humanistic geographers have concerned themselves with *locale,* referring to the setting of everyday social interaction. Last, anthropologists and cultural geographers have focused on 'sense of place,' which refers to identification with a particular place caused by living in it. However, very rarely have these three aspects of place been regarded as complementary, rather, they have been understood as competing definitions of place (Agnew and Duncan 1989, 2). Nevertheless, such an endeavour is beyond the scope of the current work, which will focus on contemporary discussions around 'senses of place.'

Place is a type of object, so for example, learning to know a neighbourhood requires identification of significant landmarks within neighbourhood space. Tuan (1977) has argued that a place achieves concrete reality when we are able to experience it with all our senses. Experience constructs place at different scales.

> Common usage sanctions the application of the word "place" to phenomena that differ greatly in size and in physical character. What do the fireplace, the corner drugstore, the city, and the nation-state have in common? They are all centers of meaning to individuals and to groups (Tuan 1975, 153).

Long residence in a particular locale enables us to know a place intimately, but often in a bounded fashion. For example, our experience of place is circumscribed by our daily experiences, thus place includes our street or the shops in the neighbourhood we frequent (Tuan 1977, 1975). As such, place can be understood as a unit of 'environmental' experience, a convergence of thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of the people experiencing them (Canter 1986, 1991).

Discussions around 'sense of place' frequently mobilize two inter-related concepts: place attachment and place identity. Place attachment is often portrayed as a multifaceted concept

that characterizes the bonding between individuals and their important places (e.g., Giuliani, 2003; Low and Altman, 1992). Scannell and Gifford (2010) have argued that place attachment is a multi-dimensional concept with three main dimensions. The first dimension is the person: who is attached, to what extent is attachment to place based on individually or collectively held meanings? The second dimension is the psychological process of place attachment. The third dimension of place attachment is the object of attachment itself: what is the attachment to and what are the characteristics of this place (Scannell and Gifford 2010).

Becoming psychologically attached to place occurs in three main ways: through affect, through cognition and through behavior. Person-place bonding involves an emotional (affective) connection to a particular place. Person-place bonds are also enhanced by cognitive elements such as thoughts, perceptions, memories, beliefs and meanings that individuals associate with place. The third way in which people become psychologically attached to place is through behavioural patterns where the attachment in manifested in actions and the desire to maintain proximity to important places (Scannell and Gifford 2010).

Place identity has been described as the individual's incorporation of place into the larger concept of self; a "potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings (Proshansky et al 1983)."

> By place identity we mean those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural skills relevant to this environment (Proshansky 1978, 155)

As such, place identity is another aspect of identity similar to social identity that describes an individual's socialization with the physical world.

The term 'sense of place' is used to emphasize that places are significant because they are the focus of personal feelings. Places are infused with meanings and feelings by those who inhabit or experience them (Rose 1995, 88). Location is not enough to create sense of place in itself; it emerges from involvement between people and between people and place (Pretty et al. 2003). In this sense, places are created by people (individuals and groups) and there is thus a need to think also about the connection between people and place by thinking about identity. Rose (1995) defines identity in the following fashion: "identity - in terms of discussions around sense of place - means lived experiences and subjective feeling associated with everyday consciousness, but also suggests that such experiences and feelings are embedded in wider sets of social relations (Rose 1995, 88)." As such, all places are interpreted from particular social positions and for particular social reasons and 'senses of place' are expressed and

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articulated through processes of representation (Rose 1995, 89). Ortiz et al. (2004) conclude that one's perception of urban change and sense of place, as well as uses of public space, are heavily conditioned by age, gender and socio-cultural background (Ortiz et al. 2004, 225). Thus, 'senses of place' are inextricably bound into social power relations and the most obvious example of the way power relations can structure the 'senses of place' associated with a particular setting is in a case where one 'sense of place' becomes so dominant that it obscures other understandings about the same place (Rose 1995, 100). It is here that the link between the 'sense of place' literature and the historic struggles in neighbourhoods that underwent urban renewal, or the current struggles taking place in gentrifying neighbourhoods becomes clear.

Contesting senses of place in neighbourhoods undergoing change is a dynamic that has been observed in historic cases of forced relocation due to urban renewal. For example, the Melamed et al. (1984) study of the effects of forced relocation in Montréal highlighted the differing senses of place held by an incumbent resident and that of city elites pushing the project forward. The resident invoked the fact that he had lived his entire 70 years within two blocks in the Centre-Sud neighbourhood and that this should prove his attachment to the neighbourhood and that it is worthy of preservation: "I find it hard to understand why they fix up Old Montréal around the Château de Ramezay, while they level such picturesque sections as our two lovely parishes in Faubourg Québec" (*Le Petit Journal* 1960 quoted in Melamed 1984). In sharp contrast, an editorialist in *Le Devoir* stated: "one finds very few buildings of any value there, mostly slums with a few shabby stores. There is no vestige of history, no piece of architecture worth saving. It is a neighbourhood of working-class housing, which has become unhealthy over time. Therefore in the name of public hygiene, good moral standards and policing it deserves to be cleared away" (*Le Devoir* 1960 quoted in Melamed 1984). Here the dominant sense of place put forward by city officials and elites casts current uses of the area as wasteful at best, harmful to public safety at worst. Due to constellations of power at play such dominant conceptions of sense of place successfully obscured other understandings of sense of place held by more marginal actors within the neighbourhood.

Blomley (2004) explores the contesting 'senses of place' at play in the Downtown Eastside (DES), in Vancouver. The dominant narrative of sense of place in the DES is that put forth by city officials and developers who wish to re-envision and redevelop that part of the city towards their own ends. Since World War Two, the DES has been labelled and represented as Vancouver's Skid Row, as a hub of disease, deviance and crime. The 'dominant' narrative of property and its attendant dogma of 'highest and best use' manifests itself in gentrification

processes through the conversion of low-income housing into up-scale 'yuppie' lofts, such evolution being depicted in the media not only as: "part of the 'natural' evolution of the area, but actively embraced as marking an 'improvement' or 'revitalization' of formerly 'depressed' or 'wasted' areas"(Blomley 2004, 86).

This dominant 'sense of place' contrasts vividly with that held by local residents who counter this representation by linking their marginalization to wider economic and political processes such as welfare policy and the housing market, while at the same time asserting a sense of place that is rooted in the strong sense of community present in the neighbourhood (Blomley 2004, 35). Further, neighbourhood residents construct their sense of place through invoking the history of the neighbourhood and the struggles that have taken place there.[1] Such landscapes serve to map out a politicized claim to place (Blomley 2004, 60). Ley and Dobson (2008) argue that in the case of the Downtown Eastside, the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA) tirelessly challenged the dominant discourse of the DES as skidrow, with the language of community. "It is our thesis that local need and local activism together have created a moral culture in the Downtown Eastside legitimating sustained public involvement despite active forces promoting gentrification" (Ley and Dobson 2008, 2486). Thus, what is at stake in trying to put forward one's 'sense of place' as the dominant representation, is to rival contesting claims to define the meaning of places and, thereby, rights to control their use or future (Jess and Massey 1995, 134). This contestation is a process, not an occasional battle; it occurs constantly and at all geographical scales (Jess and Massey 1995, 172).

Martin (2005) recalls Zukin's (1991) work on the symbolic dimensions of gentrification and argues that such a re-imaging represents a violent imposition of a dominant perspective of place (Martin 2005, 67). However, for Martin, these studies of shifting 'local' cultures in gentrifying neighbourhoods often lack direct accounts of the attitudes of the actors involved towards these changes, particularly the subordinate populations whose neighbourhoods are being symbolically and materially overhauled (Martin 2005, 67). Towards this end, Martin (2005) undertakes a case study of a rapidly gentrifying London neighbourhood, Notting Hill, in order to undertake a qualitative investigation of the place-meanings held by marginal populations. However, his

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[1] For example, Solheim Place (a social housing project in the DES) takes its namesake from Olaf Solheim and in so doing invokes the narrative of ex-logger who lived in same Single Room Occupancy hotel in the DES for 30 years before being displaced for Expo '86. Solheim died soon after and the narrative thus combines the image of a retired resource worker, a heartless landlord looking to turn a quick profit and attachment to place, i.e. that one is decoupled from their 'home landscape' at a cost, remembering Solheim as a martyr to displacement and as an expression of resistance and local ownership (Blomley 2004, 52-60).

results indicate that while working-class residents did possess an attachment to the area, their symbolic landscapes were mostly associated with material concerns, such as convenience for shopping or the quality of local facilities. As a result, Martin disputes the emphasis on the significance of symbolism in neighbourhood change for working-class people in the literature, suggesting instead that attachment to symbolic meanings of place is more of a middle-class preoccupation (Martin 2005, 85). This is complemented by the work of Benali (2005) whose extensive review of the literature on neighbourhood revitalization found that symbolic investment by the middle-class can be a driving force its behind success. For members of the middle-class, reinvesting in historic inner-city neighbourhoods can represent a protest against cultural uniformity and standardization, in some cases representing an aspiration to rediscover one's roots or origins (Benali 2005, 14). The presence of middle-class social groups ready to reinvest will have an impact on the identity of the neighbourhood whereby the appropriation and occupation of 'historic' buildings by the elite causes the 'historic' built form to acquire a symbolic dimension for the middle-classes (Benali 2005, 16). However, such debates are further complicated by the work of May (1996) who found that in the case of another diverse gentrifying London neighbourhood, Stoke Newington, racialized identities overlaying class-based local senses of place meant that white working-class residents simultaneously welcomed gentrification (as at least it kept the area 'white'), while at the same time understanding that such processes undermined a local identity which was threatened by the infiltration of a local heritage movement (May 1996, 210).

Catungal et al. (2009) examined the role of place-making strategies in constructing Liberty Village, a cultural industry precinct in inner city Toronto and the successive waves of displacement this process entailed. Displacement affected a wider range of actors than in the case of traditional gentrification, whereby not only working-class residents were displaced, but further, traditional manufacturing land uses as well as members of the creative class such as artists, photographers and arts organizations (Catungal et al. 2009, 1099). In the place-making strategy, Liberty Village (an emerging creative space) stands in stark opposition to its adjacent neighbourhood, Parkdale (which epitomizes a space of degeneracy). The local Business Improvement Association contracted a private security firm to help keep out the 'unruly' elements in the surrounding area. Again, here we see a dominant group creating and promoting a 'sense of place' that legitimates it's own existence, at the expense of incumbent communities.

Billig (2005) explored contesting 'senses of place' between in-coming and long-term residents in neighbourhoods undergoing urban revitalization in the city of Ramut Gan, Israel.

Her research revealed that a neighbourhood containing a variety of population groups or a variety of building types in different areas will also have different senses of place in different parts of the neighbourhood (Billig 2005, 127). Rather than focusing on contesting narratives of sense of place *per se*, Billig instead explores the role of planning interventions at the micro-scale in creating distinctive 'senses of place.'

Another key theme in contemporary research on 'sense of place' is the degree to which residents of a particular locale can simultaneously identify with multiple locales of different scales, i.e. ranging from the dwelling place to the 'community' to the region (Cuba and Hammon, 1993). Notice the aforementioned ambiguity surrounding the concepts of neighbourhood and community, which are here used interchangeably! Cuba and Hammon (1993) explored this question in a case study of four Cape Cod communities and concluded that 'place identity' as expressed by 'feeling at home' was widespread and rich in its attachment to multiple locations, and complex in spatial structure. Nearly all residents interviewed expressed some sense of belonging and all three locales i.e. dwelling, community and region, contributed to this process of place identification (Cuba and Hammon 1993, 126). Further, place identities are mediated by a diverse group of social factors such as residents' interpretations of place, their experiences with place, and the demographic characteristics they bring to place (Cuba and Hammon 1993, 126).

Phillipson (2007) argues that while in the past older persons' sense of belonging to their community has been 'hedged' by ambivalence, this has changed to a clearer division between those who can choose to identify with particular locations that are consistent with their own biographies and life histories and in contrast, those who experience rejection or exclusion from their locality and who see neighbourhood change as incompatible with their own views of themselves and their peers (Phillipson 2007, 328). For instance, in neighbourhoods undergoing various forms of gentrification, social exclusion may also operate. Savage et al. (2005) explored gentrification in a Manchester neighbourhood, and found that the incumbent population were regarded by incoming residents as 'residues' from the past, indicating a deep sense of division between the long-term population and the more recent arrivals (Savage et al. 2005 cited in Phillipson 2007). But the issues of difference at play here are the combination of age and social class, where older working-class residents lack the resources to match the lifestyles of incoming middle-class residents (Phillipson 2007, 332). Phillipson concludes: "Variations in community attachments now illustrate significant inequalities within the older population: most notably between those who are able to make conscious decisions about where and with whom to live,

and those who feel marginalized and alienated by changes that have occurred in the communities in which they have 'aged in place'" (Phillipson 2007, 336).

Additionally, there has been recent scholarship that explores to what degree it is possible to still identify 'working-class' neighbourhoods in a traditional sense. Bacqué and Sintomer (2002) argue that the 'quartier populaire' is historically defined as a self-sufficient sociological community, in which workers' families are deeply rooted, working and living in the same area, sharing difficult conditions of daily life, forms of sociability and a specific culture (recall Coing (1966); see section 1.7.6). This specific culture is structured by the opposition between 'us and them', and further by a spatial division between 'here' and 'over there'. Further, it is characterized by strong locally-based ties (although Bacqué and Sintomer do not explicitly use social network theory, there are clear parallels with the scholarship that uses the network approach to characterize the spatial dimension of working-class communities). As such, the concept of the traditional working-class neighbourhood or 'quartier populaire' has both social and spatial elements (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002, 30). Bacqué and Sintomer studied housing projects on the Parisian periphery that brought together certain characteristics of traditional 'quartiers populaires', such as groups who are situated at the bottom of the social ladder and who share the same residential status (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002, 42). However, the increasing precariousness of wage society (i.e. the shift from unionized jobs to contract and service sector work) has translated into a sharpening of normal conflicts, internal cleavages and fragmentation of neighbourhood-based community life. This had repercussions in terms of the ways in which residents could identify with a specific neighbourhood-based community and assert that identification in a positive manner (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002, 42). This finding complicates our understanding of working-class neighbourhoods by highlighting the ways in which the constitution of 'disadvantaged' neighbourhoods has shifted with the transition to a post-industrial economy and the rise of precarious service sector employment. Implicit in this transition is the fact that there is no longer necessarily a resident identification with a specific place-based community as was historically the case in 'working-class' neighbourhoods. However, one needs to also be critical of the myth of the once-unified working-class in these neighbourhoods, for example with regards to differences between owners and renters within them. This is an extremely important finding in terms of the ways current questions about displacement are framed, as there is no longer necessarily a unified 'working-class', but instead multiple marginal populations which may or may not be able to mobilize collectively to resist displacement.

2.5 **Synthesis :**

In sum, there are a number of outstanding questions in both the literature exploring the significance of the neighbourhood and that investigating 'sense of place.' More specifically, there is still a need for research into the significance of the neighbourhood for different groups, in particular according to class and life stage. It is still unclear to what degree the claim that low-income people have more locally-rooted networks than higher income groups, is a generalizable finding, due in part to the different cultural contexts and city sizes from one case study to another. Further, the degree to which there is overlap between networks of existing and new residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods is still open to question. Existing research on the subject suggests that there is little, if any, overlap and thus, living in close proximity to higher income groups cannot be assumed to lead to an increase in social capital for low-income residents. This suggests that spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to social propinquity and thus 'neighbourhood' does not equate to 'community'. Further, these debates highlight the question of 'comfort levels' between old and new residents in context of gentrification (especially in the case of new-build gentrification), whether or not the mix is planned and how this might be relevant to the question of indirect displacement. A second area where there is a clear lack of consensus is regarding the significance of the neighbourhood depending on generational status. Questions remain as to whether the young and the aged are particularly vulnerable to limited mobility and further, whether the social networks of elderly residents are more spatially bounded than other groups. These debates are extremely important to understanding the benefits and threats of gentrification and highlight the particular groups that may have the most to lose in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Second, with regards to the pertinent debates surrounding 'sense of place' with particular reference to competing representations of place in gentrifying neighbourhoods, there seems to be consensus that in any given place, there will be dominant and subordinate 'senses of place,' bound to the particular constellations of power present in particular places. In some cases, incumbent residents invoke past neighbourhood struggles in order to construct a representation of place contesting that of the dominant narrative of developers, city officials or in-coming residents. However, while some authors have argued that dominant 'senses of place' are imposed upon incumbent residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods, systematic investigations of the symbolic place meanings as compared to material and instrumental dimensions of attachment (e.g. access to services) held by low-income residents have revealed that attachment to symbolic meanings of place may be more of a middle-class preoccupation. This point merits further investigation, as there is a dearth of research that explores the place

meanings held by incumbent residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Further research is also warranted in order to understand how different types of planning interventions in revitalizing neighbourhoods succeed in producing different senses of place. Lastly, is the key concern as to whether with the transition to post-industrial society we can still speak of traditional 'working-class' neighbourhoods, as resident identification with a particular neighbourhood-based community is no longer necessarily the case. This raises the question as to whether populations will be able to mobilize collectively to resist displacement to the extent that there is a lack of a common culture rooted in part in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 3   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The preceding review of the literature has highlighted a number of salient findings. The literature surrounding mega-projects (such as urban renewal and urban transportation projects) and their relationship to residential displacement has highlighted that the experience of forced mobility creates a number of challenges, from pragmatic challenges such as increased housing costs, to more intangible challenges such as the negative psychological effects of fractured of social networks. Largely absent from this vast literature are detailed qualitative accounts where residents relate the experience of displacement and its effects in their own words. The gentrification and displacement literature suggests future research exploring gentrification-induced displacement should adopt more qualitative approaches, as quantitative approaches have lead to ambiguous results, due to the difficulty of measuring displacement and distinguishing between displacement and succession. A number of authors have highlighted the need to explore and assign legitimacy and authority to the marginalized voices of residents who have direct experience of gentrification and displacement but whom are seldom heard or listened to. Further, due to the increasingly diverse forms of contemporary gentrification (such as new-build gentrification) there is a need to explore diverse forms of indirect displacement, as it is argued that such developments do not stimulate direct displacement. Further, given the frequent expectation that mega-project development will act as a catalyst for wider neighbourhood redevelopment, further research needs to grapple with the possibility of meaningful forms of community participation in guiding such developments, to ensure that such developments maximize the positive outcomes that can be accrued by their adjacent neighbourhoods.

The urban sociological literature reveals that there is a need for future research to consider the importance of the neighbourhood for different groups according to social class and life-stage. It is still unclear whether the finding that low-income people have more locally-rooted networks is generalizable. Further, the degree of overlap between the networks of existing and incoming residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods merits further investigation. Existing research suggests there is very little, if any, overlap and thus living in close proximity to higher income groups does not necessarily lead to an increase in social capital for low-income groups. Spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to social propinquity among residents, and as such, neighbourhood does not equal community. Further, the importance of the neighbourhood may differ according to life stage, and future inquiry must question to what extent the young and the aged are particularly vulnerable due to limited mobility, and whether the social networks of

elderly residents are more spatially constrained than other groups. Exploring resident experiences along these salient dimensions (social class and life stage) is extremely important, as doing so highlights the experiences of those groups that may have the most to lose in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

The 'sense of place' literature highlights that in gentrifying neighbourhoods there are often competing 'senses of place' held by long-term and incoming residents, and that such representations are linked to the particular constellations of power present in particular places. There is a need for future research to explore the place-meanings held by incumbent residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Last, there is a need to question the social and cultural homogeneity of traditional 'working-class' neighbourhoods, especially with the transition to a post-industrial society, and what implications this has in terms of 'community mobilization' to resist displacement and resident identification with a common culture rooted in the neighbourhood. Table 3.1 synthesizes the outstanding questions in need of further investigation (divided into particular sub-groups) with regards to experience of the neighbourhood and of 'sense of place' in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

My conceptual framework (see Figure 3.1-3.3) draws upon the discussion of the aforementioned literature and brings together concepts from urban geography and urban sociology in order to structure my exploration of resident experiences of displacement in a Montréal neighbourhood simultaneously undergoing both gentrification (in traditional and new-build forms) and mega-project development. The Montréal neighbourhood chosen for case study (Saint-Henri) is adjacent to three different mega-projects. First, is the Lachine Canal redevelopment (which began with its designation into a heritage site in 1997 by Parks Canada) and in the subsequent 15 years has become the site of considerable new-build development, almost exclusively geared to income groups higher than the incumbent Saint-Henri population, as well as a recreational corridor for wider use. Further, more recently two inextricably linked mega-project developments have been announced and are a varying stages of development: the construction of a mega-hospital underway since 2010 and the redevelopment of an adjacent urban expressway Interchange due primarily to premature decay of the existing structure, but also to facilitate access to the site (see Figure 4.1 below). The two different mega-projects are likely to stimulate different outcomes. The redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange will be likely to cause some direct displacement in the northern portion of Saint-Henri while the mega-hospital is likely to stimulate both traditional and new build gentrification, generating both direct and indirect displacement.

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Table 3.1: Summary of experience of neighbourhood and 'sense of place' in gentrifying neighbourhoods

Group	Experience of neighbourhood	Experience of 'sense of place'
Low-income residents	- more locally based networks? (Fortin 1998; Henning and Lieberg 1996) - access to resources and capital of more affluent neighbours? (Blokland 2002)	-common resident identification with a particular neighbourhood-based community? (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002) - place attachment associated with material concerns (Martin 2005)
Middle and high-income residents	- less spatially based networks? (Wellman 1979; Bridge 1994) - unlikely to overlap with networks of lower-income residents and transmission of social capital? (Blokland 2003)	- actively engaged in the symbolic refashioning of gentrifying neighbourhoods? (Blomley 2004) - enforce dominant narrative of property and 'highest and best use'? (Blomley 2004) - place attachment linked to symbolic meanings of place (Martin 2005; Benali 2005)
Elderly residents	- more limited mobility than other population groups? (Lalive D'Épinay et al. 1983; Clément and Membrado 1998; Wiles 2005) - more spatially bounded networks than other groups? (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999; Henning and Lieberg 1996; Bridge 1994)	- more deeply rooted sense of place depending on length of residence?
Youth	- do low-income youth experience more restricted mobility than other groups? (Bacqué and Sintomer 2002)	
Long-term renting residents	- more likely to be reliant upon neighbouring relationships than more recently arrived renters?	- more likely to assert a 'sense of place' rooted in historical community struggles? (Blomley 2004)
More recent renting residents	- less likely to have firmly rooted locally based social networks and are less reliant on neighbouring than longer established renting households? - more likely to be ambivalent if not positive about the changes taking place in the neighbourhood than longer-term renting residents?	- more likely to assert a 'sense of place' that is linked in some ways to the recent transformations of the neighbourhood?
Owners	- least vulnerable to changes wrought in gentrifying neighbourhoods, due to secure tenure? - least vulnerable to fracturing of their social networks, in part because their social networks are less geographically rooted in the neighbourhood? (Wellman 1979)	- promote dominant 'sense of place,' complicit in the symbolic refashioning of gentrifying neighbourhoods? (Blomley 2004)

The schema represented in Figure 3.1 summarizes the macro perspective of my conceptual framework. Urban revitalization since the 1970s has taken two broad forms, public-private partnerships (PPPs) and public individual partnerships (Carmon 1999). As aforementioned in section 1.3.1, PPPs usually have the underlying motive of enhancing economic growth and are a hallmark of the transition toward urban entrepreneurialism. One outcome of such partnerships is the mega-project in its various forms. Or, alternatively, the plan for the mega-project may lead to the partnership being formed. My focus is on a mega-hospital (which will be built and managed via a public-private partnership) and on a linked urban transportation infrastructure project, and their implications in terms of direct and indirect displacement.

Public-individual partnerships (see page 20-21) have taken three principal forms: gentrification, upgrading by incumbent residents and upgrading by immigrants. My focus is on gentrification, as it is this form that is most directly related to resident displacement. Gentrification-induced displacement can take both direct and indirect forms. In Québec, direct displacement due to gentrification may be somewhat limited by institutional factors that limit landlords' capacity to evict tenants, in that the Régie du logement allows repossession of the housing unit in question only if it is needed by the landlord or his immediate family.

However, the tendency toward mega-project development as a means towards revitalization of the surrounding neighbourhoods may stimulate the proliferation of new-build gentrification. Mechanisms such as fluctuations in land and property markets, which result in escalating rents in adjacent neighbourhoods, may still lead to indirect displacement among incumbent residents, as well as among small business owners. Additionally, changes in demand for local commercial services may lead to commercial gentrification in abutting areas, and may thus also lead to indirect displacement.

Figure 3.1: The relationship between urban restructuring and displacement
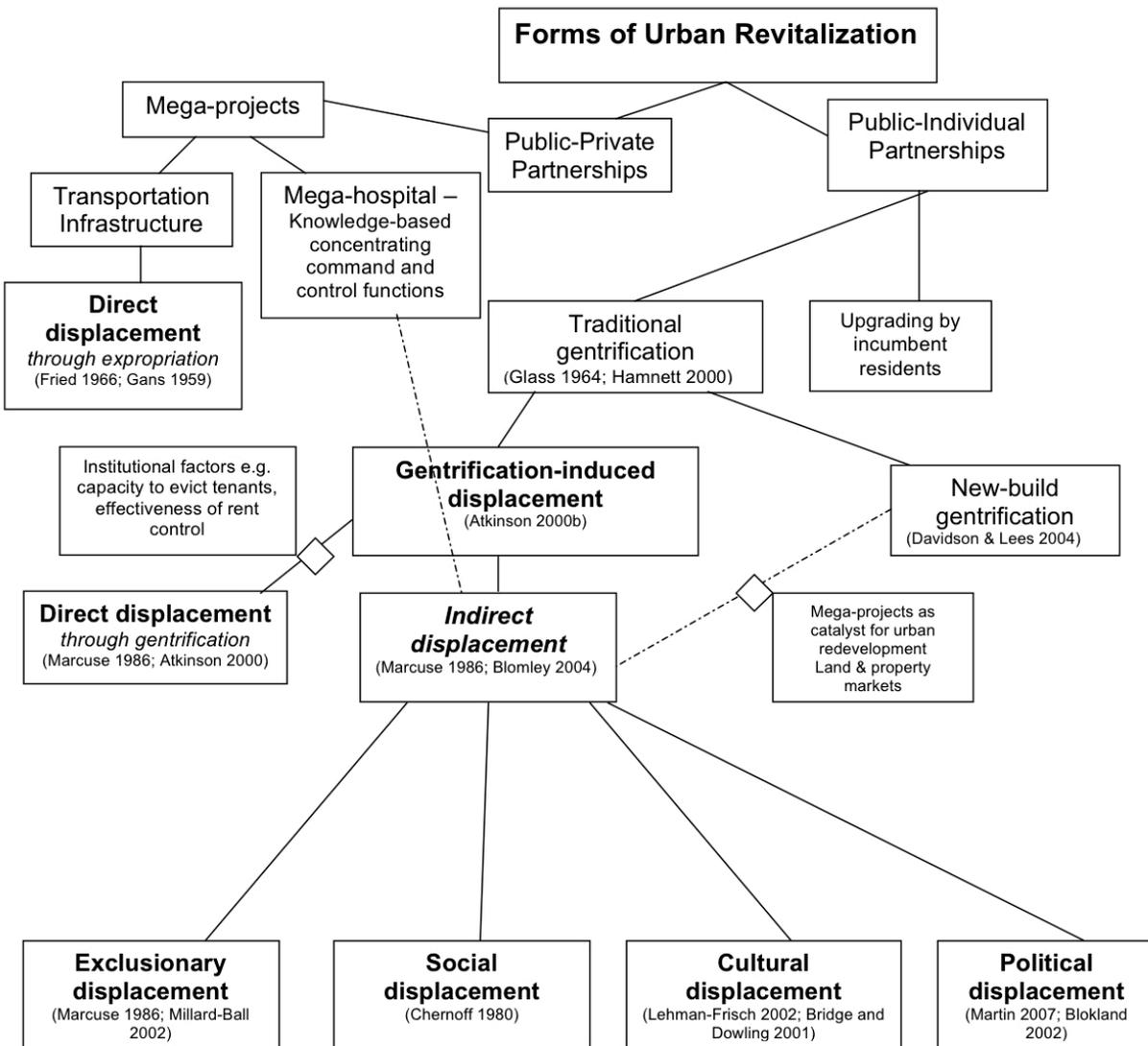
A key personal contribution thus far is the conceptual refinement and development of 'indirect' displacement (please refer to Figure 3.2 below). I have chosen to break this concept down into four types of indirect displacement: political, cultural, social and exclusionary displacement, each of which is discussed below. Additionally, I have used my extensive review of the literature on displacement (going back to the early days of urban renewal) in order to make refinements to pre-existing conceptualizations of indirect displacement. For example, through the re-examination of pivotal studies such as Coing (1966) and Blondin (1966) I have

been able to further nuance the concept of cultural displacement. Likewise, through revisiting early work on the impact of forced relocation on residents' social networks (Key 1967; Fried 1966; Gans 1959) I have further developed the concept of social displacement.

Political displacement pertains to the shifting power dynamics within neighbourhood-based community institutions/organizations and/or the creation of new such organizations by incoming residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Martin 2007). This type of indirect displacement is most likely to affect long-term renting residents. However, it is possible that exposure to middle-class social capital through mutual participation in neighbourhood-based community organizations could result in access to greater social capital for incumbent residents (Blokland 2002). My research grapples with this question, i.e. whether long-term residents are disempowered politically or feeling threatened by shifting participation within their organizations, or whether they see new residents as bringing with them new opportunities and resources that they can share and benefit from in terms of increased social capital.

Cultural displacement relates to the idea of competing cultures within gentrifying neighbourhoods between incumbent residents and gentrifiers who tend to refashion the neighbourhood in their image. I have used the broader 'sense of place' literature in order to enhance my conceptualization of cultural displacement due to gentrification. The neighbourhood thus becomes a site of contestation between competing senses of place (Rose 1995; Massey and Jess 1995; Blomley 2004; Martin 2005; Lehman-Frisch 2002, 2008). Long-term residents risk feeling as though their neighbourhood has been appropriated by others as public spaces such as neighbourhood commercial streets may begin to offer commercial services that cater more to middle or upper-income groups. The displacement of commercial and social services that cater to the incumbent population serves as one possible concrete example of cultural displacement. Low-income residents who no longer see their needs served by neighbourhood commercial services will likely be the most affected by this type of indirect displacement. Further, the elderly are likely to be particularly vulnerable due to restrictions on their mobility and daily activity spaces, which may limit their ability to access the services they require, if such services are pushed out of the neighbourhood. It is however, equally probable that long-term residents will be appreciative of better (more diverse) commercial services in their neighbourhood (Freeman 2006). Moreover, this idea of shifting 'senses of place' is equally applicable to neighbourhood public spaces such as parks, in terms of potentially conflicting uses of such areas by long-term and incoming residents. Indeed, neighbourhood public spaces can be regarded as an extension of the dwelling as residents appropriate these spaces in their daily

practices (Bélanger 2008, Rapoport 1985). Attachment to place is not static, so it is possible that as places change, one's attachment to them may also shift. Fried (2000) argues that a dynamic understanding of place must allow for exploration of how places hold meaning both through positive and negative experiences. As such, our emotional connections to place will be shaped both by negative experiences of omission as well as by positive experiences of belonging (Manzo 2003). Atkinson (2000c) revealed that in some cases the changes caused by gentrification actually had the effect of eroding some long-term residents' desire to stay in the neighbourhood.

Social displacement is more closely linked to direct displacement than are the aforementioned types of indirect displacement, as it pertains to the impact of gentrification processes upon incumbent residents' social ties and social networks. For example, it considers whether incumbent residents have friends or family in their social networks who have been directly displaced by neighbourhood changes underway and what impact gentrification has had on their neighbouring relationships, i.e. whether they have experienced a fracturing of their locally-based social networks as a result of such changes. I am equally interested in how long-term residents characterize their relationships with incoming residents as neighbours (e.g. cordial, amicable, distant, indifferent etc.). It is likely that this type of displacement will negatively affect the elderly. Further, their limited mobility suggests that hardship may result from the dislocation of social and community services upon which they previously relied. Moreover, low-income residents may also be particularly vulnerable to this type of indirect displacement, as some research (Fortin 1988; Henning and Lieberg 1996; Authier 2005) suggests their networks are more locally-based than higher income groups. In cases of fractured social networks, residents might feel loneliness or grief due to the loss of, or diminished contacts with important friends or neighbours (Fried 1966).

Last, is the concept of exclusionary displacement, which is more closely linked to the impact of neighbourhood gentrification upon the availability of affordable housing. Through mechanisms underway in gentrifying neighbourhoods, such as inflated land and property markets and the escalating rents that accompany them, neighbourhoods that were formerly accessible to low and modest-income households become inaccessible as competition from higher income groups pushes prices beyond their capacity to pay (Millard-Ball 2002). On a more concrete level, this may result in increased difficulty finding appropriate housing in a neighbourhood where one would ideally like to live. Moreover, it may lead to decreasing residential mobility as this increased competition results in fewer opportunities to move (Millard-

Ball 2002). Equally, such pressures could lead to inconvenience and frustration among residents, as they remain in unsuitable housing due to the lack of supply of affordable housing options better suited to their needs.

Figure 3.2: The mechanisms and experience of indirect displacement
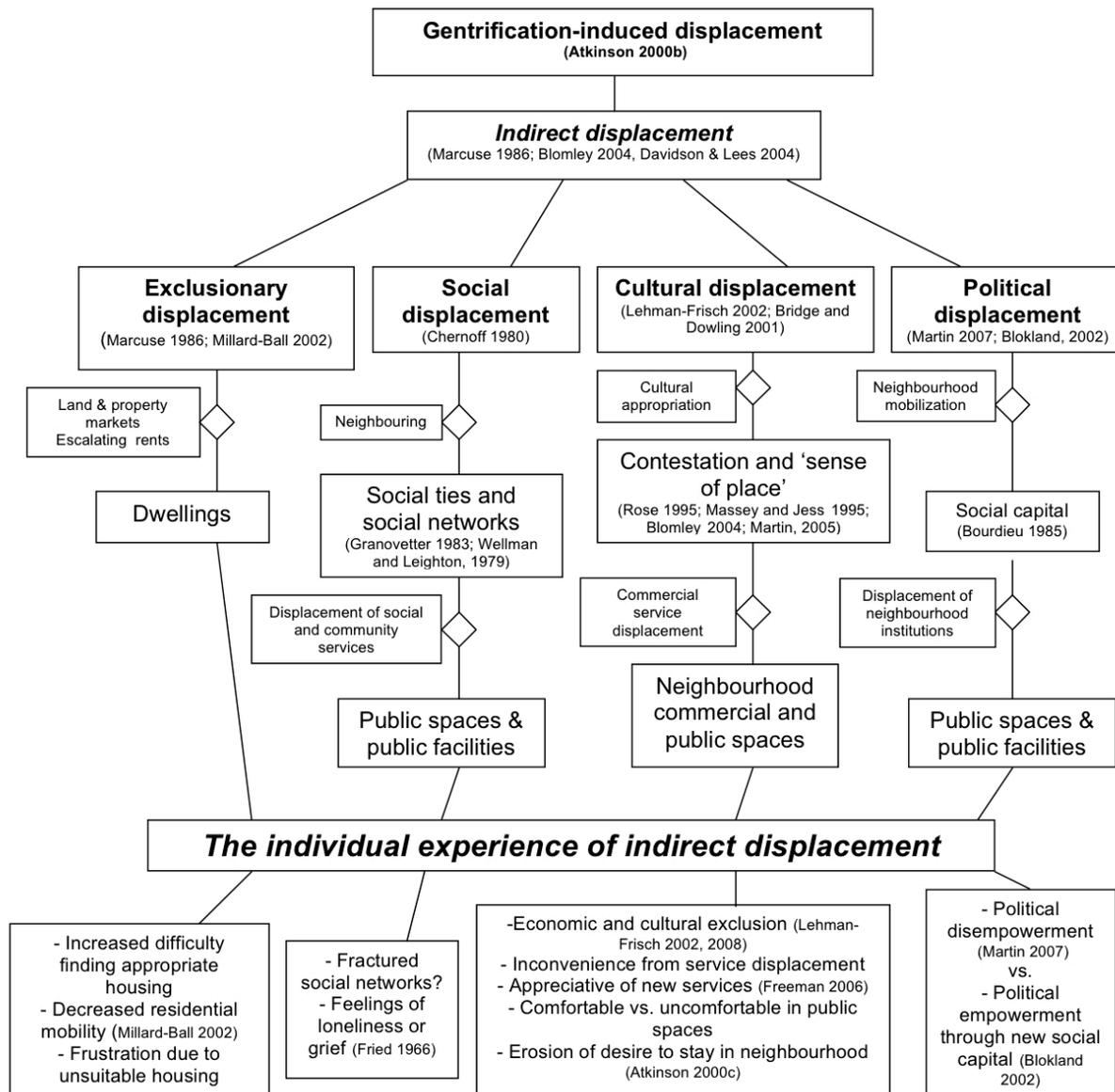
This thesis will also contribute to knowledge through exploring the experiences of residents who are living with the threat of direct displacement due to the expropriations necessary for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. As previously mentioned, in both the literature on urban renewal and gentrification there is a relatively sparse number of accounts

of the implications of such experiences in residents' own terms. The meaning of home will have direct bearing of the relative importance of the experience of displacement (see Figure 3.3). Home has been conceptualized in a number of ways. For some, home is a haven, a refuge from the outside world. Accordingly, the experience of displacement will be hard felt and could result in strong negative emotions, such as grief, anxiety or depression (Fried 1966; Key 1967; Carr 1994; Kleinhans 2003; Vandemark 2007). Further, because one's home is typically under their control, the experience of displacement might lead to feelings of loss of control or security (Després 1991). In some cases, the experience of displacement might lead to feelings of uprootedness, alienation or even loss of 'sense of self' (Després 1991; Fried 1966; Vandemark 2007). In extreme cases, displacement may result in 'root shock,' a traumatic shock reaction that results from the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem (Fullilove 2004). Moreover, depending on the process leading up to and the experience of displacement itself, residents might feel powerless or, in cases of forced relocation due to expropriation politically disempowered (Blondin 1967; Kleinhans 2003).

However, one cannot assume that everyone views his or her home in this way. Elsewhere in the literature, home has been conceptualized as a trap or prison. This applies, for example, to low-income unemployed or elderly people who are housebound and thus do not choose to be at home but are forced by other constraints. Moreover, residents slated for expropriation might feel trapped if they are too poor to be able to find other housing, referred to as the 'can't move-must move' contradiction (Carr 1994).

Furthermore, the individual experience of displacement will be tinted by more pragmatic challenges and concerns such as difficulty finding replacement housing, increased housing costs, increased net costs, decreased housing conditions or an increase in overcrowding or doubling up.

Last, the experience of displacement will be affected by the resident's experience of residential integration into their new milieu. For instance, one might feel a sense of cultural disappropriation if one's new neighbourhood is very different from where they have resided previously (Fried 1966; Coing 1966). Furthermore, they might feel isolated due to the fracturing of their locally-based social networks (Key 1967; Lavigne 1975; Lipman 1969; Young and Willmott 1957). Equally, feelings of isolation might result if they feel as though they do not fit in with their new neighbours or new neighbourhood (Kleinhans 2003).

Figure 3.3: The individual experience of direct displacement

```
┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Direct displacement    │        │  Direct displacement    │
│  through expropriation  │        │ through gentrification  │
│  (Gans 1959; Fried 1966)│        │  (Marcuse, 1986; Atkinson,│
│                         │        │         2000a)          │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
              \                      /
               \                    /
          ┌──────────────────────────────┐
          │ Individual experience of direct│
          │         displacement          │
          └──────────────────────────────┘
           /              \
          /                \              ┌──────────────────────────────┐
 ┌──────────────────┐       \             │   Pragmatic difficulties     │
 │ Meaning of home  │        \            │ associated with displacement:│
 │ for the individual│        \           │  -increased housing costs    │
 └──────────────────┘         \           │   - increased net costs      │
        /        \             \          │ -decreased housing conditions│
       /          \             \         │ -difficulty finding replacement│
┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐          │           housing            │
│ Home as trap │ │Home as haven │          │ -increase in overcrowding or │
│ - i.e. for   │ │ -grief, anxiety, stress,│          doubling up          │
│ elderly,     │ │ depression (Fried 1965, Key└──────────────────────────────┘
│ unemployed who are│ 1967, Carr 1994, Kleinhans 2003,
│ housebound (Moore│   Vandemark 2007)
│ 2000)        │ │ -loss of security or control
│ -'can't move-must│  (Després 1991)
│ move' contradiction│ -alienation, uprootedness,
│ (Carr 1994)  │ │ loss of sense of self
└──────────────┘ │ (Després 1991; Fried 1966;
                 │   Vandemark 2007)
                 │  - 'Root shock'       ┌──────────────────────────────┐
                 │  (Fullilove 2004)     │  Integration into new        │
                 │ - depending on process and│ residential milieu:        │
                 │ experience – powerlessness│ - cultural disappropriation │
                 │ or political disempowerment│ (Fried 1966; Coing 1966)   │
                 │ in cases of forced relocation│ - isolation due to fracturing of│
                 │ (Blondin 1967; Kleinhans 2003)│ social networks (Key 1967;│
                 └──────────────┘         │ Lavigne 1974; Lipman 1969;   │
                                          │   Young & Willmott 1957)     │
                                          │ - isolation due to lack of   │
                                          │ fitting in with new neighbours│
                                          │    (Kleinhans 2003)          │
                                          └──────────────────────────────┘
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CHAPTER 4   METHODOLOGY

4.1 **Contextualization**

The goal of this thesis is to investigate resident experiences of displacement (in both direct and indirect forms) in a neighbourhood that is simultaneously undergoing both gentrification (traditional and new-build forms) and mega-project development. The particular focus of this thesis will be on the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, which is wedged between the Lachine Canal redevelopment and abutting the proposed McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) and Turcot Interchange mega-projects.

Figure 4.1: Saint-Henri and environs
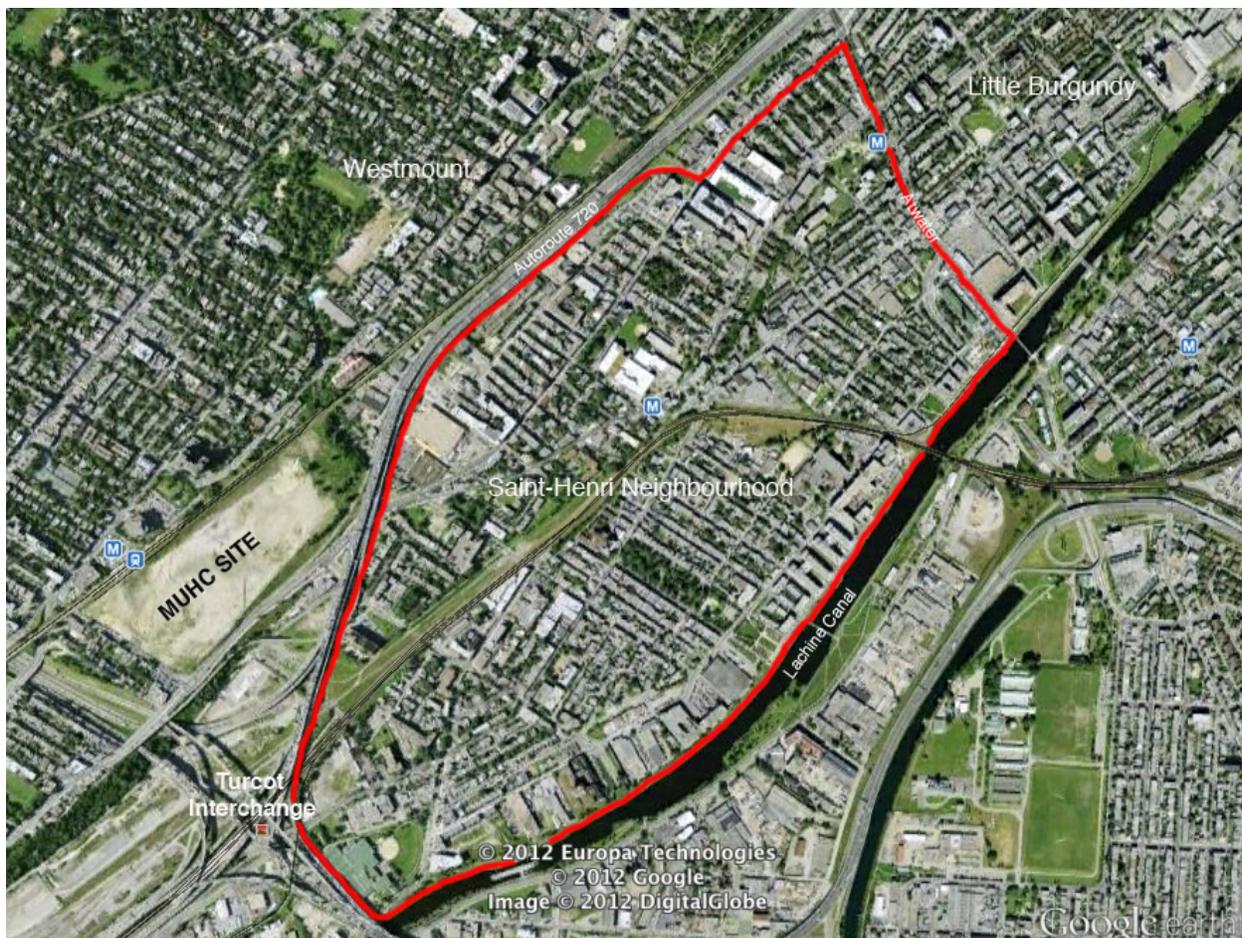
Saint-Henri is one of Canada's oldest working-class neighbourhoods, located in the South-West of Montréal. The opening of the Lachine Canal in 1826 and of Montréal's first railway, the Lachine railroad soon after, were key to its development (Blais et al. 1981, 8). Initially, tanneries were the main industry, however, after 1882, a more diverse industrial base

began to develop: from refining to textiles (Benoit 1983, 6). The industrial boom beginning in the 1890s gave way to rapid housing construction, with the majority of housing units in the neighbourhood constructed between 1890 and 1925 (Blais et al. 1981, 22).

The Saint-Henri neighbourhood is also characterized by a long history of activism. As early as 1880 workers went on strike to protest their wages and working conditions in the factories lining the banks of the Lachine Canal and by 1898 workers had achieved their first victories. Women played a prominent role in such struggles and were key leaders in early union organizing (Michaudville et al. 1972). The abysmal working conditions in the neighbourhood's factories combined with this tradition of union activism led Saint-Henri to be an ongoing site of labour unrest in subsequent decades (Michaudville et al. 1972).

As a result of deindustrialization, Saint-Henri has been losing population since the 1960s. In 1966, the population peaked with 26 699 inhabitants and declined continuously until 2001, bottoming out at 13 563 inhabitants. During the 1960s a significant portion of the Village des Tanneries neighbourhood (the north-western portion of Saint-Henri – see Figure 4.2 below) was razed and hundreds households were evicted to make way for the construction of the Autoroute 720 (Lavigne and Carlos 1974, 38). The hardships of unemployment wrought by deindustrialization combined with this longstanding tradition of activism and self-help laid the groundwork for Saint-Henri to be the birthplace of the first citizens' committees in Montréal in the early 1960s, which led to the eventual establishment of a whole array of popular institutions within the neighbourhood (Mills 2009, see also Godbout and Collin 1977, McGraw 1978, Bélanger and Lévesque 1992). Favreau (1989) categorizes Saint-Henri as a traditional 'quartier populaire' which historically had the following characteristics: a situation of relative social homogeneity; a sense of neighbourhood belonging developed more on a cultural (i.e. white French-Canadian Catholic) than socio-occupational basis; the creation of a certain type of social and cultural life; and a frame of reference of belonging to a very well-defined neighbourhood, where the neighbourhood unit dominates (Favreau 1989, 53).

However, more recently, the long-term population decline underway in the neighbourhood since the 1960s has halted. Between 2001 and 2006 there has been a 9.1% increase in population (Statistics Canada, Census 2006). Today, Saint-Henri is still a largely working-class and francophone neighbourhood, with a high percentage of single-parent families, low-income households and renters (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census). It has been changing substantially in recent years, with new condominium development along the Lachine Canal (designated a recreational corridor by Parks Canada in 1997) and widespread conversion of the former

industrial landscape into housing. To this day, the longstanding tradition of activism in the neighbourhood continues unabated. Between 2000-2007, there were 72 collective actions in Saint-Henri, the majority of which were to protest the condominium developments mushrooming up along the Lachine Canal and against plans to locate a garbage dump in the neighbourhood (Hernandez Latorre and Le Bel 2011). Between the 1996 and 2006 there was a 14.6% increase in the number of dwellings in the neighbourhood, accompanied by a 5 percentage point decrease in renters and a 5 percentage point increase in owner-occupants (Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006). A large portion (46%) of neighbourhood housing was built before 1946 and 13.2% of housing required major repairs. However, an additional 9% of the total housing units in the neighbourhood have been built between 2001 and 2006, suggesting the possibility of substantial new-build gentrification, when considered with the 4.3 percentage point increase in homeowners over the same period (Twigge-Molecey 2009, 4). This inkling of continuing traditional gentrification (based on the increase in owner-occupation and decrease in rental occupation between recent censuses) combined with recent new-build gentrification is reinforced by the recent work of the RESO (2002; 2007) which documents that between 2001 and 2005 there were sharp increases in housing prices: single-family homes in the South-West increased by 87%; triplex prices increased by 108%; condo prices increased by 89% (RESO 2007, 1). Similarly, there has been an increase in rents in the South-West, for example between 2001 and 2006 the price of both 2 and 3 bedroom apartments increased by about 30% (RESO 2007, 1). Thus, Saint-Henri has already experienced both traditional gentrification and new-build gentrification to some degree (for a much more detailed exploration of the degree of gentrification underway see Chapter 5). However, there is a relative abundance of opportunities for more new-build development on brownfield sites. As such, I expected to find residents that had experienced both gentrification-induced direct displacement and 'indirect' displacement. Additionally, there are a number of residents who are likely to be directly displaced by the expropriations necessary for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. To date there has been significant community mobilization against the current Turcot redevelopment plan. The major criticisms of citizens and community groups are: the evictions; the reduction in quality of life in the neighbourhood as the proposed structure is closer to grade thus producing more air and sound pollution in the surrounding neighbourhoods; the plan will contribute to global warming as there is no plan to reduce vehicle flows; and the new structure will constitute a significant barrier creating a wall between certain neighbourhoods in the South-West borough (Mobilisation Turcot 2008).

Table 4.1: Selected population and housing variables 1996 and 2006

	Island of Montréal	Saint-Henri	Plateau
Population (2006)	1 854 442	14 802	101 054
Population change (1996-2006)	4.4%	5.8%	1.5%
Change in number of dwellings	7.5%	14.6%	-0.8%
% owner occupied (2006)	37.9%	18.3%	26.2%
% owner occupied (1996)	34.3%	13.3%	18.5%

Thus, Saint-Henri's status as a traditional 'quartier populaire' combined with the recent increases in population, owner-occupation and the proliferation of new-build developments over the 1996-2006 time period due in part to the Lachine Canal mega-project, combined with the plans for two adjacent mega-projects (the MUHC mega-hospital and redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange) make it a ripe candidate for a detailed study of the varied meanings of displacement in low and modest income residents' lives.

4.2 Research objectives:

The objectives of the empirical component of my research were:

1) To operationalize my expanded and enhanced conceptualization of indirect displacement in fieldwork, so as to generate insight on the real and anticipated challenges faced by long-term residents in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, adjacent to the purposed MUHC/Turcot Interchange mega-project.

2) To explore the experience of direct displacement related to a mega-project in fieldwork and privilege the voices of long-term residents who will be directly displaced by the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange in order to generate insight on challenges faced by incumbent residents.

4.3 Research questions:

1. What are the meanings of displacement (caused by both urban renewal and gentrification) from the perspective of long-term residents living in rental housing in a working-class neighbourhood (Saint-Henri) in Montréal which is simultaneously experiencing a variety of processes likely to generate displacement, i.e. traditional gentrification, new-build gentrification, mega-hospital development and redevelopment of a major piece of transportation infrastructure?

2. How do these residents experience displacement, and in what ways is it significant to their lives?

4.3.1 Sub-questions and research hypotheses:

The first research sub-questions aim at understanding residents' perceptions and experiences of demographic change and to understand whether long-term residents living in rental housing perceive an influx of new residents into their neighbourhood. Previous studies of gentrification such as Ley (1996) and Walks and Maaranen (2008) have revealed that the influx of the middle-class into gentrifying neighbourhoods leads to elevated proportions of residents in professional and managerial occupations, as well as increasing proportions of residents with university degrees. In the Saint-Henri case, we are interested in whether incumbent residents perceive the arrival of new residents, and if so, how they perceive the newcomers settling in the neighbourhood, i.e. do new residents seem to be of the same relative economic position and educational background? Based on past research, we would expect residents to perceive an influx in more economically privileged households, as is typically the case in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Equally, we are interested in understanding where new residents are concentrated according to the perceptions of incumbent residents. For example, are they perceived to be moving exclusively to the new-build developments along the Lachine Canal or is their presence also noted in the existing rental housing stock within the neighbourhood? In the case of Saint-Henri, we would expect that residents would perceive both the large-scale incursion of more affluent residents along the Lachine Canal, but further, more piecemeal infiltration of the traditional rental housing stock.

Following the initial sub-questions addressing resident perceptions of population change in the neighbourhood, research sub-questions are focused on testing through fieldwork whether the various types of indirect displacement outlined in my conceptual framework are useful for understanding residents' experiences of neighbourhood change in Saint-Henri. In light of the findings of Lehman-Frisch (2002; 2008) we expect to find that gentrification in Saint-Henri has led to a shift in available commercial services in the area as new businesses increasingly cater to middle and high-income groups. In such circumstances, we might expect that both low-income and elderly long-term residents in Saint-Henri experience cultural displacement (including hardship such as inconvenience and feelings of dispossession) as a result of commercial gentrification.

As revealed in Freeman (2006) gentrification can have the effect of leading to a changing sense of place in neighbourhood public spaces (such as parks) as newcomers appropriate such

spaces and in some cases conflicts arise. In light of this finding, in the Saint-Henri case we might expect for long-term residents to feel less at ease in neighbourhood public spaces as conflicts arise between incumbent and incoming populations in terms of the appropriate uses of public spaces and parks.

With regards to local neighbourhood institutions, Lehman-Frisch (2008) found that in the Mission neighbourhood of San Francisco significant gentrification had little to no impact on incumbent residents' uses of local institutions such as churches, as incoming residents did not appropriate such places. Thus, in the case of Saint-Henri, we might expect that gentrification would have very little impact on long-term residents' uses of local institutions.

In terms of existing neighbourhood organizations, Martin (2007) found that some incumbent residents felt politically disempowered as newcomers to the neighbourhood took more prominent roles within existing organizations. Moreover, the creation of parallel organizations by affluent newcomers serves as another form of potential political displacement. In light of these findings, we might expect that in the Saint-Henri case that long-term residents may experience political displacement as they begin to feel politically disempowered as new residents take on more important roles within existing neighbourhood organizations. Moreover, we might expect incumbent residents to perceive and experience an increase in conflict within existing neighbourhood organizations as differing priorities become apparent between long-term and more affluent incoming populations. Equally, long-term residents may experience political displacement as incoming residents create new exclusive neighbourhood organizations to represent their interests within the neighbourhood.

With regards to the impact of neighbourhood change upon incumbent residents' social networks, past research has highlighted that residents may experience fracturing of their social networks, resulting in feelings of loneliness and grief from diminished contact with friends and neighbours who have experienced displacement (Fried 1966). Thus, in the Saint-Henri case, we might expect that long-term residents in particular suffer social displacement as their social networks become more fragmented due to the displacement of friends or neighbours upon whom they relied. Social displacement may be manifested as feelings of loneliness, nostalgia and grief.

In terms of the threat of direct displacement due to forced expropriation, based on past findings on the impact of expropriation on residents' existing social networks, we might expect to find in the Saint-Henri case that the greater a resident's involvement in locally-based neighbourhood life, the greater the implications of forced relocation (see Fried 1965; Lavigne

1974; Lipman 1969; Atkinson et al. 2011). With regards to access to information in light of pending expropriation, Blondin's (1967) research on the experience of forced relocation in Little Burgundy revealed that lack of information concerning the details of expropriation led some residents to experience strong feelings of powerlessness. In the Saint-Henri case, we might expect that depending upon the availability and timing of official information regarding the proposed expropriations, some residents might experience feelings of powerlessness. Past research has revealed that residents faced with forced expropriation often experience difficulty finding replacement housing within their means (Gans 1959; Blondin 1967; Carr 1994) and that this is particularly acute in the case of the elderly (Blondin 1967; Joyce 1963). In light of the gentrification underway in Saint-Henri (see Chapter 5), we might expect that residents who have begun the search for replacement housing experience difficulty finding an apartment within their means, especially in the case of elderly incumbent residents. In terms of the emotional experience of living with the threat of expropriation, past research has highlighted that it can cause a variety of negative emotional outcomes, including: fear, anger, frustration, nerves, stress, anxiety, depression, grief, trauma, heart pain and even heart attack, and 'root shock' (Key 1967; Fried 1966; Carr 1994; Fullilove 2004). Moreover, based on past findings we might expect that in the Saint-Henri case it will be much more difficult for the elderly to adapt to the change in circumstance wrought by forced relocation than for younger people (Gans 1959; Lipman 1969).

4.4 **Methodological Strategy:**

The methodological approach utilized for the investigation of displacement (in both direct and indirect forms) is the case study, whose particular strengths are its ability to grapple with complex social phenomena and to integrate a variety of evidence (documents, artefacts, interviews and observations) (Yin 2003, 8). The case study is a comprehensive research strategy that can be based on any combination of quantitative and qualitative evidence (Yin 2003, 15).

I employed a single case study design, with the Saint-Henri serving as the case study neighbourhood. Initially I had considered a multiple case study design comparing Saint-Henri and adjacent Saint-Raymond (located in Lower NDG directly abutting the MUHC mega-project), as multiple case study design is generally regarded as more robust, with each neighbourhood considered as an individual case and thus each case provides an opportunity for direct replication by the other cases considered (Yin 2003, 53). However, the choice of a single case

study of Saint-Henri seemed more appropriate to my research objectives at this particular juncture. Yin (2003) argues that one of the main justifications for single case study design is the *revelatory* case. This situation occurs when an investigator has the opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation (Yin 2003, 42). A single case study of Saint-Henri provided an excellent opportunity for an in-depth and multi-faceted exploration of displacement because of the co-occurrence, within a small area of several phenomena likely to induce displacement in one form or another: traditional gentrification; new-build gentrification; anticipated increase in demand for middle and upper-income housing due to a new mega-hospital under construction nearby; and the purposed demolition and forced relocation of residents due to a transportation infrastructure project. Moreover, by focusing on a single case study of Saint-Henri, I would be able to conduct a greater number of interviews there, and thus be able to highlight important differences between renters in the neighbourhood, notably among private sector renters and public sector renters (i.e. in social, coop or non-profit housing) within the neighbourhood, as well as salient differences depending on length of residence.

In using case study methods to explore residents' experiences of displacement in a neighbourhood simultaneously undergoing both gentrification and mega-project development, my main contribution to knowledge is through conducting exploratory research. The bulk of the research explored indirect displacement, which while not a new topic per se, is one that is in need of conceptual development (Martin 2007). I am working towards this refinement through understanding its impact in terms of specific types of indirect displacement (i.e. cultural, political, social and exclusionary displacement). The framework (page 86) I have developed can be further enhanced as a result of my fieldwork, with the potential of contributing both to theory and further conceptual development. Additionally, I have explored the various types of indirect displacement set out above in a specific context, Montréal, which was classified by Rose (1996) as a 'marginal' advanced tertiary city (i.e. not a global city), where the burgeoning of public and para-public sector were key in gentrification processes up until the mid nineties, while more recently the growth of the tech sector and the cultural sector are also at play (See Polèse 2009; Rantisi and Leslie 2010). As such, the experiences of resident displacement will in some ways be specific to the 'geography of gentrification' (Lees 2000) in Montréal, as distinct from other advanced tertiary cities. Additionally, the diversity of residential form at the neighbourhood scale may have served to reduce both direct and indirect displacement (Rose 1996, 150). Furthermore, the presence of rent control in Québec is another important factor shaping the local context in Montréal. I also explored resident experiences of the threat of direct

displacement due to the redevelopment of the Turcot interchange, in order to add to the qualitative narratives of direct displacement, so sorely lacking in the gentrification and displacement literature due to methodological constraints.

4.5 **Assessment of gentrification using census based indicators:**

I began with the use of descriptive "objective" census-based indicators in order to gauge whether or not gentrification was underway in the case study neighbourhood. These indicators were identified and selected based on a literature review of past Canadian studies of gentrification (Ley 1996; Walks and Maaranen 2008). The following indicators were selected and used in order to assess the degree of gentrification underway in the case study neighbourhood between 1996 and 2006:

- Population trends – for example changes in population over time, in our case from 1991-2006. The population of gentrifying neighbourhoods often decreases because smaller, non-family households take over the existing housing stock. However, with the onset of new-build gentrification (which adds additional units at the neighbourhood level) an increase in population accompanied by an increase in the number of housing units may be observed. Thus, population trends are not a good stand-alone indicator of gentrification and must be supplemented with other indicators whether from the census (as done here) or through neighbourhood housing assessment.

- Changes in the age structure of residents as gentrifying neighbourhoods typically experience an increase in the proportion of residents in the 25-44 age group, as younger non-family households in this group often drive gentrification.

- Housing tenure composition (% tenants and % owner-occupiers) as well as tenure composition in absolute numbers. This is an important indicator of gentrification, as in a neighbourhood experiencing traditional gentrification there will tend to be a decrease in both the % tenants (as rental units are converted to owner-occupation) and in the absolute number of rental units. In a neighbourhood experiencing new-build gentrification, there will tend to be a decrease in the % of renters, although there may be an increase in rented units in terms of absolute numbers.

- Percentage change in average household (inflation-adjusted) incomes is an interesting indicator (Ley 1996; RESO 2002) because household incomes are related to what a household can pay for housing costs. However, a methodological limitation when working with published data is that it is not possible to aggregate geographical areas (i.e., census tracts) in order to get the median for a larger area (i.e., a neighbourhood).

- % change in real (inflation-adjusted) average personal income is a pertinent indicator (Rose 1996) because it helps to gauge individuals' actual purchasing power.

- Changes in the occupational structure of the population – i.e. the prevalence of university-educated residents and in workers employed in advanced services employment (most of whom are in managerial, professional or specialized technical positions (Ley 1988, 1992, 1996; Ponce-Alvarez 2003), or more specifically, the changing share of professionals in the workforce (Rose 1996) highlights the changing

occupational structure (towards advanced tertiary employment) that is one of the driving forces behind gentrification processes.

The results of the census-based analysis of gentrification in Saint-Henri are presented in the following chapter. The Plateau Mont-Royal is used as a point of comparison because it is Montréal's most notoriously (Benali 2005) and extensively (Walks and Maaranen 2008) gentrified neighbourhood. Moreover, what is observed in these two neighbourhoods is compared to the wider trends on the Island of Montréal.

4.6 **Contextual data-gathering and analysis:**

The general context of changes underway in the neighbourhood was further gleaned from planning reports and other relevant documentary sources. Equally, I was able to use this information in order to compare the subjective experience and perceptions of residents with 'objective' indicators of the changes underway in the case study neighbourhoods.

4.6.1 Inventory of Changes in Commercial Service Provision:

The goal of the inventory of commercial change was to construct an approximate portrait of the evolution of local commercial services over time on the key commercial street in the case study neighbourhood, rue Notre-Dame. Schlichtman and Patch (2008) argue that creating a temporal map is a useful tool to supplement accounts of urban change provided by informants. They used local business directories in order to provide an external validity check, allowing them to extend their analysis backward to a period before fieldwork began. In a similar vein, I began by creating an inventory of current commercial service provision along rue Notre-Dame (between Atwater and St. Rémi) in order to provide a frame of reference upon which informed discussions of changes in local commercial service provision during interviews with residents were based. I then compared the 2011 commercial inventory to the available listed commercial services on the same portion of rue Notre-Dame for a predefined base year (1996 to facilitate comparison with the information gleaned from the 1996 census) in the case study neighbourhood using the Montréal Lovell's Directory (http://bibnum2.bnQuébec.ca/bna/lovell/index.html). The strength of this source is that Lovell's has been producing this directory in the Montréal area since 1842. A weakness however, is that in some instances it only provided a business number, rather than a business name that would help in identifying the type of business formerly located there. Inspired in part by recent work by Zukin et al. (2009), which used a similar method in order to explore commercial gentrification in two neighbourhoods in New York City, I then categorized the types of businesses located on Notre-Dame into six distinct categories:

- Community services: includes libraries, CLSC, local community organizations, local religious organizations;

- Corporate Chains: includes chain stores;

- Entrepreneurial: includes services targeted at higher income groups including boutiques, restaurants and cafes;

- Local: includes individually owned small businesses not of the entrepreneurial category;

- Unknown: includes businesses whose type could not be ascertained;

- Vacant: includes all unoccupied storefronts in 2010 or addresses for which there was no listing in 1996.

Through this categorization I was able to then measure the changing proportions of various types of services between the two base years, 1996 and 2011, in order to create an approximate portrait of commercial gentrification to date.

4.7 Semi-structured interviews:

For all interviewees (direct and indirect displacement), I collected basic socio-demographic and economic information including: gender, household type, age, mother tongue, ethnicity, level of education, employment status and household income (refer to Appendix H). I also collected basic information pertinent to their housing careers including: proportion of household income paid to rent, number of years living in the neighbourhood, number of years in their current dwelling, whether they have lived elsewhere in the neighbourhood and if so, their reasons for moving to their current dwelling. Last, I documented the interviewee's social network.

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews were conducted in the interviewee's official language of choice: French or English. While I personally conducted all the interviews, I was fortunate enough to have the help of two Francophone research assistants to transcribe the interviews conducted in French. This was necessary due to my limited abilities in written French.

4.7.1 Interviews to explore potential resident experiences of indirect displacement

The bulk of the research process consisted of semi-structured interviews with long-term residents to explore whether or not they experience indirect displacement and if so, in what forms. Equally, I was interested in the meaning of displacement in their lives.

4.7.2 Sample selection

I homogenized my sample along one key dimension, i.e. all long-term residents interviewed were renters in the case study neighbourhood. This contrasts with the methodological choices of other authors who have explored indirect displacement (such as Freeman 2006), who included both renters and homeowners in their sample. I believe my choice was justified due to the fact that renters of private rental housing are thought to be most susceptible to direct displacement and have much less to gain from gentrification than property owners. Additionally, public renters (i.e. coop, non-profit or HLM) have been included as while they enjoy more secure tenure than private sector renters, many long-term residents of the neighbourhood are currently residing in social and community housing, and long-term renters are more susceptible to indirect displacement due to length of residence and more established ways of being within the neighbourhood.

The sample was stratified by length of residence in the neighbourhood. Recent residents were renters who had been living in the neighbourhood between 5 and 9 years. Longstanding residents were renters living in the neighbourhood for 10 years or more. Lifelong residents were those who had resided their entire lifetimes in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood.

The interviewees were questioned at length about their experiences of neighbourhood change along a number of key dimensions including changes in the built environment, in commercial services, in neighbouring behaviour and social networks more broadly, in their participation in local activities and/or institutions, and in their uses of public space, etc. (For more information see section 4.7.4). The average length of residence in the neighbourhood was 22 years, though it was in fact much longer if one considers the cases of many longstanding residents who spent significant amounts of time living in adjacent neighbourhoods in the South West. The focus on 'neighbourhood change' was used during the interview process in order to avoid potential bias in participants' responses (through use of the language of gentrification), in terms of potential experiences of indirect displacement in its political, social and cultural dimensions, as outlined previously. Rather the research sought to discover through their descriptions of their subjective experiences whether indirect displacement in its various forms is a useful way to conceptualize resident experiences of neighbourhood change due to gentrification and mega-project development in Saint-Henri. Exclusionary displacement was explored primarily through questions to these interviewees with regards to whether they had friends or family that would like to move to the neighbourhood but where unable to do so. Additionally, households that already reside within the neighbourhood but would like to move to

more suitable housing within the neighbourhood, yet are unable to afford to, were included, as this also corresponds to Marcuse's notion of exclusionary displacement.

4.7.3 Recruitment

My specific point of entry was through contacts already established in the case study neighbourhood through my previous work[2] with the Inter-Neighbourhood Coalition. The Coalition is comprised of a variety of community groups in Saint-Henri, as well as in the other neighbourhoods abutting the MUHC mega-hospital (NDG and Westmount). The Coalition is comprised of the CDECs, CLSCs, and housing and tenants' rights organizations within each neighbourhood.

I solicited different organizations within the Inter-Neighbourhood Coalition (which is mandated as the official monitoring and negotiating body for community groups within the neighbourhoods adjacent to the proposed MUHC mega-hospital) to help to recruit various types of participants. For example, POPIR's Comité Logement was extremely helpful in helping me to create my sample of private renters, as they provide help and advice to private renters in Saint-Henri. A caveat however, is that this might create a certain degree of bias within the sample, as contacts established in this fashion are more likely to be pro-active renters who are somewhat conscious of their rights as private-sector renters. In light of this concern, significant effort was made to establish contacts with a variety of other organizations that have contact with neighbourhood residents, rather than just working through the neighbourhood housing rights organization. For a list of the different organizations that helped with the recruitment of participants for this study, see Table 4.2.

In addition I employed a number of other recruitment strategies: 1) I personally left flyers at numerous locations throughout the neighbourhood including: local laundromats, the Saint-Henri Public Library, the Gadbois Recreation Center, community bulletin boards in the Villages des Tanneries and the CRCS St. Zotique; 2) I attended numerous neighbourhood demonstrations organized by the Mobilisation Turcot and passed out flyers and introduced myself and my project to neighbourhood residents; 3) I attended the 'Fêtes des Voisins' neighbourhood block parties in the neighbourhood; 4) I presented the census-based analysis and my project summary to the POPIR Comité de mobilisation; and 5) snowball sampling, whereby at the end of each interview I would ask interviewees if they could think of neighbours,

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[2] I began working with the Inter-Neighbourhood Coalition as a Master's student at the McGill School of Urban Planning in 2005 (see Ayalon et al. 2006).

friends or family living in the neighbourhood that would be willing to do an interview. If so, I left them with project outreach materials and asked they pass them on to potential interview candidates, who then contacted me directly.

In total, I conducted 29 indirect displacement interviews, with a total of 35[3] participants. Please refer to Appendix F for a diagram that summarizes the recruitment process. Overall, neighbourhood organizations played a very significant role facilitating the recruitment for 16 of the 29 interviews. A further 4 interviews were facilitated by my contacts with the Making Megaprojects work for Communities – Community University Research Alliance. An additional 3 interviewees were recruited through a neighbourhood list serve, my own personal acquaintances in the neighbourhood and personal acquaintances of an acquaintance of mine who had lived for many years in Saint-Henri but had recently moved. From these initial interviews, 4 snowballs emerged leading to further interviews. This recruitment process does raise some representativity issues due to the fact that community organizations were so crucial during recruitment. It seems likely that neighbourhood residents for whom community organizations play an important role may be over-represented. Moreover, such residents may be more empowered with regards to both knowledge of, and use of, neighbourhood-based community resources than the average Saint-Henri resident. It is also probable that the neighbourhood is more important in these residents' lives due to their level of involvement in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. However, the utmost effort was made to create a sample that was 'representative' of the long-term incumbent population in Saint-Henri. After the first ten interviews I felt that I was not receiving responses to my request for participation of the type of interviewees that I had anticipated in the private rental market. In particular, residents had higher education levels than I expected and while they had been living in the neighbourhood for longer than five years, I felt they were more representative of first-wave gentrifiers than the incumbent population. In light of this observation, I opted to change my sample to include public sector renters, as many of the longstanding Saint-Henri residents (ten years residence or longer) who expressed interest in my research were living in social and community housing in the neighbourhood.

The socio-economic profiles of the interview participants were fairly diverse. In terms of sex, females were slightly over-represented, comprising 21 of 34 participants. The ages of

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[3] Please note that while there were a total of 35 participants, the thesis only analyses 34 of them, because one interviewee – ID-21 did not reveal until after the interview that she had only been living in the neighbourhood for six months and thus the information she provided is not discussed in this thesis as she can not be considered a long-term renter (neighbourhood residence of five years or longer).

interviewees ranged from 24-84 years old. Of the 34 interviewees, 24 spoke French, 9 spoke English and 1 interviewee spoke Arab as a mother tongue. This is somewhat representative of the neighbourhood's linguistic balance in 2006, although residents speaking non-official languages as a mother tongue are underrepresented (See Table 5.1). The sample contained a variety of income groups: it was composed primarily of low-income and modest-income residents, with a few middle-income residents also represented. There was a wide range of education levels within the sample: 12 respondents had university degrees completed or in progress; 9 had completed CEGEP or a professional diploma, or part of a university degree; 4 had high school diplomas; and the remaining 9 respondents had various levels of high school but no diploma. In terms of housing tenure, 14 respondents lived in private rental housing, 8 lived in HLM or public seniors housing, 4 lived in OBNL housing and 8 lived in housing coops within the neighbourhood. For more detailed information on the socio-economic background of interviewees please refer to Appendices G and H.

Table 4.2: Different neighbourhood organizations solicited for help recruiting participants

Community Organizations which facilitated recruitment	Type of service provided
POPIR	Housing rights organization
Famille Jeunes	Family based resource center
Citizen's Committee of Village des Tanneries	Neighbourhood resident association
Centre des femmes actives	Community center
Aide aux personnes avec d'aide sociale (ODAS)	Services for welfare recipients
Société Historique de Saint-Henri	Neighbourhood historical association
Mission Bon Accueil	Neighbourhood food bank
Centre d'éducation des adultes - (CEDA)	Neighbourhood literacy organization
Sainte-Émilie SkillShare	Neighbourhood skill sharing organization
CPE de la Dame	Neighbourhood daycare
CPE Paillasson	Neighbourhood daycare
CPE Biscuit	Neighbourhood daycare
CLSC Saint-Henri	Neighbourhood health clinic

4.7.4 Interview themes to explore indirect displacement:

I built my semi-structured interview guide around the following themes (for a complete indirect displacement interview guide see Appendix A):

1. Social displacement: In order to understand what impact, if any, recent neighbourhood changes have had on residents' social networks, I questioned residents on their neighbouring relationships and recent changes thereto.

2. Political displacement: To explore what impact, if any, recent neighbourhood changes have had upon resident participation in local neighbourhood organizations, I questioned residents on their level of implication in neighbourhood organizations and recent changes thereto.

3. Exclusionary displacement: I began by asking residents if they had planned to move to more suitable housing in the neighbourhood but were unable to do so due to the cost of rents for available housing. Next, I asked residents whether they have friends or family that would like to move into the neighbourhood but are prohibited from doing so due to the cost of living in the neighbourhood.

4. Cultural displacement: I explored the impact of neighbourhood change upon the 'senses of place' held by incumbent residents. This was operationalized in terms of examining residents' uses of public spaces such as parks within the neighbourhood and assessing whether there was evidence of contestation and appropriation by newcomers. Further, I explored what impact, if any, recent neighbourhood change has had on local commercial service provision and how such changes were experienced by incumbent residents in order to assess whether commercial service displacement was underway in the neighbourhood.

Last, in light of the above discussion, I questioned residents as to what extent neighbourhood change compromised not only their ability to stay in the neighbourhood, but further, their desire to do so.

4.7.5 Interviews to explore resident experiences of the threat of direct displacement

The goal of this part of the fieldwork was to add to the literature on direct displacement through the use of qualitative narrative. There is a huge gap in the literature surrounding gentrification and direct displacement, specifically of residents' experiences of such changes, due primarily to the methodological difficulties finding the displaced (Slater 2006). However, by conducting interviews with residents who would potentially be displaced by the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange I hoped to avoid this difficulty, as we currently know the location of the housing slated for expropriation and thus of the potential displacees.

4.7.6 Sample selection

Because the primary contribution to knowledge of this thesis is to explore and refine the concept of indirect displacement, the exploration of direct displacement was very limited. In total, I conducted 5 key informant interviews with residents in housing set for expropriation. Initially, I had planned to follow Lavigne and Carlos (1975) and Henry and Pineo (1973) and

interview these residents twice: before they were evicted, as well as 1 year after displacement had taken place, so as to better isolate changes posed by the experience of displacement in different phases of the process (see for example Blondin 1967). However, due to project delays, as of writing (Spring 2012) households set for expropriation under the redevelopment plan had just recently received their definitive eviction notices and begun vacating the single building still slated for expropriation. Thus, the second set of interviews with these key informants was not feasible within the timeframe by which the thesis research and analysis had to be completed.

4.7.7 Recruitment

I had initially hoped to be able to solicit participation from 10 households of the approximately 160 households that were to be displaced as a result of the expropriations in northern Saint-Henri sub-neighbourhood Village des Tanneries. According to the most recent rendering of the Turcot redevelopment plan at the time of developing my project proposal, the government was planning to expropriate the entire north side of rue Cazelais, the north-west portion of rue Desnoyers and 780 St. Rémi to make way for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange (see Figure 4.2 below). However, during the course of my fieldwork, the Minister of Transport announced revisions to it's redevelopment plan that would limit the amount of expropriated households to 100. This resulted from a change in the plan that left the housing on the north side of Cazelais and the north-west corner of Desnoyers standing, while 780 St. Rémi is still facing expropriation and eventual demolition to make way for the new structure.

In terms of recruitment strategies, in addition to contacts already established through the Inter-Neighbourhood Coalition mentioned above, I established contact with the Village des Tanneries Citizens' Committee and attended weekly potluck barbecues held at the Jardin des Motards. While I was able to recruit a few participants directly through contact with the Village des Tanneries Citizens' Committee (which is very active and well connected to the residents of this part of the neighbourhood), finding residents willing to participate in this part of the research was the most difficult and time consuming part of the fieldwork. Additional recruitment strategies involved: attending Mobilisation Turcot demonstrations to try and establish contacts with affected residents; repeatedly flyering the community bulletin boards in the Village des Tanneries and the 780 St. Rémi building; and putting recruitment flyers in every mailbox in 780 St. Rémi on two occasions. Despite this, after 15 months of fieldwork, I had only managed to recruit five key informants whose housing was slated for expropriation. I suspect that the difficulty in recruitment experienced was due in large part to: a) research fatigue – as the residents in this part of the neighbourhood were subject to numerous different research

endeavours and media attention; and b) limitations in available energy due to the logistical issues inherent in the potential of forced relocation.

For a summary of the process of recruitment for the five key informants who participated please refer to Appendix F. One of the indirect displacement interview participants was a community leader in Village des Tanneries and facilitated contact with 3 participants (2 of whom were personal acquaintances and 1 of whom was a friend). POPIR Comité logement solicited the participation of 1 interviewee, who in turn facilitated the recruitment of her neighbour. A limitation of the sample is that all five participants were linked to the Mobilisation Turcot or to community organizations in the neighbourhood. This likely biased the responses of interviewees in so far as all five key respondents were actively involved in fighting for their right to 'stay put' and resist displacement, and as such were quite attached to the neighbourhood. In terms of the socio-economic characteristics of interviewees: women were over-represented (4 of 5); interviewees ages ranged from 36-74 years old; four spoke French and one spoke Dutch as a mother tongue; four had university degrees while one did not have a high school diploma. With regards to income levels, one respondent was low income, three were modest income and one was middle-income. In terms of housing tenure, two respondents were private sector renters on rue Cazelais, two were private sector renters living in commercial space in 780 Saint-Rémi, and one was a homeowner of a co-ownership unit on rue Cazelais (see Appendix H).

Figure 4.2: Map of the Saint-Henri portion of the Turcot Interchange Redevelopment 2012
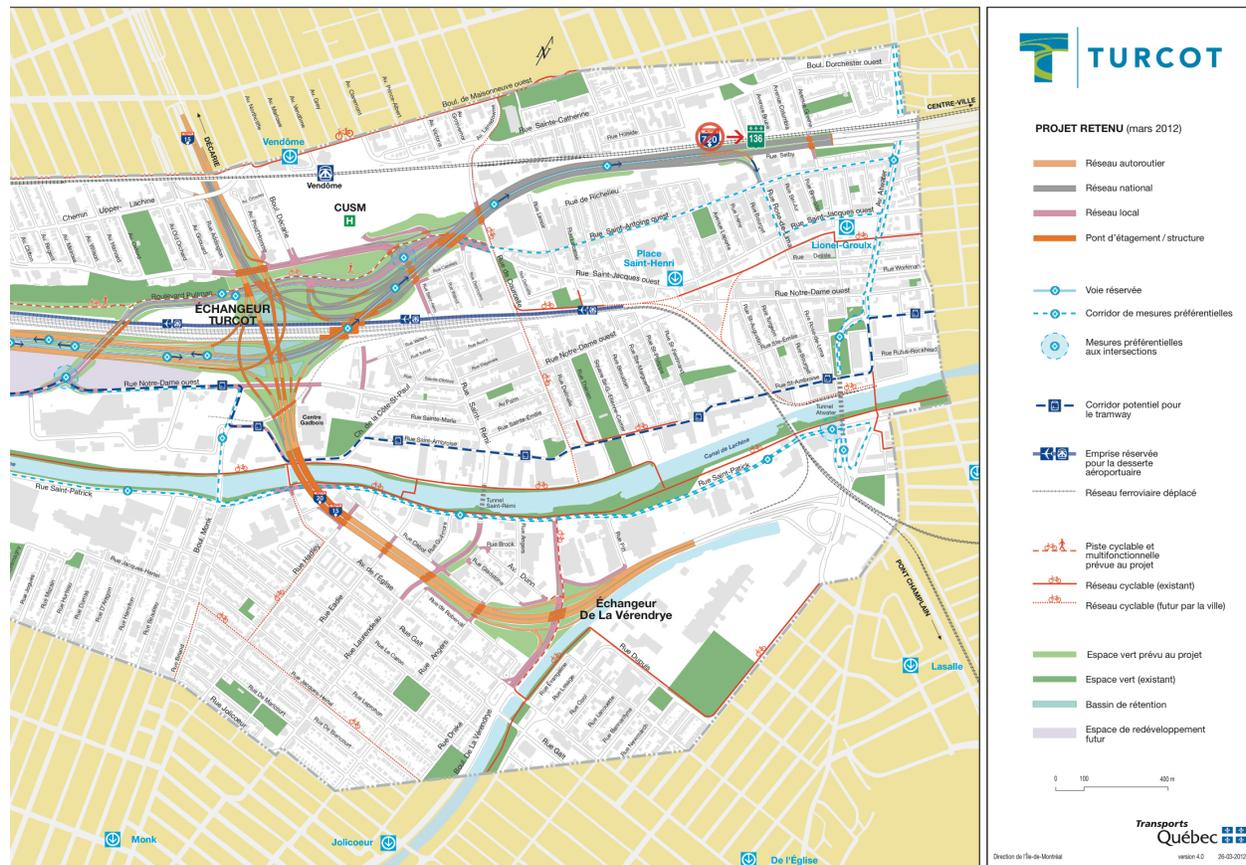
Source: Transports Québec 2012. Used by permission.

4.7.8 Interview themes to explore direct displacement

Following Blondin (1967) I had intended to divide the themes explored with residents who were to be directly displaced by the Turcot Interchange expropriations into three specific phases in displacement – i.e. pre-eviction, moving and integration into the new neighbourhood. The first interview explored the experience of the first phase of the displacement experience including: access to information surrounding dates for expropriation and resources available to displacees; feelings of agency or powerlessness; and challenges faced in the search for new housing (for a complete interview guide see Appendix B). Particular emphasis was placed in these interviews on allowing residents to talk at length about their experiences in their own words, without too much intervention from the interviewer. As mentioned above, only the first phase of the interview was feasible. Thus, the analysis presented in the Chapter 7 focuses largely on the threat of displacement and it's meaning for the key informants interviewed, as the subsequent steps initially purposed became logistically impossible.

4.8 **Ethical considerations:**

The research undertaken did pose some ethical dilemmas to the extent that by questioning long-term private renter households about their experiences of neighbourhood changes and residential mobility, it might bring to the surface issues such as the potential of direct displacement, which might cause potential anxiety. I did my best to phrase questions in such a way so as to minimize the sense of discomfort they might cause. On a more pragmatic level, I prepared an information package, on basic housing and related neighbourhood resources to provide to interviewees. I had planned, in cases where there seemed to be a sense of anxiousness at the end of the interview, to take the time to go through the information with the interviewee in question, as well as provide my contact information as a potential resource person. However, while a necessary precaution in order to try best to mitigate any potential negative emotions or feelings resulting from the interview process, this preparatory work proved unnecessary as to my knowledge the interview process was not a source of negative feelings and emotions for interviewees. Overwhelmingly the feedback I received from interviewees was that they were thankful for my taking the time to hear their stories, and a great number of them expressed interest in being kept abreast of my research findings overall. Towards this end, I plan on inviting all interviewees to a community presentation in Saint-Henri where I will present key findings and be available to respond to any questions arising from the research.

Other ethical considerations that arose from the research regard participants' understanding of the purpose of and freely consenting to participate in the research. Towards this end, I created three main tools to provide information on the research project and gain informed consent: an information letter on the project, a consent form and an information leaflet providing brief project description and my contact information (See Appendices C, D and E). Overall, the leaflet was used as a very basic introduction to myself and my research project, which I left at various community organizations, businesses, community meeting places, bulletin boards, etc., and which was used to facilitate contact with potential interviewees. The information letter and consent form were presented to interview participants in person (or via email in the event that participants established contact with me to arrange an interview in this fashion). I went over both instruments orally at the beginning of the interview before asking participants to sign the consent form and begin the interview. Second, ethical considerations arose in terms of guarding the anonymity of participants. In order to ensure this, all interviewees were given an interview number in the written transcripts. At no point in the transcription and/or translation of interview materials have participants' real names been attached to the information

that they provided. Equally, when interviewees mentioned names of friends or acquaintances within the neighbourhood, I substituted these names with aliases within the text.

4.9 **Analysing the data:**

Given that this was exploratory research, I began by creating an open-ended coding scheme based on the first five indirect displacement interview transcripts. It was a bottom-up approach that involved creating a very large variety of codes, some of which were descriptive, while others were analytical. After creating this very rudimentary coding scheme, I imported all the interview transcripts into NVivo 9. I then systematically went through all the transcripts in NVivo and assigned particular segments of text to a code (or a node as it is referred to in the NVivo program) or multiple codes in some cases. Over the process of data analysis, some codes increased in importance, while others became more marginal. Moreover, while the codes were originally sub-divided as 'free nodes', they were later reorganized hierarchically into 'tree nodes.' Using 'Tree nodes' enables creation of a coding tree, with data that addresses broad themes at the top of the hierarchy, which is then sub-divided into more specific descriptive or analytical codes. Furthermore, attributes of respondents were then applied to the nodes, such that when exploring a particular node (theme) I was able to see what respondents with different attributes (such as gender, education levels, social class etc.) had to say on a particular theme. I followed an identical process for analysing the direct displacement transcripts. This rigorous process facilitated exhaustive data-mining (i.e. the non-selectivity of use of material) so as to ensure that my analysis represents the full range of responses to dynamics and situations that are potentially linked to the various types of displacement (see Pope et al. 2000).

4.10 **Limits:**

This section will outline some of the limits to the methodology I used for this thesis. First, research based upon interviews relies to a large extent on the ability of the researcher to establish rapport with the interview subjects. Overall I feel that I was extremely successful in establishing rapport with interviewees, as the depth of material in subsequent chapters will attest to. However, I interviewed people from a range of different in social positions, language groups, ethnicities, educational backgrounds, occupations, class positions and personal backgrounds, unified only by their status as 'renters' of housing in Saint-Henri. In some ways, I could identify myself as an 'insider:' I too am a renter and had previously experienced direct displacement due to repossession; I have been working with community groups in Saint-Henri for many years (since my Master's in Urban Planning in 2005) and thus have extensive contacts

within the neighbourhood; and I have participated in a number of demonstrations within the neighbourhood over the course of this project, so was somewhat visible there. However, I was most definitely an 'outsider' in a few significant ways. First, I have not ever lived in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. While moving to the area was an option I did consider, I live in a more extensively gentrified neighbourhood than Saint-Henri (the Mile End neighbourhood in the Plateau-Mont-Royal), and considering my status as a gentrifier by most yardsticks (albeit a marginal one) I preferred to 'stay put' rather than further contribute to the gentrification of Saint-Henri. Second, given that historically Saint-Henri was a traditional Francophone working-class neighbourhood, it is possible that my position as an Anglophone (though functionally bilingual) researcher served as a limitation to some degree. That said, while I acknowledge the possibility of this being the case, I did not experience this as a limitation in any outright fashion. Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009) make the case for qualitative researchers going beyond the insider/outsider dichotomy and instead understanding their role as qualitative researchers as occupying the 'space between:'

> The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 61).

A second source of limitations relates to the fact that interviewees are self-selected i.e. only people who are comfortable with and willing to speak to an interviewer will agree to participate and be interviewed. A key way in which I experienced this limitation was with regards to the interviews to explore direct displacement through expropriation, whereby among the 160 affected households it was extremely time consuming and difficult to eventually find the 5 key informants who participated. While this may have been due in part to research fatigue (these residents had been the subject of an enormous amount of university based research and media attention already), it may also be the case that the immediate challenges facing these residents (e.g. mobilizing to fight for their housing, finding potential replacement housing, etc.) placed them in a very difficult position that they were not comfortable sharing with a stranger. This poses limitations in so far as it may mean that the plight of those who are suffering the most as a result of the threat of displacement elude us. Secondly, in the indirect displacement sample, because neighbourhood organizations were so important in recruiting interview participants, it is possible that there are some issues in terms of overall representativity of the sample, in so far as those involved with community organizations are disproportionately represented. This may have resulted in a sample comprised of residents for whom the neighbourhood holds greater importance because they are more involved in neighbourhood-based organizations.

Additionally, knowledge of, and involvement with such organizations, may lead them to be more empowered than the average neighbourhood resident.

At the level of overall research design, a significant limit of this research is that due to it's exploratory nature, it has limited potential for generalization. As a qualitative exploratory research project it makes no claims to being statistically generalizable. The goal of the case study is to allow for theoretical generalization whereby previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the results of the case study (Yin 2003, 32). In our case, understanding the specific experiences of direct and indirect displacement at the scale of a particular neighbourhood (Saint-Henri), will enable better understanding of both the broader social processes and specific neighbourhood circumstances, that structure those particular experiences of displacement. It is expected that the experiences highlighted by my research will in some ways be particular to the specific 'geographies of gentrification' found in the Montréal context. I hope that the main contribution of this thesis however, will be in examining whether and in what ways the notion of indirect displacement as previously developed by other scholars and enhanced through the development of my indirect displacement framework (see Figure 3.2), resonates with the experiences recounted by interviewees. Furthermore, I hope that my fieldwork and analysis will be able to contribute to further improvements to this framework and to add nuance to how we think about the indirect effects of gentrification.

CHAPTER 5   GENTRIFICATION IN SAINT-HENRI? THE EVIDENCE FROM DOCUMENTARY SOURCES AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The overall goal of this chapter is to provide "objective" indicators of neighbourhood change in Saint-Henri against which the qualitative findings presented in subsequent chapters can be contextualized and assessed. It begins by providing a broad descriptive portrait of the case study neighbourhood building on the preliminary information presented in the previous chapter. It then goes on to explore the specific sub-neighbourhoods (operationalized as census tracts) in order to highlight salient differences between different parts of the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood in 2006. This is followed by a brief review of the existing literature that has used census-based indicators to explore gentrification in the neighbourhood up until 2001. We next attempt to bring this analysis of gentrification into sharper focus by exploring indicators of gentrification between 1996 and 2006. Following this, the extent of commercial gentrification to date is presented through brief discussion of our commercial services inventory of rue Notre-Dame, which compares available services in 2011 with commercial service provision in the same area in 1996. Last, a few documentary sources on changing property values in the South-West Borough of Montréal are presented.

As indicated in Chapter 4 Saint-Henri is among Canada's oldest industrial neighbourhoods and is situated in the southwest of Montréal, bordering the Lachine Canal. Herbert Ames (1897) in his pivotal sociological exploration of working-class conditions entitled 'The City Below the Hill,' described how after the 1840s working class districts developed around the Lachine Canal in the southwest, including Griffintown, Little Burgundy, Pointe-St. Charles and Saint-Henri. It is located directly below one of Montréal's most elite enclaves, the City of Westmount, situated on the flanks of Mont-Royal (the hill). It is also in close proximity to the central business district (See Figure 5.1 below). Overall, the neighbourhood is well serviced by Metro, with two stations (Lionel-Groulx and Place Saint-Henri) within its territory. The physical boundaries of Saint-Henri create an enclave on three of four sides: to the north it is separated from Westmount by the Autoroute 720 and the St. Jacques Escarpment; to the west by the Turcot Interchange (the confluence of Autoroute(s) 720, 20 and 15); and to the south by the Lachine Canal. Its eastern border is Atwater Street and indeed it is only to the east that the neighbourhood weaves seamlessly into the wider city (see Figure 5.1 below). Moreover, the neighbourhood is bifurcated by the Canadian National (CN) railway line, which is heavily used for freight and for Via Rail passenger trains.

Saint-Henri's population peaked in 1966 at 26 699 inhabitants. However, with the onset of deindustrialization beginning in the sixties and continuing until the mid-nineties, the neighbourhood suffered continual population decline, bottoming out in 2001 at 13 563 inhabitants. Between 2001 and 2006 the neighbourhood experienced a 9.1% increase in population, largely attributable to the considerable new-build development and adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings into condominiums along the Lachine Canal. Indeed, between 2001 and 2006 there has been a 10.8% increase in dwellings in the neighbourhood accompanied by a 5% point decrease in the proportion of renters and a 4.3% point increase in owner-occupiers in the neighbourhood (Statistics Canada, Censuses of 2001 and 2006). In 2006, there were 7360 households in Saint-Henri comprised of 14 802 inhabitants. The household composition of the neighbourhood was: 18.5% couples without children; 14.1% couples with children; 12.8% single-parent families; 42.9 % one-person households; and 11.6% other types of households including multi-family households and households with two or more unrelated people (Ville de Montréal 2009, 5). Overall, Saint-Henri is categorized as a low-income neighbourhood though it has been becoming more socio-economically mixed in recent years. In 2000, 48.1% of all households were below the Low-Income Cut Off (LICO). However, by 2005, there had been a 5.9 % point decrease in low-income households, to 42.2% (Ville de Montréal 2009, 14). This decrease in low-income households is particularly notable among owner-occupiers, where the percentage of homeowners below the LICO dropped substantially from 24.6% in 2000 to 17.3% in 2005. Among renters, the proportion of low-income households fell from 51.8% in 2000 to 47.9% in 2005 (Ville de Montréal 2009, 14). However, as we will explore in the subsequent section, the proportion of residents below the LICO cut-offs varied substantially between census tracts for the 1996-2006 time period.

While historically a predominantly francophone working-class neighbourhood, Saint-Henri has been becoming increasing linguistically diverse in recent years. Between 1996 and 2006 there were increases in the proportion of residents speaking English (a 3.1% point increase) and non-official languages (a 5.1% point increase) as a mother tongue. Furthermore, the proportion of residents who spoke French as a mother tongue decreased from 72.6% in 1996 to 64.6% in 2006 (see Table 5.1 below). That said, the neighbourhood still has a higher proportion of residents who speak French as a mother tongue than the Island of Montréal or the Montréal CMA.

Figure 5.1: Saint-Henri in its wider urban context

Table 5.1: Mother Tongue in Saint-Henri, Percentage of population, 1996 and 2006

	Montréal CMA	Island of Montréal	Saint-Henri
English (1996)	13.3%	18.5%	14.9%
English (2006)	12.1%	17.3%	18.0%
French (1996)	68.6%	53.9%	72.6%
French (2006)	66.3%	50.2%	64.6%
Non-official languages (1996)	18.1%	27.6%	12.4%
Non-official languages (2006)	21.6%	32.6%	17.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

Having described some of the broad characteristics of the neighbourhood, the following section will provide detailed information on each of its constituent census tracks or sub-neighbourhoods (see Figure 5.2 below). As we will soon discover, there are considerable differences among different parts of the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood.

5.1 Census Tract Sub-Neighbourhood Portraits

The following section will provide a brief descriptive capsule of each of the census tracts or sub-neighbourhoods in Saint-Henri according to data available from the 2006 Census of Canada. Basic housing and demographic information are presented by census tract in Table 5.2 below while Figure 5.2 is a neighbourhood base map which shows the boundaries of Saint-Henri's six constituent census tracts.

5.1.1 CT 79 – Canal-Marché[4]

The borders of this census tract are rue Saint-Jacques south to the Lachine Canal and from rue Atwater west to rue Saint-Marguerite. This census tract contains the Atwater Market on its southeastern edge. The railway track runs diagonally through this census tract between rues Saint-Ferdinand and Maria (see Figure 5.2 below).

The residential environment in this census tract is predominantly apartments with fewer than five storeys, with small percentages of row houses, apartment buildings with five or more storeys and duplexes (see Table 5.2 below). In terms of the period of dwelling construction, while 36.5% of housing was built before 1946, there has been housing development in every subsequent inter-censal period. Moreover, between 1991 and 2006 there has been significant new construction, with an 18.8% increase in dwellings. Over the 1991-2006 time period, this area has experienced the most marked construction boom of the census tracts in Saint-Henri. This census tract has a lower proportion of rented housing than the neighbourhood overall, with 79.3% of housing rented, compared to 86.6% rental tenure in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood overall. One-third (33.5%) of the housing in this census tract is social and community housing (see Table 5.3 for absolute numbers and a breakdown by type).

The population density is 7289 persons per square kilometre (for a comparative glance at population density among sub-areas see Table 5.2 below). This census tract has experienced a profound decrease (17.2%) in the proportion of residents below LICO cut-offs over the 1996-2006 time period, although 45.3% of residents remain in this category in 2005.

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[4] NB – The place names that accompany each census tract are from varied origins. In the cases of Canal-Marché, Village des Tanneries and Turcot Village, these place names were in common usage among interviewees. In the cases of Atwater Adjacent, North-Central and Canal-West, I created these place names based on descriptive characteristics of each area in question.

Table 5.2: Basic housing and demographic information by census tract, Saint-Henri, 2006

	CT 79	CT 80	CT 81	CT 82	CT 83	CT 84
Housing types:						
Single-detached house	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
Semi-detached house	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	2.4%
Row house	6.8%	4.9%	0.4%	0.0%	2.9%	1.8%
Apartment, duplex	1.3%	0.0%	0.4%	1.0%	6.2%	4.2%
Apartment, building that has five or more storeys	6.6%	0.0%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%	11.9%
Apartment, building that has fewer than five storeys	80.6%	93.9%	98.4%	87.2%	89.6%	79.2%
Other single-attached house	3.9%	1.2%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%
Movable dwelling	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Period of dwelling construction:						
Before 1946	36.5%	72.0%	57.5%	35.1%	58.8%	35.1%
1946-1960	18.1%	8.5%	11.0%	9.4%	13.7%	12.5%
1961-1970	8.3%	3.7%	8.3%	12.4%	3.6%	7.1%
1971-1980	7.2%	6.1%	8.7%	18.8%	4.2%	12.5%
1981-1990	11.4%	9.8%	6.7%	15.3%	5.6%	16.1%
1991-2000	5.5%	0.0%	3.1%	5.0%	4.2%	1.2%
2001-2006	13.3%	0.0%	4.3%	3.0%	9.8%	14.9%
% of housing that needs major repairs	10.7%	23.2%	12.6%	17.3%	11.8%	14.2%
% of rented housing in 2006	79.3%	86.6%	87.4%	94.1%	71%	81%
Basic demographic info						
Land area in square km	0.61	0.09	0.26	0.27	0.43	0.37
Population density per square km	7289	8611	9458	7826	7256	5105
Total population 2006	4446	775	2459	2113	3120	1889
Incidence of low income 1995 %	62.5%	39.5%	51.9%	61.3%	51.2%	54.3%
Prevalence of low income before tax in 2005 %	45.3%	33.5%	37.3%	49.9%	29.5%	59.9%
% Immigrants 1996	19.3%	18.8%	17.9%	12.0%	10.0%	7.8%
% Immigrants 2006	21.6%	19.4%	16.6%	19.6%	13.3%	21.9%
English- mother tongue 2006	18.0%	52.6%	20.0%	16.1%	11.6%	13.1%
French - mother tongue 2006	60.7%	33.6%	63.8%	65.6%	77.0%	65.9%
Non-official languages mother tongue 2006	21.3%	14.5%	16.2%	18.6%	11.6%	21.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

Table 5.3: Number of social and community housing units in Saint-Henri by tenure type and census tract

	Census Tract						Saint-Henri
	79	**80**	**81**	**82**	**83**	**84**	
Total number of occupied dwellings	2290	410	1270	1015	1535	840	7360
Low-rent housing (HLM)	232	0	31	208	51	142	664
Non-profit (OBNL)	149	0	26	111	98	123	507
Cooperatives	161	0	145	93	52	6	457
Public non- low-rent (affordable)	52	0	60	29	26	224	391
Social and community housing as % of total occupied dwellings	33.5%	0.0%	22.3%	49.0%	15.8%	68.8%	27.4%

Source and compilation: Ville de Montréal, Service de la mise en valeur du territoire et du patrimoine, Direction de l'habitation November 2009; Census of Canada 2006

This sub-neighbourhood has quite abundant green space: it borders the Lachine Canal in the south; has two community gardens, the Jardin communautaires de Bon Voisins and the Jardin communautaires de Rosa-de-Lima; as well as numerous parks such as Parc Louis-Cyr, Parc Jacques-Viger and Parc des Cordonniers. The area also has a significant immigrant population, with 21.6% of neighbourhood residents claiming immigrant status in 2006, representing a 2.3 percentage point increase since 1996. In terms of mother tongue, 60.7 % of residents have French as their first language, 18.0% English and 21.3% non-official languages.

5.1.2 CT 80 – Atwater Adjacent

This census tract is located in the northeast corner of the neighbourhood from rue Saint-Antoine to Saint-Jacques in the south, and from rue Atwater west to rue Rose-de-Lima. It is considerably smaller than other census tracts in neighbourhood and its location is closest to downtown among CTs in Saint-Henri (see Figure 5.2). It is also within close walking distance of Dawson College and Concordia University.

Figure 5.2: Base map of Saint-Henri with census tract boundaries

Saint-Henri CT
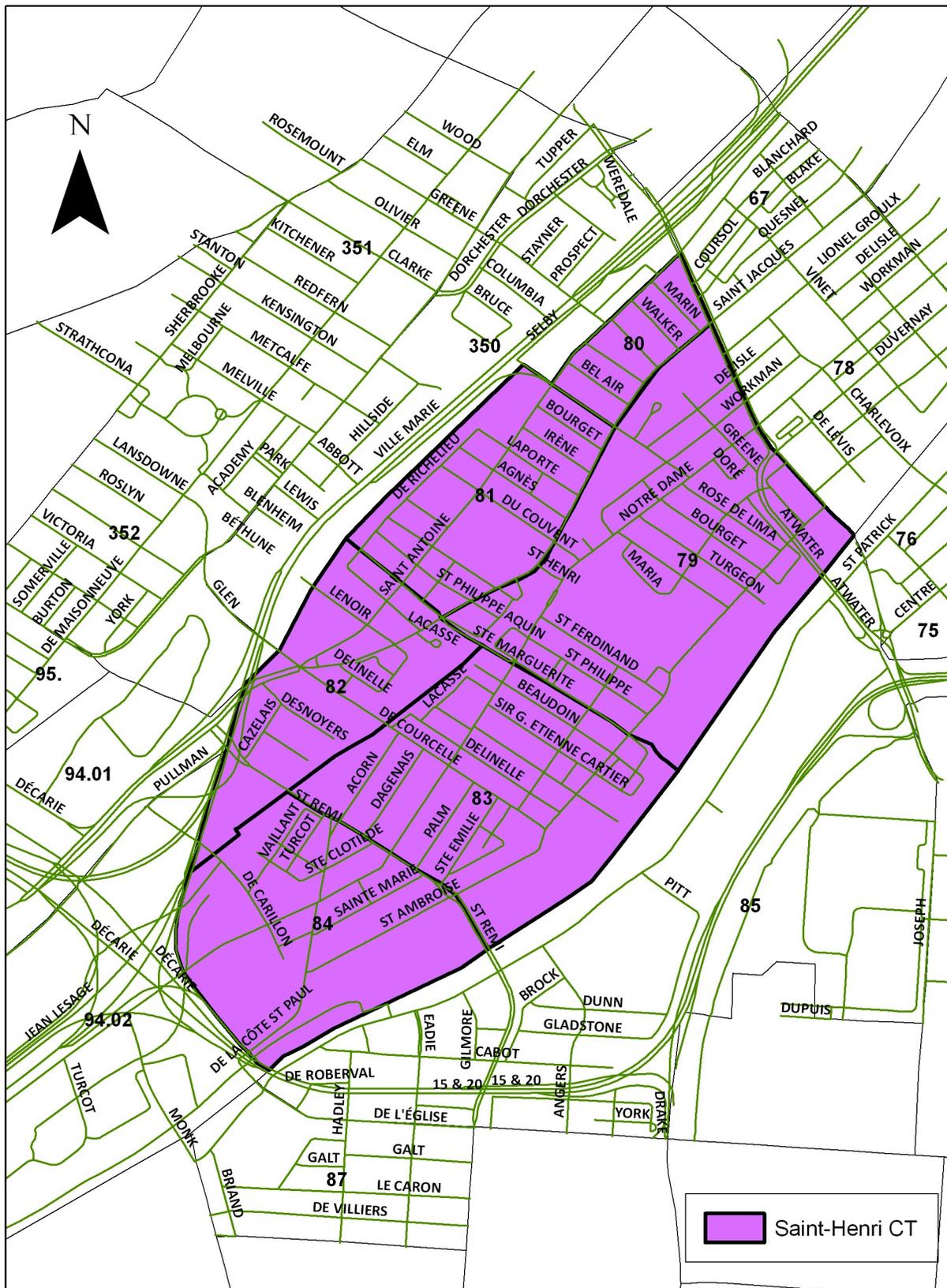
In terms of residential environment the predominant housing type in this census tract is apartments with fewer than five storeys (many of which are triplexes) representing 93.9% of the total housing stock, combined with small percentages of semi-detached and single-attached houses (see Table 5.2 above). Overall, buildings are of a higher quality than elsewhere in the neighbourhood, many of which are built of grey stone. In contrast with CT 79 the majority of the housing stock (72%) was built before 1946. Some new construction took place in the subsequent years, however no new housing has been built in this census tract since 1991. Due in part to the greater age of the housing stock, this area has the largest proportion of housing which requires major repairs (23.2%) and 86.6% of housing in this sub-neighbourhood is rented in 2006. This is the only census tract within the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood that does not have any social or community housing.

It is a densely populated census tract compared to others in the neighbourhood, with 8611 persons per square kilometre, due no doubt to the fact that triplexes are the predominant housing form. Between 1995 and 2005, this area has experienced a 6% decrease in the proportion of residents below the LICO cut-offs. There are no parks or green spaces within this census tract. Immigrants constitute 19.4% of the population in 2006, with a 0.6% increase since 1996. In contrast with the other census tracts in the neighbourhood, English is the predominant mother tongue with (52.6%) of residents having English as their first language, 33.6% French and 14.5% non-official languages. This CT has by far the highest proportion of English-speakers in Saint-Henri.

5.1.3 CT 81 – North-central

The borders of this census tract are rue De Richelieu (below the Ville Marie Autoroute (720)) to rue Saint-Jacques, from rue Rosa-de-Lima west to rue Sainte-Marguerite (see Figure 5.2).

As in the case of CT 80 mentioned above, the predominant housing type in CT 81 is apartments with fewer than five storeys (98.4%), accompanied by very small percentages of duplexes, row houses and other single attached houses. The majority of housing in this area (57.5%) were built before 1946; but there has been housing construction in every intercensal period considered, though building slowed between 1991 and 2006. Of the housing in the area, 12.6% requires major repairs and 87.4% of dwellings are rented. Approximately 1/5 of the housing in this area is social and community housing (see Table 5.3 below).

It is the most densely populated census tract in the neighbourhood, with 9458 people per square kilometre, due no doubt to the fact that triplexes are the predominant housing form. There has been a 14.6 percentage point decrease in the proportion of residents below the LICO cut-offs to 37.5% of residents in 2005. There are a number of green spaces within the area, including Parc Saint-Henri, Parc de la Ferme Brodie, Parc Polyvalente Saint-Henri and Parc des Couterières. Immigrants make up 16.6% of the population and this is the only census tract in Saint-Henri that experienced a decrease (1.3%) in the proportion of immigrants over the 1996-2006 time period. In terms of mother tongue, 63.8% of residents spoke French as a first language, 20% spoke English and 16.2% spoke non-official languages. This is the census tract with the second highest proportion of English speakers after adjacent CT 80 mentioned above.

5.1.4 CT 82 – Village des Tanneries

The borders of this census tract are rue De Richelieu (below the 720) south to the railway tracks; rue Saint-Marguerite west to the Turcot Interchange. This is an enclave neighbourhood (often referred to as the Village des Tanneries), surrounded by significant physical barriers including the 720 to the north, the Turcot Interchange to the west and the rail bed to the south (see Figure 5.2).

The predominant housing type in the area is triplexes (87.2%); however, in contrast to the areas mentioned above, this census tract has a significant portion (11.8%) of the housing stock in apartments with more than five storeys. While 35% of housing in the area was constructed before 1946, there has been new construction in every subsequent intercensal period considered, with the second most significant period of dwelling construction between 1961 and 1980 when an additional 31.2 % of the housing stock was added. As such, much of the housing in the neighbourhood has been constructed more recently than in other census tracts in the area, such as CT 80, mentioned above. Nonetheless, 17.3% of the housing in the area requires major repairs as of 2006 and this is the second highest proportion after CT 80, which in fact has a much older housing stock. This census tract has the highest overall proportion of renters in Saint-Henri, at 94.1% of the population. Furthermore, social and community housing represents approximately half of the housing stock in the census tract (see Table 5.3).

In terms of population density, there are 7826 persons per square kilometre. Between 1996 and 2006 there was a 11.4% decrease in the proportion of residents below the LICO cut-offs, although the LICO rate in this area in 2006 is still the second highest in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood at 49.9%. Villages des Tanneries contains a number of small green

spaces including: Parc Lacasse, Parc des Hommes-Forts, Square Sainte-Elizabeth, Parc des Tanneries-des-Rolland, Jardin des Motards and Parc Emilie-Berliner. Immigrants represent 19.6% of the population, with a 7.6% increase in the proportion of immigrants since 1996. With regards to mother tongue, 65.6% of residents spoke French as a first language, 16.1% spoke English and 18.6% spoke non-official languages. This area has the second highest proportion of immigrants and residents that speak non-official languages after CT 84 discussed below.

5.1.5 CT 83 – Canal West

The boundaries of this census tract are the railway tracks in the north to the Lachine Canal in the south; rue Sainte-Marguerite to rue St-Rémi in the west (see Figure 5.2).

In terms of the residential environment in CT 83, 89.6% of the housing stock is in apartment buildings with less than five storeys, while 6.2% is comprised of units in duplexes and 2.9% is row housing. The age of the housing stock in the area is more varied than elsewhere in the neighbourhood with 58.8% of housing built before 1946, 13.7% between 1946 and 1960, 7.8% between 1961 and 1980, 5.6% between 1981 and 1990, and 14% between 1991 and 2006. As such, after CT 79 mentioned above, this area has undergone the second-most significant boom in new construction in the 1991-2006 period. However, despite the relatively new housing stock in some parts of the area, 11.8% of the housing stock requires major repairs. The proportion of rented housing in the area is 71%, which is the lowest proportion among census tracts in Saint-Henri. This area has the second lowest percentage (15.8%) of social and community housing (after CT 80 mentioned above) (see Table 5.3).

In terms of population density, there are 7256 persons per square kilometre. This area has experienced the most significant decrease in the proportion of residents living under the LICO cut-offs (21.7%) and in 2006 has the lowest percentage of residents in this category in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood. The area contains a number of green spaces including Parc Sir-Georges-Etienne-Cartier, the Lachine Canal, and the community compost station. Further, the Centre récréatif, culturel et sportif Saint-Zotique is located across from Parc Georges-Etienne Cartier. Immigrants constitute 13.3% of the population, a 3.3% increase since 1996. This area has the highest proportion of residents with French as a mother tongue (77%) accompanied by 11.6% English and 11.6% non-official languages. As such, this census tract has the lowest percentage of immigrants and those speaking non-official languages within the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood.

5.1.6 CT 84 – Village Turcot

This census tract is the western most part of the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. In the north, its border is the railway track and extends to the Lachine Canal in the south, from rue Saint-Rémi in the east to the Turcot Interchange in the west (see Figure 5.2).

The majority of the housing in this area is apartments with less than five storeys (79%), and as in CT 82 mentioned above, a significant portion (11.9%) is in buildings with five or more storeys, accompanied by small proportions of other housing types. In terms of the age of the housing stock only 35.1% of the housing in this census tract was built before 1946. As in CT 82 mentioned above there has been new construction in every subsequent intercensal period. However, this area has experienced the most marked construction boom in the last few years, with 14.9% of housing in the area built between 2001 and 2006. Thus, like the other two census tracks in the neighbourhood that border the Lachine Canal (CT 79 and 83), there has been more substantial recent new construction compared to other areas in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, though this occurred primarily between 2001 and 2006 in CT 84. Of the housing in the area 14.2% requires major repairs and 81% of occupied dwellings are rented. This census tract contains the highest proportion of social and community housing in Saint-Henri, representing over 2/3 of the total housing stock (see Table 5.3).

This is by far the least densely populated census tract in the neighbourhood with 5105 persons per square kilometre. This is the only area in Saint-Henri that experienced an increase in the proportion of residents under the LICO cut-offs over the 1996-2006 period, up 5.6% to a staggering 59.9% of residents in 2006. There are a few green spaces in the area including the Lachine Canal and open spaces under the Turcot Interchange. Centre Récréatif Gadbois is located in this census tract. This area has the most significant proportion of immigrants in Saint-Henri, with 21.9% of the population claiming immigrant status in 2006. Furthermore, this area had the largest proportional increase of immigrants (14.1%) since 1996 in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood. In terms of mother tongue, 65.9% of residents spoke French as a first language, 21% non-official languages and 13.1% spoke English.

5.2 Census-based indicators of gentrification in Saint-Henri to 2001: what does existing research tell us?

This section provides an assessment of gentrification underway in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood up until 2001 based on existing studies that utilized variables from the Canadian census. David Ley's (1996) analysis compared gentrification of six Canadian inner cities,

including Montréal, from 1971 through 1991 using special tabulations of census data. He pioneered the development of indicators of gentrification based on Canadian census data. In his analysis, an inner-city area is defined using the same criteria used by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and includes the combination of housing age and proximity to the central business district (CBD) (Ley 1996, 83); housing age is a useful proxy because housing built before 1946 defines – in many cities – the outer edges of the inner city.

Ley was primarily concerned with the social class dimensions of neighbourhood transition, arguing: "For charting the entry of the middle-class into the inner city, the accumulated wisdom in the literature is that measures of occupation (professional-managerial status) and education (at the university level) are the most sensitive indicators" (Ley 1996, 88). Thus, Ley created a social status index from 2 variables: the percentage of the population employed in the quaternary occupations (professional, managerial, technical and administrative jobs) and the percentage of the population with a university education. These percentage values were added and then divided by two to give a simple social status index for each census tract (Ley 1996, 88). In terms of changes in social status, Ley mapped changes in social status in quintiles, census tracts in the top quintile being considered as showing evidence of gentrification (Ley 1996, 89). His findings pertaining to our case study area will be briefly discussed below.

In Saint-Henri, for the 1971-81 period, census tract CT 84 (see Figure 5.2 above) was the only census tract that appeared in the top quintile, and thus exhibited evidence of gentrification. CTs 82 and 83 were classified as in the second highest quintile of social status change, while CTs 79, 80 and 81 were in the fifth quintile. Thus, according to his analysis, for this period the only census tract that could be characterized as definitively gentrifying during the 1971-1981 period was CT 84 (Ley 1996, 90). Ley notes that while municipal policy encouraged gentrification through *Operation 10 000 logements*[5] during this period, there is a conspicuous lack of social status change in the industrial districts of the Southwest, of which the Saint-Henri neighbourhood is a part.

For the 1981-86 period, CT 80 is the only census tract within Saint-Henri that appears in the highest quintile, thus exhibiting evidence of gentrification.[6] CTs 79, 81 and 83 are in the third

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[5] Operation 10 000 logements was later extended to become Operation 20 000 logements in 1982. The goal of the program was to create 20 000 new dwellings by the City selling off its vacant land-holdings to developers on advantageous terms (Germain and Rose 2000, 166).

[6] Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is probably due to the nature of the housing stock in this census tract, which differs from elsewhere in the neighbourhood. For instance, this area is comprised primarily of

quintile, while CTs 82 and 84 are in the fourth quintile (Ley 1996, 98). Ley remarks that along with the significant onset of gentrification in the Plateau Mont-Royal (which had two dozen census tracts in the highest quintile during this period), a remarkable transition took place in the declining industrial districts of the Southwest.

The third and final time period considered for analysis by Ley was 1986-1991. This period saw the further expansion of middle-class settlement into the neighbourhoods of the southwest of Montréal. In Saint-Henri during this period, CTs 80, 81, 84 are in the highest quintile, thus exhibiting evidence of gentrification in terms of changing social status. CTs 82 and 83 are in the second highest quintile, and CT 79 in the third highest quintile. During this period, redevelopment also moved south across the Lachine Canal. Ley states:

> This is in many respects the most remarkable development of all, for old industrial neighbourhoods like Saint-Henri and Pointe-Sainte-Charles have never been anything but working-class quarters, set in a matrix of heavy industry. Indeed, as the city below the hill, for a century they have been amongst Canada's most disadvantaged slums. As such, their gentrification would provide the Canadian counterpart to the imputed gentrification of Harlem (Ley 1996, 101).

As such, it is during this final period in Ley's analysis (1986-1991) that we see the consolidation of gentrification in certain census tracts within Saint-Henri.

Walks and Maaranen (2008) present an assessment of neighbourhood gentrification and upgrading in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, divided into decennial periods over the 1961-2001 period. To detect the presence of gentrification and upgrading, 6 indicators from the Canadian census were used:

- Changes in neighbourhood income were measured by analyzing average personal income at the census tract level as a ratio of average personal income in the CMA where the census tract is located;

- Changes in social class/social status[7];

- Changes in the Location Quotient (LQ) of artists (artistic, recreational and literary occupations) in order to analyze artists' role as potential pioneers of gentrification;

- Changes in housing tenure, analyzed through the conversion from rental to owner-occupation;

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triplexes (as opposed to a more mixed housing stock in terms of dwelling type as found elsewhere in the neighbourhood) and of higher quality (much of it is constructed in greystone).

[7] Walks and Maaranen created an index representing the composite of the Location Quotient (LQ) for those 20 years and older with a university degree and the LQ of the population working in professional and managerial occupations (including health, education, engineering and applied science, law, religion and social work). This index is similar to Ley's (1986, 1996) social status index with the important exception that artists are not included in this index, but are analyzed separately.

- Average monthly rents; and

- Average dwelling values (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 10).

Walks and Maaranen then created a map depicting the onset (or not) of gentrification by census tract for the Montréal Urban Community (MUC) from 1961-2001. The discussion here will be limited to their findings for Saint-Henri. Up until 2001, CTs 79 and 83 in Saint-Henri, which border the Lachine Canal, are characterized as exhibiting potential for future gentrification.[8] CTs 80, 81 and 82 are in a stage of 'incomplete gentrification', with the onset of gentrification in these census tracts beginning in the 1981-1991 period, consistent with Ley's (1996) analysis cited above. Last, CT 84 was characterized as 'not gentrification and other trends' (Walks and Maaranen 2008). For a comparative glance at the onset of gentrification according to each studies analysis, please refer to Table 5.4 below.

Walks and Maaranen (2008) further explain:

> Neighbourhoods experiencing incomplete gentrification tend to be contiguous to previous waves, often clustering together and forming a "gentrification frontier" which makes further investments in previous waves safer and helps to solidify their status. The concept of a gentrification frontier belongs to Smith (1996), and denotes the line beyond which gentrification is encroaching through the effects of land speculators, real estate agents, developers and investors (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 30.

The gentrification frontier in Montréal includes the area southwest of downtown and Westmount: the NDG district, the eastern portion of Verdun, the industrial areas to the west of the port area and along the eastern portion of the Lachine Canal (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 32).

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[8] "**Complete gentrification**" refers to forms of gentrification whereby neighbourhoods that began the period with below metropolitan average incomes attain average incomes above the metropolitan average by the end of the period.

"**Incomplete**" forms of gentrification refer to instances in which the average income of the neighbourhood remains below the metropolitan average (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 9).

"**Recapture**" and "**potential future recapture**" refer to instances of neighbourhood upgrading in which a census tract regains its prior above-average income status after spending a minimum of two consecutive decades below the metropolitan average (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 27).

Table 5.4: The onset of gentrification by census tract, Ley (1996) and Walks and Maaranen (2008)

Census tract	1971-1981		1981-1991		1991-2001
	Ley	Walks & Maaranen	Ley	Walks & Maaranen	Walks & Maaranen
79	5th quintile	n/a	3rd quintile	Potential for future gentrification	Potential for future gentrification
80	5th quintile	n/a	1st quintile by 1986	Onset of Incomplete gentrification	Incomplete gentrification
81	5th quintile	n/a	1st quintile by 1991	Onset of Incomplete gentrification	Incomplete gentrification
82	2nd quintile	n/a	2nd quintile	Onset of Incomplete gentrification	Incomplete gentrification
83	2nd quintile	n/a	2nd quintile	Potential for future gentrification	Potential for future gentrification
84	1st quintile - thus definitively gentrifying	n/a	1st quintile again in 1991	Not gentrification, other trends	Not gentrification, other trends

In terms of the forms and pathways to gentrification until 2001, for Saint-Henri, CT 79, 83 and 84 are characterized as 'not gentrification.' Thus, as of 2001 the new developments along the Canal were not yet substantial enough for these areas to be categorized as undergoing new-build gentrification. However, CT 80, 81 and 82 are characterized as 'standard gentrification' (i.e. transformation of the older building stock) (Walks and Maaranen 2008, 50). Thus, it seems that the onset of gentrification was perceptible in Ley's analysis before that of Walks and Maaranen. One possible explanation is that Ley's social status index includes artists (often the forerunners of gentrification) while Walks and Maaranen's social status index did not include artists.

5.2.1 Further analysis of the Walks and Maaranen data set:

With regards to the aforementioned indicators of gentrification (changes in neighbourhood income and changes in social status), Walks and Maaranen kindly provided the data sets at the census tract level, so I have been able to create graphs that provide a longitudinal view of these indicators for the Saint-Henri neighbourhood at the CT level.

Changes in neighbourhood incomes were tracked for the period from 1961 to 2001 by analyzing average personal income from all sources of persons 15 and over as a ratio of the average personal income of the Montréal CMA. However, due to the information available from

the 1961 census the variable chosen was the average wage ratio, while for the later periods it was an average income ratio.

Figure 5.3: Average Income Ratio, Saint-Henri 1961-2001

Average Income Ratio, Saint-Henri, 1961-2001
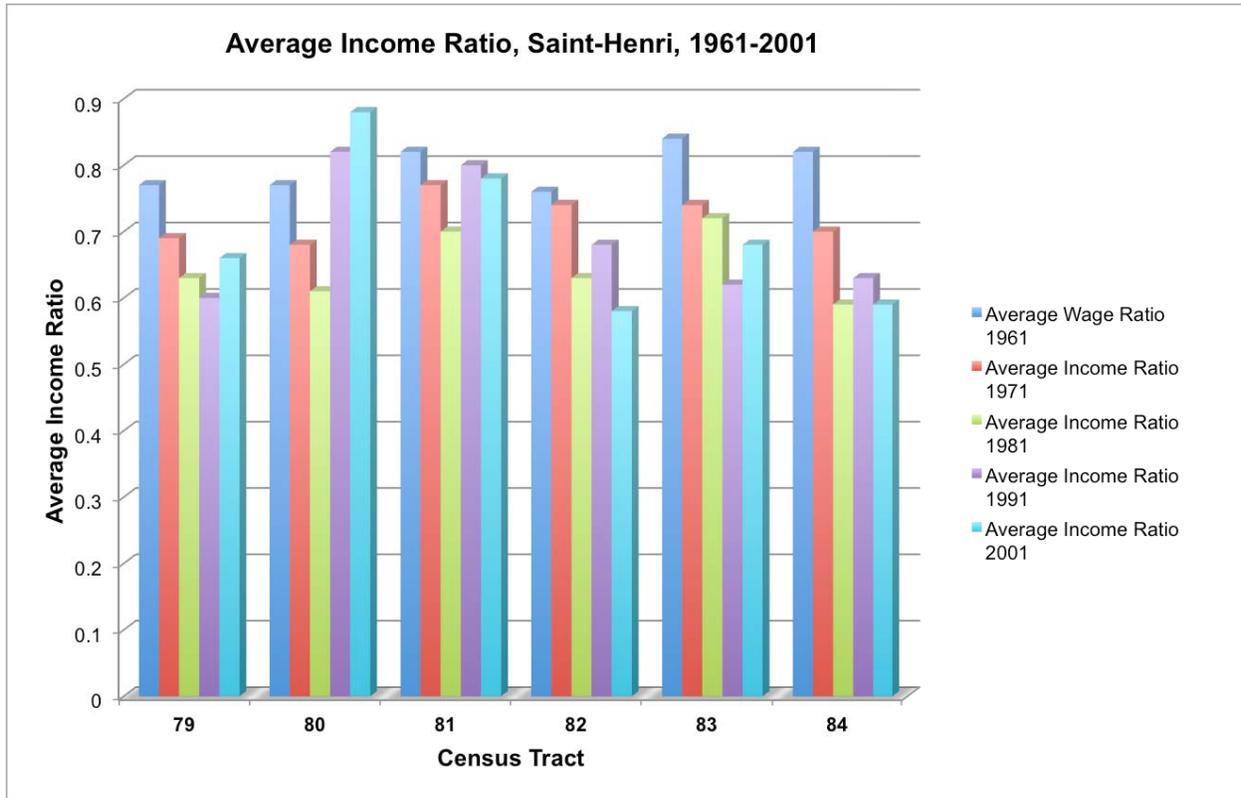
Source: author's calculations from Statistics Canada Censuses of 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, Special compilations for Alan Walks

In Saint-Henri, throughout the 1961-2001 period, all the census tracts in the neighbourhood have average income ratios of less than 1.0, indicating incomes for the neighbourhood below those of the CMA as a whole. Overall, every CT experienced steady declines in average income ratios from 1961-1981, as one would expect with the steady deindustrialization taking place over this period. However, after this period, the trajectories differ among CTs within the neighbourhood (see Figure 5.3 above). In CTs 79 and 83, average income ratios continued to decline between 1981 and 1991. This is likely due to the fact that at this point in time deindustrialization continued along the Lachine Canal (which borders CTs 79 and 83), leaving residents in these areas with fewer work opportunities. During the same time period, in CTs 80, 81, 82 and 84, average income ratios began to rise. In CTs 80 and 81, this increase in average income ratios was accompanied by stark increases in social status (see Figure 5.4 below) during the same period, suggesting that gentrification was well underway in these CTs during the 1981-1991 period. Between 1991 and 2001, in contrast, CTs 79, 80 and

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83 were characterized by increasing average incomes ratios. This could be due to the continuation of 'standard' gentrification in CT 80, and the onset of new-build gentrification in CT 79 and 83, as during the 1991-2001 time period, both CT 79 and CT 83 began to experience new construction with an increase in housing units in each census tract of approximately 5%.

However, in CTs 81, 82 and 84, average income ratios decreased in the 1991-2001 period. This is perhaps due to the fact that these areas were less affected by the onset of gentrification than elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Take note for instance of the less marked increases in social status for the 1991-2001 period in these CTs compared to CTs 79, 80 and 83 during the same period (see Figure 5.4 below).

Following Ley (1996), Walks and Maaranen assessed the changing social status of areas over the 1961-2001 time period (again measured by the presence of residents in professional and managerial occupations and residents with university degrees).

In Saint-Henri, there is considerable variation between census tracts. CT 80 exhibits a vastly higher social status compared to the other CTs in the neighbourhood from the 1991 census onward. CT 81 has experienced an increase in social status from the 1991 census onward, though less drastic than in the case of CT 80. In fact, by 2001 both CT 80 and 81 have social statuses that exceed CMA averages. CTs 79 and 83 have shown marked increases in social status between 1991-2001. It is possible that this marked increase in social status could be due to the new construction (or adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings to condominiums), as these are the CTs that border the Lachine Canal (designated a recreational corridor in 1997). The increases in social status in CT 82 and CT 84, while still present, have been considerably more modest than in the other census tracts in the neighbourhood.

Figure 5.4: Social Status, Saint-Henri, 1961-2001
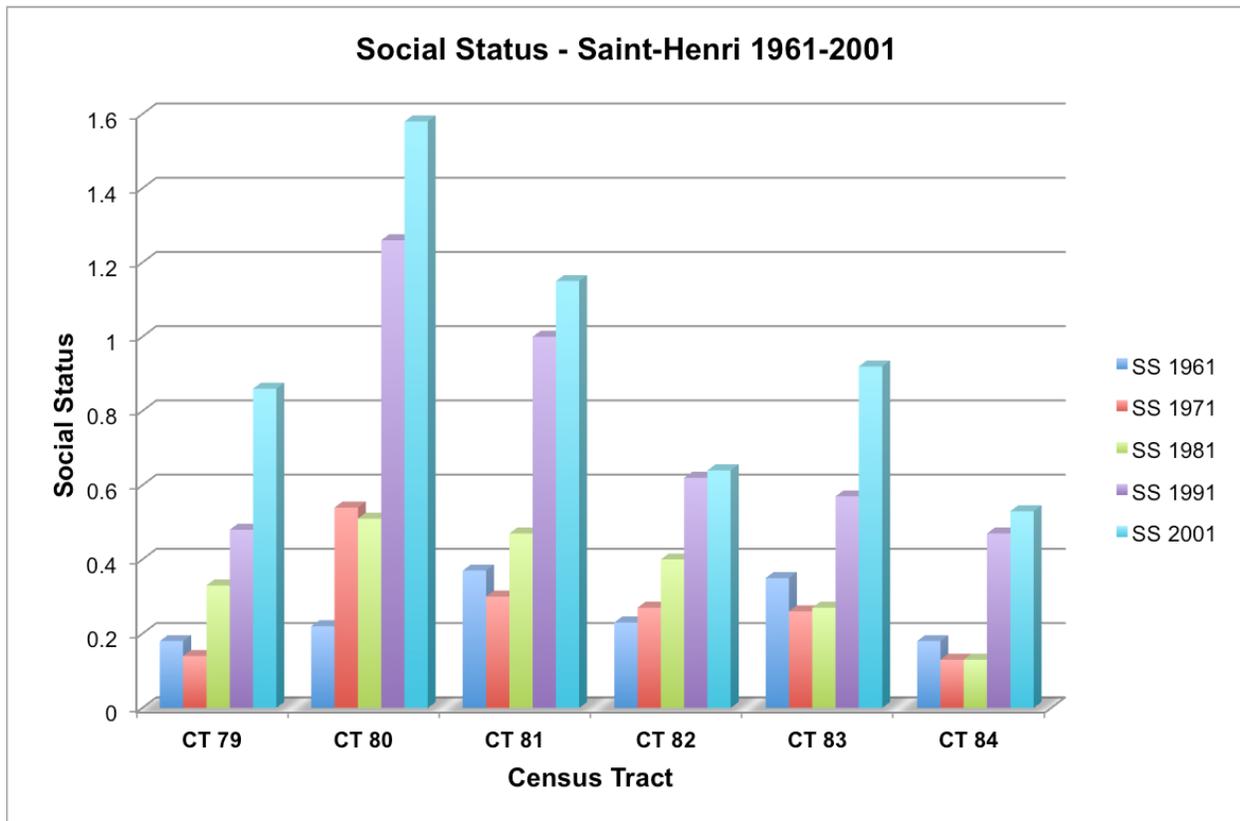
We now turn to housing tenure[9] in Saint-Henri, there is variation among census tracts in terms of the proportion of rented dwellings over the 1961-2001 period (see Figure 5.5 below). In every time period examined however, there are a much higher proportion of renters in Saint-Henri (all CTs had between 80 and 90% renters) than in the Montréal CMA which has experienced a constantly declining proportion of rented dwellings over time. In the most recent period (1991-2001), CTs 79 and 80 experienced a decrease in the proportion of rented dwellings, while CTs 81, 82, 83 and 84 all experienced slight increases.

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[9] A dwelling is classified as "owned" even if it is not fully paid for, such as one which has a mortgage or some other claim on it. The dwelling may be situated on rented or leased land or be part of a condominium (whether registered or unregistered). A dwelling is classified as "rented" even if it is provided without cash rent or at a reduced rent or if the dwelling is part of a cooperative. For census purposes, in a cooperative all members jointly own the cooperative and occupy their dwelling units under a lease agreement (Statistics Canada 1996).

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Figure 5.5: Proportion of rented dwellings in Saint-Henri compared to Montréal CMA, 1961-2001
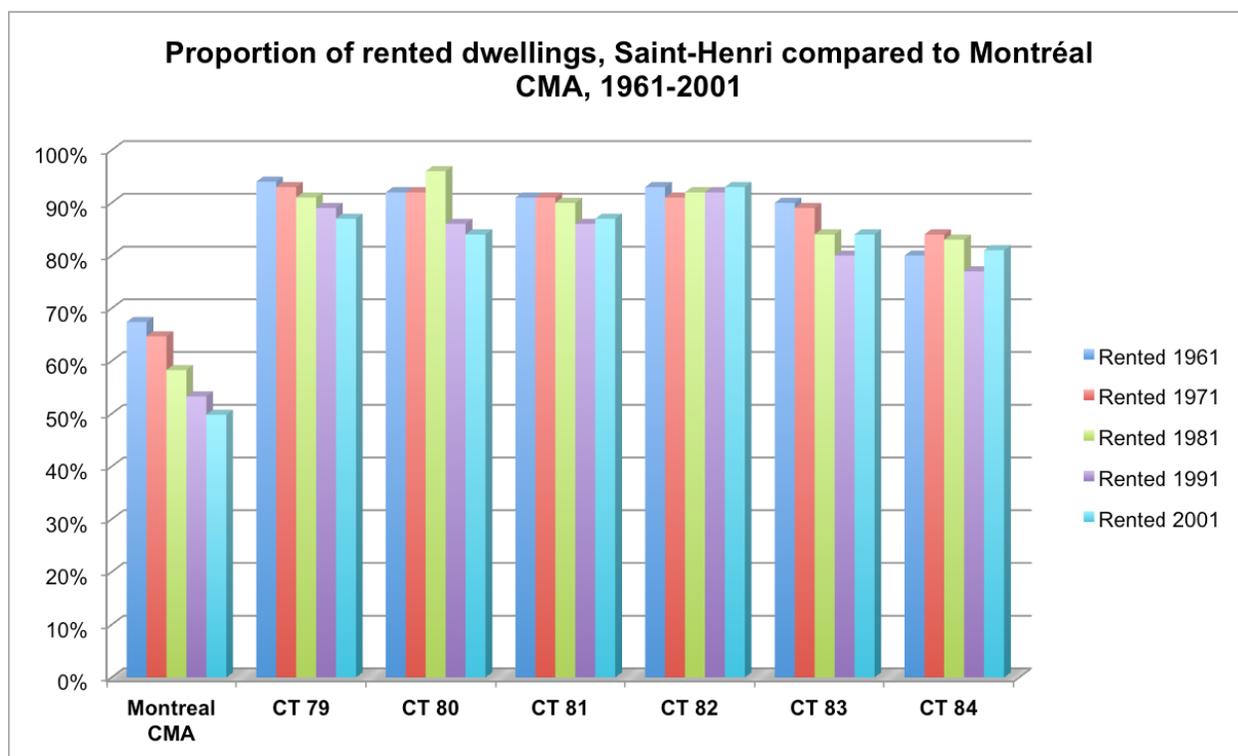
The additional analysis of Walks and Maaranen's data set reveals the following trends: the average income ratio in Saint-Henri was below that of the CMA in all periods considered for analysis, but CTs 79, 80 and 83 experienced increases in the 1991-2001 period. With regards to changing social status in Saint-Henri, all census tracts have experienced increasing social status over the 1961-2001 period. In the 1981-1991 period however, CT 80 in fact surpasses the CMA average in terms of social status. In the 1991-2001 period, again the increase in social status was most marked in the case of CT 80 which is now well above the CMA average. CT 81 however, while showing a less marked increase over the same period, nonetheless exceeded the CMA average by 2001. Furthermore, while showing lower social statuses overall than the two aforementioned tracks, CTs 79 and 83 (both of which border the Lachine Canal) both showed remarkable increases in social status, creeping ever closer to CMA averages. Last, in terms of changes in housing tenure, in Saint-Henri all census tracts had between 80 and 90% rental tenure between 1961-2001. This is a far higher proportion of rental tenure than in the Montréal CMA, for all census years considered.

5.3 Census-based Analysis of Gentrification in Saint-Henri, 1996 and 2006

Having reviewed existing census-based assessments of the gentrification available in the literature, the following section brings us as close as to the present as possible, by examining similar indicators as those mentioned above for the 1996-2006 time period using published Canadian census data from 1996 and 2006. As a basis of comparison, change in Saint-Henri will be measured against that which has occurred in the Plateau-Mont-Royal Borough (Montréal's most gentrified neighbourhood) over the same time period. Previous research by Walks and Maaranen (2008) reveals that by 2001 all census tracts in the Plateau were in various stages of gentrification, with seventeen census tracts in a state of 'complete' gentrification (i.e. where average household incomes were above the CMA average). Gentrification related change in these two neighbourhoods will also be compared to the broader trends on the Island of Montréal.

5.3.1 Age structure

In a gentrifying neighbourhood, we usually see an influx in residents in the 25-44 age group, as it is people in this age group (i.e., younger non-family households) who typically drive gentrification. While on the Island of Montréal and the Plateau there has been a decrease in the proportion of residents in this age group, there has been a relative increase in this group in Saint-Henri (see Figure 5.6 below). Furthermore, in both Saint-Henri and the Plateau there has been an increase in the proportion of residents in the 45-64 age group. In Saint-Henri this may be due to new-build gentrification within the neighbourhood, (as much of the new housing stock is luxury[10] condominiums) which may be beyond households in the 25-44 age groups' capacity to afford. This is not surprising, as empty nesters (i.e. couples with grown-up children) are a target market for some of the higher end new construction.

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[10] The City of Montréal defines 'affordability' and 'affordable' housing as a housing unit in which: 'rent' or 'monthly mortgage' (including municipal taxes and heating), does not surpass 30% of the gross monthly income of the household that inhabits it (Ville de Montréal 2007, 9). In the City of Montréal's 'Stratégie de inclusion des logements abordables dans les nouveaux projets résidentiels,' the threshold by which a housing unit was deemed affordable was established according to the capacity to pay of households hoping to become 1st time homeowners (120% of the regional median income) and the evolution of the housing market. In 2006, the threshold was established at $170 000 or $200 000 for families with children (Ville de Montréal 2007, 41). However, there was controversy as to the appropriateness of the method used to define 'affordability.'(FRAPRU 2007).

Figure 5.6: Age Structure, 1996 and 2006, percent

Age Structure, 1996 and 2006

	Island of Montréal 1996	Island of Montréal 2006	Saint-Henri 1996	Saint-Henri 2006	Plateau 1996	Plateau 2006
65 +	14.9%	15.5%	13.2%	10.6%	10.4%	9.4%
45-64	22.6%	25.6%	18.2%	22.2%	18.3%	22.6%
25-44	33.3%	30.8%	36.3%	38.5%	46.3%	44.4%
15-24	12.8%	12.7%	15.5%	15.0%	14.5%	13.3%
0-14	16.4%	15.4%	16.9%	13.7%	10.5%	10.2%
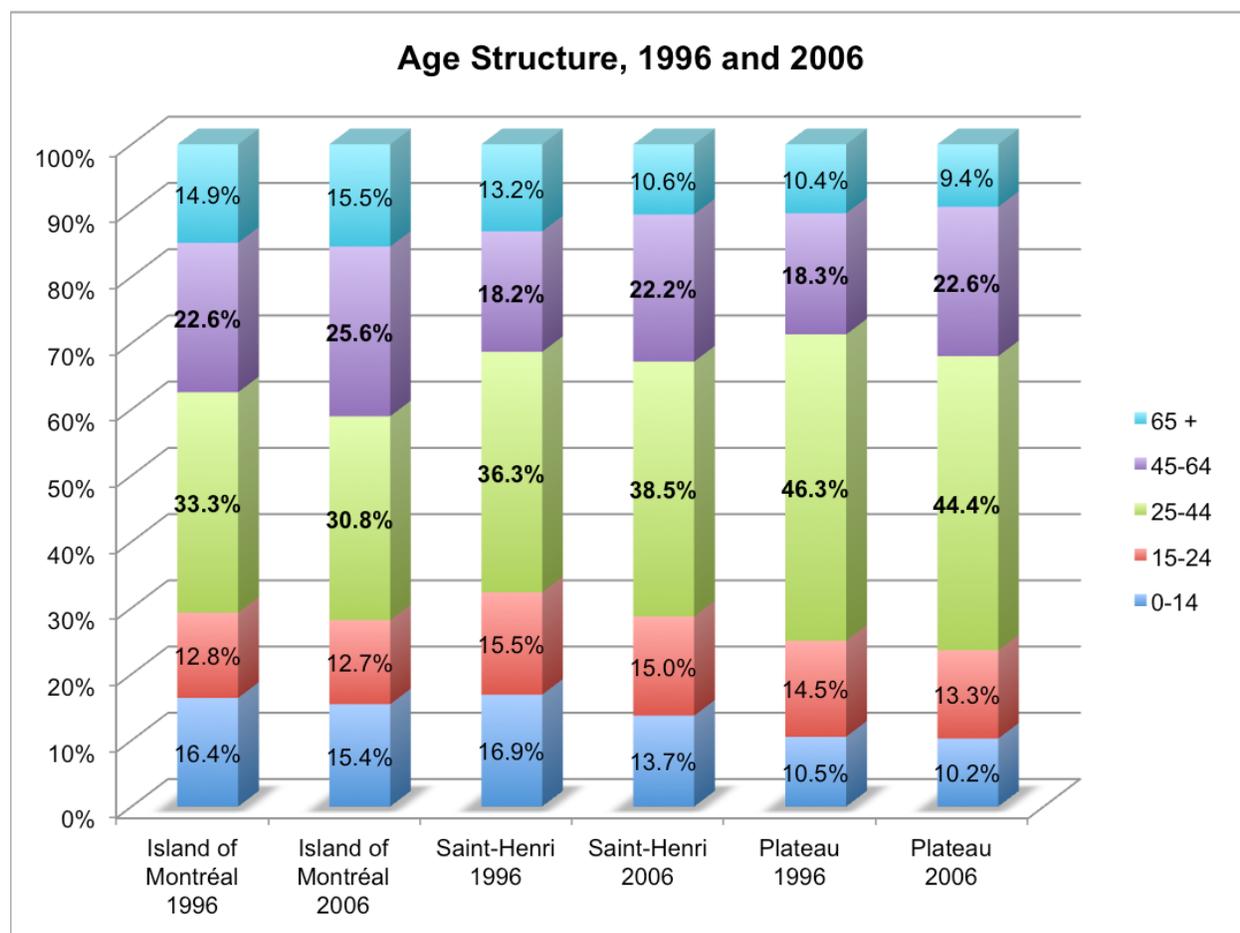
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

5.3.2 Housing tenure

Changes in housing tenure, notably an increase in owner-occupation and a decrease in rental occupation are classic indicators of gentrification. Typically, with standard gentrification one would observe an increase in both the number and proportion of owner-occupied units. However, with the onset of new-build gentrification, because such development adds additional housing units to an area, it is possible to observe an increase in the number and proportion of owner-occupied units, without a decrease in the absolute number of rental units. Overall, in Saint-Henri there has been an increase in the number of renter households between 1996 and 2006, with the addition of approximately 450 renter households during this period. Census tract 83 however, lost 100 renter households during this period. One possible explanation for this is that alongside the 'new-build' gentrification taking place in this census tract, there may have been the continuation of 'standard gentrification,' i.e. the upgrading of old housing stock and the

conversion from rental to owner-occupation. This explanation seems plausible, in so far as, this census tract has the Parc Sir-Georges-Etienne-Cartier within its boundaries and much of the housing surrounding the park is of the higher quality (constructed in greystone) than elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

Figure 5.7: Number of renter households, by census tract, 1996 and 2006, Saint-Henri
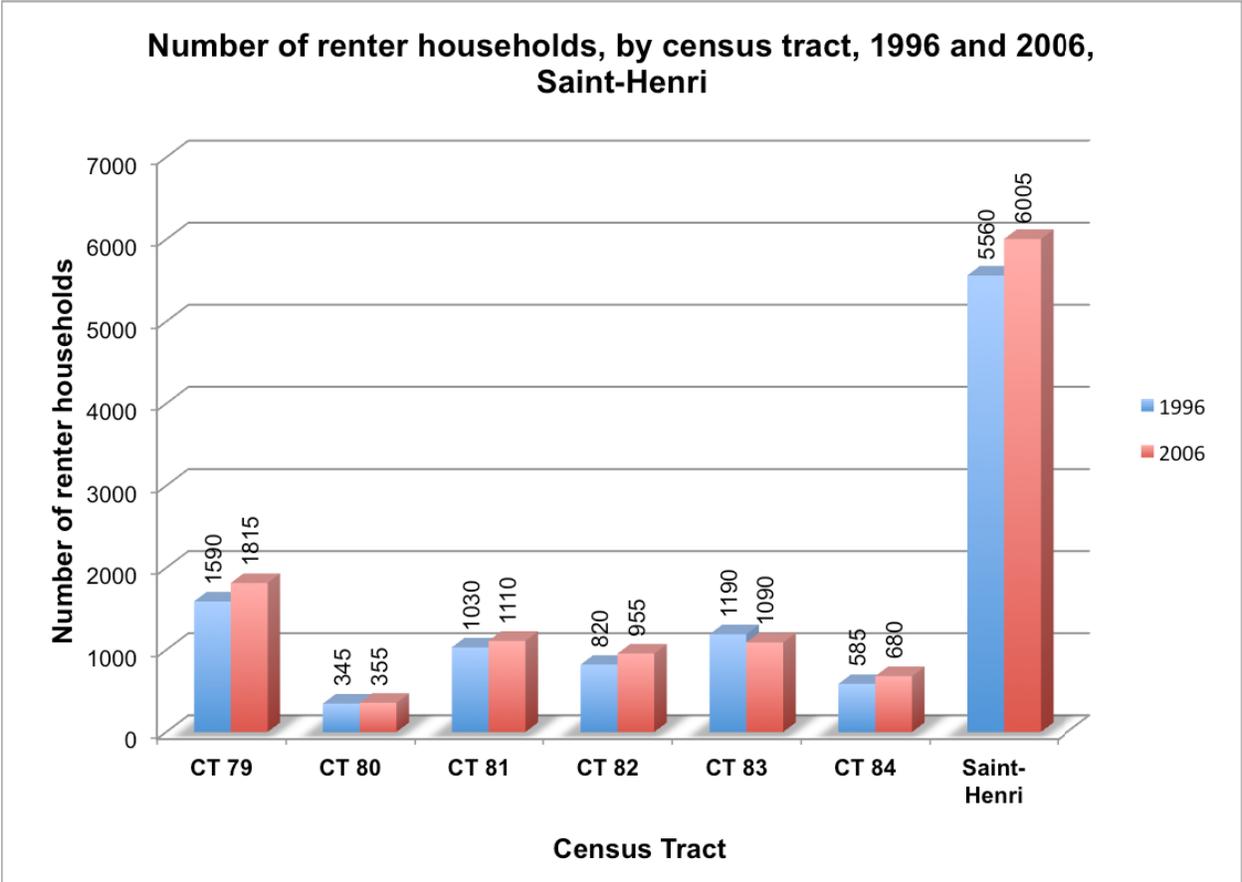
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

However, in Saint-Henri the increase in the number of owner-occupier households has been much more marked than the increase in renter households, with the addition of 500 owner-occupier households over the 1996-2006 period (see Figure 5.8 below). There have been particularly large increases in CT 79 and CT 83, which border the Lachine Canal and have been the site of significant adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings into housing. However, both CT 80 and CT 82 have experienced slight reductions in the number of owner-occupier households during this period, it is important to note however, that these are very small decreases in actual numbers (see Figure 5.8) and the Canadian Census uses 20% sample data

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and random rounding. Caution is therefore warranted in making strong inferences from such small numbers. This is one limitation of 20% sample data.

Figure 5.8: Number of owner-occupier households, by census tract, 1996 and 2006, Saint-Henri
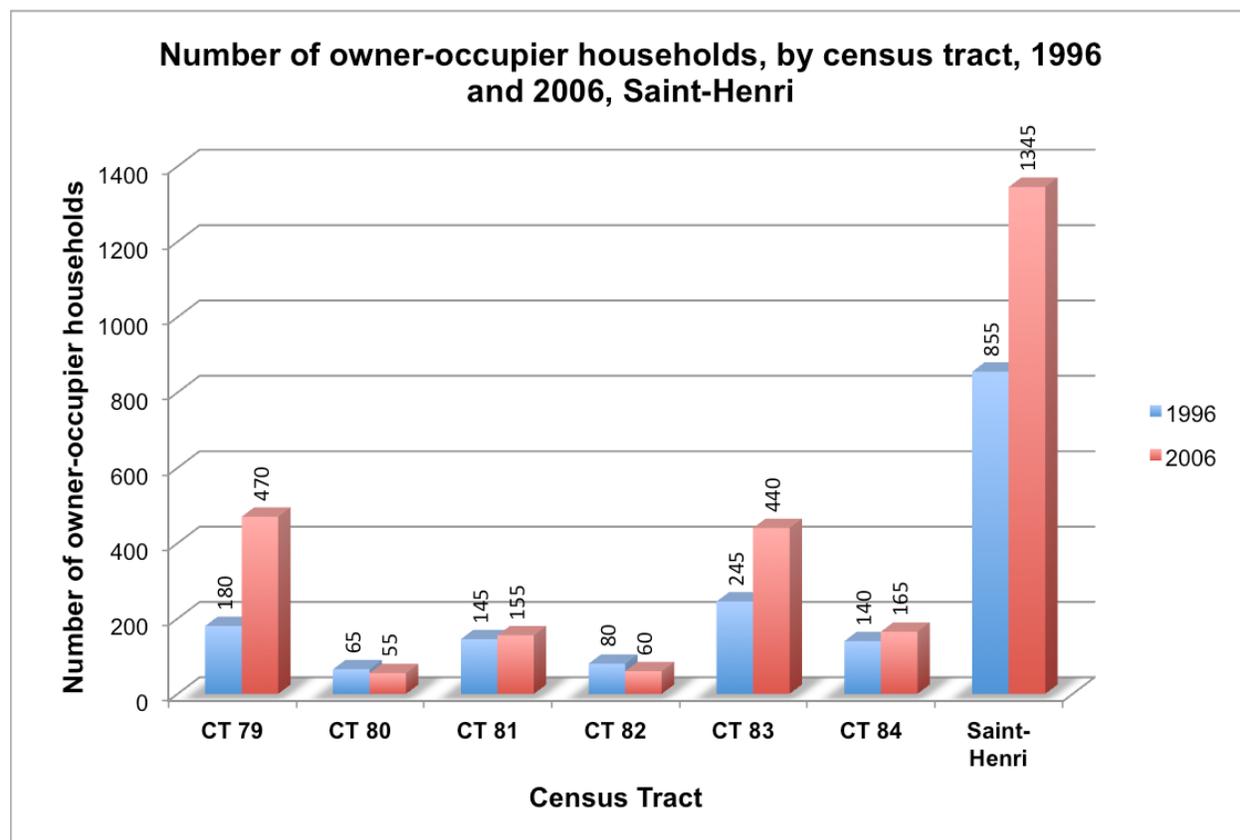
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

Table 5.5: Housing Tenure, percentage, 1996 and 2006

	Island of Montréal	**Saint-Henri**	**Plateau**
% Owners (1996)	34.3	13.3	18.5
% Renters	65.7	86.6	81.5
% Owners (2006)	37.9	18.3	26.2
% Renters	62.1	81.6	73.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

In terms of the percentage of owner-occupied households, overall Saint-Henri experienced an increase with an approximate 5% point increase in owner-occupied households between 1996 and 2006. However the neighbourhood still has a much lower percentage of owner-occupied households, when compared to the Plateau and the Island of Montréal. The

neighbourhood experienced a relative decrease in the percentage of renter households. However, even though there has been a decrease in the proportion of renter households, in terms of absolute numbers there has been an increase in the number of renter households (see previous – Figure 5.7). Again, the census tracts where these changes were most marked were in CT 79 and CT 83, which border the Lachine Canal (and are also the location of a significant amount of new-build and adaptive reuse). One possible explanation is that both areas are popular among students, although perhaps for different reasons. In the case of CT 80, it is within walking distance of both Dawson College and Concordia University. CT 82 however, while farther afield, relatively low neighbourhood rents are likely more at play (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Percentage of population by tenure type, 1996 and 2006, Saint-Henri

Tenure	Census Tract						
	79	**80**	**81**	**82**	**83**	**84**	**Saint-Henri**
% Owners (1996)	10.1	15.9*	12.3	8.9*	17.1	19.3	13.3
% Renters	89.6	84.1	87.7	91.1	82.9	80.7	86.6
% Owners (2006)	20.5	13.4*	12.2	5.9*[11]	28.7	19.6	18.3
% Renters	79.3	86.6	87.4	94.1	71	81	81.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

To briefly sum up the population and housing data presented thus far, overall the Saint-Henri neighbourhood has experienced an increase in population between 1996 and 2006 which occurred primarily from 2001 to 2006 with the addition of 1200 residents. An increase in population, when accompanied by an increase in the number of dwellings and a rise in the proportion of owner-occupiers in an area, is an indicator of new-build gentrification. In Saint-Henri, this particular combination is present, with a 5.8% increase in population, a 14.6% increase in the number of dwellings and a 5 percentage point increase in the proportion of owner-occupiers. The combination of these indicators suggests that new-build gentrification is underway. This new-build development and increase in owner-occupation, are not spread evenly throughout the neighbourhood, but occurred primarily in the census tracts bordering the Lachine Canal.

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[11] The actual numbers are small so the percentages may not be significant.

5.3.3 Housing affordability

Following Walks and Maaranen (2008), change in the average value of dwellings is a basic indicator of housing affordability.[12] As shown in Figure 5.9 below, overall there has been a rapid increase in the average value of dwellings in Montréal at all geographical scales, from the Island overall to the case study neighbourhood. In Saint-Henri the average dwelling value rose by $171 127, representing a 177.46% increase over the 1996-2006 period. This increase in average dwelling values is larger than that observed in the Plateau Mont-Royal Borough, where there was an average increase of $162 224 or a 127.45% increase. In contrast, the percentage change in average dwelling values on the Island of Montréal over the 1996-2006 time period was 92.9%. However, average dwelling values in 1996 were far below those of both the Plateau and the Island overall and remain so in 2006, though by a far smaller margin.

Figure 5.9: Average value of dwellings 1996 and 2006
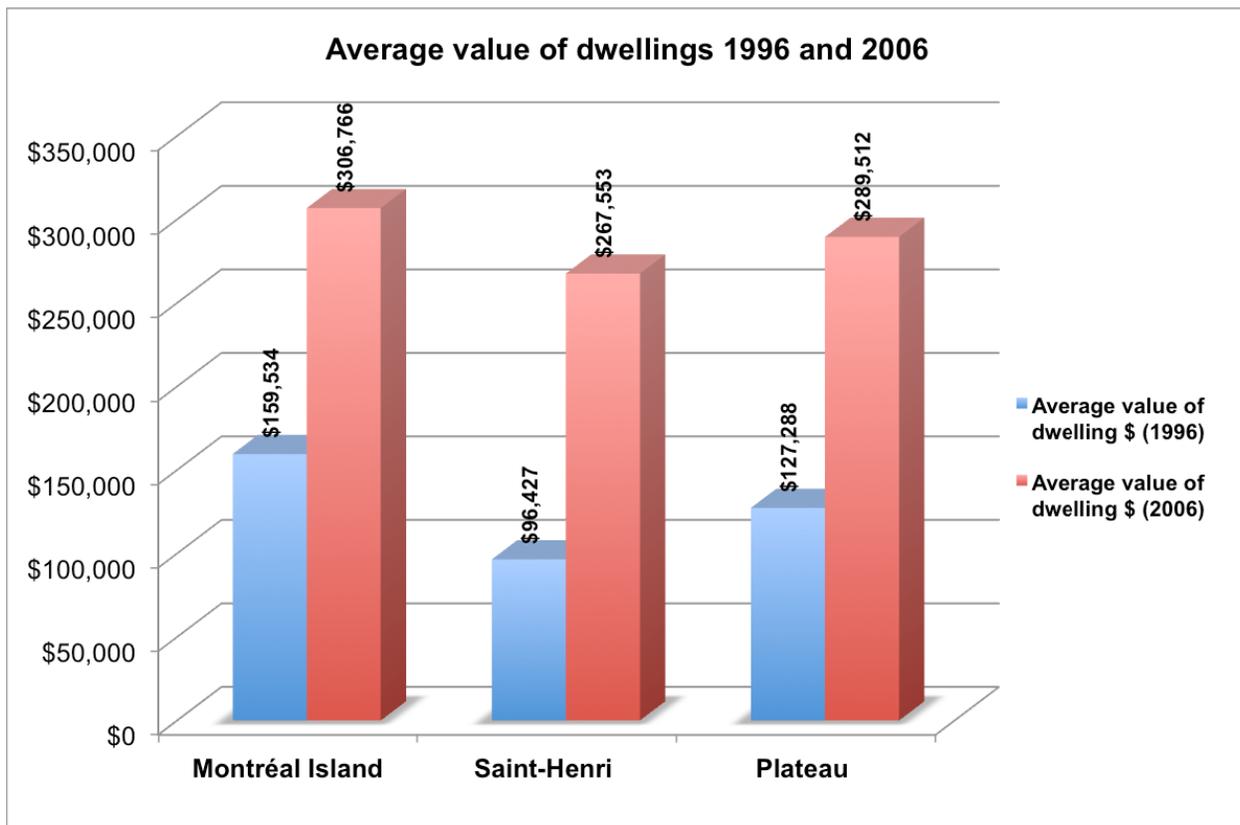
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

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[12] Average value refers to the dollar amount expected by the owner if the dwelling were to be sold. "Value of dwelling" refers to the value of the entire dwelling, including the value of the land it is on and of any other structure, such as a garage, which is on the property (Statistics Canada 1996).

A second measure of housing affordability is average gross rent.[13] Throughout the Island of Montréal there has been a marked increase in the average gross rents, which rose 21.92% between 1996 and 2006 (see Figure 5.10 below). This increase was most extreme in the case of the Plateau, which experienced a $178 increase (33.5%) in average rents over the 1996-2006 period. Saint-Henri experienced a $137 increase (29.51%) over the same period.[14] As we might expect, the case of the Plateau would be more extreme than what is observed in Saint-Henri or on the Island as a whole. Nonetheless, the increase in average gross rents observed in Saint-Henri is also quite remarkable considering it was well below the Island average gross rent in 1996 and is now relatively closer to the Island average gross rent in 2006.

Figure 5.10: Average gross rents, 1996 and 2006
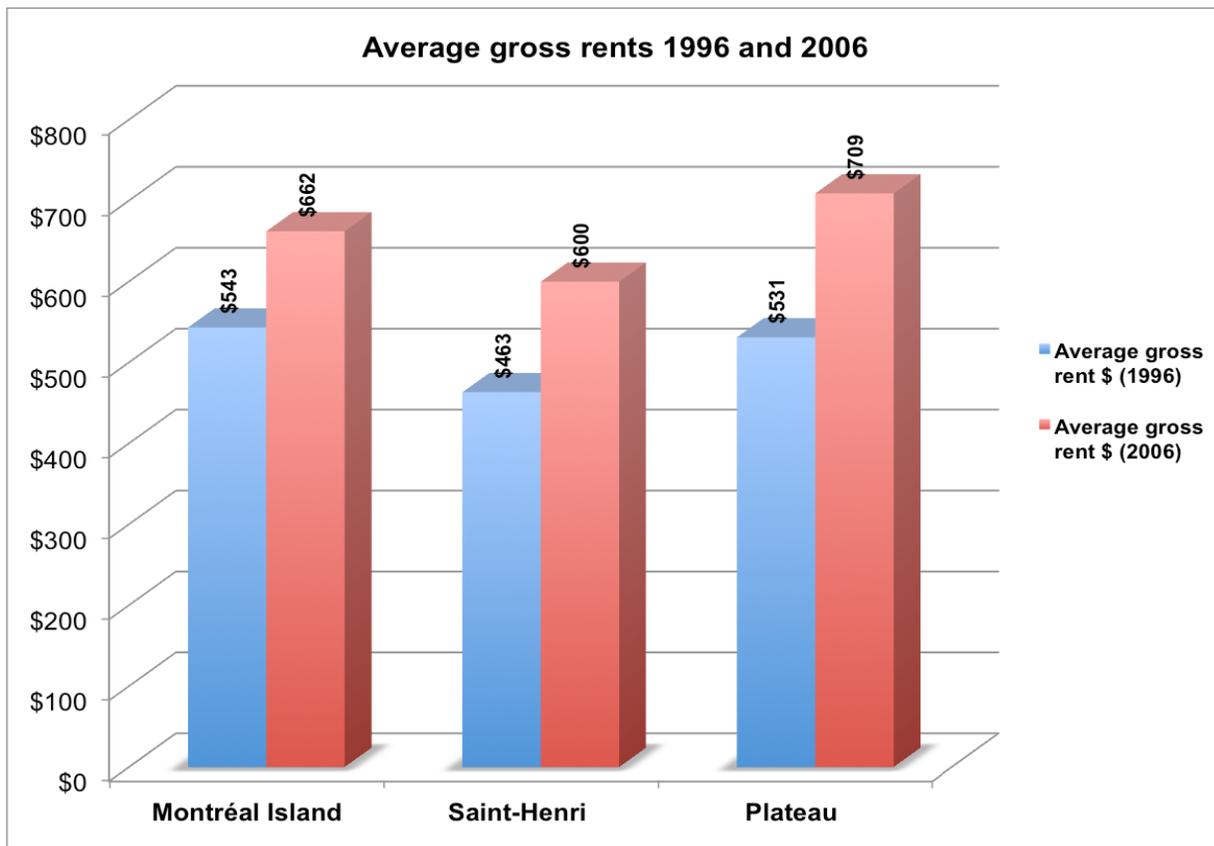
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

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[13] Refers to the total average monthly payments paid by tenant households to secure shelter. Gross rent includes payments for electricity, oil, gas, coal, wood or other fuels, water and other municipal services and monthly cash rent (Statistics Canada 1996).

[14] When 1996 average gross rents were adjusted for inflation to 2006 levels: Saint-Henri (1996) average gross rents inflation adjusted = $562; Plateau (1996) average gross rents inflation adjusted = $645. So in the case of Saint-Henri and Plateau, the increase in average gross rents was greater than inflation over ten years. However, the real impact of these changes in average gross rents would have to take into account whether the wages of actual individuals have kept pace with inflation over the same time period.

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The census tract in Saint-Henri with the greatest increase in average gross rents in between 1996 and 2006 is CT 82 (Village des Tanneries), with a 29.3% increase. CT 81 also experienced a very marked increase in average gross rents (29%) (see Table 5.8 below). The increase in average gross rents was less marked in the case of CT 80, but average gross rents were already more than $100 higher than elsewhere in Saint-Henri in 1996. CT 79 (which had the lowest average gross rents in 1996) also experienced a sizable increase (28.4%) between 1996 and 2006, as did CT 83 (27.3%). Last, CT 84 (the western tip of the neighbourhood) experienced the least significant percentage change in average gross rents and remains the CT in the neighbourhood with the lowest average gross rent in 2006. This is due to the extremely high proportion of social and community housing in this census tract, representing 68.8% of the total housing (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.7: Average gross rents, 1996 and 2006, by census tract, Saint-Henri

	Census Tract						
	79	**80**	**81**	**82**	**83**	**84**	**Saint-Henri**
Average gross rent $ (1996)	$447	$631	$500	$450	$462	$463	$463
Average gross rent $ (2006)	$574	$769	$645	$582	$588	$549	$600
% change 1996-2006	28.4%	21.9%	29.0%	29.3%	27.3%	18.6%	29.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

5.3.4 Income

Two income variables were selected for analysis. Household income[15] influences what a household can pay for housing. However, this variable cannot be used in a conclusive fashion without knowing household size. Total personal income[16] on the other hand, is a better indicator for gauging the actual purchasing power of individuals. The figures cited here are for 1995 and 2005, as the censuses of 1996 and 2006 report on incomes based on the previous year's taxes.

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[15] Average household income refers to the weighted mean total income of households in 1995 (Statistics Canada 1996).

[16] Average income of individuals refers to the weighted mean total income of individuals 15 years of age and over who reported income for 1995. Average income is calculated from unrounded data by dividing the aggregate income of a specified group of individuals (e.g. males 45 to 54 years of age) by the number of individuals with income in that group (Statistics Canada 1996).

In a gentrifying neighbourhood, one would expect to find an increase in both average household and personal incomes, due to the influx of more well-off residents.

In terms of household income, Saint-Henri experienced a sizable increase in average household income (25.5% increase between 1995 and 2005), which is just slightly below the percentage change in average household income in the Plateau, and much above that for the Island as a whole (see Table 5.8).

When we examined personal income, Saint-Henri experienced a 23.7% increase in average personal income between 1995 and 2005, which again is slightly less than what occurred in the Plateau, but far larger than the percentage changes that took place on the Montréal Island. However, in terms of actual real incomes, Saint-Henri is still far below the average personal income on the Island of Montréal.

Table 5.8: Percentage increase in real incomes, 1995 and 2005

Variable name	Montréal Island	Saint-Henri	Plateau
Average household income $ - 1995 (inflation adjusted to 2005 $)[17]	$49 583	$31 338	$38 705
Average household income $ - 2005	$57 738	$39 340	$49 295
% change, 1996-2006	16.4%	25.5%	27.4%
Average personal income $ 1995 (inflation adjusted to 2005 $)	$28 607	$19 509	$25 377
Average personal income $ 2005	$32 946	$24 127	$32 290
% change, 1996-2006	15.2%	23.7%	27.2%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

When explored at the census tract level, the CTs in Saint-Henri where the increase in household income was most marked were in the case of CT 79 and CT 83, both of which border the Lachine Canal. In CT 84 however, there has been a slight decrease in household income. This decrease is likely due to the high proportion of social and community housing in the census tract and may reflect a decrease in average household income among residents of social housing.

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[17] The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the Montréal CMA 1995 and 2005 were used to calculate the adjusted income.

Figure 5.11: Average household income, 1995 and 2005, by census tract, Saint-Henri
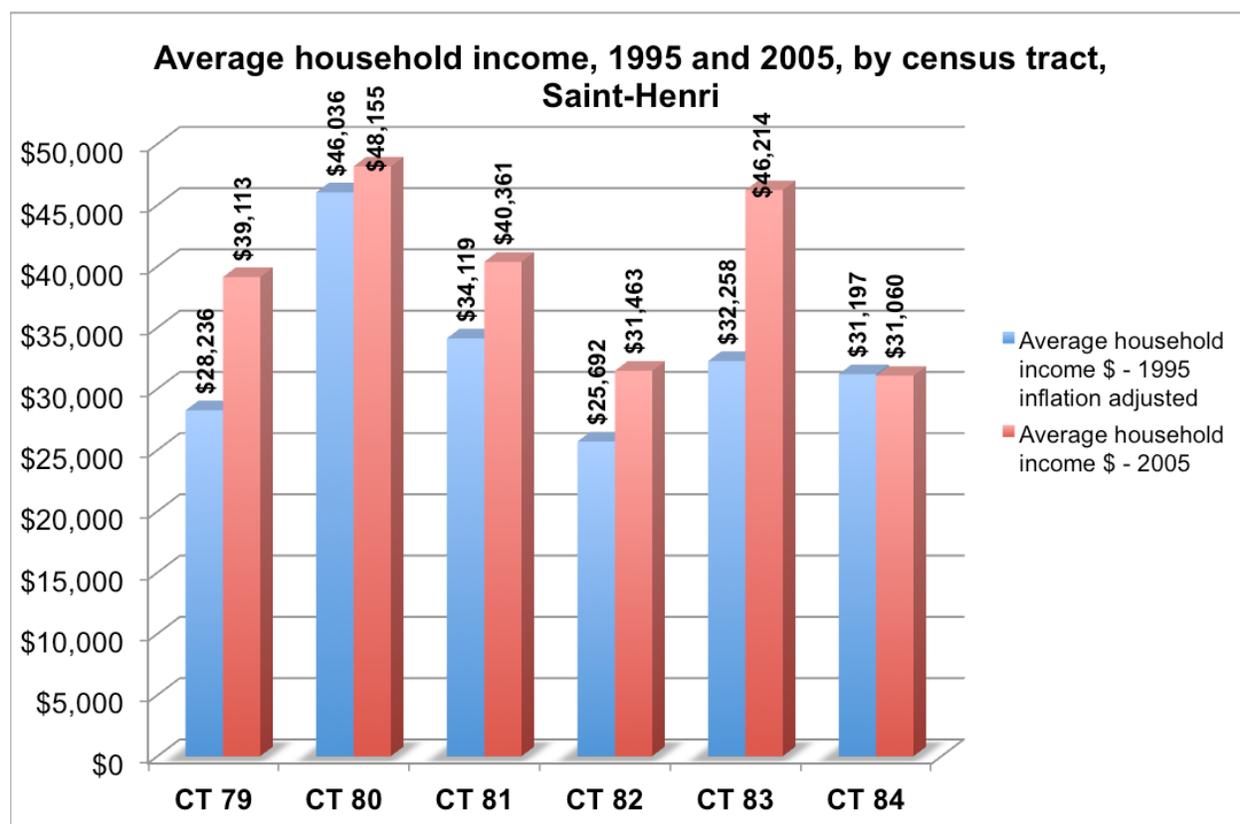
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

5.3.5 Socio-economic status: Education

An "over-representation" of university degree-holders in a particular area is an important indicator of its social status. If, over time, the proportion of highly educated people climbs from below to close to the city average, this is one of the classic indicators of gentrification (See Ley 1996; Walks and Maaranen 2008). However, due to a major change in the way that Statistics Canada publishes this data, comparisons between 2006 and previous years are limited. In 2006, the variable is the population aged 25-64 with a university degree or certificate. In previous censuses, the variable was the population aged 15 and over with a university degree or certificate, which therefore included those still in school.

Table 5.9: Education, university degree or certificate, 2006

	Saint-Henri	Plateau	Island of Montréal
Population aged 25 - 64 years	8 830	65 565	1 037 325
With university degree or certificate	2 630	33 380	340 060
With university degree or certificate, %	29.8%	50.9%	32.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

In 2006, Saint-Henri is still a little below the Island average in terms of the percentage of the population aged 25-64 with a university degree or certificate.

Figure 5.12: Percentage of population, 25-64 years old with a university degree or certificate, 2006
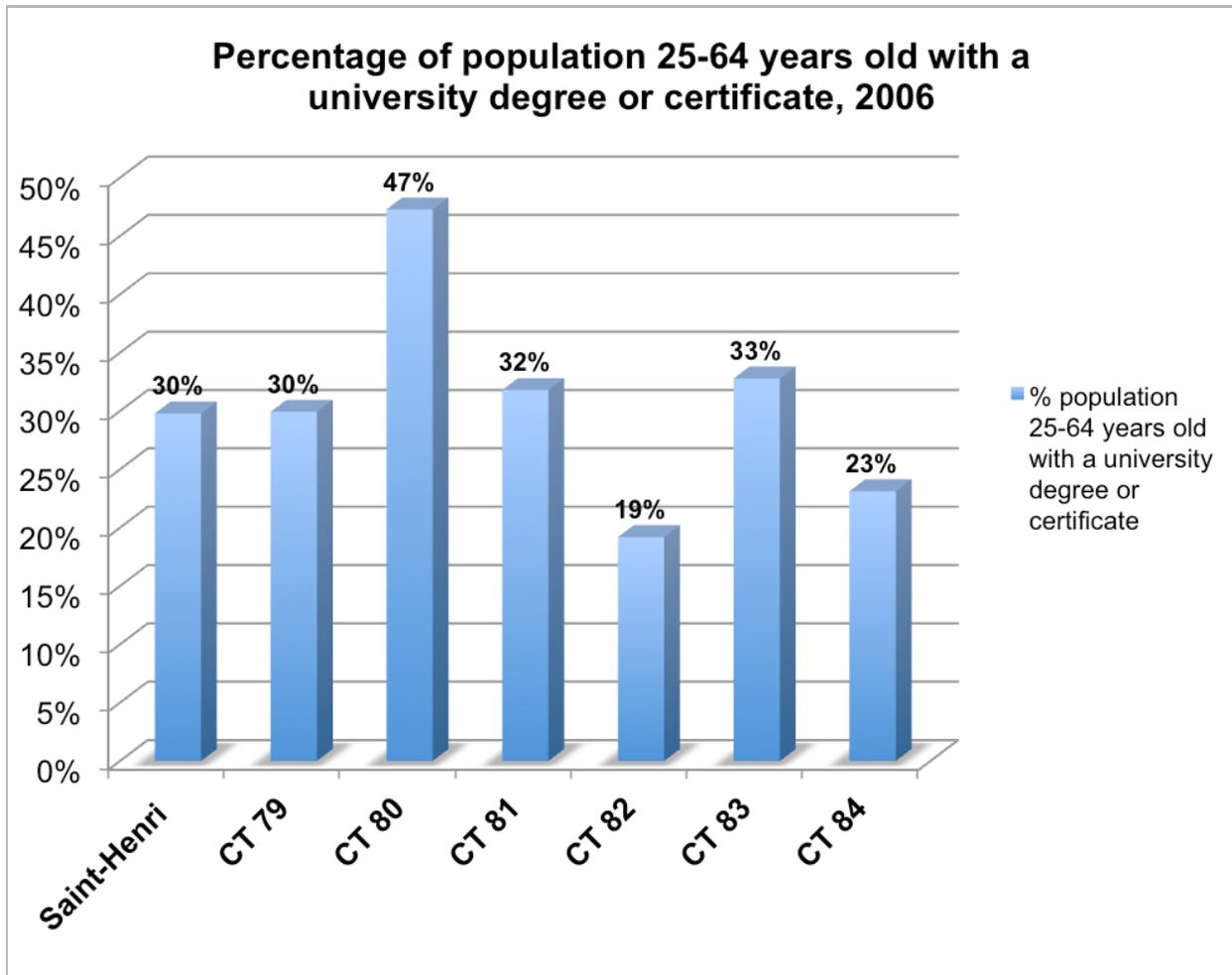
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

However at the census tract level, in Saint-Henri there is a large amount of heterogeneity in terms of the proportion of the population aged 25-64 with a university degree or certificate. CT 80 stands out with approximately 15 percentage points more of the population 25-64 years old with a university degree or certificate compared to the other census tracts in the neighbourhood. At the other extreme, CT 82 and 84 (which had the lowest average household incomes and lowest average personal income within the neighbourhood in 2005) were far below the other census tracts in the neighbourhood in terms of percentage of the population aged 25-64 with a university degree or certificate, as well as below the Island average.

The comparison that can be made between 1996 and 2006 is the percentage of the population aged 15 or older with a university degree or certificate, but an important caveat is

that the denominator includes people who are still in school (see Figure 5.13 below). Nonetheless, a change in the proportion of highly educated residents from below to close to the city average is a classic indicator of gentrification when it is paralleled by a major rise in occupational status or income levels. In Saint-Henri, while the proportion of residents 15 or over with a university degree or certificate was approximately 7.3 percentage points below the Island overall in 1996, the neighbourhood is only 2.6 percentage points behind the Island average in 2006. However, the Plateau stands alone, far above the Island average in both 1996 and 2006.

Figure 5.13: Percentage of population 15-64 years old with a university degree or certificate, 1996 and 2006
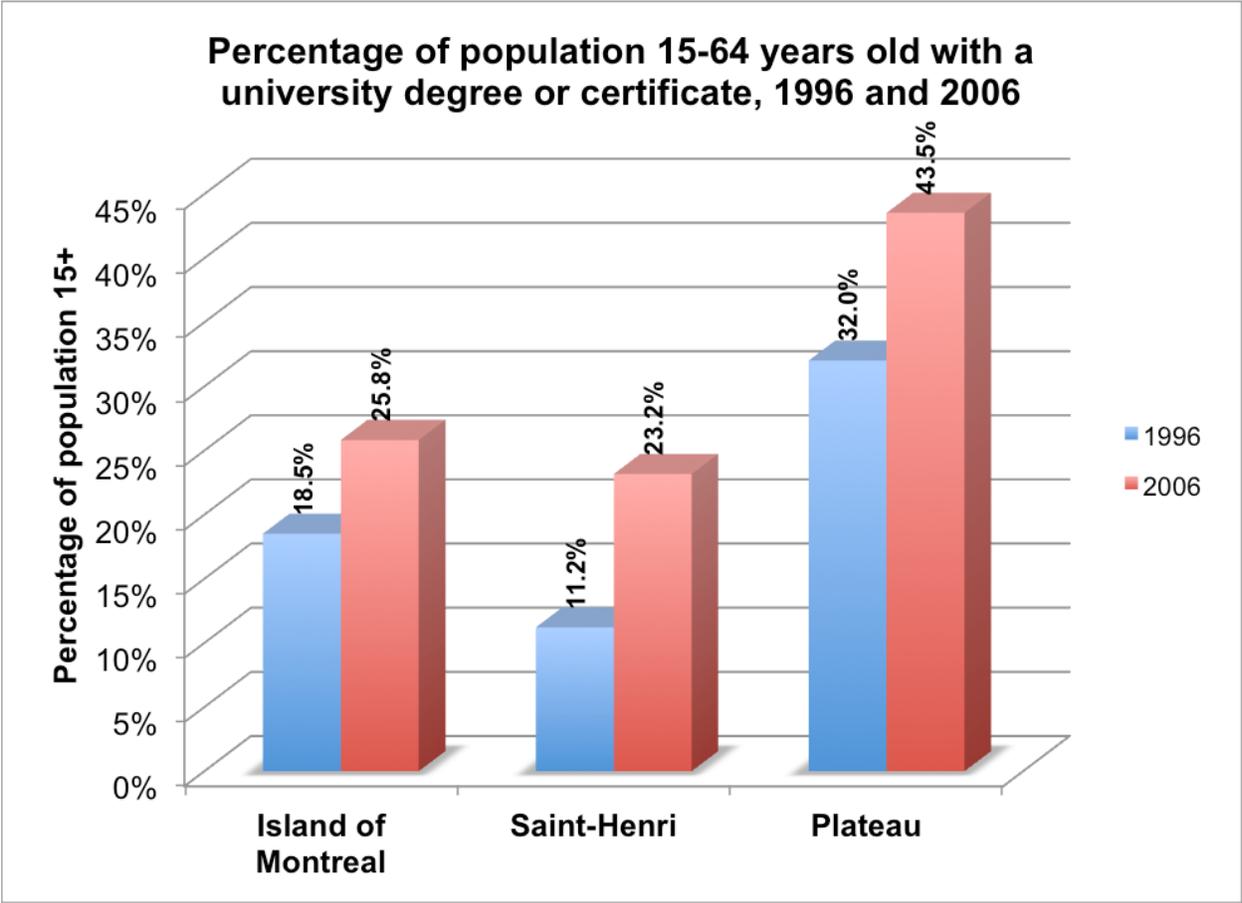
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

5.3.6 Socio-economic status - Occupation:

As mentioned above, rising educational levels when combined with rising proportions of residents in professional and managerial occupations is one of the classic indicators of gentrification. Indeed, as discussed earlier in this chapter both Ley (1996) and Walks and

Maaranen (2008) created social status indexes that combined these two variables. In our analysis, I present these indicators separately, rather than as an index.

It is not possible to compare all occupational categories between censuses, because of incompatibilities in terms of how the various occupational categories have been defined. However, the professional and senior manager occupational category remained constant between the 1996 and 2006 censuses, and this is the category that is typically associated with gentrification. In Saint-Henri there has been a 5.4 percentage point increase in the proportion of residents who are employed as professionals and senior managers between 1996 and 2006. However, it still has a smaller proportion of professionals and senior managers than the Island of Montréal. The proportional increase observed in Saint-Henri is however not as large an increase as is seen in the Plateau Mont-Royal, which experienced a 8.5 percentage point increase in the proportion of senior managers and professionals in the neighbourhood between 1996 and 2006, where this occupational category now represents almost 45% of the active working population in the neighbourhood.

Table 5.10: Proportion of Professionals and Senior Managers in the working population, 1996 and 2006

	Island of Montréal	Saint-Henri	Plateau Mont-Royal
1996	26.2%	20.1%	36.2%
2006	30.8%	25.5%	44.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

At the census tract level in Saint-Henri, the increase in the number of residents working as senior managers and professionals is most marked in CT 79 and CT 83, the two census tracts that border the Lachine Canal and have also experienced significant new-build construction in the last 10 years (see Figure 5.15 below). In CT 82 and 84, while there has been a slight increase in the number of residents employed as senior managers and professionals, the number of residents in these types of occupations is very low. CT 80, on the other hand, experienced a slight decrease in the number of residents working in professional and managerial occupations.

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Figure 5.14: Presence of senior managers and professionals in Saint-Henri, compared to other occupational groups, 1996 and 2006

Presence of senior managers and professionals in Saint-Henri, compared to other occupational groups, 1996 and 2006

Legend:
- 1996 - senior managers, professionals
- 1996 - other occupations
- 2006 - senior managers, professionals
- 2006 - other occupations
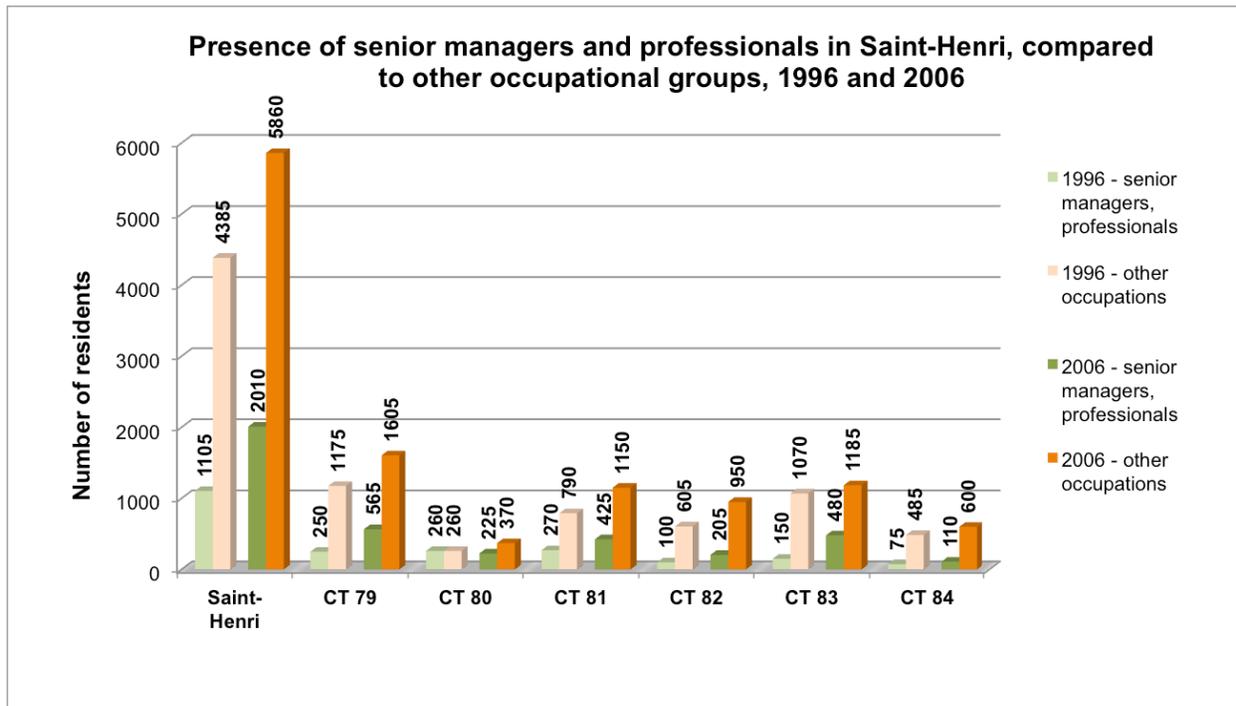
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

When we examined the proportion of residents employed as professionals and senior managers, all census tracts in Saint-Henri experienced an increase with the exception of CT 80. The proportional increases were most notable in the cases of CT 79 and 83. The only CT with a decrease in the proportion of professionals was CT 80, which while quite sizable (-14% approximately) only amounted to 35 fewer residents in this occupational category in 2006 compared to 1996 (which may not be statistically significant in view of the small numbers and random rounding). Because this census tract has the lowest population of the CTs considered for this analysis, the proportional decrease is more marked. CT 82 and 84 have much lower percentages of residents working in these occupational categories than the other CTs in the neighbourhood and in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood overall.

Figure 5.15: Percentage of professionals and senior managers in the working population, 1996 and 2006, Saint-Henri
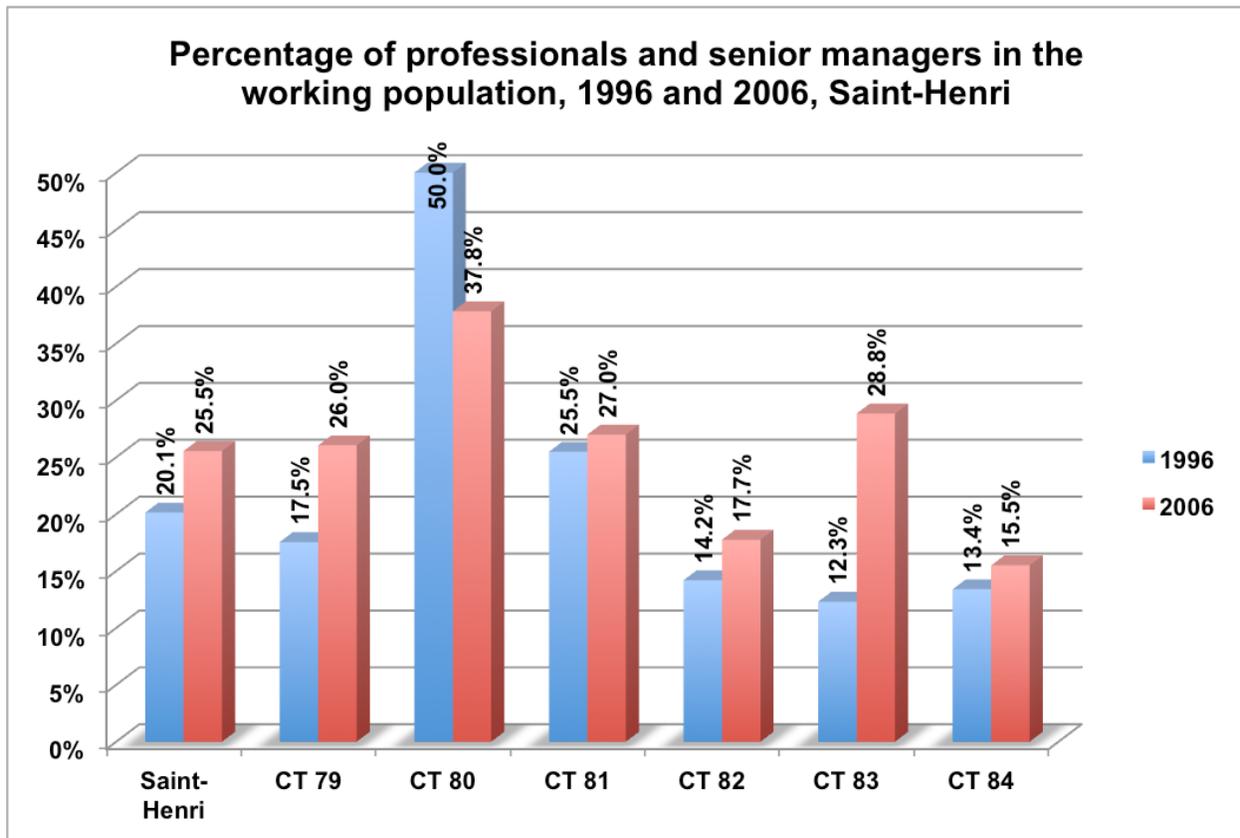
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of 1996 and 2006

5.3.7 Conclusions based on the 1996 and 2006 census based analysis:

The preceding analysis has revealed a number of salient findings. It is clear from a large number of the indicators assessed that there is considerable gentrification underway in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood overall, but that the trajectories of the different sub-neighbourhoods (operationalized as census tracts for this analysis) are somewhat heterogeneous. Previous analyses (Ley 1996; Walks and Maaranen 2008) highlighted that standard gentrification (i.e. transformation of the older building stock) was already underway in some census tracts within the neighbourhood, including CT 80, 81 and 82. The 1996 and 2006 analysis presented here provides a useful supplement, in documenting the continued process of standard gentrification between 1996 and 2006, as well as the more recent consolidation of 'new-build' gentrification, concentrated along the Lachine Canal (in CTs 79 and 83), which has occurred primarily during this period. Indicators that reinforce this conclusion include: the marked increase in the proportion of owner-occupied households; the increases in average dwelling values and average rents; marked increases in average household and average personal incomes;

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increases in the proportion of the population aged 15+ with a university degree or certificate; and increases in the proportion of professionals and seniors managers in the neighbourhood. It is worthy of note however, that CT 84 is somewhat of an anomaly in that indicators of gentrification are less evident there. It experienced a slight decrease in the proportion of owner-occupiers and the lowest average gross rents in the neighbourhood. Further, it was the only census tract to experience both a decrease in average household and average personal incomes between 1996 and 2006. It also had a lesser proportion of residents with a university degree or certificate; and a lower proportion of residents employed as professionals and senior managers, compared to other CTs in Saint-Henri. As such, this census tract could be characterized as experiencing 'not gentrification, [but] other trends,' as Walks and Maaranen characterized it 2001. As discussed in section 5.1.6, this census tract has a very high proportion of social and community housing compared to elsewhere in the neighbourhood (see Table 5.3). The qualitative analysis in subsequent chapters may shed more light on what has been happening in CT 84.

However, it should be noted that while considerable gentrification is underway in Saint-Henri as a whole (except CT 84), it is still not as extreme as what is observed in the Plateau Mont-Royal, Montréal's most gentrified neighbourhood. The Plateau Mont-Royal experienced larger increases in the proportion of owner-occupiers, average gross rents, average household and average personal incomes, the proportion of the population aged 15+ with a university degree or certificate and the proportion of the population in professional and managerial occupations then was observed in Saint-Henri. Thus, had Walks and Maaranen's analysis covered the period up until 2006 (rather than just until 2001), most census tracts in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood would no doubt still be in a state of 'incomplete gentrification,' a term which refers to instances where although an area is in the process of gentrifying, the average income of the neighbourhood still remains below the metropolitan average. This information will be used in subsequent chapters for contextualization and aid in interpretation of resident perceptions of neighbourhood change.

5.4 Inventory of commercial and community services on Notre-Dame

As outlined in Section 4.6.1, the goal of the commercial inventory was to create a current portrait of available services on Rue Notre-Dame between Atwater (the eastern border of the neighbourhood) and St. Rémi (see Figure 5.2 above). The aims of the inventory are twofold: first, to provide an approximate portrait of commercial gentrification on the main neighbourhood commercial street; and second, to provide baseline information against which the perceptions of

interviewees can be contextualized and interpreted. The 2011 commercial inventory was then compared to the 1996 Lovell's Directory in order to create an approximate portrait of commercial services available on this section of Notre-Dame, 15 years ago. In order to facilitate comparison, services available on Notre-Dame were broken down into five distinctive types for both 1996 and 2011 in order to compare the relative share of each type over time. The categorization of service types was adapted from Zukin et al.'s (2009) similar work, which gauged the degree of commercial gentrification underway in two New York City neighbourhoods. The five service categories used for our analysis were: a) community services including libraries, CLSC, local community organizations, and local religious organizations; b) corporate chains including all chain stores; c) entrepreneurial businesses including services targeted at higher income groups rather than the incumbent population including boutiques, restaurants and cafés; d) local businesses including individually owned small businesses not of the entrepreneurial category (i.e. that provided commercial services catering to the incumbent population); e) unknown including businesses whose type was not able to be ascertained; and f) vacant includes all unoccupied storefronts in 2011 or addresses for which there was no listing in 1996.

The greatest proportional gains by category were in terms of entrepreneurial businesses, suggesting that there has been a significant incursion of new businesses onto the neighbourhood commercial street to service the higher income population who have moved into the area in recent years (refer to Figure 5.16 below). The second largest gain was in the case of corporate chains, again not surprising as the area gentrifies it becomes viewed as a safer investment and corporate chains move into a once deteriorated neighbourhood. Zukin et al.'s (2009) analysis revealed a strong growth in entrepreneurial businesses and a notable increase in corporate retail capital (chain stores) as the study areas in the Williamsburg and Harlem neighbourhoods gentrified, however this was accompanied by a sharp decline in local retail businesses.[18] It is here that the patterns of commercial service provision in Saint-Henri differ, as while far less sizable then the gains in the two formerly mentioned categories, there was also an increase in local small businesses over the 1996-2011 period. Equally, there was a slight increase in the proportion of community services available on Notre-Dame over the same period (this category was not included in Zukin et al.'s (2009) analysis). The most sizable decline during the period of analysis was in the vacancies category, and in this context could suggest that as of yet local small businesses have not been displaced to a significant degree by the

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[18] An important caveat however is that the period of analysis in the Zukin et al. (2009) study was much longer, covering a period from 1979-2006.

wider neighbourhood changes underway. For example, it was observed in a few cases that a particular local business had changed location on Notre-Dame over the years, but was able to relocate to a storefront in close proximity of its former locale. It seems that entrepreneurial businesses and chain stores have occupied formerly vacant storefronts as the proportion of commercial vacancies has diminished substantially between 1996 and 2011. Over time however, this increased vitality on Notre-Dame could have the effect of raising commercial rents to a point beyond which these small businesses are no longer able to make ends meet. However, this is not to say that the incursion of new types of businesses into the neighbourhood has benefited the average long-term Saint-Henri resident, an issue that will be explored in depth in Section 8.2.2.

Figure 5.16: Inventory of available services on Notre-Dame 1996 and 2011
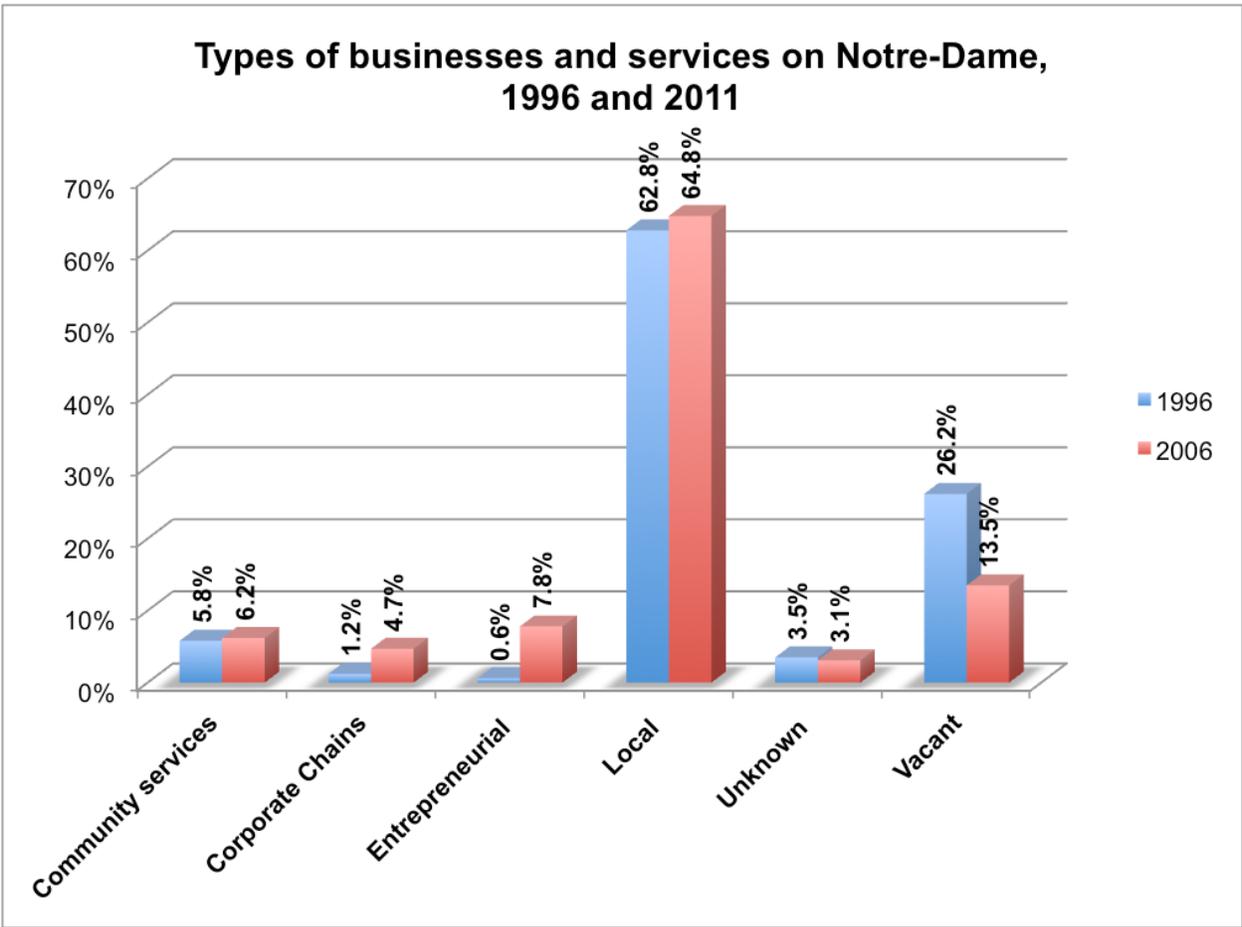
Source: Twigge-Molecey 2011 and Lovell's 1996.

5.5 Increasing property values in Southwest Borough:

In order to round out this discussion of measurable changes in Saint-Henri, we now turn briefly to examining recent changes in residential property values in the Southwest Borough. The most extensive analysis of changing housing market dynamics in the Southwest Borough (of which Saint-Henri is a part) is that of the RESO Comité Habitation Sud-Ouest. In 2001, 31% of the housing in the Southwest was condominiums, with a total of 4240 units (RESO 2001, 26). Between the 1995 and 2001 municipal evaluations, while single-family homes in the Southwest increased in value by 3.2%, all other building types decreased in value: duplexes (-2.9%); triplexes (-1.5%); buildings with 4-11 units (-9.7%); and those with 12 units or more (-13.4%) (RESO 2002, 39). Such negative evaluations changes were common in many Montréal neighbourhoods during that time period, with the notable exception of the Plateau-Mont-Royal. In terms of conversion of triplexes from rental tenure to co-ownership, between 1993 and 2000 there were 14 conversions in Saint-Henri, representing 56% of the total conversions to co-ownership in the southwest (RESO 2002, 40). In terms of housing starts, in the Southwest there were a total of 752 new housing starts between 1992 and 2000. Table 5.11 below documents new housing starts by type and new units created through adaptive reuse between 1996 and 2000.

Table 5.11: New housing starts and adaptive reuse in the Southwest, 1996-2000, by housing type

	Single-family homes	Condominium	Rental housing	Total # of new housing starts	Adaptive reuse, # of units
1996	5.9%	35.3%	58.8%	17	1
1997	14%	42.1%	43.9%	57	84
1998	1.8%	93.7%	4.5%	111	107
1999	1.4%	98.6%	0%	142	61
2000	4.6%	86.2%	9.2%	65	-

Source: CMHC and Ville de Montréal cited in RESO 2002, 41-42

As can be gleaned from Table 5.11 from 1998 onwards, condominiums constituted the vast majority of new housing starts in the Southwest. Equally important in terms of the changing structure of housing tenure in the Southwest during the late nineties however, were the conversion and adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings. In fact, 39% of new units produced in the area since 1996 were created from adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings to housing, compared to 21% in Montréal overall (RESO 2002, 41). RESO (2002) concluded that

during period covered by their analysis (1996-2001) the Southwest was in a phase of early gentrification (RESO 2002, 73).

The later work of the RESO Comité Habitation Sud-Ouest (2007) documents that in the Southwest Borough in Montréal, there were sharp increases in housing prices between 2001 and 2005: single-family homes in the Southwest increased by 87%; triplex prices increased by 108%; condo prices increased by 89% (RESO 2007, 1). Similarly, there has been an increase in rents in the Southwest, for example between 2001 and 2006 the price of both 2 and 3 bedroom apartments increased by about 30% (RESO 2007, 1). In terms of housing affordability, measured by the proportion of household income spent on housing, in 2001, 8105 households (36.5%) spent more than 30% of their income on housing, while 4190 households (18.4%) paid more than 50% of their income on housing (RESO 2007, 2).

In 2010, the City of Montréal revised tax assessments from the previous municipal tax evaluation roll, which covered the period from 2007-2010. Overall, the average increase in property values since the last evaluation in the City of Montréal was 23.5% (Ville de Montréal 2010, 15). However, the Montréal boroughs with the highest increases were the Plateau-Mont-Royal with a 34.7% increase and the Southwest Borough with a 30.6% increase in property values (Ville de Montréal 2010, 16). The greatest increases in the Southwest were in apartment buildings with 6 units of more, with a 36.9% increase, followed by offices (36.6%) and plexes with 2-5 units (34.4%) (see Table 5.13 below). In the Plateau, the largest increases were in the plexes with 2-5 units and in apartment buildings with 6 units or more. These trends are troubling for tenants in both Boroughs as increases in market values, which are reflected in increased property taxes can be passed on to tenants through rent increases. However, there are still considerable differences between the two Boroughs. For example, while a single family home in the Plateau is $511 100, the same type of dwelling in the Southwest is selling for $291 000. According to RESO (2002) however, the average price of a single-family home in the southwest in 2001 was $105 611. Thus, while still more affordable than the Plateau, this type of housing has almost tripled in price in ten years. The market values of condos in 2010 in the two neighbourhoods are much more equivalent, however, at $290 300 in the Plateau and $241 300 in the Southwest (Ville de Montréal 2010, 35-36). Also worthy of note is the vast increase in the number of condominium units in the Southwest from 4240 in 2001 to 6526 in 2010.

Table 5.12: Southwest 2011-2013 Municipal Tax Evaluations:

	Single-family homes	Condos	Plexes – 2-5 units	6 units or more
Number in each category in the Southwest	2296	6526	5823	1040
Variation since 2007-2010 role in the Southwest	34.3%	23.8%	34.4%	36.9%
Variation since 2007-2010 role in the Plateau-Mont-Royal	30.7%	35.3%	41.6%	41.0%
Variation since 2007-2010 role in City of Montréal	24.2%	19.8%	26.8%	27.4%

Source: Ville de Montréal 2010, 35-36, 48

5.6 **Summary**

In sum, this chapter has reviewed the available documentary evidence for evaluating the degree of gentrification underway in Saint-Henri. Different sub-neighbourhoods within Saint-Henri have experienced both differing degrees of gentrification as well as differing pathways (temporally and in terms of forms – i.e. standard vs. new-build). The 1996 and 2006 analysis builds upon the work of Ley (1996) and Walks and Maaranen (2008) in order to deepen understanding of these changes. CT 80 in the northeast corner of the neighbourhood, which according to Ley began gentrifying in 1986, remains the most gentrified area within the neighbourhood with the highest average incomes, household incomes and average gross rents. The housing in this census tract is largely comprised of greystone representing some of the higher quality housing in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood and is walking distance from Concordia University and Dawson College. In terms of social status, previous analyses highlighted that it surpassed the CMA from 1991 onwards and in 2006 it has a vastly higher percentage of residents over 25 with university degrees (15+ percentage points) than any other CT in the neighbourhood. Interestingly though, over the 1996-2006 time period it experienced a diminishing proportion of professionals and senior managers, although it still has a much higher percentage of residents in this occupational category compared to elsewhere in the neighbourhood. CT 81 (which is adjacent to CT 80 farther west and shares a similar housing stock) has similarly experienced continued 'standard' gentrification since 1991 when it was first categorized as gentrifying by Ley (1996). As Walks and Maaranen (2008) highlighted, its social status exceeded CMA averages by 2001. Between 1996 and 2006 it experienced a sizable increase in average gross rents (29.0%) and had the second most expensive average gross rents after CT 80. Other indicators that highlight its continuing 'standard' gentrification include: increases in average household income; its high proportion of residents 25 and older with a university degree; and its increasing proportion of professionals and senior managers.

CTs 79 and 83 have experienced a somewhat different trajectory overall. Both census tracts border the Lachine Canal in the southern portion of the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood. While increases in social status and average incomes were evident as of 2001, Walks and Maaranen (2008) nonetheless characterized these areas as having the 'potential for gentrification in the future.' The 1996-2006 analysis however, brings to the fore the recent proliferation of new-build gentrification along the Lachine Canal in these areas. Both experienced considerable construction booms since the early nineties combined with sizable increases in both the number and proportion of owner-occupiers and in fact in 2006 have the highest proportions of owner-occupiers among census tracts in Saint-Henri. Moreover, these areas had the most drastic increases in average household income over the 1996-2006 time period, although they both still remain below CT 80 overall. In terms of educational levels, approximately 28% of residents in CT 79 and 32% in 83 had university degrees or certificates in 2006. These gains were accompanied by sizable gains in the proportions of residents working in professional and managerial occupations, with 25% and 32% gains respectively. Furthermore, these areas experienced the most sizable decreases in the proportion of residents living under the low-income cut-offs (LICO), a 17.2% decrease in CT 79 and a 21.7% decrease in the case of CT 83. As such, both areas are currently in a stage of 'incomplete' gentrification.

CTs 82 and 84 show different patterns of neighbourhood change than elsewhere in the neighbourhood. CT 82 is an enclave neighbourhood bounded by the Turcot Interchange in the west and the Autoroute 720 in the north and the railway line in the south. This CT is also closest to the proposed MUHC mega-hospital among census tracts in Saint-Henri. It was characterized as experiencing 'incomplete' gentrification as of the 1991-2001 time period (Walks and Maaranen 2008). Nevertheless, over the 1996-2006 time period, CT 82 has the highest proportion of renters in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood overall at 94.1%. It did however, experience the greatest proportional increases in average gross rents (29.3%) and average household incomes (though average household incomes are still low compared to elsewhere in the neighbourhood). However, it has the lowest proportion of residents with a university degree or certificate (approximately 17%) and the second lowest proportion of residents who are employed as professionals or senior managers. Further, while there was a significant decrease in the proportion of residents below the LICO, it remains the area with the second highest proportion of low-income residents (49.9%).

Last, CT 84 is somewhat of an anomaly. As revealed in Table 5.3, this area has a very high proportion of social and community housing, representing over 2/3 (68.8%) of its total

housing stock. It is the western extremity of the larger Saint-Henri neighbourhood and is surrounded on three of four sides by rigid physical barriers (the Turcot Interchange to the north and west and the Lachine Canal to the south). As of 2001 it was characterized as 'not gentrification, other trends' (Walks and Maaranen 2008). Overall the 1996-2006 analysis revealed that indicators of gentrification are less evident there than elsewhere in the neighbourhood. It experienced only a very slight increase in the proportion of owner-occupiers and had the lowest average gross rents in the neighbourhood in 2006. Moreover, it was the only area that experienced a decrease in both average household and average personal incomes over the 1996-2006 time period. It had the second lowest proportion of residents with a university degree or certificate (after CT 82 mentioned above) and the lowest proportion of professionals and senior managers in Saint-Henri. Moreover, it was the only area in Saint-Henri where there was an increase (of 5.6%) in the proportion of residents below the low-income cut-offs between 1996 and 2006, with a staggering 59.9% of residents below the cut-off in 2006. It is also the census tract with the highest proportion of immigrants (21.9%) in 2006.

Our inventory shows that in terms of commercial gentrification along the main commercial artery, rue Notre-Dame, until 2011 it appears that significant commercial gentrification is not yet underway, but rather that new businesses have primarily occupied storefronts that were previously vacant. However, as vacancies diminish, while indicative perhaps of increased commercial vitality, a residual effect will be increased competition for commercial space within the area, which could led to displacement of long-term commercial tenants as prices for commercial space keep pace with increasing demand.

The work of RESO (2002; 2007) documented that the vast majority of housing starts during the late nineties were condominiums and units created through adaptive reuse of industrial buildings and that sharp increases in housing prices began in 2001 and have continued unabated. Last, the most recent municipal tax evaluations suggest that gentrification is continuing beyond 2006, with a 30.6% increase in property values since the last municipal tax evaluation in 2007. Having now made a solid case to prove the existence of considerable gentrification underway in the neighbourhood, but also the significant variation among census tracts, the following chapters examine how such neighbourhood changes are being perceived and experienced by long-term renters and whether residents experience displacement in its various forms as a result of such changes.

CHAPTER 6   PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

This chapter is aimed at exploring perceptions of neighbourhood change held by renters living in the neighbourhood. It begins by exploring physical changes observed throughout the neighbourhood and the impact of such changes upon existing residents. Demographic changes observed by residents are then examined. Finally, the discussion turns to exploration of residents' perceptions and experiences of interactions (or lack thereof) with the more affluent population that has moved into the neighbourhood.

6.1 Physical changes in the neighbourhood environment

6.1.1 Gentrification, fires, abandonment and the 'rent gap':

In declining areas, there is often abandonment, not because buildings are unusable per se, but rather because their use as such is no longer profitable. At this point, there is incentive for landlords to destroy their own property through arson and collect substantial insurance payments. Further, disinvestment is a necessary though not sufficient condition for the onset of gentrification, as it is the sustained disinvestment by landlords and financial institutions that creates the 'rent gap' (Smith 1996, 67). The concept of the 'rent gap' refers to the emergence of a growing distance between the current value of property on an urban site and the potential underlying value of the land if converted to another use. "Gentrification occurs when the gap is sufficiently wide that developers can purchase structures cheaply, can pay the builder's costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer" (Smith 1996, 68). Marcuse (1986) also noted the link between abandonment and gentrification, arguing that one can identify "pocket" or "border" areas of abandonment and potential gentrification. "Areas of cheaper, older and deteriorated, but originally higher-class, housing surrounded today by higher or middle-income housing, parks or institutions, will constitute pockets of potential gentrification" (Marcuse 1986, 204). This corresponds roughly to what can be observed in Saint-Henri, where traditional gentrification is observed most prominently surrounding neighbourhood parks (where some of the finer greystone housing is located), while new-build gentrification is observed primarily along the Lachine Canal (refer to Chapter 5).

In the Southwest Borough, the presence of a 'rent gap' was documented as early as 1985. Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis (1996) argue that at this time the gap in price between new construction and complete renovation was minimal. When the price of acquisition was included,

it was more expensive to renovate than to build from scratch, leading to a strong incentive for arson (Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis 1996, 23). During the eighties, the SPCUM[19] Arson Unit reported that fire was playing a major role in the gentrification of the Southwest Borough.

> Since 1978, the important renewal of fires has led to diverse problems (vandalism, garbage, etc.). The borough was razed at the beginning of the eighties. Sites that were still vacant and that had industrial potential were destroyed by fire before 1989" (Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis 1996, 25). [*Author's translation*]

Furthermore, between 1986 and 1991 there was a slight increase in criminal fires (arson) and a slight decrease in accidental fires (Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis 1996, 25). In vacant buildings however, the incidence of arson was much higher than in occupied buildings. In 1986 for example, 90% of fires in vacant buildings were declared arson, as opposed to 52% of fires in occupied buildings (Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis 1996, 27). In 1991, 100% of the vacant buildings that burned down were declared arson, while the percentage of occupied buildings declared arson decreased slightly to 48% (Therrien, Vallée and Dupuis 1996, 28).

In the interviews, the link between abandonment, fires and gentrification was a frequently mentioned theme as residents noted the inordinate number of fires in the neighbourhood in recent years and were quick to point out that condominium development always followed in their path.

> **ID-12:** "I saw .... there have been tons, tons, tons of fires. The entire section of Notre-Dame Street down from here, between the park where I grew up (Parc Georges-Cartier) and the métro ... Everything burned. (...) Listen, listen, everyone says it's kind of like uh .. it's arson ... the work of developers or uh .. biker stuff. Because there was quite a lot ... (...)
>
> ATM: So it was at the same time as the construction boom?
>
> **ID-12**: It's the same time, the work also, the extension of the park, the redoing of the Lachine Canal. That's about the turn of 2000. The construction of the first McDonald's[20] right next to the Green Spot." *[translation] 27 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing.[21]*

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[19] Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal, which has been replaced by the SPVM - Service de police de la Ville de Montréal.

[20] For more information on the role of 'chains' in gentrifying neighbourhoods, see the discussion of retailing in section 8.2.2.

[21] **ID-12**: «J'ai vu.... il a eu des tonnes, des tonnes, des tonnes d'incendies. Tout le bout de la rue Notre-Dame là, en bas d'ici là, entre le parc où j'ai grandi pis le métro... Ça tout brûlé. (...) Ben écoute, écoute, tout le monde dit que c'est genre comme euh.. que c'est des incendies criminels... des trucs de promoteurs ou euh.. des trucs de motards. Parce qui avait pas mal... (…)

ATM: Alors, ça correspondait le boom de construction ?

Interestingly, this resident also saw the redevelopment of an old chocolate factory into student residences by McGill University (Solin Hall) as a catalyzing factor for the gentrification of the north-east portion of the neighbourhood. This residence hall is located in CT 80, which was the most extensively gentrified part of the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood (see Chapter 5). Another resident, who had been in the neighbourhood eleven years, also regarded the timing of many of the fires as extremely suspicious. While these respondents' comments referred to the more recent construction boom in the neighbourhood (i.e. late-nineties onwards), another respondent who had been living in the neighbourhood over 25 years remarked that she observed the same phenomenon prior to the Métro station being built.

> **ID-17**: "So ... when I stayed there at the time, I saw, all along Rue St-Jacques, there were many taverns and all kinds of warehouses, and there was still the railway tracks and stuff. Every weekend that I went outside, every weekend there was something that had burned down as if by accident. Coincidentally, that was the location where the metro would be. So, one time it had burned almost right behind my home, it scared me. (…). So, in 2 years, I saw the whole of St-Jacques, where the subway would be built, all burn down by chance. So after that, well the metro arrived, they removed the railway tracks, and built houses. It's said that they wanted gentrification there. That has changed the neighbourhood very much." *[translation] 57 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*[22]

One respondent regarded the upgrading of much of the existing housing stock as a positive and necessary force in the neighbourhood. However, he was very concerned that all the vacant land within the neighbourhood was being used for condominium development, rather than for housing that corresponded to the needs of the long-term population.

> **ID-10:** "Well, I noticed in the last few years (…) that there have been a lot of changes that have been more for the good. There has been a lot of decay in the housing stock and so people have come in and bought an old place and renovated it and whatnot. But the thing that concerns me is that wherever there has been vacant land it has gone condominiums. (…) That's not in the history of Saint-Henri. That is not what Saint-Henri needs. We don't need three-quarter million-dollar condos along the Canal, we need green space and we need social housing. That's the thing that I

ID-12: C'est le même moment, les, les travaux aussi, le prolongement du parc, qu'est-ce qui a commencé à débloquer, réfection du canal Lachine euh. C'est à peu près au tournant de 2000 là. La construction du premier McDonald à côté du Green Spot justement.»

[22] **ID-17**: «Alors...pis quand je restais-là à l'époque, j'ai vu, le long de la rue Saint-Jacques, y avait beaucoup de tavernes pis tout de sortes de hangars, pis y avait encore les chemins de fer pis tout ça. À chaque fin de semaine que des fois j'allais à l'extérieur, pis à chaque fin de semaine y avait quelque chose qui avait brûlé comme par hasard. Comme par hasard, pis c'était tout l'endroit où est-ce que le métro allait être. Pis, même un moment donné ça l'avait brûlé, presque en arrière de chez moi, ça me faisait peur là. (…) Pis, en 2 ans, j'ai vu toute la rue Saint-Jacques où est-ce que le métro allait être construit là. Ça tout passé au feu comme par hasard. Pis après ça, ben c'est ça, le métro est arrivé, y ont enlevé les tracs, y ont construit des maisons. Y voulait faire la gentrification qui disait là. Fait que ça l'a changé beaucoup le quartier.»

find is the most concerning to me. Change has been profound. Instead of being a slow evolution with all different levels of housing, (…) it's gone to regeneration of the housing stock, but as I say, everywhere that there is vacant land, it has gone condos. (…) Saint-Henri needs some solid social and community housing for the long-term residents here and those with lower incomes, this in Saint-Henri." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

A lifelong resident of the Saint-Henri and adjacent Little Burgundy regarded the fact that there was such a boom in housing construction focused almost exclusively on condo development as a 'no-no.' For another resident, born and raised in Saint-Henri, the proliferation of condominiums within the neighbourhood was likened to mushrooms popping up all over the neighbourhood.

ID-23(a): "Big changes here, it doesn't go back so long ago that there's the arrival of the condos ... That, I say that I have a heart that frets when we talk about condos, it's unbelievable. The condos grow like mushrooms, that's how I see it. Less so on little streets where there are houses, but even if it's a small street there, it's private, private residential, everyday people, if there's a home for sale, it is demolished immediately and a condo grows up in its place ... not even 4 months later, it's done. (...) And there are more and more (condos), so, I feel like, I feel it will eventually finish by, pushing us all out of Saint-Henri." *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[23]

For this resident, the seemingly out of control onslaught of condo development within the neighbourhood created a feeling of anxiety that there would soon be no place for her in the neighbourhood.

The widespread cycle of fires and subsequent condominium development had the effect of lessening the supply of affordable rentals within the neighbourhood. This, combined with the adaptive reuse of industrial buildings to condominiums and piecemeal infill development throughout the neighbourhood, led a number of residents to remark that rents were escalating. One resident perceived the adaptive re-use of industrial buildings to housing as a positive change, while at the same time noting the new housing within the neighbourhood was clearly for another income group.

ID-03: "And there is a lot of work still to do. I think if it is well done, it could be a good thing cause I would rather have housing than abandoned factories. I do think there is a lack of affordable housing here. I mean the difference is so, I mean you see these people on welfare and you see Mercedes Benz parked right in front of their

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[23] **ID-23(a)**: «Des gros changements là, ça remonte à y'a pas si longtemps que ça là, y'a l'arrivée des condos... Ça l'a ça, on dirait que j'ai le coeur qui vient frette quand on parle des condos, c'est incroyable. Les condos, ça pousse comme des champignons, c'est comme ça j'vois ça. Moindrement qu'y a des maisons, sur une petite rue, même si c'est la, une rue là, que c'est privé, résidentiel privé, des gens de toutes les jours, si y'a une maison à vendre, est démolie tout de suite pis c't'un condo qui pousse en ... même pas 4 mois, c'est fait. (...) Pis ça y'en a de plus en plus (des condos), pis on, j'ai l'impression que qui vont finir par toute nous sortir de Saint-Henri.»

house. The contrast is a bit vulgar." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

6.1.2 Perceptions of "gentrification" and the Lachine Canal as a catalyst for neighbourhood improvement:

A point of interest was to investigate the extent to which participants identified "gentrification/embourgeoisement" as a phenomenon, rather than simply identifying more fragmentary aspects of the housing market and neighbourhood change without attributing this to gentrification *per se*. One university-educated respondent described the closing of a local bar and its replacement by an art gallery along the main commercial street, Notre-Dame, as a 'classic gentrification story.'

> **ID-06:** "Where the Spa is there used to be a bar that was kind of trashy and then it closed and someone turned it into an Art Gallery where he sold his own art and he had a little café. And it didn't last very long because he didn't have a lot of clients and it turned into a spa. But those three bars are all within about 3 blocks of my house and our block and they are all gone now. And the fact that a sketchy bar turned into an art gallery, even though it didn't last, that was sort of like a classic gentrification story*." 35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, private rental housing.*

Another resident without a university degree, who had been living in the neighbourhood eight years, described the recent changes in terms of 'embourgeoisement' (= gentrification).

> **ID-03:** "Well, I have been here for 8 years, 8 years last May. I've seen a lot of changes in the type of people, English is my second language, so in French, ca c'est 'embourgeoisé.' When I got here there was no recreational boating on the Canal. The Canal was disgusting. No condos. There was nothing, big abandoned hangars and there were squatters in there and ah, it was actually pretty dangerous. I mean there were drive-by shootings, a lot of prostitution. This park (Sir Georges-Etienne-Cartier) was disgusting, there were needles and condoms and all sorts of dirty diapers, it was really a bad neighbourhood. And in the last few years, four hundred thousand dollar condos and these houses (pointing to greystone triplexes surrounding the park) these triplexes, one of these triplexes sold for half a million." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, private rental housing.*

This resident was not alone in believing that the designation of the Lachine Canal as a recreational corridor by Parks Canada in 1997 was a key catalyzing factor for the subsequent gentrification of the neighbourhood. Hall (2002) argues that cities are increasingly moving towards large-scale redevelopment projects (mega-projects) which combine a plethora of activities including recreation, culture, shopping and mixed-income housing, based in large part on the idea of adaptive reuse, in order to re-imagine and re-appropriate large parts of cities that have been rendered obsolete by deindustrialization. The redevelopment of the Lachine Canal serves as a poignant example. Its redevelopment involved a plethora of actors and thus was a

form of public/private partnership, each stakeholder having different priorities: Parks Canada was charged with preserving the heritage and built form of Canada's oldest industrial district and converting it into a recreational corridor; the City of Montréal was predictably preoccupied with its tax-base, wanting to encourage the tourist potential of the site, preserve heritage, while at the same time stimulate private development; developers focused on converting old industrial buildings into condominiums; and community groups in adjacent Pointe-Sainte-Charles and Saint-Henri were concerned with limiting the spread of gentrification and above all creating new industrial jobs (Germain and Rose 2000, 151; Sénécal 2002, 164). In total, public and private investments into the redevelopment of the Lachine Canal are estimated at $250 million dollars and such improvements were made with the underlying intention of attracting new residents and businesses to the area (RESO 2002, 66). A longstanding resident also made the link between the timing of the improvement of the Lachine Canal and the wider gentrification of the neighbourhood, which he viewed in positive terms.

> **ID-06**: "You know it has been developed along the Canal. The first thing that happened was that the Canal was fixed up and opened for recreational boating, so now you can ride boats down there and the bike path is fixed up. They did an awesome job. And then the development started around the same time. I think that it has been great and I think that it is really good for the neighbourhood. There seems to be a continuum of gentrification, where you get a crappy neighbourhood on one end and an overpriced yuppie neighbourhood on the other, but in the center is like a magic zone for like ten years or something, when it is a really great place to live. I don't know if we are there yet, but I think all the changes have been really positive so far." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Interestingly, this resident viewed the gentrification of the neighbourhood in 'positive' terms, identifying what he referred to as a 'magic zone,' in between a disinvested neighbourhood on the one hand, and an area that was exorbitantly priced and over-run by yuppies at the other end of the spectrum. However, he showed an awareness of how the continuation of the gentrification process could lead to the neighbourhood becoming a place that he would no longer want or perhaps be able to live in.

A frequent expectation of mega-projects (such as the Lachine Canal redevelopment) is that even where project aims are narrow, there will be positive 'spill-over effects' (Flyvbjerg et al. 2003; Storey and Hamilton 2003). Thus, it is not unreasonable to expect that the designation of the Lachine Canal as a recreational corridor beginning in the late nineties and its subsequent redevelopment acted as a catalyst for wider 'neighbourhood improvement.' For example, in Saint-Henri a number of residents noted improvements in local parks in recent years, beginning with, but not limited to the Lachine Canal recreational corridor. While happy about the

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improvements in local parks and park infrastructure, some respondents expressed cynicism about the fact that it was only once more affluent residents moved into the neighbourhood that such investments were made by the City.

> **ID-09**: "And then there's um, 'alien park.' We call it 'alien' because one day it was just like an abandoned parking lot and then the next day it was a park. A little park, you know. They must have just rolled out all the grass and planted all the fully formed trees and put in all the benches and then the next thing you know…instant park. We were like: 'what the heck?' (…) That was right when they were selling the condos. And so I think that they wanted to make it attractive to the new buyers. And I am just going now even a little bit more south of that park to the Lachine Canal, it wasn't even, you know… it wasn't even really nice, it wasn't even really developed or anything. Like the paths were kind of rickety and it didn't have the special signage from the government and I don't know, it just wasn't up kept like it is now. And I have to say that that is a really nice improvement. The Lachine Canal is a really nice thing about living in Saint-Henri. (...) And why, I mean the government paid for the park, why couldn't they have paid for it like 12 years ago? You know? Why do they have to wait until much wealthier people move into the area to make it all of a sudden worth it, or something? I find that really unfair." *33 year old female, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Another resident, who was born and raised in the neighbourhood, expressed the view that the City would never make such improvements for the incumbent Saint-Henri population, and found it personally insulting that now that more affluent residents had moved in that such investments were being made, despite appreciating the improved neighbourhood park infrastructure.

Another resident, while mindful and appreciative of local park improvement, lamented the loss of an outdoor hockey rink within the neighbourhood.

> **ID-10:** "The parks are good, they have been upgraded. Although, we lost one of our hockey rinks and I don't understand that. This is Montréal, Raymond Borque grew up five minutes away playing in an outdoor park. (…) So that is a shortcoming, especially when they want to move young families in and keep them in the City, it is not a very good thing. This is Montréal, Québec. You don't remove hockey from the City of Montréal and want people to move into the City of Montréal at the same time. It goes against the grain. I mean they did a nice job in the park and they created a couple of big places for dogs, dogs have a very important space. People have more dogs then they have children. So they need to have a rightful place to walk their dogs. Which I guess is better than them pooping in the street all the time. But they got a pretty nice dog park there, I tell you." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Another type of neighbourhood improvement noted by some residents was the new commercial services opening in the area. Another longstanding resident remarked that although perhaps beyond the means of the lowest income residents of the neighbourhood, the new services opening in the neighbourhood as a result of the incursion of more affluent residents was in fact a positive aspect of change for those who could afford to take advantage of them.

ID-16: "It took a supermarket if you want because, there were many condos that were built, houses, and newcomers. So it helps having newcomers in the neighbourhood. Me, anyways, I say so. That brings new shops, so it helps us. Not the most impoverished, if you like. But it helps those who have the means, the middle-class if you like, or the semi-middle class, if you understand. We're not obliged to go to the other side of the world to do our groceries, we have one (a grocer) steps away from home." *[translation] 67 year old female, longstanding resident, low-income, HLM resident.*[24]

Another resident, without a university education, who was born and raised in the neighbourhood and had recently returned to be closer to his aging parents, nonetheless framed the changes underway in the neighbourhood (both in terms of condo development and shifting commercial services) in terms of gentrification:

ID-27(a): "Me, I can tell from since I was young. I was born in Saint-Henri, and the gentrification over the years has, has increased in Saint-Henri. Due to condos, antique shops, houses that were demolished have been replaced by more condos." *[translation] 45 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.*[25]

Thus, for this longstanding resident, the gentrification of the neighbourhood was evident not only in terms of the reconversion of industrial buildings to condominiums, but further, redevelopment of existing housing combined with the influx of services for the incoming population, such as the proliferation of antique shops on Notre-Dame.

In terms of improvements to the local built environment of the neighbourhood, a number of residents noted that there had been an improvement in the local housing stock, through widespread renovation of much of the aging housing stock of the neighbourhood.

ID-11: "Around here it is pretty much the same houses, there have been a lot of renovations, they have been doing a lot of renovations. Because they are old houses, eh, they are over a hundred years old. So a lot of them have been renovating, probably on their own time, because some are still not finished, you know. But on the whole, I think that it is pretty good. It's no eyesore…." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

Residents also noted many other types of neighbourhood improvements. A number of residents remarked that there was less crime in the neighbourhood than in the past. One woman felt that

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[24] **ID-16**: «Ça prenait un super marché si tu veux, parce que, il y a beaucoup de condos qui se sont construits, des maisons, des nouveaux arrivants. Alors, ça l'aide d'avoir des nouveaux arrivants dans le quartier. Ben, moi je dis que oui là. Ça l'amène des nouveaux commerces pis ça nous aide nous, les moins rémunérés si tu veux. Pas les démunis, mais ça l'aide ceux-là qui ont moyens, la classe moyenne si tu veux ou semi-moyenne c'est comme tu l'entends. On est pas obligé d'aller à l'autre bout du monde pour faire son épicerie, on en a un pas loin de chez soi.»

[25] **ID-27(a):** «Moé j'peux l'dire depuis euh... tout jeune. Je chu né à Saint-Henri pis euh, la gentrification au fil des ans a l'a, a l'a accru à Saint-Henri. Dû aux condos, aux antiquaires, aux maisons qui ont été démolies qui ont été remplacées par des condos en plus.»

the gentrification of the neighbourhood had resulted in it becoming safer overall, something that she was happy about.

> **ID-09**: "And I mean the people that live in the condos, they are tolerable. And the fact is that it is nice to have nicer parks and less drugs in the neighbourhood and a safer, a generally safer environment, you know. Technically, it is not something that I agree with, the gentrification, I know that it has pushed a lot of people out and I feel for those people. But I also feel like it actually has made things a bit better in the neighbourhood. I feel terrible saying that, but it's the truth." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Interestingly, this resident felt a little guilty saying so in such direct terms, but gentrification had in her opinion in fact improved the neighbourhood. Aside from less visible hard drug use, a number of residents also noted that there was less prostitution within the neighbourhood.

Another frequently cited type of improvement was in terms of the overall cleanliness within the neighbourhood in recent years, remarking that there was less garbage in the streets and local neighbourhood parks. With specific reference to the Village des Tanneries neighbourhood, one resident remarked that there had been a marked improvement in her immediate neighbourhood.

> **ID-01**: "So in the Village des Tanneries per se, I remember when I first moved here, that there was a lot of garbage floating around, that it was seemingly neglected by the City, that there was broken fences and garbage piled up in the laneways and kids playing in garbage basically. Though, that is something that has improved quite a bit, but there are still issues. There always seem to be certain areas, um, that seem to have a problem in that area. But there's been increased awareness about investing in the neighbourhood by a lot people in the community and certainly by the community groups as well." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing*.

This same resident however, stated that since the announcement of the Turcot Redevelopment that there had been an increase in trash in the neighbourhood. (We will return to this in Section 6.1.7 below.)

6.1.3 Strategies to secure tenure in light of rising housing costs:

A number of renters were cognizant of the gentrification of the neighbourhood and spoke more directly in terms of strategies to secure their tenure in light of the rising housing costs caused by wider changes in the neighbourhood. In light of the aforementioned explosion of condominium development, one renter expressed the need to build more coop housing within the neighbourhood and create non-market based housing options in order to protect the integrity of the neighbourhood and save a place for existing residents.

ID-10:"And there's resistance. And that's why there are lessons to be learned, we have got a lot of coop housing, but we have got to fight a little more forcefully and demand it. Because we need it. This neighbourhood can't just be extreme Lower Westmount. It has always been the joke a bit, but now people are saying that somewhat cynically, 'Wow, it really is becoming Lower Westmount.' But that is not the history here, that is not the tradition and that is not what we need. We need this place for people that have marginal incomes or no income at all. They need to have a place to live. They live here now, don't kick them out." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

One respondent, now living in coop housing within the neighbourhood, recounted how his landlord tried to illegally raise the rent repeatedly during his tenancy, resorting to intimidation and threats, which eventually led him to try and find a more secure housing situation within the neighbourhood.

ID-20: "And you see that the rents have gone up a lot. Next door there was an old apartment block and new owners bought it and renovated it and everything went up. They are renting it for $700 now and they rented it for $250 two years ago. (...)

AT: So it was the threat of displacement combined with a bad relationship with your landlord that prompted your looking into other options in the neighbourhood.

ID-20: Yeah. But it was the insecurity, the feeling that with the changes that were going on that the rents were going to go up, or…they ended up selling it to somebody who did the same thing, they renovated and raised the rents quite a bit. We had a ground floor, a four and a half, and it was $515 and I think that they are renting it for $900 now. It's just a few years later, you know?" *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

This sentiment, that landlords were failing to declare previous rents in between tenants, was widely noted among interviewees. (We return to this point in the next section).

Another coop resident expressed the sentiment that although he was not directly affected due to his secure tenure, he was aware of many people that were struggling to make ends meet due to the escalating rents within the neighbourhood.

ID-22: "Well, I'm not comfortable knowing that gentrification pushed up rents. Now, I'm not directly affected here. I'm protected, I'm lucky. People here, we are 17 members in the coop and our rent has been stable for several years, I do not think it will change ... But I know that there are people who have trouble paying their electricity bills because I am on the Housing Committee of POPIR and I know it's increasingly difficult ... Rents are rising, electricity bills go up .... There are many people who are forced to relocate. I do not really know where they are going. They have trouble paying their bills. So, yes, that, that affects me. As I say, indirectly, as I say, since ... It took me three years to have the apartment here, when ... I was tired of being in my slum, I made application to the coop here. I had three interviews, it took 3 years, but I finally got it. Maybe I could have endured my slum, but with a

child now, I couldn't any longer." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[26]

This resident endured many years in an apartment within the neighbourhood that had mould and other problems that adversely affected his health. It wasn't however until he found his way into a coop in the neighbourhood that he was able to move, as other options on the private rental housing market were beyond his limited means.

Some long-term residents expressed the view that if you were not lucky enough to have a public housing unit within the neighbourhood, then you were obliged to move elsewhere where rents were more affordable.

> **ID-23(b):** "But in the neighbourhood, it's the same thing, I've got a little lady who comes in the restaurant and it's a single woman, and she says all the time: "Darn!" she says, "Everybody here, I don't recognize anybody, it seems to me that it is not the same folks that remain in the neighbourhood, and I think that's too bad, because before I knew everybody, but everyone is forced to move precisely because if you do not have a coop, you're not in a social housing unit in the city, it has become too expensive for us."" *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[27]

Thus, the wider changes led this woman to recount that on top of no longer feeling at home in the neighbourhood due to all the new faces, long-term residents' place was under siege due to the lack of affordable housing within the neighbourhood and the shortage of social and community housing.

Another resident living in public housing on a fixed income explained how her daughter, living in private rental housing in the neighbourhood, could not afford basic amenities such as

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[26] **ID-22**: «Ben, je suis pas à l'aise de savoir que la gentrification fait monter les loyers. Euh..... maintenant, moi je suis pas touché directement là. Je suis protégé, je suis chanceux. Les gens ici, on est 17 membres dans la COOP et puis nos loyers c'est stable depuis plusieurs années pis je pense pas que ça va changer... Mais, je le sais bien que il y a des gens qui ont de la misère à payer leur compte d'électricité parce que je suis dans le comité logement du POPIR et je le sais que c'est de plus en plus difficile... Les loyers montent, les comptes d'électricité montent euh.... Il y a beaucoup de monde qui sont obligés de déménager. Je sais pas où est-ce qu'ils vont vraiment. Ils ont de la misère à payer leur compte. Alors, oui, ça, ça me touche. Comme je te dis, indirectement, comme je te dis, vu que... Ça m'a pris 3 ans à avoir le loyer ici en, quand...j'étais tanné d'être dans mon taudis, j'ai fait application à la COOP ici. J'ai eu 3 entrevues, ça pris 3 ans, finalement je l'ai eu. J'aurais peut-être enduré mon taudis, mais là avec un enfant, je pouvais plus.»

[27] **ID-23(b):** «Mais dans le quartier, c'est la même chose, moi j'ai une petite madame qui vient au restau là pis c'est une femme seule pis, a dit tout l'temps: "Câline," a dit, "le monde, on r'connaît pu personne, me semble que c'est pu le même monde qui reste dans le quartier pis a trouve ça plate, parce qu'avant a connaissait plein de monde pis tout ça mais tout l'monde est obligé comme de déménager parce que justement, si t'as pas une coop, t'as pas un logement de la ville, c'est rendu trop dispendieux pour nous."»

internet, due to the exorbitant price of housing, and that she herself wouldn't be able to pay the cost of housing in the private market.

> **ID-16**: "Yes, yes. I'm safer because I cannot afford to pay, honestly, I cannot afford to pay a private rental if you like. Me, I cannot afford to pay rent $ 500 per month, for a 3 and a half if you like. I look at my daughter, she lives in a 3 and a half. It costs her $ 700 a month. Rent, electricity and heating. She doesn't have cable television or Internet. (...) Me, it costs me $360, $370, I think. But I can allow myself to have the Internet, not her. Me, I can afford cable, but not her. She earns more money than me. She works for a caterer. I think she makes... I can not say how much she earns, but I know she has more than me annually." *[translation] 67 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in public housing.*[28]

Even within the social and community housing within the neighbourhood, some residents expressed difficulty meeting increased rents. One resident had opted for OBNL housing within the neighbourhood, on the assumption that at the very least it provided more secure tenure than the private market. However, within this particular OBNL, there had recently been a rent increase of $35 per month that she was struggling to pay.[29]

> **ID-17**: "So, I told myself, as I didn't want to get into an apartment (…) that the owner could say from one day to the next, "Ok, I'm selling my house and I'm changing it into a condo." Because that's what happens everywhere and then lose my home because I lived a pretty insecure existence at that time. But in the end I ask myself, I wonder if I made the right decision because in the end, I do not think it's necessarily better. I received an increase of $35, I feel trapped a bit by the OBNL because it's either you pay it or you leave. Next year it'll be something else." *[translation] 57 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*[30]

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[28] **ID-16**: «Oui, oui. Je suis plus sécuritaire parce que j'aurais pas les moyens de me payer, je suis honnête, j'aurais pas les moyens de payer un loyer ordinaire si tu veux. Moi, je peux pas me permettre de payer un loyer 500$ par mois, un 3 et demi si tu veux là. Je regarde ma fille, elle reste dans un 3 et demi. Ça lui coûte 700$ par mois. Le loyer, l'électricité et le chauffage là. Elle a pas le câble de télévision pis elle a pas Internet. (…) Moi, ça me coûte $360, $370, je crois. Mais moi, je peux me permettre d'avoir l'Internet, pas elle. Moi, je peux me permettre d'avoir le câble, mais pas elle. Elle gagne plus cher que moi. Elle travaille pour un traiteur. Elle gagne je crois que c'est, je peux pas dire combien qu'elle gagne là, mais je sais qu'elle a plus que moi par année.»

[29] This was the first rent increase in the five years this woman had been living there. Basically, there were a number of repairs that had been delayed over the past five years by the Board of Directors, that were all being taken care of at the same time. Due to the fact that this resident was not subsidized, she was having difficulty with such a large increase from one year to the next.

[30] **ID-17**: « Pis je me suis dit, je voulais comme pas m'en aller dans un logement (…) que le propriétaire dirait du jour au lendemain: « Ok, je vends ma maison pis je change ça en condo parce que c'est ça qui se fait partout », pis que là, perdre mon logement, parce que je vivais assez d'insécurité à ce moment-là. Mais finalement, je me dis, je me demande même si j'ai pris la bonne décision parce que là finalement, je ne trouve pas ça nécessairement mieux. Là, je reçois uns augmentation de 35$ pis je me sens comme prisonnière un peu de L'OSBL, parce que, parce que, c'est soit vous payer ça ou vous vous en aller. Pis euh.. l'année prochaine ça va être d'autres choses.»

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Thus, this resident had specifically chosen non-profit housing as she perceived her tenure to be more secure there than on the private market where tenants face the threat of repossession. However, this recent rent increase led her to question the security of her tenure there, as if she proved unable to pay future rent increases, she would be obliged to move.

6.1.4 The prevalence of undeclared rent increases:

Another frequently mentioned theme was the prevalence of undeclared rent increases on the part of landlords due to the wider changes taking place in the neighbourhood. One private sector renter reported that within the Village des Tanneries, landlords' failure to maintain apartments led to the frequent turnover of tenants, and consequent undeclared rent increases in between tenants.

> **ID-01**: "Well, a lot of tenants when they come in they are hopeful that the owner will invest in the property and do the things that he is supposed to do. And when they find out he's not, they will choose to leave rather than tackle the problem. And so in that way, the rents continue to go up, the services are not necessarily invested in and the owners sell and make a ton of money without having invested." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

In this case, the respondent had been living in the same apartment ten years and had witnessed the building change ownership three times, without any significant investment in up keeping the property. As a result, there was significant turnover among her neighbours and consequently, rents were increasing within the building, as housing conditions deteriorated.

One private sector tenant reported the yearly battle that ensued with her landlord with regards to rent increases in her building.

> **ID-04:** "So, I'm the first to have entered in the family here, it has been 6 years and ... with my landlord every year there is war over rent increases. Well now it starts to level off, because after six years of war, we each know our room to manoeuvre, and she knows how far she can go. But at the beginning it was really difficult. So we speak as little as possible and then all is well. But at first it was really, really difficult. We were obliged to go twice to the rental board, I don't know just to what extent, my landlord is greedy. So I do not know how far she also uses the fact that the neighbourhood .... is changing and she thinks she can get more and more, anyway basically in the rental market, prices increase more and more. One would have to check on more landlords to see how they evolve, but it is probable, it is possible to think that my landlord is also playing on the fact the area is evolving in order to be able to rent her apartments more expensive." *[translation] 38 year old female, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[31]

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[31] **ID-04:** «Donc, moi je suis la première à être entrée de la famille ici, ça fait 6 ans et euh... avec ma propriétaire c'est la guerre à chaque année pour les hausses de loyer. Bon là ça commence à se tasser, parce que là après 6 années de guerre là c'est comme on connaît chacune notre marge de manœuvre

Thus this resident, who was a recent immigrant, over the years in her apartment became more versed in her legal rights as a tenant and thus her ability to refuse exorbitant rent increases. However, she did regard her landlord as greedy and trying to take advantage of tenants' ignorance of their own housing rights and raise rents without declaring the previous rent on the lease due to the wider changes in the surrounding neighbourhood.

Another resident of private rental housing in the neighbourhood regarded the only negative consequence of the gentrification of the neighbourhood to be the increasing property taxes, which are eventually passed on to tenants through rent increases, but regarded this as something that was happening all over the city. This was verified in Section 5.3.4 where significant increases in gross rents were documented for Saint-Henri, the Plateau and the Island overall. Residents who addressed the question of rising property taxes made a direct connection between more affluent people wanting to live in inner-city neighbourhoods (thus resulting in widespread condominium development) and those neighbourhoods becoming less affordable as a result.

> **ID-06**: "My landlord would love for me to move out. The only negative thing so far from gentrification is that the property taxes go way up. I don't pay property taxes but the landlords can raise the rent based on that. So he has been raising the rent. But I know for property owners in the neighbourhood, I don't know if they can raise their rents enough to stay on top of the property taxes. So I think that that is a problem. It's a lot more expensive to move in. I mean we have this rent control, so landlords aren't supposed to raise the rent between tenants, but that is usually when they get away with it, because people don't know what the last tenant paid or don't follow up on that. So I know it is getting a lot more expensive to rent here. But that is happening all over the City." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Indeed, it was often reported that it was between tenants that landlords within the neighbourhood would skirt around the rent control legislation and fail to declare the previous tenants' rent on the new lease. In so doing, they took advantage of prospective tenants' ignorance with regards to the previous tenants' rent, instead seizing the opportunity to raise the rent exorbitantly.

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pis elle sait jusqu'à combien qu'elle peut aller. Pis tés comme, on parle le moins possible puis tout va bien. Mais au début c'était vraiment vraiment difficile. On a été obligé d'aller 2 fois à la régie du logement pis je sais pas jusqu'à quel point, bon ma propriétaire est gourmande là. Donc je ne sais pas jusqu'à quel point elle utilise aussi le fait que le quartier euh.... est en évolution et qu'elle pense qu'elle peut aller chercher de plus en plus, tés de toute manière le marché locatif tout court là, ça augmente de plus en plus. Faudrait vérifier sur plus de propriétaires comment qu'ils évoluent, mais il est probable, il est possible de penser que ma propriétaire joue aussi sur le fait le quartier évolue pour pouvoir louer de plus en plus chers ces logements là.»

With regards to rising property taxes, other residents mentioned concern over the effect that this was having on more modest-income homeowners that had been in the neighbourhood for generations, and were now finding themselves unable to pay their residential property tax bills due to the wider gentrification of the neighbourhood. The 2007-2011 municipal tax evaluations presented in Section 5.5 confirm that overall in the Southwest there has been a 30.6% variation since the last tax assessment role.

> **ID-10:** "In Saint-Henri, that's one thing, (…) in the Southwest, but particularly in Saint-Henri they more than doubled the value of properties. Which is wonderful for some people, but it is too much. It is too much, too quick, and it has created a lot of problems for people who have been living in their houses for generations and now can't afford their tax bill. There is something that has got to be worked out for that because people should not be obliged to move out of their homes because of their tax bill and because of changes in the neighbourhood." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Even for long-term residents who had become homeowners and had managed some upward residential mobility within the neighbourhood, this was put into jeopardy.

> **ID-09**: "I have already seen that happening to my landlord and two other people that live around here, like the woman who lived downstairs from me, she bought this place when the neighbourhood was still kind of like poor. And she's low-income right, but she still bought this house and I know that she worked super hard for it. And now she can't really afford the taxes any more because she is a block away from the condos." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, some renters expressed concerns beyond their own difficulties in the rental market, empathizing with owner-occupiers within the neighbourhood, some of whom were also negatively affected by the wider changes.

6.1.5 Anticipated 'exclusionary' displacement:

'Exclusionary' displacement (Marcuse 1986) is a concept which refers to a phenomenon whereby over time an increasingly large portion of low and modest income people are priced out of inner city neighbourhoods. An interesting theme that emerged among a few of the modest and middle-income private sector renters in the sample was the concern that due to the wider changes in the neighbourhood, they themselves would no longer be able to become homeowners. One interviewee, who had been living in the neighbourhood eight years and had invested a significant amount of time and financial resources in upgrading his apartment over the years, expressed his desire to become an owner and concern this would no longer be possible in Saint-Henri:

> **ID-03**: "Yeah, it is a concern. It is a concern. When I moved here, I said it was the last time I was going to be a renter and the next time I move it is when I will be an owner. But I would love to own. So what I am concerned about is not being able to afford to buy a house here." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

A modest income resident who also aspired to be a homeowner one day, remarked that the current condominium construction underway in the neighbourhood was not an example of 'affordable' housing.

> **ID-10**: "But I would definitely like to stay here and if I stay as a renter, I would like to, I would always like to buy something, something small, but I don't know if I could afford it. Now it is seriously getting to the borderline of being out of my income, basically. So with the situation right now, if I get a job with the same salary, then the housing stock is getting too expensive for me. And I am a quote unquote 'unionized' working guy. And if I can't afford it, neither can the people who live here now. So, it is a concern. This is why there need to be more…when they say 'affordable' housing, a $180 000 one-bedroom condominium is not 'affordable' housing." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Both of the above statements, one by a middle-class renter, the second by a unionized modest-income worker, can be conceptualized in terms of anticipated 'exclusionary' displacement. Interestingly, that this concern was felt both among modest and middle-income residents suggests that an increasing share of the population are being priced out of homeownership in the inner city (for more on exclusionary displacement see Section 8.5).

6.1.6 Loss of industry and employment sources:

Another frequently mentioned theme, especially among residents who had been in the neighbourhood for an extended period (i.e. more than 20 years), was the closing of manufacturing industries within the neighbourhood and the loss of industrial jobs. One resident who had lived her entire life in Little Burgundy and Saint-Henri expressed the view that the loss of industry within the neighbourhood had led to the destruction of an 'even keel' amongst residents, as industrial jobs within the area had allowed families to sustain themselves with dignity:

> **ID-11:** "When I was growing up, everybody was working, everybody was on an even keel, you know. Even up to maybe, thirty years ago. Twenty-five, thirty years ago, everybody was…well you had the rich, we always had that…but the environment, Saint-Henri and all that was pretty much low-income workers, but they were all workers and then all these companies closed and big companies. You know? Colico and all that. People were working and all that, they were not rich but they were making a good living for their families but now, all these places are gone." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

This resident made a direct connection between the loss of industrial jobs and the poverty among the longstanding incumbent Saint-Henri population. However, another longstanding resident describing the changes that had taken place in proximity to the Lionel Groulx Metro Station prompted in part by the development of Solin Hall (a McGill University off-campus residence) did not share this perception.

> **ID-14:** "Oh, man! It was amazing, yeah. It kind of, what it did was it created a whole new life for the housing, the working-class housing on Delisle and Lionel Groulx and those streets around the metro station. So now you go there and you will find kids who are students or just out of school or are coming in from other universities looking for a place to work. It seems to have opened up a part of the city that was grindingly poor. Or certainly, forty odd years ago, when I came, it was just really poor. Workman Street, you could hardly imagine a more degraded population. I mean it was English, it was an English population, but to call them working-class would be a real mistake because very few of them worked. They were like really, the worst bottomed-out social class that you could have. Welfare, completely welfare. And that's all changed." *67 year old man, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, it would seem that both the length of residence in the neighbourhood, and the actual age of respondents is at play here. The loss of industry and industrial jobs was something that was particularly lamented by elderly residents who had lived their entire lives within the neighbourhood, who remembered a time when many neighbourhood residents were gainfully employed in local factories. This perception of the majority of residents being gainfully employed was not shared by all elderly respondents however, as highlighted above.

6.1.7 Recent deterioration and decay:

Lavigne's (1974) review of available literature on forced relocation revealed that even the looming prospect of expropriation can have a negative effect on the surrounding residential milieu even before a project has begun. For example, if demolition is imminent, there is little motivation for landlords to maintain housing units in the meantime. As housing deteriorates and tenants move, there is often a sharp increase in vandalism and violence in the neighbourhood (Lavigne 1974; Carr 1994). Lavigne and Carlos's (1975) study of expropriation for the Autoroute 720 in Montréal revealed a systematic skimming off of the most autonomous population, as those with the resources to move elsewhere do so, which in the long term leads to the concentration of a dependent population, which is non-diversified and thus leads ultimately to the ghettoization of a neighbourhood (Lavigne and Carlos 1975, 373).

While many residents noted physical improvements in the neighbourhood overall, several residents perceived deterioration and decay in the western extremity of the neighbourhood, corresponding roughly to Villages des Tanneries (CT 82) and Village Turcot (CT 84) sub-neighbourhoods (see Figure 5.2). With regards to the Villages des Tanneries, one respondent remarked an increase in deterioration since the announcement of the imminent redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange:

> **ID-01**: "There's an increase in people's desire to maintain their space, that of course has dropped off a bit in the past year since people have found out about the Turcot Interchange Reconstruction. So that I have heard expressed by a lot of people, that owners kind of feel that they are on pause, that they don't know whether to continue with their repairs or renovations. And some people have said to me that they have seen an increase in litter, that people don't care any more as much, because it going to get destroyed anyway so what's the point?" *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Indeed, it was not only residents living in the western portion of Saint-Henri that remarked that this part of the neighbourhood was experiencing decline. One resident, living in the eastern portion of the neighbourhood, remarked how on the main commercial street, Notre-Dame, the western portion was subject of frequent turnover of local businesses and that the housing was in desperate need of attention.

> **ID-13:** "What I noticed, for example, is there is degradation from the subway to the Gadbois Centre, I find that things are deteriorating. There's nothing that is improving, it's getting worse and worse. Things that are closing which will never reopen (…) And as I said, I had a friend who had tried to buy a building and it's pathetic. Everything has to be redone. The buildings are in a pathetic state. (...) But for sure it is more over there (in the west of the neighbourhood), that it is constantly degrading." *[translation] 43 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[32]

A 70-year old resident who had been living in Little Burgundy and Saint-Henri her entire life, also remarked this deterioration in the western portion of the neighbourhood but felt that on the whole the neighbourhood was nothing to be ashamed of:

> **ID-11:** "But on the whole, I think that it is pretty good. It's no eyesore, or nothing… But more down in Saint-Henri, the other end, there are more houses that are let go. You know, little landlords who don't have money any more and tenants that are paying next to nothing in rent, because they can't put them out because they have been there for many years. But on the whole, I think that it's pretty good. I am not

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[32] **ID-13**: «Ce que j'ai remarqué par exemple, c'est qu'il y a des dégradations à partir du métro jusqu'à Centre Gadbois, moi je trouve que les choses se dégradent. Il n'y a rien qui s'améliore, ça va de pire en pire. Les choses qui ferment qui rouvriront jamais. (…) Et comme je te dis, j'avais un ami qui avait cherché à acheter un bloc et c'est lamentable. Tout est à refaire. Les blocs sont dans un état minable (…) Mais c'est sûr que plus là-bas, ça se dégrade continuellement.»

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ashamed of my neighbourhood." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

One resident living in 780 Saint-Rémi (a building in the western portion of the neighbourhood and slated for expropriation and demolition), noted how since the announcement of the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange, there had been both a physical deterioration of the surrounding area and an exodus of neighbours from her building and around, accompanied by a visible increase of hard-drug users.

> **DD-03**: "Well, since the announcement of the project there's more people moving around. People left because they were afraid. So some people moved out of the neighbourhood, in our building, but also in the Village des Tanneries. And in all the other parts of the neighbourhood, you see more places for sale. I think close to the Turcot, people are trying to sell off their property because they know that in the next twelve years it will be hell. So they want to get out. And also in our neighbourhood it is not the most rich people that are in the neighbourhood. Because you know, one in four people know that there is something hanging above their head. So in our apartment block for example, there are now more drug dealers and I have seen more drug addicts hanging around coming in the building." *36 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in a 'commercial' loft at 780 St. Rémi.*

This respondent also noted an increase in prostitution in and around St. Rémi and Notre-Dame. Thus, as has been observed elsewhere, the looming prospect of expropriation and wider disamenities implicit in a redevelopment project the scale of the Turcot Interchange led to an increase in deterioration and decay even before the plans had been finalized.

Interestingly, a low-income resident in Turcot Village who lived adjacent to new condominium developments along the Lachine Canal in the south-western corner of the neighbourhood expressed the view that due to the proximity to the Canal, his immediate residential neighbourhood (CT 84) was unlikely to be affected, but in his view the other areas adjacent to the Turcot Interchange would continue to deteriorate:

> **ID-25:** "My area probably won't be affected to a great degree as far as being ghettoized because of the nature of our location. But above Notre-Dame you have an area in the back, I don't remember the name of it, I think it is Place Turcot, that little area there, is a complete ghetto. And the Tanneries is basically the same and whatever is left of it, you know, even if they don't expropriate those houses you are going to have a ghetto." *55 year old man, recent resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*

This degradation and decay was borne out to some degree by the aforementioned census-based analysis, particularly in the case of CT 84, which was characterized by Walks and Maaranen (2008) as: 'not gentrification, other trends' (see Section 5.6). Furthermore, the high percentage of social and community housing in this census tract is an important piece of the local context, and furthermore the income of social housing residents might have dropped

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between 1996 and 2006. It seems likely that deterioration in this part of the neighbourhood has intensified since the 2006 census, as the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange was announced in 2007. Moreover, CT 84 was the only area that experienced an increase in residents under the low-income cut-offs with 59.9% of residents in this category in 2006, while CT 82 had 49.9%.

As a consequence of this degradation (and the increased presence of marginal groups in this part of the neighbourhood) many respondents remarked that they felt unsafe in this part of the neighbourhood at night. For one interviewee, sticking to main roads was her main strategy, but in the western extremity of the neighbourhood, where her sister and niece lived, so she visited often, she felt unsafe.

> **ID-09**: "I would say I stick mostly to main roads. I don't go in back alleys because I don't actually feel safe in the back alleys yet. And the more west that I go the less safe that I feel. (…) I am pretty nervous pretty much anywhere west of the park, maybe like one block before Saint-Rémi. I find that there is still a lot of drugs happening, there are houses that are known to be crack houses, one that was torn down recently, where I see kids who are obviously high, a lot of them hanging outside of their house. (…) So I stick to the main roads for sure. But even the main roads, it is just that prostitution has been pushed. So before it used to be on my street, now it is on Saint-Rémi. So that little area of Notre-Dame, sometimes I don't feel safe there, because it is very isolated, there are no buildings and my sister has been and knows people that have been mugged or threatened with guns in that neighbourhood. (…) So I stick to the main roads or where it is residential. But I wouldn't say that I feel safe." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

A number of male respondents remarked that while they themselves felt safe walking in the neighbourhood in general at night, they were aware that their wives or girlfriends did not and that even for them the western portion of the neighbourhood raised safety concerns.

> **ID-26:** "Yes, but I think ... this is my vision as a man because I know my wife, she, there are places where she would not go. My sister, as well, one time we walked down Notre-Dame Street, just the other side of the Parc Georges-Etienne Cartier, going to Saint-Rémi and it was dark out and I asked her, "Would you walk here alone?" and she said no. Because I think as a man I may live with this fear less. But I know that women, some women around me, anyway, my wife she, there are places where she would not go, like Notre-Dame or the Saint-Rémi tunnel to go into Westmount, that place there. I think that's the places I see, but in fact I do not know if I would go below the Turcot Interchange, where there is the railway track near the Village Turcot at 2 o'clock in the morning ... I do not know if I would go there. Well, perhaps, but ... I would have to be ... I would go, but I would say that something

could happen to me there, I think." *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[33]

Attitudes of male interviewees towards the western part of the neighbourhood ranged from hesitation to strict avoidance. While this male interviewee expressed hesitation about frequenting the western extremity of the neighbourhood at night, for another male respondent, this area was to be strictly avoided at night.

> **ID-22:** "There's big crime in the area you mentioned further west, over on Notre-Dame. There are shootings galleries, there are drug houses .... You see the people all stoned there ... Anyway, at night. Me, I'm not going there at night. I'm not going there." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[34]

6.1.8 Summary:

This section has explored the primary physical changes observed by renters living in Saint-Henri. As found elsewhere, the combination of pockets of traditional gentrification, abandonment and widespread fires led to the presence of a 'rent gap' where the potential value and profitability of the land was much higher if converted to its 'highest and best use,' in this case condominium development (both infill development and adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings). According to the perceptions of residents, this was combined with the redevelopment of the Lachine Canal, which acted as a major catalyst for the wider redevelopment in the neighbourhood, including massive condominium development, improvements in local parks and services, upgrading of the traditional housing stock and increased safety. However, for some existing residents, these changes had the effect of diminishing the supply of affordable housing, as the vast majority of new housing development was geared towards more affluent populations and many affordable rentals have been lost due to fire (including arson). Further, these wider changes also placed pressure on the existing affordable rental housing stock, as landlords took

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[33] **ID-26:** «Oui, mais je pense que... c'est ma vision d'homme parce que je sais que ma conjointe, elle, il y a des endroits où elle irait pas. Ma soeur, même, l'autre fois on marchait dans la rue sur Notre-Dame justement, de l'autre côté du Parc Georges-Étienne-Cartier, en allant vers Saint-Rémi pis je lui ai demandé, y faisait noir pis tout ça, pis je lui ai demandé « Est -ce que tu marcherais ici toute seule ?», pis elle a dit non. Fait que je pense qu'en tant qu'homme on vit peut-être moins avec cette peur là. Mais je sais que les femmes, certaines femmes qui m'entourent, en tout cas, ma conjointe elle, il y a des endroits où elle irait pas, comme Notre-Dame ou euh justement le tunnel Saint-Rémi là pour aller jusque dans Westmount, cette place là. Je pense que ça, c'est les endroits que je vois, mais en fait, je ne sais pas si j'irais en dessous de l'échangeur, où il y a la track de chemin de fer proche du village Turcot là, à 2 heures du matin... Je ne sais pas si j'irais là. Ben, peut-être là, mais... faudrait que je sois... j'irais mais je dirais qui pourrait m'arriver quelque chose je pense.»

[34] **I.D.-22**: «Il y a de la grosse criminalité dans la région que tu as mentionné plus à l'ouest, sur Notre-Dame. Il y a des shootings galeries, il y a des piqueries.... Tu vois le monde maganné là... En tout cas, la nuit. Moi, je ne vais pas là, la nuit. Je vais pas là.»

note of these changes and increasingly failed to declare the previous tenants rent on new leases, thus leading to exorbitant rent increases within their buildings. Equally, some difficulties were reported by tenants among their neighbours who were modest-income homeowners, as they were unable to keep up with the increasing property taxes within the neighbourhood. Further, among long-term renters, strategies to secure tenure were discussed in light of the challenges outlined above, in particular assuring one's place within the neighbourhood through moving into social or community housing. Additionally, some of the more affluent renters interviewed expressed concern that they themselves were likely to no longer be able to afford to buy within the neighbourhood, alluding to anticipated exclusionary displacement. Other types of changes were also explored, particularly those highlighted by lifelong residents including the loss of industry and industrial employment within the neighbourhood. Last, the theme of recent deterioration and decay was highlighted by some residents, particularly in the western section of the neighbourhood, in the areas adjacent to the Turcot Interchange, reflecting what has been found elsewhere, that once redevelopment of an area is imminent, deterioration and decay often result, as those with the resources to leave do so, leading to the ghettoization of the remaining population who cannot move elsewhere. This was observed in Saint-Henri in so far as a number of interviewees noted the increase in marginal populations in and around this area as well as their own feelings of decreased safety compared to elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

6.2 Demographic changes within the neighbourhood:

This section will explore the demographic changes perceived by long-term renters in the neighbourhood. It is aimed primarily at exploring resident perceptions of the classic demographic indicators associated with gentrification, which include increases in young professionals and in young non-family households. However, other types of population change observed by participants will also be discussed.

6.2.1 Arrival of higher-income people, young professionals

One of the key signposts of gentrification is the change in the occupational structure of the neighbourhood population: the increasing prevalence of university-educated residents and in workers employed in "advanced services" (most of whom are in managerial, professional or specialized technical positions (Ley 1988; 1992; 1996)). An increase in university-educated residents and in professional and managerial workers was borne out in the census-based analysis between 1996 and 2006 (see Section 5.3.5 and 5.3.6). A number of residents remarked that there has been an incursion of higher-income people into the neighbourhood in

recent years. One interviewee made a connection between this demographic change and the increasing cost of living in the neighbourhood, over and above the cost of housing. (We return to the question of changes in retailing in Section 8.2.2).

> **ID-02**: "Well, everything is more expensive, the fact that everyone coming here is rich, makes it so everything is costing us more." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low-income, HLM resident.*[35]

It was not only low-income residents that remarked this shift, however. One middle-income renter in the neighbourhood remarked that there was "a lot more 'bourgeoisie' people" living in the neighbourhood, that he had the chance to meet mostly as a result of walking his dog in neighbourhood parks.

> **ID-03**: "I mean in the condos over there, it's like lawyers. I know three lawyers who live in those condos.
>
> **AT**: And do you have ties with them or are they just acquaintances?
>
> **ID-03**: Acquaintances. A few people have dogs. The dog connection. It's a good way to build up a network actually. Some of my best friends actually, I met here, through our dogs." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle-income, private sector renter.*

Another modest-income renter noted that the foot traffic through the neighbourhood was visibly wealthier.

> **ID-09:** "Ah, yeah. I would definitely say that there is quite a few more, like wealthy looking people that are in the neighbourhood. There is a lot more people carrying shopping bags, you know those new environmental shopping bags with the logos on them and stuff.(…) And then in the evening actually, when I am coming home I see a lot of people who appear to work in offices or I don't know, but they are kind of dressed in a professional way and they have a professional pace about them. They are walking faster and they are carrying bags, you know, like handbags and shoes that you don't really walk in very much, you know. And people just generally look more wealthy." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest-income, private sector renter.*

This aforementioned resident however, lived on a direct route between the Lachine Canal and the Saint-Henri metro station and was thus in a key geographic location within the neighbourhood to observe the daily flow of residents living and workers employed along the Lachine Canal. Two lifelong residents saw the re-appropriation of the Lachine Canal by affluent condo residents to be a more generalized urban phenomenon, rather than in terms of neighbourhood gentrification as such.

> **ID-29 (b):** "Well, the rich are taking over Saint-Henri.

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[35] **ID-02**: «Ben, c'est que tout a augmenté, fait que tout le monde qui arrive ici sont toutes riches, fait que ça nous fait nous coûter plus cher.»

ID-29 (c): The Canal, along the canal.

ID-29 (b): Well, it's not just Saint-Henri, I find it goes all the way to Old Montréal... it's all part of the process of beautifying along the waterfront." *[translation] 46 and 44 year old females, lifelong residents, low-income, public sector renters.*[36]

6.2.2 Arrival of English-speakers

A number of residents noted that there had been an increase in the Anglophone population living in the neighbourhood. Interestingly, this was something that was perceived especially among Anglophones interviewed as part of my sample. Out of 8 Anglophones, five mentioned an increase in English speakers in the neighbourhood, whereas among 30 French speakers only two interviewees mentioned language. This perception of an increase in Anglophones was confirmed in the census based analysis, with every census tract but one showing an increase in the proportion of Anglos over the 1996-2006 period (see Table 5.1). One resident, who had been in the neighbourhood ten years, described the recent incursion of Anglophones into the area as a 'sea of change':

> **ID-06:** "When I first moved here in 1999, I felt like we were the only young people in the neighbourhood. I wouldn't see anyone else, like our peers. I didn't have any friends or know anyone else who lived in Saint-Henri. And now there are tons of young people and a few years ago, one of my roommates and I would start noticing cute girls on the street, which was like a total 'sea of change.' (…) So the people in the neighbourhood have totally changed, there have been a lot of English people coming in. We used to notice no children or families; it was all like older Québécois residents who have been here for generations, who have lived here for a long time. But now we see that there's a lot of babies and families in the neighbourhood, there's a lot more young people as the Plateau has gotten more expensive." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, for this resident the rejuvenation of the neighbourhood with younger people and families is a phenomenon that has been brought about by Anglophones moving into a traditionally francophone working-class neighbourhood.

With reference to the new population coming in and buying condos along the Lachine Canal, one recent resident noted not only that much of the incoming population was Anglophone, but further, that they were unilingual Anglophone, a limiting factor in terms of their integration into a predominantly francophone working-class neighbourhood.

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[36] **ID-29 (b): «**Ben, les riches sont en train d'envahir Saint-Henri.

ID-29 (c) : Le canal, le bord du canal.

ID-29 (b): Ben, pas juste Saint-Henri, je trouve que ça va jusque dans le Vieux Montréal, son toute en train d'embellir carrément sur le bord de l'eau.»

> **ID-25**: "Most of the people in there are very new. Surprisingly enough, a lot of them are Anglophone, lots and lots of Anglophones and not just Anglophone but unilingual Anglophone. I'm sure that they are brought in from Ontario or the States, for work on some computer project or something and they come in and buy a condo for three years, it's a three year contract and then they sell it." *55 year old male, recent resident, low-income, living in OBNL housing.*

Another resident who lived adjacent to Parc Georges-Etienne-Cartier, where some of the nicer greystone housing in the neighbourhood is located, reports on a neighbour's perception of how both the Anglophone influx and the bicycle path that is a key part of the Canal redevelopment are changing the neighbourhood's character.

> **ID-14**: "Yeah, there is an influx certainly of middle-class people and some of them speak English. A lot of them don't, they speak French, but still, it's a real change. My neighbour upstairs, he says when he hears English on the street, or he sees somebody on a new bike or one of those sporty bikers with the fancy uniform covered in publicity, he says things like: 'Well, there goes the neighbourhood.'" *67 year old male, longstanding resident, middle-income, living in private rental housing.*

However, some Francophones also commented on language change. One resident who grew up in the neighbourhood remarked that the population changes in the neighbourhood were more audible than visible.

> **ID-12:** "Yeah! Yeah, yeah, the difference at different epochs, I would say that the thing that is most visible is something more audible, because there are more people who speak English and all that. When I was young nobody spoke English. But looking a little further, it's not only that there are more people who speak English, because the people who speak French, it's not even the same French they're speaking. Already when I was little, people made fun of me, kids of the same age as me, sickened me, because they treated me as French [i.e. from France] because my accent wasn't a big thick dirty Saint-Henri accent." *[translation] 26 year old male, longstanding resident, low-income, living in private rental housing.*[37]

Interestingly, for this resident, it was not only the presence of English being spoken in the street, but further, the accent of francophone residents, which differed substantially from what he remembered during his youth, as the accents of current Francophone residents were audibly less working-class.

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[37] **ID-12**: «Ben oui! Oui, ben oui, la différence à différents époques quand même pis, je dirais que le truc le plus visible, c'est un truc plus audible, parce qu'il y a plus de monde qui parler anglais pis tout ça. Quand j'étais petit personne parlait anglais là. Mais, en regardant un peu plus loin c'est pas qu'il y a plus de monde qui parle anglais, c'est que le monde qui parle français, c'est pas le même français qu'ils parlent. Déjà quand moi j'étais petit, les gens y se foutait de ma gueule, les petits de mon âge y m'écœuraient, parce qu'il me traitait de français à cause de mon accent qui était pas assez gros accent sale de Saint-Henri.»

6.2.3 Arrival of a more diverse population

A recent resident of the neighbourhood remarked this increase in diversity in terms of more 'skids'[38] and punks moving into the area due to displacement from gentrifying areas elsewhere in the inner city.

> **ID-28**: "It's, well, I used to live in the East End where it is more like younger, crusty punks and kind of like skiddy young white kids, you know. And I am seeing a lot more of that happening over this end, cause that neighbourhood is being turned into HoMa, it is already being gentrified tons. So I think that there is more low-income housing here like there are still plenty of slumlords that have really cheap places for people. And there is more community for like kids and punks in this neighbourhood, like people have been doing lots. That is not part of my community necessarily, but there are lots of people organizing along those lines in the neighbourhood." *26 year old male, recent resident, low-income, living in private rental housing.*

Further, another Anglophone resident remarked how there was an increase in artistic queers living in the neighbourhood, whom she presumed to be arriving from the gentrified Plateau-Mont-Royal district.

A number of residents remarked that the neighbourhood had become more ethnically diverse in recent years. One resident noted an increase in diversity in terms of black families moving in to Saint-Henri from the adjacent neighbourhood of Little Burgundy due to its gentrification.

> **ID-06**: "One thing that I think that gentrification has done in Little Burgundy is that it seems like the black community is starting to move into Saint-Henri. (…) Little Burgundy has a big black population, but this side of Atwater has always been super white, older francophone. And maybe in 2004 we noticed a lot of black families moving in. And all of a sudden there were teenagers, there were never any children or teenagers in the neighbourhood. So it was kind of nice to just see people on the street at night. Because it is ridiculous after it gets dark here, it is like a dead zone sometimes. But there is a lot of teenagers now in the neighbourhood, all of a sudden." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This perception that the neighbourhood was becoming more ethnically diverse was shared by a number of interviewees across income groups and length of residence. One woman, herself a lifelong resident, remarked that this was especially visible within her public housing apartment block.

> **ID-02**: "It's changing a lot because at first ... sorry to say, but it was just kind of Québécois in the blocks and then, oops, there's been Haitians, oops, there's been

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[38] Skid (n) is a slang term used to describe a person who lives on the margins of society and shuns normal social contact. But people usually just use it to describes punks and metalheads (Urban Dictionary, 2011).

Muslims, Muslim, Muslims, and now there's almost just that … So yes, there's been much, much change, but that's it..." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public rental housing.*[39]

Many residents perceived an increase in immigrants (particularly of visible minorities) living in the neighbourhood, including a few of the more recent residents. This was borne out in the census-based analysis, where all census tracts except one (CT 81) experienced an increase in the proportion of immigrants over the 1996-2006 time period. One woman, herself an immigrant from Algeria, had this to say:

> **ID-05**: "Initially, when I came here, I came here in 2001, you notice that there is no ..... Me, I am Arab ... There were not many Arabs. It's rare that you see a woman with the headscarf here in Saint-Henri, compared to Jean Talon and Saint-Michel. But now there are lots." *[translation] 31 year old woman, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*[40]

Beyond noting increased ethnic diversity, some lifelong residents expressed frustration with regards to the recent arrival of new immigrants in the neighbourhood in terms of the competition this created for social housing (HLM). One lifelong resident tried for years to get into social housing, to no avail, before eventually getting a coop unit in the neighbourhood instead where she lived for many years before recently relocating to public seniors housing in adjacent Little Burgundy.

> **ID-11:** "And you have a lot of City houses in Saint-Henri, which unfortunately, or fortunately for those people, but there are a lot of immigrants. And it makes so the Canadians that ask for houses or are on the waiting list, can't get them. You get a family that comes from Bangladesh and the first thing you know, he's got a big City house. You know? And someone who has been waiting for a long time can't get anything. So, it is not that I am prejudiced, it is just that it aggravates cause you see that Canadians…I tried to get a City house my dear, for years, and I was raised right around the corner here and I couldn't get one." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors' housing.*

These frustrations must be interpreted in the context of a federal funding freeze for social housing since the early nineties on one hand, and the fact that many lifelong residents have been priced out of the private housing market in the neighbourhood, on the other. Allocation of social housing is based on need rather than wait-time, combined with the matching of available units with households of the right size. Another longstanding resident expressed the need for

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[39] **ID-02**: «Ça change beaucoup parce qu'au début...excusez de le dire, mais on était juste genre des québécois dans les blocs puis là, oups, y'a eu des Haïtiens, oups, y'a eu des musulmans, des musulmans, des musulmans, pis là c'est juste presque de ça...Fait que oui, y'a beaucoup, beaucoup de changement, mais c'est ça...»

[40] **ID-05**: «Au début, quand j'ai rentré ici, j'ai rentré ici en 2001, tu remarques qu'il n'y a pas de..... Moi, je suis Arabe... Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'Arabes. C'est rare que tu vois une femme avec le foulard ici à Saint-Henri, par rapport à Jean Talon ou Saint-Michel. Mais maintenant sont beaucoup.»

social housing to be constructed along the Lachine Canal, but social housing specifically for disadvantaged Québécois.

> **ID-18**: "But there also has been a lot of immigrants, and all that. But ah, it's no big deal! It's nothing but we have too many. On the edge of the Lachine Canal, there is space, they should do a big block there, they should social housing there. For the disadvantaged. Québécois! *[translation] 48 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in HLM housing.*"[41]

Not all longstanding neighbourhood residents saw the influx of immigrants into the neighbourhood in such negative or emotive terms. One observed that this tendency began in the sixties and has continued and diversified since then.

> **ID-27(a):** "But here in this area, St. Ambroise and Notre-Dame .... this corner here ... You'll find all races. Of all kinds. You can have one Italian, one French, Latino, Hispanic, of all kinds. Of all the countries there. Sure. Since the end of the 60s, there was a big boom, and it has multiplied the races." *[translation] 45 year old man, longstanding resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.*[42]

Another lifelong resident explained this boom in terms of various types of political upheavals that generated waves of immigration and the sudden influx of immigrants to the neighbourhood.

> **ID-29 (a):** "When people arrive, as immigrants, each country has their problems, and they did not have their problems all at once. So when we had a batch of immigration it was, Haitians, there were thousands of Haitians, after the Italians, after Vietnamese, Chinese. Here today, well it's Arabs, Moroccans...Algerians... You understand. It's from all countries where there have been problems in the country, just as we began to see them here. Because it is a neighbourhood that has become multiethnic, so to speak." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in HLM housing.*[43]

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[41] **ID-18**: «Mais là aussi y'en a beaucoup, des immigrés pis toute ça là. Mais euh, c'est pas grave! C'est rien que, y'en a trop. Ils devraient faire, sur le bord du canal Lachine là, y'a une place, un gros bloc là, ils devraient en faire des logements de la ville là. Pour les, les défavorisés. Québécois!!!»

[42] **ID-27(a):** «Mais là, dans ce coin-ci, Saint-Ambroise pis Notre-Dame.... ce coin là... Tu vas retrouver de toutes les races là. De toutes les sortes. Tu peux avoir un italien, un français, des latinos, hispaniques, de toutes sortes. De toutes les pays là. C'est sûr. Depuis, depuis les années, fin des années 60, ça faite un gros boum, ça s'est multiplié disons les races.»

[43] **ID-29(a):** «Quand les gens là, y arrivent là, en immigration, chaque pays a leurs problèmes, pis y on pas eu leurs problèmes en même temps. Donc, quand on a eu des batchs d'immigration ça été, les Haïtiens, là, là, y avait beaucoup d'Haïtiens, après les Italiens, après les Vietnamiens, les Chinois. Là aujourd'hui, ben c'est les Arabes, les Marocains…les Algériens...Tu comprends. C'est toutes les pays où est-ce qui a eu des problèmes dans les pays, c'est de même qu'on a commencé à les voir ici. Parce que c'est un quartier qui est devenu multiethnique là, si on peut dire là.»

6.2.4 Arrival of young parents with children

Many residents noted that there had been an increase in young families with small children living in the neighbourhood. Interestingly, this was not reflected in the census-based analysis where the proportion of residents in the 0-14 age group actually decreased by approximately 3% over the 1996-2006 time period (see Section 5.3.1). It is possible that this perceived influx is more recent, i.e. from 2006 to present. One recent resident remarked frequent housing turnover on his street, with new home purchasers predominantly young parents with children.

> **ID-26**: "On my street, it is really obvious ... ... well, first it's houses that are for sale, perpetually. Once it's been sold, it's on the market again two weeks later, so it's houses whose prices are soaring and it is all young families, say between 30 and 40 years old with young children." *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[44]

Another resident, himself living adjacent to Parc Georges-Etienne-Cartier, with two small children, remarked how the increase in young families with children was itself indicative of gentrification.

> **ID-07:** "Yeah, especially on the Park it has been slowly changing, this is nice, you can call this gentrification. Families with kids, so like young couples coming, or young couples without kids, I mean along the park here." *33 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

However, one lifelong resident perceived a recent influx of families, but in her view these included people that had grown up in the neighbourhood and who were now moving back to take over their parents' houses after a prolonged absence.

One recent resident with four small children perceived a difference between his family and the other more affluent families moving into the neighbourhood. This perceived difference on his part was rooted not only in being less affluent than many of the other incoming residents, but further in the fact that he had been a community organizer at the local tenants' rights organization in the neighbourhood and was active in mobilization in solidarity with long-term renting residents.

> **ID-20:** "And that's what we notice too, there is more families too of the class of people that live in the condos. It kind of changes the dynamic somewhat too, I don't know how to describe it, but it's a different kind of parents. (…) Like when we moved in to our coop there, we lived on the second floor and we had conflicts with people

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[44] **ID-26**: «Sur ma rue, c'est flagrant… C'est vraiment des... ben, d'abord c'est des maisons qui sont en ventes, perpétuellement. Dès que c'est vendu, 2 semaines plus tard, c'est remis plus tard, donc c'est des maisons dont le prix monte en flèche pis c'est toutes des jeunes familles disons entre 30 et 40 ans avec des jeunes enfants.»

on the first floor, who grew up on that street because our kids were making noise. And the son said to me: 'Well, you don't understand where you moved into. This is Saint-Henri, you know, it is full of blacks and Latinos and it is not some kind of nice family neighbourhood.' And it is ridiculous what he was saying, but it was coming out of that feeling I think that there are new people moving in and it is a threat. And for us it was kind of ironic because I feel like we are not a part of that threat but people did see us as part of that threat." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

Despite this resident regarding himself as in solidarity with existing long-term residents, he noted that this was imperceptible to his neighbour, who he felt viewed him and his family as a threat and as part of the wider influx of more affluent newcomers to the neighbourhood.

6.2.5 Loss of local churches:

A last type of neighbourhood change linked to demographic change that was noted by some residents who had been living in the neighbourhood for an extended period was the closing of many local churches within the neighbourhood. One lifelong resident of the neighbourhood expressed sadness the Saint-Henri Church[45] where her children were baptised no longer existed.

> **ID-23(a):** "Yes, one thing that has disappeared, it's true, is churches. Because the one where my boy was baptized, is gone. It was the Saint-Henri Church. It is true that I find it too bad. It was the church of my daughter, my son. Where they were baptized. I don't know if it is a thing that we cannot imagine, perhaps because of my generation and I'm 51, I don't know, but a church that would shut down. That it closed because there's been a bad fire and cannot be renovated, yes, ok, but it is, uh, by a choice, that someone took at some point. Well, I find it pretty is unnecessary. It was the church that people liked and all that." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[46]

Another group of three life-long residents made a direct link between the changing population of the neighbourhood and the takeover of local churches.

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[45] The Saint-Henri Church (formerly the St. Thomas Aquinas Irish Church) closed its doors in 2001 and since 2006 has been occupied by the l'Hôtel des encans (a well-known international action house for art and other collectibles) (Ville de Montréal 2012). Interestingly, this was the second location of the Saint-Henri Church. The original Saint-Henri Church was demolished in 1969 along with a number of other religious buildings to make way for the Saint-Henri Polyvalente. In 1978, the French-Canadian congregation of the former Saint-Henri Church bought the former Irish Church (which was situated next door) and worshiped there until it closed in 2001 (Sauvons Montréal 2006).

[46] **ID-23(a):** «Oui, y'en a une qui est disparue, c'est vrai, c'est les église. Parce que celle que mon garçon a été baptisée, elle est disparue. C'était l'église Saint-Henri. C'est vrai que j'trouve ça plate. C'était l'église de mon fille, mon garçon. Y'a été baptisé. J'sais pas c't'une chose ça que on peut pas imaginer, peut-être à cause de ma génération que j'ai 51 ans, je sais pas, mais une église qui puisse fermée. Qu'à ferme parce que y'a eu un feu pis c'est pas rénovable, oui, ok, mais que ça soit, euh, par choix, que quelqu'un a pris à un moment donné. Eh, j'trouve ça, c'est pas nécessaire. C'était des églises que les gens aimaient pis toute là.»

ID-29(a): "Oh, that's a matter related to the population change here. Is that the churches that remain, for example before the church that had burned down, it was the Koreans who had taken it over. So that other religions have rented local churches.

ID-29(b): Saint-Joseph's has become a black church.[47]

ID-29(a): No, but we are lucky because we still possess the Sainte-Irénée Church*." [translation] 45 year old women, lifelong resident, low income, living in HLM housing.[48]*

As such, while mindful that such changes were related to wider population change in the neighbourhood, these women expressed gratitude and good luck that one of the many churches in the neighbourhood still served the long-term Francophone Catholic population. The decline and/or loss of religious institutions within the neighbourhood can be conceptualized in terms of cultural displacement, whereby as the population demographics within the neighbourhood shift over time and there is no longer a large enough population to constitute a full congregation of the local Québécois population, other more active religious affiliations present in and around the area come to the fore. However, the decline of Francophone Catholic churches must also be seen in the context of the 'Quiet Revolution' in Québec and a rapid decline in the proportion of the Québécois population interested in participating in Catholic religious life in this particular circumscribed way. For example, recent research in the Petite-Patrie neighbourhood in Montréal revealed that incumbent Francophone residents noted the increasing presence of Haitians in local churches, a population for whom religious practice is more important than for people of French-Canadian origins (Lavoie et al. 2011, 70). Interestingly, elsewhere in the Mission District of San Francisco, Lehman-Frisch found that gentrifiers did not frequent local religious institutions, which were geared almost exclusively towards the incumbent Hispanophone population. This was linked in part to the fact that incoming gentrifiers were relatively non-practising and if they belonged to religious communities they tended to be located outside the neighbourhood (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 152). So while cultural displacement was observed in

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[47] Interestingly, this church is actually located in Little Burgundy (a neighbourhood adjacent to Saint-Henri, farther east), which was historically where Montréal's working-class English speaking black community located and is still present to this day. From 1861-2006 it was a Catholic Church, since 2006 it has become the Imani Family Gospel Church (Methodist) (Conseil du patrimoine religieux du Québec 2011).

[48] **ID-29(a):** «Ah, ça c'est une affaire là par rapport à population qui a changée ici. C'est que les églises qui restent, avant que l'église ait passé au feu ici là, c'était les Coréens qui l'avaient pris. Fait que les autres religions ont comme loué aux églises.

ID-29(b): Saint-Joseph c'est rendu les Noirs.

ID-29(a): Non, mais on est chanceux parce que l'église Sainte-Irénée c'est encore nous qui la possède».

terms of other indicators in Mission Hill, the religious institutions within the neighbourhood were not vulnerable in this way.

6.2.6 Summary:

This section has explored residents' perceptions of population change within the neighbourhood. Residents noted a number of different demographic trends. First, the arrival of a higher-income population (primarily although not exclusively living along the Lachine Canal) was widely noted. Residents described these incomers as 'professionals.' Among some low-income renters though, this was viewed as a wider phenomenon that was taking place across the city (i.e. especially in terms of condo development along waterfront areas). Among more modest and middle-income renters, this was viewed more concretely in terms of gentrification. A second shift that was observed was the arrival of more Anglophones into what was once a homogeneous Québécois working-class neighbourhood. Interestingly, this was much more widely noted among Anglophones themselves living in the neighbourhood, who remarked the incursion in recent years of more people like themselves, without necessarily making a link between their presence and gentrification *per se*. This is similar to recent findings in the Lower East Side in NYC where early gentrifiers' narratives take little consideration of their role in the gentrification process (Ocejo 2011, 306). Moreover, Caulfield (1994) found that a substantial portion of early gentrifiers expressed antipathy for 'gentrifiers' whom they perceived as a threat, again lacking self-perception of their role in the process (Caulfield 1994, 218). Another frequently mentioned shift was the arrival of a more diverse population within the neighbourhood (including queers, artists, immigrants). The increasing ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood was widely remarked, particularly (though not exclusively) among longstanding and lifelong residents, who no doubt remember a time when Saint-Henri was a much more homogeneous area. An increase in families with young children was also noted, particularly among respondents with young children themselves. Last, the closing or turnover of many local churches within the neighbourhood was explored. The decline and/or loss of religious institutions can be understood as a form of cultural displacement, but in this case, the Catholic Church's vulnerability to takeover was increased by the more widespread decline in participation among the traditional Québécois population in the past forty years. The following section will explore interviewees' perceptions and experiences of 'social mix' among themselves and the more affluent incoming residents of the neighbourhood.

6.3 Perceptions and experiences of 'social mix' in Saint-Henri

The creation of social mix in inner city urban neighbourhoods has long been posited as a solution to some of the problems associated with concentrations of poverty. Arthurson (2004) summarizes the presumed effects of living in mono-tenure low-income rental neighbourhoods to include: "lack of access to social networks, which link residents to job opportunities; limited role models to integrate residents into the 'appropriate' behaviours of wider society. This factor is linked to problems of crime, low education retention rates, poor health and high unemployment; postcode prejudice and stigma associated with residing in areas that are perceived as negative and undesirable places; and decreased access to a range of health, education and community services due to service 'overload' within particular areas" (Arthurson 2004, 102). Indeed, one of the key raisons d'être behind social mix policies is that if disadvantaged residents can come into contact with more economically privileged residents, this may, via bridging social ties, create the social capital needed in order to improve their positions or at least solve some of their immediate daily problems. Rose (2004) argues, however, that many of these debates are taking place in the absence of a substantial knowledge base on how social mix is experienced on a day-to-day basis in contexts of gentrification (Rose 2004, 284). Blokland (2003) found in two gentrifying neighbourhoods in the U.S. and Netherlands that the social networks of lower educated and lower-class minorities did not have substantial numbers of white, highly educated members. Research in a gentrifying neighbourhood in London revealed that social relations within the neighbourhood could be described as social 'tectonics' whereby: "relations between different ethnic and social groups in the area are of a parallel rather than integrative nature" (Robson and Butler 2001, 78). Indeed, Rose (2004) argues still less is known about the lived experience of social mix in neighbourhoods that have undergone adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings and infill development and the rapid implantation of middle-class residents such large-scale changes imply ('instant' gentrification). This section will explore the material that arose from the interviews with regards to long-term renters' perceptions and experiences of social mix in Saint-Henri.

6.3.1 Peaceful but distant coexistence

A number of gentrification scholars (particularly in Canadian contexts) have explored the relationship between gentrification and the inner city as an 'emancipatory' space. For example, Ley (1996) makes the argument that the middle-class resettlement of the inner-city in Canada is in part a statement of social identity and cultural politics, where the inner-city became an oppositional space that was "socially diverse, welcoming difference, tolerant, creative, valuing

the old, the hand-crafted, the personalized, countering hierarchical lines of authority" (Ley 1996, 210). Lees (2000) argues that those who use the concept of the 'emancipatory city' to explain gentrification see encounters with those who are different from themselves as both enjoyable and liberating (see also Caulfield 1994).

Increasing diversity arose as a key theme in the interviews. A number of residents commented that the population of the neighbourhood had become more diverse over the years that they had been living in Saint-Henri. Specific population groups mentioned including artists, queers, young people and immigrants. A more affluent renter viewed this increasing diversity within the neighbourhood as an asset and over time had developed acquaintances with long-term residents through neighbouring.

> **ID-03:** "Um, surprising. Surprising because a lot of people, um, how do I say this without coming off as a snob…I have developed like relationships, not friendships, but you know acknowledgements with people that I never thought I would. Otherwise I wouldn't have talked to them. I mean some of my neighbours, we have nothing in common, but we have been neighbours for six, seven, eight years. And so, I appreciate that because it is so diversified. That's what I love about this neighbourhood, is the diversity." *35 year old man, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

This resident was surprised by his ability to feel at home in the neighbourhood through the acquaintances he had developed over the years and further recounted how when he first moved into the neighbourhood he was the target of homophobic slurs. His ability to feel at ease was also influenced by the fact that many other gay males had moved into the neighbourhood in the eight years he had been living there. The link between the incursion of gay males into a neighbourhood and subsequent gentrification has been noted in past research (see for example Castells 1983; Knopp 1997). Another resident, a new mother, found the heterogeneity of neighbourhood both surprising and rewarding.

> **ID-08**: "In our street it is mostly the same people ...it is quite mixed in terms of origins and social status. Because when I arrived, I had the impression that the people had a social status, well that they were not very high income, then just after taking part in workshops with children, I met a lot of girls who live in the neighbourhood and it was very, very heterogeneous. It's a little like, there were people who were doing different jobs and I found it rewarding." *[translation] 37 year old female, recent resident, high income, living in private rental housing.*[49]

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[49] **ID-08**: «Dans notre rue c'est toujours à peu près les mêmes personnes c'est comme... c'est pas mal mélangé au niveau origine pis au niveau social. Parce que, quand je suis arrivée, j'avais quand même l'impression que les gens avaient un niveau social, ben revenu pas très élevé, puis justement après, en participant à des ateliers avec les enfants, j'ai rencontré pas mal de filles qui vit dans le quartier et puis, c'était très très hétérogène. C'est comme un peu, y avait des gens qui faisaient différents métiers et moi je trouvais cela enrichissant.»

It was not only among the middle and higher income renters that the increasing diversity of the neighbourhood was regarded as an asset.

> **ID-27(b):** "Yes, yes. I can tell you that the people who gather here, it's different ethnicities, different countries. It is obviously that, here in Saint-Henri there are a lot of ethnicities. My husband has Native blood, me I have Irish and they are plenty of Irish, but there's African-American, there's all these coloured people, but these people are welcome to come into the parks and express their artistic side. For us it is important to keep it open, yes. (…) The more there's a bit of everybody, the more there are cultural activities and there's more of an openness in a given region. Like here, in Saint-Henri." *[translation] 48 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.[50]*

For another low-income renter, the cultural diversity in local neighbourhood spaces, such as parks, was an actual draw to the parks themselves, where one could observe a variety of people from different cultures sharing space.

Interestingly, while the 'emancipatory city' concept referred to above regards the experience of difference as liberating and exciting, some residents interviewed equated greater diversity in the neighbourhood with more residents like themselves moving in over the years (i.e. themselves adding diversity to an otherwise homogeneous neighbourhood). This is similar in some ways to what was observed by Robson and Butler (2001) in Telegraph Hill (a London neighbourhood), where: "the value of the mix would seem to reside in the way in which the interaction of individual (but overwhelmingly white and middle-class) types – 'lefty/liberal,' 'artistic/creative' – enriches the social life of the Hill" (Robson and Butler 2001, 77). One longstanding resident of the neighbourhood remarked that the increased presence of queers and artists within the neighbourhood provided positive reinforcement for her.

> **ID-09:** "Oh yeah, you know the other people that have just moved into the neighbourhood is all of the artists and people of different backgrounds which are coming into the neighbourhood and that I find cool and really great. And you know it is about time you guys move out of the stupid Plateau and come here to Saint-Henri, you know? (…) I really like that. Now there's people like me in the neighbourhood now and I am like, 'kay thanks,' you know. And so I see the next thing that is going to happen is going be like a local community center. There are a lot of lezzies or like artistic queers that are coming in and I am like, that's really cool. I really like that." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

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[50] **ID-27(b):** «Oui, oui. J'peux te dire que les gens qui se regroupent là, c'est différentes ethnies, de différents pays. C'est évidemment que, ici à Saint-Henri, on a beaucoup d'ethnie. Mon mari a du sang indien, moi chu irlandaise, y'a beaucoup d'irlandais, mais y'a des afro-américains, y'a toutes ces personnes de couleurs, mais ces gens là sont bienvenus de venir dans les parcs et de s'exprimer, leur côté artistique. Pour nous c'est important, de garder ça ouvert, oui (…) Parce que plus y'a de monde, plus qu'y a de choses culturelles et plus y'a une ouverture dans une région donnée. Comme ici à Saint-Henri.»

For this resident then, the arrival of a more diverse population amounted to the arrival of more people like herself, in terms of queer identification. That she made a direct connection between these new artistic queers and the Plateau Mont-Royal is case in point, where artists and queers were once the forerunners of gentrification.

Another longstanding resident noted the relative diversity of the newcomers in terms of incomes, noting that in the part of the neighbourhood where he lived it was a much more modest income population moving in than was the case along the Lachine Canal.

> **ID-20:** "But parallel to that, I think that the neighbourhood has become, well, more on the side where we are and where we live, where there has been less condo developments, although there has been some there too, well, we notice that I think it is becoming more trendy too, the neighbourhood for young people, students. I think that there are more Anglophones too, moving in. That's my impression. So there is that kind of trendy side, but it is not necessarily people with a lot of money." *39 year old male, longstanding resident, low-income, living in coop housing.*

Thus, for these residents, the neighbourhood had become more 'trendy,' resulting in a more 'diverse' population moving in, aside from the more affluent condominium dwellers located primarily along the Lachine Canal.

A second key theme arising in the interviews was the issue of the presence (or lack thereof) of incoming condo dwellers in neighbourhood public spaces and local shops. A number of residents expressed the view that there was very little interaction between the incoming population along the Lachine Canal and the rest of the neighbourhood. For one resident, this was also a result of the fact that initially he perceived many of the new residents to come and go from the neighbourhood by car, not necessarily spending time in along the neighbourhood commercial street or in other neighbourhood public spaces. Over time however, he perceived that these newer residents had integrated better into the neighbourhood and their presence was more perceptible as they could be seen walking in the neighbourhood.

> **ID-06:** "Well, one thing I thought, one of my first impressions when those places started to be populated with residents is that all those people had cars and they go out in their cars and shop and go out to other neighbourhoods. And my first impression is that none of that money along the Canal was coming into the neighbourhood. It is raising property taxes and stuff because the City thinks that houses on St. Ferdinand are worth more money because there are condos down the street. But I didn't see them on Notre-Dame bringing anything positive into the neighbourhood. I don't really get that impression now, because I do see those people walking around the neighbourhood now, it seems like there is more variety now. There is a different presence in the neighbourhood and part of it has got to be from them. But they do have a lot of cars." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This perception that over time the newer residents of the neighbourhood were becoming more integrated into neighbourhood life was not necessarily shared. One recent resident interpreted this absence of the more high-income population from the walkable space of the neighbourhood in terms of new-build developments along the Lachine Canal constituting a distinct sub-neighbourhood. He perceived that the more affluent condo dwellers only walked around in the immediate area surrounding their residence. This resident also noted that there was an increase in traffic in the neighbourhood, particularly around Saint-Ambroise, which was attributable to the incoming condo dwellers.

Lehman-Frisch's (2008) study of gentrification in the Mission Hill district of San Francisco revealed that there was a sense in which incumbent residents felt that there was a lack of interest among gentrifiers in terms of getting to know long-term residents, their practices or participating in local life more generally. Similarly, in Saint-Henri a number of residents interviewed (of different income groups and different lengths of residence) felt that the incoming condo dwellers did not really use neighbourhood commercial streets or contribute to neighbourhood life more generally. One recent resident, living on Saint-Ambroise, addressed this absence within local neighbourhood spaces and argued that the new-build developments along the Lachine Canal actually did very little to improve the pre-existing 'neighbourhood':

> **ID-25**: "I mean densification along the Canal has done nothing for the upper part of Saint-Henri. I mean all these people just shuttle down the road to Atwater Market, they couldn't care less what's on Notre-Dame.
>
> **AT:** Okay. So you never see these people on Notre-Dame Street.
>
> **ID-25:** No, rarely. Rarely, rarely do you see these people. These people stay along the Canal and they go to Atwater and wherever else they drive to, to do their shopping." *55 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*

The relative absence of condo dwellers in public spaces and local shops was widely noted among respondents despite length of residence within the neighbourhood.

However, it is worthy of note that some long-term residents remarked that the incoming condo dwellers didn't venture too far and only frequented the new businesses within the neighbourhood, whether chains (such as the IGA) or trendy cafés such as Café Mariani.

> **ID-10:** "There's a lot of restaurant cafés, particularly on Notre-Dame, in the proximity of the Atwater Market and the Metro station. But in the heart of Saint-Henri, there is the Café Mariani, it has been there three or four years, it's a little trendy café. This is one of the few places that people that live in these new condos along the Canal, this is one of the few places that they do stop. I think that is one of the concerns, these people that live in these new condos, they don't spend a lot of time in the neighbourhood, they don't venture too far. (...) But that's the thing, they come and

they use some services, there's more restaurants and stores and boutiques coming into the neighbourhood, which will serve them. And some people are not fully comfortable with that, but I am of the mindset that there are vacant storefronts and if someone takes a vacant space and rents it out then and that creates a business then great. If people don't spend money in that business, then that business will close. But it is better to have an occupied space than a vacant space. And sure long-time residents might not want it or it might not be their type of thing or it might not be within their affordability, I understand that. But that is everywhere. We have got to have a discussion or start to build a community consensus instead of just having this situation where the old people have their space and place and the new people have their space and place and never the two shall meet. That's not a good thing and that is something I look at as very, very serious here." *47 year old man, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, this resident viewed the proliferation of new businesses catering to condo dwellers as a positive change, when compared to the alternative of vacant commercial space along the main commercial artery. Nonetheless, due to the mismatch between new services and the needs of long-term residents, there was little to no opportunity for social mixing in neighbourhood commercial spaces.

Another theme arising in the interviews was that of weak and/or absent social ties among long-term residents and incoming condo dwellers. A key notion in the social mix literature is that of 'peaceful yet distant coexistence.' In Saint-Henri, one resident was acquainted (i.e. had weak ties) with some residents of the condominium developments along the Canal, but still did not sense that they were very integrated into neighbourhood life.

> **ID-14:** "I do know some people that I know are in there but I haven't so far seen them.
>
> **AT:** That kind of says it all (laughs).
>
> **ID-14:** Yeah, it does. They kind of get swallowed up. There is not much, I don't sense that there is very much mixing." *67 year old man, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

Another resident, who had had the opportunity to meet many of the new residents, as he went door to door working for Statistics Canada filling out the 2006 Census, also did not perceive their to be much mixing among new and longstanding residents. Interestingly, he did not perceive longstanding residents to be mixing much amongst themselves either.

> **ID-22**: "I have some contacts that I greet when I see them, because I did the census in 2006. And so there are maybe 2 or 3 people of the many that I met, who remember me, and I remember them. But I do not think it's mixed yet. It's like water of the oil in a pot. I see them in the evening walking with their dog either in the park in front here or to the Lachine Canal. But ... I cannot tell you that they really mix with the people here. But even people from here, there is not much mixing among them either. But everyone has got their own little thing in the 21st century. In front of the

TV and the home theatre. But I have no antipathy against these people. They have the right to live too, I'm glad they have nice condos. If one day I have money, I'll buy one too." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[51]

For this resident, helping collect information for the census acted as a catalyst for casual greeting relationships with a few acquaintances from the condo projects along the Canal.

Another lifelong resident likened the Saint-Henri of the past to a 'village', where everyone knew and greeted each other. She felt that today however, incoming residents within the neighbourhood were not open to this type of cordial greetings.

> **ID-23 (b):** "You know, you can not even say hello because people now, it's like if you go to the countryside or where you know everybody in the village, hello, hello, hello, here it was like that before, now you can not do this, you're almost an alien if you look at someone whom you do not know and say hello." *[translation] 51 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[52]

Thus, for this lifelong resident, the experience of social mix had resulted in a replacement of 'weak ties' or acquaintances within the neighbourhood, with 'absent ties' or strangers with whom it was impossible to share casual greetings due to a lack of shared culture within the neighbourhood.

A study of social networks in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Québec City revealed that between incoming gentrifiers and the 'gentrified,' social relations were characterized as "at best, polite indifference, at worst, confrontation" (Fortin 1988, 155). In the case of Saint-Henri, indifference was a theme that arose from the interviews in order to describe relations between long-term renters and the more affluent population moving into the neighbourhood. Again, here, the notion of a 'peaceful but distant coexistence' is useful to understanding the interactions (or lack thereof) between different income groups within the neighbourhood. One resident of Saint-Ambroise Street (i.e. directly parallel to the new-build developments along the Canal) did not

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[51] **ID-22**: «J'ai quelques contacts que je salue quand je les vois, parce que j'ai fait le recensement en 2006. Et puis, peut-être 2 ou 3 personnes sur les, le grand nombre que j'ai rencontré qui se rappelle de moi, pis que je me rappelle d'eux. Mais, moi je crois pas que c'est mixé encore. C'est comme de l'eau pis de l'huile dans un pot. Je les vois le soir marcher avec leur chien soit dans le parc en face ici, soit devant le canal Lachine. Mais... je peux pas te dire qu'il se mixte vraiment avec les gens ici. Les gens ici se mixent pas tellement entre eux non plus. C'est pas mal chacun son petit truc 21e siècle. Devant la télévision pis le cinéma maison. Mais, j'ai pas d'antipathie contre ces gens là. Ils ont le droit de vivre pis je suis contente qu'ils aient de beaux, condos. Si un jour j'ai de l'argent, je vais m'en acheter un aussi.»

[52] **ID-23(b):** «Faque tu peux même pas leur dire bonjour parce que les gens maintenant, c'est pas comme mettons si tu t'en vas en campagne où tu connais tout l'monde dans le village, bonjour bonjour bonjour, ici avant c'était comme ça, maintenant, tu peux pas, t'es quasiment un extra-terrestre si tu regardes quelqu'un que tu connais pas pis tu lui dis bonjour.»

perceive there to be mixing and described the situation in terms of mutual indifference resulting in each minding their own business.

>ATM.: "We had already discussed the fact that you have no opportunities or even intend to ... to make friends with people who live in the condos there.

>ID-27(a): No, there's a total indifference in this sense. (…) They stay there and I stay here, that's the way it is. Each has our own business. As long as there is respect between the two.

>ATM: Yes, it's like a shared world, but parallel.

>ID-27(a): Yes. That's it. It's folks like everyone else, but they take care of their business and we take care of ours. Oh, for sure if the guy is walking his dog in front of me and smiles, I'm going to smile back. I do not grimace, for sure. Other than that, well, we do all mind our own business, like I told you." *45 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.*[53]

As such, for this resident, there was minimal interaction between him and the incoming condo dwellers, but this was not a source of concern for him. Thus, overall, the notion of 'peaceful but distant coexistence' seems an apt descriptor of social relations between the incumbent population and incoming condo dwellers. The findings discussed above reflect what has been discovered in other neighbourhoods where the lived experience of social mix has been examined: that spatial proximity does not equate to social proximity (see also Lehman-Frisch 2008; Gans 1961).

6.3.2 Stronger Ties (Friendships)

A few residents however, did report stronger ties with incoming condo dwellers. Volunteering within the neighbourhood seems a plausible avenue to crossing paths with residents with a different social or economic backgrounds. Indeed, two participants managed to develop social ties with the more affluent condo dwellers this way. For one longstanding resident, volunteering on a committee at her son's school provided the opportunity to build a friendship with a woman living in the condominiums along the Canal.

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[53] **A.T.M**.: «On avait déjà parlé de la fait que vous avez pas des occasions ou même l'intention de ... de faire des amitiés avec les gens qui habitent dans les condos là.

ID-27(a): Non, y'a une indifférence totale dans ce sens là (…). Eux autres y restent là, pis moi j'reste icitte pis c'est comme ça. Chacun nos petites affaires. Tant qu'y a du respect entre les deux.

A.T.M.: Oui, c'est comme du monde partagé, mais parallèle.

ID-27(a): Oui. C'est ça. C'est du monde comme tout le monde, mais y font leu petites affaires, pis nous autres on fait nos petites affaires. Ah c'est sûr si le gars y promène son chien devant moi, y me fait un sourire, j'vais y faire un sourire. J'y ferai pas la grimace là, c'est sûr. À part ça, ben, on fait chacun nos petites affaires comme j'te disais.»

ATM: So, do you know people who live in newly built housing, such as along the Lachine Canal, in the condos there?

ID-05: "I know one, she was with me at school, she volunteered with me at school. She lived there. I have been to her house, it is beautiful! But she moved to New York with her son, she rented her home, and she left to New York with her son. Other than that, I don't know anyone there. She is super nice. She never shows her wealth, I know she is rich, but she is really nice.

ATM: So you consider her a friend even though she no longer lives there?

ID-05: Yes. She calls me every month. Maybe 2 times a month, three times a month, she calls me. She is super nice, she loves my son. Yes." *[translation] 31 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*[54]

Volunteer work as a means to developing ties with the more affluent population of the neighbourhood was something experienced by another lifelong resident of the neighbourhood who volunteered at the local CLSC (community health clinic).

ID-11: "Well, I used to volunteer for the CLSC. Now these people came in and all those big shots living there in all these condos. (...) But maybe because I mix with everybody and I talk French, I am French. And I do volunteer for the income tax, I take the appointments and all that for them. So the middle-class people will come to have their income tax done because they have a certain amount. And then you get a chance to talk with these people. But the rich don't come because they are not eligible to get this free income tax, you know. But I have a lot of contact with the people like that. Most of the people who do come in are people that I have known for years." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

As such, for some neighbourhood residents, volunteering within the neighbourhood allowed them to make contacts with the more affluent residents living in the neighbourhood, which in one case eventually blossomed into a friendship.

Studies of mixed income communities in the U.K. have shown that most mixing between different social groups occurs between children and it is this interaction, in the street, nurseries, schools and playgroups, that also provides opportunities for parents to meet and network (Allen et al. 2005, 33). Indeed, in Saint-Henri some interviews revealed that a factor facilitating social contact among adults was friendships among their children. In our study, one recent resident

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[54] **ID-05**: «Je connais une, elle était avec moi à l'école, elle fait bénévolat avec moi à l'école. Elle reste là-bas. J'ai déjà visité sa maison, est belle ! Mais, elle a déménagé à New York chez son fils, elle a loué son logement, elle est partie chez son fils à New York. À part ça, je connais pas. Elle est super gentille. Elle montre jamais qu'elle est riche, je sais qu'elle est riche, mais elle est super gentille.

ATM: Alors, vous considérez comme une amie même si elle habite plus là-bas ?

ID-05: Oui. Elle m'appelle à chaque mois. Peut-être 2 fois par mois, 3 fois par mois, elle m'appelle. Elle est super gentille, elle aime mon fils. Oui.»

recounted how her daughter developed a friendship with another young girl whose parents lived in a condo along the Lachine Canal:

> **ID-08:** "Yes. On Saint-Philippe and Saint-Ambroise, there is a girl who also has a daughter the age of my son ... who has bought there with her husband and who lives there. (...) It's just our children playing together. But has she never come over to our place, I've never been there either." *[translation] 37 year old woman, recent resident, high income, living in private rental housing.*[55]

Thus, while this resident did have minimal social contact with a resident of the condominiums on the Lachine Canal, it was facilitated by the play needs of her child, but for her it did not slip seamlessly into a friendship with the other child's parents.

Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard (1997) revealed that the assumption that physical proximity (i.e. common residence within a neighbourhood) will enable social proximity only holds true in so far as the development of such relationships has been 'filtered,' i.e. it will only occur with others who are close in status to oneself. Interestingly, in another case reported the friendship that developed between adults seemed to be based not only on the fact that their children played together, but also to some degree was filtered by the fact that both women were immigrants from Europe, thus providing another type of commonality.

> **ID-07**: "Well, my wife invites them, they come over to our place for the kids' birthdays. And my wife is a good friend, or a good acquaintance, they will come over for tea and they will talk.
>
> **AT:** Okay, so they are friends.
>
> **ID-07**: Yeah. Like through this relationship through our sons, but slowly building into a relationship. She is from Europe and they connect in the friend way.
>
> **AT:** And your wife is from Europe?
>
> **ID-07:** Yes. She is French. And the neighbour that I was talking about is from Spain. So they have something in common." *33 year old man, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, while there did seem to be some friendships (stronger ties) that developed among renters and the more affluent residents incoming residents living along the Lachine Canal, these were facilitated by wider circumstances, for instance through volunteer work within the neighbourhood or the presence of children. Fortin's (1988) exploration of social networks in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Québec City revealed that space and place play a key role in the formation of

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[55] **ID-08**: «Oui. Sur Saint-Philippe et Saint-Ambroise, il y a une fille qui a aussi une petite fille l'âge de mon fils qui... qui a acheté là-bas avec son mari puis qui vit là-bas. (…) C'est juste nos enfants qui jouent ensemble. Mais elle n'est jamais venue chez-moi, je suis jamais allée là-bas non plus.»

social networks not based on family ties, as both parents and children make new friends in their immediate neighbourhood.

However, an important caveat here is that the age of children may have some influence on the degree of mixing they do. The cases cited above involved children of primary school age and their playing together facilitated social contact among their parents, which could be understood as friendships in some cases. However, one lifelong resident of the neighbourhood, recalled however that during her time at the local high school in Saint-Henri, there was a distinct lack of mixing among Saint-Henri teenagers and teenagers that lived in the new condos, but attended the local high school.

> **ID-24(c):** "I knew one in high school. There was a girl we met who lived in the condos, but it was really different there. We did not speak the same way when we talked together. We called her the girl from the condos, the rich girl, that's it. She was in high school with us. (…) But I don't think we really mixed there. There are gangs of kids from the condos and gangs of kids from Saint-Henri." *[translation] 24 year old woman, lifelong resident, high-income, living in coop housing.*[56]

As such, further research needs to examine the degree to which the age of children is a relevant variable in terms of both friendships blossoming among children of diverse backgrounds and their ability to facilitate social contact amongst their parents. The research here suggests that this is more likely to occur among younger children than adolescents.

6.3.3 Social Separation:

Some residents, far from social mixing among the different income groups now living in close proximity within the neighbourhood, expressed instead that there was a sense of division between the Lachine Canal and the rest of the neighbourhood. One recent resident, whose wife was friends with one of the residents of the condos (see quotation above) nonetheless used strong language to describe the divide between condo residents and the rest of the neighbourhood:

> **ID-07:** "Along the Canal has been drastically changing and that is something we can call an apartheid between really old neighbourhood and then just past Saint-Ambroise it becomes really glamorous condos, especially the section around Georges-Etienne Cartier Park here, up to Chateau Saint-Ambroise. Chateau Saint-Ambroise was maybe the first project, it was very isolated at the beginning and then

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[56] **ID-24(c):** «Moi, j'en connaissais une au secondaire. Y avait une fille qu'on avait rencontré qui habitait dans les condos, mais c'était vraiment différent là. On se parlait pas de la même manière qu'on se parle ensemble. Pis on l'appelait la fille des condos, pis la fille riche, pis c'est ça. Elle avait été au secondaire avec nous autres. (…) Pis, mais je pense qu'on se mélange pas là. Il y a des gangs des condos pis des gangs de Saint-Henri.»

slowly other projects emerged around it." *33 year old man, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Other residents interviewed, although they spoke in more muted language, shared this sentiment. One longstanding resident, who was very involved in community life and thus had opportunity to meet residents living along the Canal, expressed that there was a social disconnect between residents along the Canal and the rest of the neighbourhood:

> **ID-10:** "We had a chance to really reconnect the community to the canal and we haven't done that. We now have ¾ million dollar condos across the street from $350 a month apartments. There is not only a physical disconnect, but a social and a cultural disconnect and that is bad. That is an unfortunate thing (...) I think that one of the concerns is that these people that live in these new condos, they don't spend a lot of time in the neighbourhood, they don't venture too far. I have been interacting with a few of them down there and trying to figure out what we can do help them interact a little more and integrate into the community. Instead they just consider themselves that they live on the Canal, I say 'No, you live in Saint-Henri' and they say 'No, I live on the Canal.' But they live in Saint-Henri, and this is a problem, this is a mindset and we need to try and change that. I think that that builds a concern in that there is a social mindset and there is a social disconnect between the old and the new people that are living here. And that is not a good thing for community consensus or community building." *47 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing*.

This disconnect between the Canal and the rest of the neighbourhood on the part of Canal condo dwellers was reported by two other lifelong residents who conducted a survey with some the condo residents, trying to collect donations.

> **ID-29(a):** "They are snobs, I'm sorry ... (...) Amy, we were doing a survey on the edge of the canal. People living on the edge of the canal, if you ask them ... "Hello ma'am, you live in St-Henri?" "No, I'm sorry." "Ah, you are in another neighbourhood?" "Well, I live here on the edge of the canal." "Well, madam, the canal is in Saint-Henri." "No, no, no ma'am. I live in..." "Well, tell me the name of your neighbourhood first?" "Well, I live in Montréal!" "I'm sorry to tell you but you live in Saint-Henri." That's what I said to her and then I left. Worse, it was not just a lady, but two ladies who were not together. They do not live in Saint-Henri. They live on the edge of the canal. I'm sorry, but this is where you live.
>
> **ID-29(b):** We did it to collect donations, me and Chantal and you do not pick up donations there.
>
> **ID-29(a):** They are not open. They are tough to approach. Amy. People living beside the Canal are hard to approach.
>
> **ID-29(b):** They do not want to talk to us, they are not interested." *[translation] 45 and 46 year old women, lifelong residents, low income, living in HLM and coop housing.*[57]

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[57] **ID-29(a):** «C'est des snobs, je suis désolée... (…) Amy, on a fait un sondage ok, on a été sur le bord du canal. Les gens sur le bord du canal, si tu leurs demandes...« Bonjour madame, vous habitez à Saint-Henri ?» « Non, je suis désolée. » « Ah, vous êtes dans un autre quartier ? » « Ben, j'habite ici sur le bord

This recalls Blomley's (2004) work in the Downtown Eastside in Vancouver which explored the contesting 'senses of place' put forth by city officials and developers who wished to re-envision and redevelop that part of the city towards their own ends, compared to the 'sense of place' put forth by existing residents, with its emphasis on community and history of communal neighbourhood struggle there. Jess and Massey (1995) argue that what is at stake in trying to put forward one's 'sense of place' as the dominant representation is to combat competing claims to define the meaning of places and in so doing, contest rights to control their use or future (Jess and Massey 1995, 134). Furthermore, unlike Martin's (2005) research in a gentrifying neighbourhood in London which suggested that attachment to symbolic meanings of place may be a more middle-class preoccupation, in our case symbolic representations of place were important to some low-income lifelong residents. Such residents were deeply offended by incoming gentrifiers' refusal to identify with living in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and their attempts to recast parts of the neighbourhood as the Canal or 'Canal-Marché' as distinct from Saint-Henri.

Beyond such symbolic 'rebranding' mentioned above, snobbery towards long-term residents by more affluent incoming residents was something that was remarked on by other lifelong residents also. One woman, born and raised in the neighbourhood had this to say:

> **ID-02**: "For sure when you meet folks who ... who are richer, they are snobs or whatever ... They pass on the street, ... they denigrate you with their eyes a little, but ... it does not matter." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in HLM housing.*[58]

While this lifelong resident did not seem to be bothered by such condescension to a significant degree, another said that she found the lack of even keel between incoming and long-term residents and the 'mixité' in particular difficult. This seems to reflect (though to a lesser degree) recent findings in Parkdale in Toronto's West End where some long-term residents reported

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du canal. » « Ben, madame, le bord du canal c'est Saint-Henri. » « Non, non, non madame. Moi, j'habite à ...» « Ben, dites-moi donc le nom de votre quartier d'abord ? » « Ben, j'habite à Montréal ! » « Ben, je suis désolée mais.... Je suis désolée de vous dire madame mais vous habitez à Saint-Henri ». C'est ça que je lui ai dit. Pis je suis partie. Pis, pas juste 1 madame, 2 mesdames. Pis pas 2 mesdames ensemble. Y habitent pas à Saint-Henri eux autres. Y habitent sur le bord du canal. Je suis désolée, mais c'est là que tu habites.

ID-29(b) : On a faite pour ramasser des dons moi pis Chantal, tu ramasses pas de dons là.

ID-29(a): Y sont pas ouvertes. Y sont durs d'approche. Les gens sur le canal sont durs d'approche.

ID-29(b): Y veulent pas nous parler, y veulent pas, y sont pas intéressés.»

[58] **ID-02**: «Ben c'est sûr quand tu rencontres du monde qui...qui sont plus riches, ils sont snobs ou quoi que ce soit...Ils passent sur la rue, pis...Y te dénigrent des yeux un peu, mais…c'est pas grave.»

feeling considerable anxiety due to the judgment and harassment they experienced in their uses of public space: "whether it is "the eye" one gets while "just sitting and reading in the park", or the "disgust on people's faces when they walk by on the street" or the "whispers"" (Mazer and Rankin 2011, 829).

A final issue that arose in some interviews when talking about potential mixing between the incoming condo dwellers and the longstanding residents of the neighbourhood was that of dog excrement. One recent resident perceived this in terms of newcomers' indifference towards the local environment in general and recounted repeatedly having seen his neighbours cross Saint-Ambroise Street in order to let their dogs relieve themselves on the grass adjoining his building, where he and his neighbours gardened. For a lifelong resident however, this was a perceived in terms of disrespect for low-income neighbours on the part of incoming condo dwellers, which manifested in terms of new residents letting their dogs relieve themselves on the 'other' side of Saint-Ambroise (i.e. the side not adjoining the Canal) and then either not picking up their dog's excrement at all or picking it up in a plastic bag, only to leave it there.

> **ID-23(a):** "But the gentlemen, he picks up the dog poop in a bag, that's HIM, not the others, the other don't even pick it up, but then he will leave it on the ground next to our little post. Right beside it. It's a strong statement, it's hard.
>
> **ID-23(b):** He picked it up, and then dropped it.
>
> **ID-23(a):** That's right, it has just moved and been wrapped. No, it's odd. So that is the only contact I have with those people. Problems related to dog poop. I have no relationship with them other than that, we do not see them, unless we see them on the terraces occasionally." *[translation] 51 year old women, lifetime and longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[59]

In fact, for some of those interviewed, leaving dog excrement throughout the neighbourhood served as a strong metaphor for a perceived lack of respect for both the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and its existing residents.

6.3.4 Summary:

This section has explored renters' experiences with more affluent incoming residents of the neighbourhood. An increasing diversity of residents was widely noted and was for the most

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[59] **ID-23(a):** «Mais là l'Monsieur, y ramasse la crotte de son chien dans un petit sac, ça c'est, lui, les autres le ramassaient pas, lui, y l'ramasse, mais y laisse ça à terre à côté de notre petit poteau. Juste à côté. Heille, y'est f-, y'est fort hein, c'est fort.

ID-23(b): Y l'avait ramassé, y l'a échappé.

ID-23(a): Oui, c'est ça, y l'a juste déplacé pis enveloppé. Non, c'est spécial. Mais là, c'est les seuls contacts que j'ai avec ce monde là. Les problèmes de crottes de chien. Faque j'ai aucune relation avec eux autres à part ça, on les voit pas, à moins qu'on les voit sur les terrasses de temps en temps.»

part viewed in positive terms as one of the key assets of the neighbourhood. It is important to mention though that the diversity referred to here is not explicitly income diversity, but rather includes the increasing numbers artists, queers and immigrants moving into the neighbourhood. More affluent condo dwellers were generally perceived to be absent from neighbourhood public spaces and were widely perceived to come and go by car. Some residents expressed a lack of interaction between themselves and incoming residents, although this was not necessarily viewed in negative terms, but rather in terms of a parallel but distant coexistence. These residents' experiences can be conceptualized in terms of Robson and Butler's (2001) notion of 'social tectonics,' whereby relations between different social and ethnic groups in a particular area are of a parallel rather than integrative nature. Further, as has been found elsewhere, such as Fortin (1998) some residents' experiences with newcomers were characterized in terms of polite indifference. Some residents did however have experiences of stronger ties and friendships with the more affluent residents of the neighbourhood. Volunteering within the neighbourhood in some cases helped facilitate friendships among renters and the more affluent population. The presence of children was also a factor that encouraged social mixing and the development of friendships among parents. It is worthy of note however, that social proximity was 'filtered' in the cases where friendships blossomed. In both cases, the respondents had major points in common that facilitated such friendships, such as volunteer work at a local school combined with middle-class status or the parents sharing immigrant status in addition to having their children play together. This resonates with what has been found in previous research on social mix, whereby social proximity is filtered (i.e. it will only occur with other's whom are close in status to oneself) (Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard 1997, 2). Further, the age of children did seem an important factor in terms of the degree of mixing that took place and future research will have to grapple with this question. Last, some interviewees, who expressed that there was a sense of division between Saint-Henri and the Lachine Canal condo dwellers, experienced a sense of social separation. This disconnect was forceful at times, leading some residents to feel as though incoming residents were trying to symbolically recast the Lachine Canal, such that it was not a part of Saint-Henri. Here we see conflicting and in fact competing 'senses of place' held by long-term residents and incoming condominiums dwellers. This finding contrasts with earlier work by Martin (2005) in suggesting that symbolic meanings of place are important to some lifelong working-class residents. On a more concrete level, some long-term residents experienced discord with incoming condo dwellers in terms of condescension and snobbery towards them, similar to recent research in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Toronto (see Mazer and Rankin 2011). Dogs arose as a key issue, as condo dwellers treatment (or lack

thereof) of their dog's excrement was interpreted by some to be indicative of indifference towards their local environment, while by others as a sign of disrespect for their low-income neighbours.

6.4 **Chapter summary:**

In sum, the overall aim of this chapter was to explore perceptions of neighbourhood change held by long-term renters living in the neighbourhood. It began by exploring residents' perceptions of physical changes in the neighbourhood. In line with the findings of Smith (1996), the combination of pockets of traditional gentrification, abandonment and widespread fires led to the presence of a 'rent gap' providing adequate incentive and profit margins for more widespread investment in the neighbourhood. In Saint-Henri this has taken the forms of infill development and adaptive reuse of industrial buildings to condominiums. Hall (2002) argues that cities are increasingly moving towards mega-projects which combine a plethora of activities including recreation, culture, shopping and mixed-income housing, based in large part on the idea of adaptive reuse, in order to re-imagine and re-appropriate large parts of cities that have been rendered obsolete by deindustrialization. In Saint-Henri the redevelopment of the Lachine Canal serves as a poignant example of this strategy and acted as a catalyst for wider neighbourhood redevelopment. Residents perceived this development to have played a part in triggering not only widespread condominium development, but also improvements in local parks and services, upgrading of the traditional housing stock and increased safety. These changes placed a number of pressures on long-term renters including: the diminishing supply of affordable housing; increasing pressure on the existing rental stock as landlords took note of these wider changes and increasingly capitalize on them; and even created concern among some more affluent renters that they would be priced out of becoming homeowners in the neighbourhood. Last, the uneven development in the neighbourhood was explored with particular emphasis on the deterioration and decay observed by residents in the western portion of the neighbourhood adjacent to the Turcot Interchange. This reflects what has been found elsewhere, that once redevelopment of an area is imminent it can have a negative effect on the surrounding residential milieu as landlords have less incentive to maintain their buildings, which in turn leads to increases in vandalism and violence in the neighbourhood (Lavigne 1971; Carr 1994).

Following the discussion of observed physical changes, this chapter went on to explore residents' perceptions of demographic changes underway in the neighbourhood. Residents noted a number of demographic changes. First, the arrival of high-income professionals was

widely mentioned, reflecting findings elsewhere such as Ley (1996). Interestingly, in the case of Saint-Henri Anglophone interviewees mentioned the increased presence of their language group frequently, without making any direct link between this and their role in the gentrification process, as has been found elsewhere (Ocejo 2011, Caulfield 1994). An increasingly ethnically diverse population was noted among lifelong residents, who remember a time when Saint-Henri was a much more homogeneous neighbourhood. An incursion of young families was also mentioned, especially among those with children. Last, due to the above population changes, the loss or takeover of traditional churches in Saint-Henri by other population groups/religious affiliations was an important theme mentioned by some long-term residents and can be understood as a form of cultural displacement. However, an important caveat is that the Catholic Church's vulnerability to takeover was increased by the more widespread decline in participation among the traditional Québécois population in the past forty years.

Following discussion of residents' perceptions of physical and demographic changes, we went on to explore residents' perceptions and experiences of social mix with the more affluent population moving into the neighbourhood. Some residents remarked a general lack of interaction between themselves and incoming condo dwellers, reflecting Robson and Butler's (2001) notion of social tectonics, whereby relations were parallel rather than integrative in nature. Furthermore, in line with Fortin (1998), some residents characterized their relations with incomers as polite indifference. Some cases of friendship were reported but were facilitated by volunteer work or the presence of children. Moreover, as has been found elsewhere where such friendships blossomed, they were 'filtered,' resonating with earlier findings on social mix in Montréal such as Dansereau, Germain and Eveillard (1997). Last, some residents expressed feelings of division and social separation between themselves and the incoming condo dwellers and that some incoming residents were trying to symbolically recast the Lachine Canal developments such that they were not a part of Saint-Henri. Here we see an example of conflicting and competing 'sense(s) of place' held by long-term residents and incoming condominiums dwellers, as has been found elsewhere (Blomley 2004). However, in contrast to previous studies (Martin 2005) we find that low-income residents can also be attached to symbolic representations of place in Saint-Henri. On a more concrete level, some long-term residents experienced discord with incoming condo dwellers in terms of condescension and snobbery towards them similar to recent findings in the West End of Toronto (Mazer and Rankin 2011).

CHAPTER 7 EXPLORING DIRECT DISPLACEMENT THROUGH REPOSSESSION AND THE THREAT OF FORCED RELOCATION

This chapter will explore the experience of direct displacement from the perspectives of displacees or potential displacees themselves. As outlined previously in Section 1.6, direct displacement can arise in a number of ways, most prominently either through forced relocation (expropriation) or through gentrification. While there are many historical studies on the impacts of forced relocation caused by urban renewal, very little detailed information exists on residents' experiences of forced mobility in their own terms. Although there have been attempts at measuring the extent of gentrification-induced-displacement over the years, recent studies have revealed that it is difficult to find a quantitative evidence base for it, due in part to difficulty in distinguishing between displacement and housing succession (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004). The inherent methodological difficulties in doing displacement research have led some scholars such as Atkinson (2000a) to conclude that due to the problems in directly quantifying the amount of displacement and replacement underway, qualitative approaches at a finer spatial scale would complement existing research. However, within the enormous body of literature on gentrification, there are still very few qualitative accounts of displacement and such accounts are needed if gentrification research is to maintain a critical stance focused on social justice (Slater 2006). In the views of some gentrification scholars (Atkinson 2000a; Slater 2006; Allen 2008) further research on displacement (whether through forced relocation or gentrification) should adopt qualitative approaches so as to privilege the voices of those with direct experience of such neighbourhood changes, thus nuancing existing knowledge. It is in response to these challenges that the research in this chapter addresses itself. The chapter begins by exploring some of the stories of direct displacement through 'repossession' that respondents shared with me. These are primarily third person accounts, recounted to me by neighbours of those displaced. It then goes on to explore the threat of direct displacement through expropriation, by exploring the stories of five key informants whose housing was set for expropriation for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. It begins by exploring the different dimensions of attachment to both their current homes and immediate neighbourhood. The bulk of the chapter explores the variety of psychosocial reactions that arose in response to the threat of displacement that these residents faced.

7.1 **Experiences of direct displacement due to repossession**

In Québec, renters actually have a considerable amount of protection against gentrification-induced-displacement, due to the presence of a rental board (the Régie du logement). The Régie is a tribunal that adjudicates conflicts between landlords and tenants. It provides information to the public with regards to the roles and responsibilities of both parties implicit in the residential lease, in order that both parties fulfill their responsibilities and thus avoid conflict. The Régie du logement provides guidelines for annual rent increases to both parties (landlords and tenants). However, the onus is on the tenant to decide whether or not to contest the proposed increase and failure to do so results in the increase being accepted. A critique levied against the Régie is that while it is a certain form of rent control, there are many flaws in the rules governing the Régie: 1) every year the Régie adjudicates rent increases only in a very small proportion of cases (2-3%); 2) the increases allowed by the Régie follow and confirm the trends of the speculative market; and c) the Régie's fixation criteria are unfair because they allow expenses that never benefit tenants such as property taxes, insurance and indexation of net revenue. Thus, the Régie rarely fixes rent increases, considers expenses that are of no use to tenants and follows the laws of the marketplace rather than restricting and controlling the market (RCLALQ 1990, published in Bennett 1996, 26).

Under Québec law, tenants who comply with all the terms of their lease have the right to remain in their dwelling as long as they wish, known as the right to maintain occupancy. However, one of the exceptions to this rule concerns repossession of a dwelling for the landlord himself or an immediate family member (Régie du logement 2011). In this case, the landlord sends the tenant a request for repossession. If the tenant does not reply, it is assumed that the tenant is contesting the repossession in which case both parties go before the Régie. While historically a fairly rare occurrence (between 1991-2000, the Régie heard an average of 483 repossession cases per year across the Province) with the new millennium there was a drastic increase in demands for repossession (Saillant 2006). In the years between 2001-2011 there was a major surge in demands, which peaked in 2003-2004 and has steadily tapered off since then.[60] Nonetheless, the number of demands for repossession before the Régie in 2010-2011 was still 2.3 times the average per year during the 1990s (See Table 7.1 below).

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[60] According to the Comité du logement Plateau-Mont-Royal, there were 132 cases of repossession in 2004 in the Plateau Mont-Royal (Montréal's most notorious gentrified neighbourhood), representing 6% of the total repossession cases for the entire province that year (Comité de logement Plateau Mont-Royal, 2004; Saillant, 2006). The author of this thesis was one of those cases, who fought unsuccessfully at the Régie du logement to prevent eviction. Saint-Henri was third in terms of Montréal neighbourhoods with

Cases of repossession have been overwhelmingly concentrated in traditional working-class neighbourhoods and have been viewed by some as an indicator of gentrification. A detailed study of beneficiaries of repossession is needed in order to substantiate such a claim. Nonetheless, it is clear that there is a strong concentration of repossession cases in neighbourhoods where land values are rising sharply (RCLALQ 2006, 6). Saillant (2006) argues that this drastic increase in repossession demands must be viewed in connection with the housing shortage during the early 2000s. While some landlords no doubt repossessed in 'good faith' in order to facilitate a family member finding rental housing in a tight rental housing market, there were also numerous cases of repossession in 'bad faith.' In its most overt form, certain landlords would try to repossess several apartments for themselves or their children. In more subtle and covert form, landlords would repossess, have a family member live there for a few months, renovate (or not), and then rent the apartment to another tenant at elevated rent levels (Saillant 2006).

Table 7.1: Number of repossession hearings before the Régie de logement (2000-2011), Province of Québec

Year	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011
# of demands for repossession	816	1277	2055	2199	1942	1653	1498	1343	1252	1147	1154

(Source: Saillant 2006; Régie de logement 2007, 2008, 2011).

A recent study (2006) of cases of repossession revealed that on the Island of Montréal, 69.1% of cases studied paid rent lower than or equal to the CMA average of $625 (for a two-bedroom). Due to landlords' failure to declare the past rent on subsequent leases, exorbitant rent increases following repossession were widely noted, such as in one of many documented cases in the Plateau-Mont-Royal, where the rent went from $350 to $810 in one year. In all cases studied, tenants were unanimous that the underlying motive of the repossession was the landlord's will to rent the apartment for a higher price (RCLALQ 2006, 7). As far as protection from repossession, it is hard to argue that the Régie protects tenants in this way, as for example in 2006, among 100 cases for potential repossession, 76 led to a victory for the landlord. Among those that were refused, many were for procedural reasons, such as a landlord not even naming a beneficiary on the demand for repossession. RCLALQ (2006) argues on this basis that it is

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the most repossession cases in 2004, after the Plateau (132 cases) and the Petite Patrie (52 cases), with 43 repossessions (RCLALQ, 2004).

easy for a landlord to be granted repossession at the Régie and that further, there is a lack of coherence and consistency in the Régie's decisions.

Stories of repossession surfaced frequently during the interviews. A lifelong resident of the neighbourhood recounted the following story, a 'classic' example of repossession in 'bad faith,' where after eviction the beneficiary of the repossession never moved into the dwelling in question:

> **ID-29(b)**: "Madame Lolande's apartment was expropriated (repossessed) not far from here, it's been 30 years she'd been living there. The owner there, put it out there saying, I won at the Régie to put you out, because she had gone to the Régie, the lady. And he won because it was him who took the apartment. But today, it's been since July, it's not even him staying there. Two months later. It's not even him who lives there, Amy. Why do you think that he repossessed the apartment… because the lady has only paid $300 per month for a 6 1 / 2. She lived there for 30 years. So what do you think he did, he put her out, he will wait a bit and then he will boost the rent. That's what happens in Saint-Henri. They expropriate folks, the only people who are happy in Saint-Henri." *[translation] 46 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[61]

Stories of repossession in 'bad faith' where the said family member never moved in were common. Indeed, the 'threat' of repossession was apparently used by some landlords as a way of threatening their tenants and silencing their demands for basic maintenance or upkeep, as the following quotation highlights:

> **ID-20**: "Our landlord tried to repossess. We contested it because it was ridiculous. But it was just because we had made complaints and so they sent us a notice of repossession. They had a big house in the north and three kids. And they said that they were repossessing our apartment for their own use. A four and a half, with rats and a leaking ceiling. You know? We went to the Régie and they told us that they had withdrawn the request for repossession. So they inconvenienced us, because they did not tell us that. So we went there to defend our position, and there was a lot of stress and stuff and they had retracted their demand." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

It is worthy of note, however, that in this case the threat of repossession led to an improvement in housing conditions, as while the demand for repossession was pending, this household managed to find alternative housing in one of the coops within the neighbourhood. An important

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[61] **ID-29(b):** «Y'ont exproprié Mme Lolande là ici pas loin là, ça faisait 30 ans qu'a restait là. Le propriétaire là, y l'a mis dehors en disant, y'a gagné à la Régie de la mettre dehors, parce qu'a l'a été à Régie la madame. Y'a gagné parce que c'est lui qui prenait le logement. Mais aujourd'hui, ça fait depuis l'mois de juillet, ça fait pas longtemps là. Deux mois plus tard. C'est même pas lui qui reste là Amy. Pourquoi tu penses, là là y l'a pris l'logement parce que la madame a payait rien qu'300 quelque chose par mois pour un 6 1/2. Ç'fait 30 ans qu'a reste là. Faque qu'est-ce que tu penses qui a faite, y l'a mis dehors là, y va attendre pis y va booster l'loyer. C'est ça qui arrive à Saint-Henri. C'est qui exproprient les gens, les seuls gens qui sont bien à Saint-Henri.»

caveat however, is that the interviewee was a community organizer at the local tenants' right's organization in Saint-Henri (POPIR) and was thus in a privileged position not only with regards to access to information on housing alternatives, but also in terms of his organizational skills base, which are part of the determining admissibility criteria into coops (where residents are expected to take on some of the managerial responsibilities for the coop).

Whether due to 'bad faith' on the part of a landlord or not, repossession among residents who have been in the same apartment for a significant amount of time can most definitely have a negative psycho-social impact on their lives, as the following story reveals:

> **ID-23(b)**: "I have a lady who was forced to move with her son. They lived one above the other and oh my God, she took it really hard, because it was 26 years that she'd been in the same dwelling, but she paid like $400 dollars a month because, well, listen it's been 26 years, rents were $100, $200 at the time, but then the owner, probably him, financially, had to dig deeper also because things have risen, taxes or I don't know what, but he was obliged to tell the lady, that she had to move. The lady took it really badly, she began to have anxiety and so on, because the owner said that he was retaking possession of his apartment, so it was him who would live there, and on the second floor it was his son or his father, but we hear many stories like this lately." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[62]

Indeed, this is one effect of rent control legislation in Québec, that while put in place to protect renters from exorbitant rent increases, when combined with the right to maintain occupancy, in the case of long term tenants, it creates a situation where some residents end up paying far below market levels for their apartments. This is particularly true in the case of lifelong or long-term neighbourhood residents, who are often paying pre-gentrification rents, despite having witnessed significant neighbourhood changes during their tenancy. Moreover, they have budgeted their housing costs based on an artificial situation leading to an increased shock when exposed to the 'real' rental housing market.

Atkinson et al. (2011) found that displacement induced by gentrification led to deteriorating housing conditions, as the actual quality and condition of 'expensive' yet relatively lower cost dwellings post displacement, were problematic (Atkinson et al. 2011, 46). One long-

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[62] **ID-23(b)**: «Comme j'ai une madame qui est obligée de déménager avec son fils. Y restaient un en haut de l'autre pis euh, ah mon Dieu, elle a l'a vraiment mal pris là, c'faisait 26 ans qu'était dans le même logement, mais là a payait comme de 400 quelques piastres par mois parce que bon, écoute ça fait 26 ans, dans l'temps les loyers étaient 100 dollars, 200 dollars, mais là le propriétaire, probablement que lui, financièrement, lui aussi y n'arrache parce que les choses ont monté les taxes ou j'sais pas quoi pis y'est obligé de dire à la madame, qu'a déménage. La madame a l'a vraiment mal pris là, a commencé à faire de l'anxiété et ainsi de suite là pis euh, parce que le propriétaire y'a dit qui reprenait possession de son logement, donc c'était lui qui allait vivre là, pis au deuxième c'était son fils ou son père, mais beaucoup d'histoires comme ça qu'on entend dernièrement.»

term resident in our study recounted how while raising her young children as a single mother, her housing was repossessed by her landlord and ultimately led to her moving under constrained circumstances and finding herself in an apartment that was far inferior to what she had before.

> **ID-16**: "Ok, I was living in Verdun and my landlord, for me, he gave me a blow ... a bad blow. It's that he wanted his daughter to take my place in the apartment. He offered me another unit, but I it did not suit me to have another apartment. And he wanted me to leave the first floor with a basement for a second floor. So, on an impulse, I said no, I don't want to. But I took something else, another apartment. But I had not thought about it, and I took on a place that was worse than what I had. It was not very clean. So from there, I made application to the city for housing. It took two years to get an apartment in public housing. And then, from that time I have lived in public housing." *[translation] 67 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in public housing.[63]*

Indeed, this resident went on to describe the 'slum' conditions of the dwelling she found herself and her family in, including cockroaches and total inability to heat the apartment comfortably during the winter as it was very poorly insulated and not properly maintained. She remained there however, for the two years that it took to finally be accepted into public housing.

Displacement can arise through a number of mechanisms besides landlord's use of repossession in 'bad faith.' In the following case, repossession occurred not through the unscrupulous behaviour on a landlord per se, but rather was a story of how a father, chose all of a sudden to sell his house that his daughter (a single mother with two kids) had been living in and maintaining for twenty years, once her children had become adults, despite it having been promised to her as her inheritance.

> **ID-17:** "For me, it was a matter of the house belonged my father and my children had become adults so my father decided: 'Ok, I'm going to sell the house, organize yourself.' It was a big shock. (...) My father decided literally that I no longer needed the home. Even though I was told it would be my inheritance and so it would be me who decided what I would have to do with it, as my inheritance. So it was me who had maintained it for twenty years ... I was alone, a woman alone to deal with a house. I was very happy all those years there. I thoroughly enjoyed it, for sure. I thank them for it but to learn overnight that bang! Without even asking me ... asking me anything… it was a big shock to me and my family. So I removed myself for a

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[63] **ID-16**: «Ok, je restais à Verdun pis mon propriétaire, pour moi y m'a fait un coup de ... un mauvais coup. C'est qui voulait sa fille à ma place dans le logement. Y m'offrait un autre logement, mais moi ça ne me convenait pas d'avoir l'autre logement. Pis il voulait que je partais d'un premier étage avec le sous-sol pour me monter au deuxième étage. Alors, moi, pour moi, je perdais trop. Alors sur un coup de tête, j'ai dit non, je veux pas. Mais, j'ai pris quelque chose d'autre, un autre logement. Mais, j'ai pas réfléchi, j'ai pris pire que qu'est-ce que j'avais. C'était pas très salubre. Alors, j'ai fait, de là, j'ai fait application à la ville pour avoir un logement. Ça prit 2 ans pour avoir un logement, un HLM. Et pis, depuis ce temps-là que je vis dans un HLM.»

year, I went to live in a residence for women in the Little Burgundy because I wanted to cut ties. And so, it was hard enough as an experience but it was me who decided to go there. So I found myself living in a little room for a year and then decided I was going to live in a non-profit because I sure can not afford to pay for an expensive apartment." *[translation] 57 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*[64]

Though not technically displacement due to repossession, as the father intended to sell the house rather than live there himself, the legalities of the situation are unclear, as the Régie du logement stipulates that: it is up to the new owner to follow the necessary steps in order to repossess, rather than repossession being a part of the sale agreement. It would seem that the father pre-emptively repossessed the dwelling as part of the purchase agreement, rather than selling the house with its existing tenant (his daughter) and letting the new owner follow the necessary legal procedures. Thus in this case, repossession and displacement occurred due to an inter-familial power relation based on the exercise of parental authority as superseding the law, rather than being a case of gentrification-induced-displacement per se. Regardless, the experience of displacement had a profound effect on this woman's life, who recounted having significant difficulties reintegrating and making friends elsewhere in the neighbourhood, after the shock of dislocation (see I.D.-17 comments in Section 8.1.3). Further, due to the emotional fall-out of such a callous act on the part of her parent, she cut off ties with this part of her family, essentially severing ties with parts of her social network. Due to the shock and accompanying emotional difficulties she experienced she found herself living in a women's shelter in Little Burgundy for a year, before getting back on her feet and finding her way into OBNL housing.

Table 7.2 below synthesizes the different types of emotional responses residents had to both displacement through repossession and the threat of repossession, and the causes of such emotions. Repossession in 'bad faith' resulted in emotional reactions including stress and anxiety. The main causes identified were residents' attachment to both their dwellings and the

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[64] **ID-17:** «Moi c'est une question de la maison était à mon père pis mes enfants étaient rendus adultes pis mon père a décidé ok, moi je vends la maison, organise-toi. Ça été un gros choc.(...) Mon père a décidé littéralement que j'avais pu besoin d'la maison. Même si m'avait dit que ça serait mon héritage pis que c'est moi qui aurait a décidé qu'est-ce que j'aurais à faire avec, c'est mon héritage. Pis comme c'est moi qui l'avait entretenue pendant vingt ans…pis chu comme...j't'ais toute seule là, femme toute seule là à s'occuper d'une maison. Y'était bien content toutes ces années-là. J'en ai bien profité, c'est sûr. J'y en remercie pour ça mais d'apprendre du jour au lendemain que bang! sans même me demander mon…me demander rien…ça été un gros choc pour moi et ma famille. Fake là j'me suis retirée pendant un an, j'suis allée dans une résidence pour femmes qui était dans la P'tit Bourgogne parce que j'voulais faire comme une espèce de coupure. Pis là, ça été assez dure comme expérience mais là c'est moi qui a décidé ça là. Ç'été me retrouver dans une p'titre chambre à vivre un an là pis là décider où j'allais aller vivre pis j'avais décidé d'aller dans un OBNL parce que j'savais qu'j'avais pas les moyens c'est sûr de me payer un logement cher là.»

wider neighbourhood developed through their long tenancies, combined with the lack of affordable rentals compared to their artificially low housing costs pre-displacement. Those who experienced the threat of displacement experienced stress due to the time and energy required preparing one's case to go before the Régie and looking for alternative housing in a tight rental market in case the outcome was not in their favour. The most severe reaction to repossession occurred in an atypical case of parental authority superseding the law and resulted in an extreme shock reaction on the part of the affected resident. This was due to the length of residence and considerable attachment to home combined with the expectation of aging in place on the one hand, and the total abuse of parental authority that led to her displacement on the other. The depth of psychological reactions and emotional pain related to direct displacement due to urban renewal in the United States led psychiatrist Mandy Fullilove (2004, 1996) to assert that existing labels (such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, adjustment disorders, etc.) only tell part of the story, in terms of understanding the true implications of displacement. Root shock is a concept invoked to describe the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem (Fullilove 2004, 11). The individual has a way of maintaining the external balance between herself and the world, referred to as a 'mazeway.' When this 'mazeway' (the external system of protection for navigating one's environment) is damaged, the person will go into root shock. Root shock at the individual level is a profound emotional upheaval that undermines and destroys the working model of the universe that had existed in the individual's head. This leads to a range of negative outcomes including: shaken trust, increased anxiety, destruction of social, emotional and financial resources, and increased risk of every type of stress-related disease from depression to heart attack (Fullilove 2004, 14). At the community level, root shock severs bonds and disperses people such that even if they were able to regroup they are no longer able to relate in the same way, as the familiar 'mazeway' of their relationships has been damaged. This concept of root shock and of a damaged mazeway seems to help explain and understand the shock reaction experienced in the case of repossession due to the abuse of parental authority, as well as this resident's difficulty reintegrating into the neighbourhood after being displaced (which is explored in Section 8.1.3).

Table 7.2: Different types of resident reactions to displacement through repossession:

Type of repossession	Emotional reaction	Causes
Repossession (in bad faith)	Stress Anxiety	Attachment to home and neighbourhood due to length of tenancy Lack of affordable rentals compared to pre-gentrification rents
Threat of repossession	Stress	Preparing case to go before the Régie Looking for alternative housing in a tight rental market
Repossession (due to the exercise of parental authority as superseding the law)	Shock 'Root shock'	Attachment to home combined with expectation of aging in place Damaged 'mazeway' Abuse of parental authority

7.1.1 Other effects of displacement:

Another possible effect of displacement whether through forced relocation due to expropriation, or through gentrification-induced-displacement, can be an increase in overcrowding or doubling up (Hartman 1966; Newman and Wyly 2006). One lifelong resident recounted how an acquaintance of hers was pushed out of the neighbourhood through a unscrupulous landlord's creation of a false claim against him and as a result of his displacement, he ended up doubling up with some relatives living across town in the east end of the City.

> **ID-23(b):** "I know a gentleman who lived alone in a home in front of Park Saint-Henri. He lived there in a second floor alone with his dog, he was there for years. I do not know what his rent was, but it was affordable for the kind of housing it was. The owner did everything to try to make him leave. (…) Eventually, she managed to put together a file with witnesses, because he had a large dog. But it wasn't true, it was a dog he had had forever, it had been years that he had had it, and there had never been complaints. Then all of a sudden: bam! There's then a case on him in relation to the dog anyway. But it was elderly gentleman on top of that, who lives only for his dog, if you will take away housing for his dog, he will live on the street. But then it turned round, and finally, he lost his home because of that. Because of the file that they mounted with witnesses and all that. Now, I think he was picked up by a family member living in the east of Montréal, you understand, he's no longer in Saint-Henri, at all." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[65]

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[65] **ID-23(b):** «J'connais un monsieur qui vivait seul dans un logement en face du Parc Saint-Henri. C'est, y vivait dans un deuxième étage tout seul avec son chien, ça fait des années qui est là. J'me, je sais pas c'tait quoi son loyer mais c't'un loyer ben abordable pour le genre de logement qu'y avait. La propriétaire a tout fait pour qui parte. (…) Elle a réussi à monter un dossier pis avec des témoins parce que y'avait un

7.1.2 Summary:

This section has explored resident displacement through repossession, both through third person accounts by neighbours still in place and through direct accounts of those affected. Though partial at best, these accounts suggest that the threat of repossession can be a source of stress, while repossession can cause a variety of emotional reactions including stress, anxiety and in some circumstances, shock. In the case of shock, Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock' seems an apt characterization of the effects of repossession-induced-displacement, in terms of damage to a resident's 'mazeway' i.e. their way of understanding their place in the world. Further, due to the wider of gentrification of the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and the lack of affordable housing, repossession can have the effect of pushing residents out of the neighbourhood altogether, forcing them to double up with relatives elsewhere in the City. The following section will explore more systematically resident experiences of the 'threat' of direct displacement, due to expropriations planned for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange.

7.2 Experiences of the threat of direct displacement due to expropriation

This section aims to explore the impact of the threat of displacement through pending expropriation on residents' lives based on interviews with five key informants whose housing was slated for expropriation. It begins by exploring dimension of attachment to home, followed by exploration of dimensions of resident attachment to their wider neighbourhood. The remainder of the chapter explores in depth the types of psychosocial reactions residents had to the threat of expropriation of their current dwellings for the proposed redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange.

7.2.1 Different dimensions of attachment to home:

The meaning of home for an individual will have direct bearing on their experience of displacement. Home itself is a multi-dimensional concept. It is often conceptualized as a haven or refuge from the outside world, where the individual experiences comfort, belonging etc. (Mallet 2004; Després 1991). In our study, one interviewee, who had been directly displaced

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gros chien. Le monde disait, que, il se plaignait. Mais c'était pas vrai, c'tait un chien pis qu'y tout l'temps, qu'ça faisait des années qui l'avait pis y'avait jamais eu de plaintes pis là tout d'un coup paf. Là y'a un dossier sur lui, par rapport à son chien en tous cas. Mais là c't'un monsieur âgé en plus de ça quand même, qui ne vit que pour son chien, si tu y enlèves le logement pour son chien, y va vivre dehors. Mais là y r'tourne, là y l'a perdu son logement finalement par rapport à ça. Par rapport au dossier qui y'ont monté pis des témoins qu'a l'avait pis tout ça. Là y s'est ramassé j'pense chez quelqu'un de sa famille mais, plus dans l'est de Montréal, tu comprends, y'est pu à Saint-Henri là, du tout.»

twice through repossession, before finding her current housing which was supposed to be expropriated, described her appreciation of her current housing in terms of experiencing a feeling of belonging there:

> **DD-02**: "I am finally in a good place, yes."
>
> **ATM**: "Do you have a good relationship with your landlord? Good relationships with your neighbours?"
>
> **DD-02:** "Yes, yes. I have a feeling of belonging…and now, there is the news of the expropriations, which really puts everything into question." *51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle-income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[66]

Although this tenant had finally found a place where she was comfortable and felt a sense of belonging, she was reluctant to invest in improving her apartment, due to the insecurity surrounding her future tenure there. This finding is in line with that of a recent study on gentrification-induced displacement in Melbourne, where 'tenure insecurity' had a deep impact on the degree to which tenants were able to feel at home in their current dwelling or neighbourhood (Atkinson et al. 2011, 43). She later revealed that she would celebrate if she were allowed to stay, by planting a small vegetable garden, literally entrenching her roots there. Interestingly, this feeling of belonging was in part due to her relationship with her landlord who lived on the first floor.

> **DD-02:** "Yes. Yes, I like it a lot. I would prefer to have a ground floor apartment, but I have a landlord who accepts me, who is friendly, tolerant, so I don't think I could be better off, at the moment." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle-income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[67]

The importance accorded to having a functional relationship with her landlord and the feeling of belonging that this helped inspire were no doubt based in part in her past history of dysfunctional relationships with the landlords of her past two apartments in Saint-Henri, which resulted in repossession on both occasions.

One elderly resident interviewed (currently retired, in chronic pain on a fixed income), was a property owner and had been living in the same house on Cazelais Street for 45 years. She felt a deep belonging in the Village des Tanneries neighbourhood, where she had lived her

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[66] **DD-02**: «Je suis finalement à la bonne place, oui.

ATM: Est-ce que vous avez une bonne relation avec votre proprio? Une bonne relation avec vos voisins?

DD-02: Oui, oui. J'ai un sentiment d'appartenance... et maintenant, y'a la nouvelle des expropriations, qui remet toute ça en question, effectivement.»

[67] **DD-02:** «Oui. Oui, j'aime bien. Je préfèrerais avoir un rez-de-chaussée, mais j'ai une propriétaire qui m'accepte bien, qui est sympathique, tolérante, fait que je peux pas être mieux, actuellement.»

entire life, as well as a deep love for her house itself. Thus, as has been argued elsewhere (Mallet 2004; Després 1991), an element of attachment to home is the sense of belonging that residents experience there.

> **DD-05**: "Well, first, it's my neighbourhood. Secondly it is a house that I love, this house here." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in co-ownership on Cazelais Street.*[68]

Després (1991) argues further that the meaning of home emerges from the process of controlling and acting upon one's environment. This process can have many dimensions and includes people's physical, financial and/or emotional involvement with their dwelling unit. Of the five interviews conducted with potential expropriees, four had invested a substantial amount of time, energy and financial resources in order to have their housing better accommodate their needs. The feeling of belonging experienced in one's home was enhanced by the time, energy and often financial resources that interviewees had invested in improving their current dwellings. One resident of 780 St. Rémi, an industrial loft building, had invested an enormous amount of energy making the space habitable.

> **DD-03:** "Well, I do like to stay in a place a long time because when I move somewhere I invest a lot in renovating it and making it nice. Cleaning up completely, so afterwards I don't want to move. I invest money and time in it so I want to stay there for a while." *37 year old woman, recent resident, modest-income, living in 'commercial space' at 780 St. Rémi.*

Similarly, a renter on Rue Cazelais had essentially completely renovated the apartment at her own expense over the ten years that she and her family had been living there.

> **DD-04**: "It's been 10 years that we have been here and we've put a lot of money in. I did everything and paid for it myself, for the plan, it was me and my husband who paid for the floating floors. I did everything, all the polishing around the house, I put up the band to separate and to lower the ceiling because it's a high ceiling, so it was us that installed that. And we installed all the ceramics in the kitchen. And we installed a full wall mirror. I have also redone a wall completely in fake brick. We made a veranda, I had a deck made. We changed a bath, a wash basin. That's it, we have redone everything!" [translation] *72 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living on in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[69]

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[68] **DD-05**: «Bon, c'est premièrement c'est mon quartier. Deuxièmement c'est une maison que je l'aime cette maison là.»

[69] **DD-04**: «Ça fait 10 ans ch't'icitte et on a mis beaucoup d'argent nous autres icitte. J'ai toute faite faire les, c'est toute moi qui a payé les plans, moé pis mon mari qui a payé les planchers flottants. J'ai toute fait posé des, toute des lustres partout dans maison, j'ai faite posé la bande pour séparer faire descendre le plafond, parce que c'est haut le plafond, faqu'on a fait posé ça. Euh, faite posé de la céramique dans la cuisine. On a faite toute un mur au complet en miroir. J'ai faite un mur au complet de faux briques. On a faite véranda, j'ai faite faire un deck. On a changé un bain, un lavabo. C'est ça y travaillent toute là-d'dans eux autres.»

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Appreciation of one's home and investment therein seems to intensify the longer a resident is able to stay in the same place. The concept of attachment is important to understanding the experience of the elderly of urban change. The level of attachment a person has will have direct bearing on how changes are perceived and experienced. Twigger-Ross et al. (1996) argue that elderly people develop a sense of self-attachment, personal identity and social differentiation through the relationships that they construct and maintain with the spaces that they inhabit/frequent in everyday life. The only homeowner interviewed as a part of this research has been living in the same house on Cazelais Street for 45 years, and was born and raised in the Village des Tanneries on adjacent Rue Desnoyers. Her home environment was extremely important to her, as in her old age she found herself dealing with chronic pain and was thus homebound to a certain degree. With regards to the energy invested in renovation and in tailoring her current housing to her needs, it would seem it enhanced her feelings of attachment:

> **DD-05:** "Of course it's me that did it. For sure. It meets all my needs, and I looked around saying, if I have to go elsewhere ... What is that I want ... and for me it is very important because I don't go out a lot. It's very important that it is beautiful at home. It is very, very important and even if it has taken a lot of time to finish decoration here and it is still not exactly what I wanted because ... my frames are still not on the wall yet because I have more embroidery to do. But if I have time to put them up before I am expropriated, it's like being given a slap if we have installed them there. But I have been asking myself, what will I get rid of, but I am not capable because I love all of it? So it is like my security, as I said." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle-income, living in co-ownership housing on Cazelais Street.[70]*

Not surprisingly, among the five key informants interviewed, all described themselves as wanting to stay in their housing for a considerable amount of time, for most due no doubt in large part to the considerable investments in energy and in money they had made over the years to make their dwellings feel like home. Attachment to their current housing was augmented in all cases by a wider appreciation of the neighbourhood (Village des Tanneries), which is explored below, in Section 7.2.2.

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[70] **DD-05**: «Évidemment c'est moi qui l'a faite. C'est sur. Ça répond à tous mes besoins je le regardais en me disant bon ben si faut que je m'en aille ailleurs... c'est quoi que je veux… bon pour moi c'est très important parce que je sors pas beaucoup. C'est très important que ce soit beau. C'est ben ben ben important même si ça m'a prise ben du temps à finir la décoration pis c'est pas exactement ce que je voulais parce que... mais cadres étaient pas sur le mur encore, parce que j'ai d'autres broderies à faire. Mais là j'va les mettre avant d'être expropriée là fack on y'a donné à claque pis on les a installés là. Mais je me disais de quoi je vais me débarrasser, je suis pas capable parce que tout ce que j'ai j'aime ça là. Fack c'est ma sécurité c'est comme je disais... Bon.»

Another dimension of attachment to home revealed in the interviews was related to the functional aspects of the space itself. One of the interviewees, a photographer and filmmaker, used his loft space at 780 St. Rémi not only as his home office, but also as his studio when needed. This was facilitated by the abundance of light in the space as well as the high ceilings that could be adapted for artificial lighting. Though not yet displaced, he expressed serious concerns about the fact that it would be extremely difficult to find similar housing conditions and that provided the space within which to continue his live/work arrangements.

> **DD-01**: "Because everyone here is in the same situation as me, where, if we must move to a building that does not permit us to live as we are living now ... well, for reasons of work, ok, for some people it's just for fun to have beautiful spaces, for me of course the quality of space is important but the main reason is the functional aspect of the space. And if I lose this functional aspect, it would have a negative effect on my livelihood because there's a number of services I do for clients that I would no longer be able to do, ok, period. You know, it's like the guy, he has a field, it's full of potatoes, you expropriate the field, he can no longer grow potatoes! Period. He'll grow carrots on what remains, but that is all. That's not acceptable. It is not acceptable. So, I do not know how it's going to turn out." *[translation] 54 year old male, modest income, longstanding resident, living in 780 St. Rémi.[71]*

Indeed, this resident later recounted how his biggest fear with regards to the potential expropriation was to find himself living in a "normal" apartment, after having lived over 20 years of his life in loft style apartments.

A final theme that arose with regards to dimensions of attachment to home was aesthetics. This was stated in a more outright way for the residents of 780 St. Rémi, and is thus perhaps linked in some way to the aesthetics of loft living more generally (see Zukin 1998). One resident of 780 St. Rémi recounted how the space that loft living allowed enabled a sort of breathing room, that helped psychologically:

> **ATM:** Does your current apartment satisfy your needs?
>
> **DD-03:** "Uh, yes. For us it is perfect. There is a lot of light, a lot of space and the price, the rent, is very reasonable. So, I don't earn a lot, I have an irregular income, so I can't afford to pay $1000 a month. I mean I sometimes just earn a $1000 a month, so it is important that the price is moderate. It has very high ceilings, so you

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[71] **DD-01**: «Parce que tout le monde est dans la même situation que moi, où, si on doit déménager dans un édifice qui permet pas de vivre comme on vit là...enfin, pour des raisons de travail, ok, y'a des gens c'est simplement pour le fun d'avoir des beaux espaces, moi c'est bien sûr que la qualité de l'espace c'est important, mais la raison principale, c'est l'aspect fonctionnel de l'espace. Et si je perds cet aspect fonctionnel là, ça ampute mes capacités de subsistance, parce que y'a un certain nombre de services que je fais pour des clients que je pourrai plus faire, ok, point final. C'est comme le gars, il a un champ, il fait des patates, tu lui expropries le champ, il peut plus faire de patates! Point final. Il va faire des carottes sur ce qui reste, c'est tout. Ça c'est pas acceptable. Ce n'est pas acceptable. Alors, je sais pas comment ça va se passer.»

can really breath in a way. There is a lot of light, this helps psychologically, a lot." *37 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in 780 St. Rémi.*

Thus, there were four main dimensions of attachment to home revealed in the interviews: the feeling of belonging home inspired; the energy invested imbuing home with additional meaning through controlling and acting upon one's environment; the functional aspects of loft living and the live/work arrangement such space facilitated; and last, aesthetics and the positive psychological impact of open spaces, particularly in the cases of those living in lofts. The following section will explore dimensions of attachment to their wider neighbourhood, the Village des Tanneries.

7.2.2 The threat of displacement and dimensions of attachment to neighbourhood:

This section deals explores information from the 5 key informants living with the threat of expropriation on dimensions of their wider attachment to the Village des Tanneries (an enclave within Saint-Henri, see Figure 5.2, CT 82). This material arose somewhat spontaneously from the interviews - it tended to be something that people would talk about in the context of their level of attachment to their current housing. Thus, people were referring to their attachment to their immediate residential environment and the friends and neighbours they had there. As a result of living with the threat of displacement, all the key informants had thought a fair bit about what they loved and appreciated about where they lived, in essence all they stood to lose.

Past research has explored the depth of psychological costs that displacement can impose. Displacement can have the effect of disrupting continuity for two main reasons: a) the residential area is often where a vast number of social networks are localized; b) the physical neighbourhood often has considerable meaning as an extension of home in which one feels a sense of belonging. The greater the person's pre-location commitment to the area, the more likely that he or she will react with grief (Fried 1966, 362-65). The neighbourhood as a site of belonging and familiarity was a recurrent theme in the interviews. Residents reported having strong relationships with their neighbours. Indeed, all of the key informants in the sample had strong ties with other residents of the neighbourhood. One resident described the Village des Tanneries as a 'beautiful village' with 'community spirit.'

> **DD-02**: "It is very beautiful, the Tanneries Village, it's quiet, it has both the benefits of the city, where people know their neighbours, more or less, so you have peace ... It's not like a real country village, at the same time, obviously, because its streets are dead ends, so people end up knowing each other a little more, for sure we are still in town, but there's a little more sense of community. I like this example, at one point there was a knock on my door, it was the driver for the convenience store

across the street from us, I had not said where I lived, but he knows roughly where everyone lives, he came knocking, because the City was about to issue a parking ticket, so he asked me to move my car... I have never experienced this elsewhere in the city. You know, that shows there's a nice community spirit." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[72]

An elderly long term resident stated that the strong social networks she had among her neighbours and friends in the Village des Tanneries was one of the only resources she had and intended to fight to hold on to, leading her to describe herself and her family as a 'small family' in a neighbourhood clan.

> **DD-04:** "That's right! That's why we are fighting. Because the little we have, we'd like to keep it, and we are all a small family in a clan in here, we all know each other. We help each other, and if someone is stuck in a bad place, and they ask for help from someone, the person will go to help them. And if there is someone who is in a bad place and needs to eat, we will give them a hand, and if someone needs help in terms of furniture, we will arrange to go and find what they need. We all know each other! We are a family!" *[translation] 72 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[73]

This sentiment of belonging and family atmosphere stands in contrast to the sentiments of another elderly lifelong resident, an owner-occupier, who recounted how the village spirit of the neighbourhood was something that she perceived to be changing in recent years, although she still felt a strong sense of belonging in the neighbourhood.

> **DD-05:** "It tells you that I'm stubborn. I still consider it my neighbourhood but in Saint-Henri before there was really really a village spirit. And when I say that it's because when we went ... it was just to go shopping but it could take three hours because you had to stop and talk with everybody." *[translation] 65 year old woman,*

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[72] **DD-02**: «C'est très beau le village des Tanneries, pis, eh, c'est tranquille, c'est à la fois les avantages de la ville, où les gens connaissent plus ou moins leurs voisins, fait que t'as la paix...C'est pas comme un vrai village de campagne, pis en même temps, forcément, parce que c'est des rues cul-de-sac, bon bien le monde finissent par se connaitre un peu, c'est sûr qu'on est encore en ville, mais y'a un peu plus de sentiment de collectivité. Moi j'aime ben cet exemple là, parce qu'à un moment donné, ça a cogné à ma porte, c'était le livreur du dépanneur en face de chez nous, il venait...j'avais pas dit où j'habitais, mais il sait à peu près où tout le monde reste, il était venu cogner, parce que la Ville était en train de préparer une contravention pour mon auto, pis il me demandait de changer mon auto de place...J'ai jamais vécu ça ailleurs en ville. Fait que y'a un bel esprit de communauté.»

[73] **DD-04**: «C'est ça! C'est pour ça qu'on se battre. Parce que le petit peu qu'on a, on tient à le garder, pis on est toute une petite famille dans le clan icitte, qu'on se connaît toute. On s'entraide toute, pis si n'a un qui est mal pris, y va demander un service à une personne, pis la personne a va y aller, a va y rendre service toute pis si y n'a un qui est mal pris ou qui a envie de manger, on va y donner un coup de main, si n'a un autre qui est mal pris au point de vue de meubles, on va s'arranger pour aller y en chercher. On se connaît toute! On est une famille!»

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lifelong resident, middle-income, living in co-ownership housing on Cazelais Street.[74]

Thus, in terms of sense of belonging, there seems to be some division among long term and lifelong residents, whereby the lifelong resident ascribes this 'village atmosphere' to the past, with a sense of nostalgia. Recent work in NYC explored the use of 'nostalgia' narratives by early gentrifiers in order to forge a new local identity for the Lower East Side neighbourhood, a narrative in which they are the new symbolic owners. "As gentrifying neighborhoods become gentrified, long-time residents (early gentrifiers in this case), but equally incumbent low-income residents, will likely construct narratives out of their collective memories as a means of social empowerment and a basis for collective action" (Ocejo 2011, 307). In our case, we see how a lifelong resident uses a nostalgia narrative in order to assert an authentic 'sense of place' in Saint-Henri. However, tenure could also be at play here, as homeownership enabled this resident to live in the same dwelling for 45 years (a much less frequent occurrence among renters), giving her a privileged vantage point of the demographic changes happening around her. Rowles (1978; 1983) developed a theory of 'insidedness' to conceptualize attachment to place among the elderly, with three key dimensions: physical, social and autobiographical. 'Physical insidedness' develops through living somewhere for a substantial period of time, thus creating a sense of mastery over one's environment through routine. 'Social insidedness' evolves from everyday social exchanges and relationships, as well as from knowing others and being well known. Last, 'autobiographical insidedness' is related to and embedded in memories. Throughout the aging process, memories are selectively recollected in the creation of self-identity. The case cited above could also suggest that the experience of social insidedness (knowing other's and being known) and autobiographical insidedness (developed through memories) can be negatively affected by wider neighbourhood changes for elderly persons who have been aging in place.

Past research on forced relocation due to urban renewal revealed that it had the effect of total destruction of a familiar space and the social ties rooted in the neighbourhood. Thus, it was a very important rupture, especially for those who were very rooted in the local neighbourhood (Key 1967; Fried 1966). Coing (1966) argued that the neighbourhood itself was a central aspect of life to which residents were attached due to the existence of 'community.' This 'community,' i.e. a space of unified social life, was created through the combination of proximity of workplace,

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[74] **DD-05** : «S'ta dire que je m'obstine. Je considère toujours que c'est mon quartier mais à Saint Henri avant y'avait vraiment vraiment un esprit de village. Euh... quand j'dis que on allait ... on allait juste faire des courses ça pouvait prendre trois heures parce que fallait jaser avec le monde.»

commercial activities, memorable places and the similarity of conditions governing family life. In this context, demolition in working-class neighbourhoods not only changed the landscape, commercial and demographic structure of the neighbourhood while displacing long-term residents; but further, it dismantled the structure of working-class residents' financial conditions, as well as the relationship between work and local sociability (Coing 1966, 244-268). Thus, in the case of expropriation, residents may experience loss in terms of a wider disconnection with the more general working-class culture of their neighbourhood. However, Bacqué and Sintomer (2002) have recently questioned to what degree it is still possible to identify 'working-class' neighbourhoods, as such. Their recent exploration neighbourhood life in housing projects in the Parisian periphery revealed that the shift to the precariousness of wage society had led to a sharpening of conflicts and increasing internal fragmentation of neighbourhood based community life. Thus, there is not necessarily a resident association with a place-based community as was historically the case in 'working-class' neighbourhoods.

In our study, residents of the Village des Tanneries sub-neighbourhood expressed strong reactions to even the potential of expropriation or displacement. This is likely due to the fact that the Village des Tanneries is an enclave neighbourhood, with a strong sense of community. Indeed, a special solidarity was noted by a lifelong resident and interestingly was in part attributed to its enclave status.

> **DD-05:** "What I should have said is that in Saint-Henri for the people of Saint-Henri, not the newcomers there, but really the locals, there is a solidarity that I do not know if it exists elsewhere. And Turcot, it's like the second thing that happens to us, because a few years ago Matrek wanted to install a sorting centre almost at the end of the street, for I don't know what kind of crap there. And there was a public outcry and it was fine. There were people there, perfect strangers because it was not just us who were touched by it, there were more people than that there. There were people who knocked on the door and said, "Are you aware of what is happening?" People rallied and did not wait for a community organization. We held demonstrations. I never thought at 60 I would find myself demonstrating at City Hall. And we won ok. The people of Saint-Henri, when they stick together and they get started, they usually win. And I find that important. And there was a party to celebrate after. I am not sure that it exists also in other areas, in other neighbourhoods. And I think that's probably because effectively it is a closed neighbourhood, an enclave. And there are people who live there, but sure it's changed now, there are people who have died. But there were some people when I lived on Desnoyers Street on the second floor, it was Madame Bousquet who raised her daughters there and her daughter married and moved just next door. We also moved but stayed close by. I am trying to say that people moved literally from one door to the next, it was always the same folks. Always the same people."

Importantly, this resident makes a distinction between new arrivals in the neighbourhood and incumbent residents and attributes this special solidarity exclusively to people from the neighbourhood. Thus, in our case, as the previous quotation highlighted, there is still a very strong sense of place-based community experienced by some long-term residents. However, in keeping with Bacqué and Sintomer (2002) it seems for this resident to be a less cohesive neighbourhood than in the past, in this case diluted by the entrance of newer residents to the area.

Interestingly, this type of solidarity was also remarked on by a more recent entrant to the neighbourhood in terms of strength at the community level, which he too felt was something one doesn't find with the same level of intensity elsewhere in Montréal.

> **DD-01:** "But the neighbourhood is well known for its strong organizational aspect at the community level and it all that. There are a lot of young people involved, there's a lot of activity, and it goes back over time. Things that you do not find with the same intensity in other neighbourhoods in Montréal." *[translation] 54 year old male, modest income, longstanding resident, living in 780 St. Rémi.[76]*

However, while Saint-Henri is still a neighbourhood widely renown for its ability for mobilization, gentrification (and the demographic changes therein) combined with the news of expropriation left one lifelong resident feeling as if the community atmosphere had been destroyed.

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[75] **DD-05** : «Ce que j'aurais du dire c'est qu'il y a dans le quartier Saint-Henri pour les gens du quartier Saint-Henri et non pas les nouveaux arrivants là, mais vraiment les gens du quartier il y a une solidarité que j'ai sais pas si elle existe ailleurs. Et Turcot c'est comme la deuxième chose qui nous arrive, parce que y'a quelques années Matrek a voulu installer un centre de tri presque qu'au bout de la rue là, de je sais pas trop quelle sorte de cochonnerie là. Et y'a eut un tollé de la population et ça été très bien. Y'a des gens là, des parfaits inconnus là parce que on était pas juste nous qui était touché là, y'avait plus de gens là. Y'a des gens qui sonnaient au porte pis qui disait: "Êtes vous au courant de ce qui se passe?". Les gens se sont mobilisés y'ont pas attendu un organisme communautaire. On a fait des manifestations. Moi je pensais jamais à 60 ans me ramasser à manifester à l'Hôtel de ville. Pis on a gagné ok. Les gens de Saint Henri quand ils se tiennent pis quand ils s'y mettre, y gagnent d'habitude. Pis j'trouve ça important. Pis y'a eut des fêtes pour fêter ça après. Je ne suis pas certaine que ça existe ailleurs, dans d'autres quartiers. Et je pense que c'est probablement du au faite que effectivement c'était un quartier fermé, enclavé. Pis y'a des gens qui habitent là, mais c'est sur que ça changé maintenant, y'a des gens qui sont morts. Mais y'a des gens la juste quand je restais sur la rue Desnoyers au deuxième c'était madame Bousquet qui élevait ses filles pis là sa fille à s'est mariée pis est venue rester en face. Nous autres on a déménagé à restait en face. J'veux dire ça se déplaçait quasiment d'une porte à l'autre s'ta toujours le même monde. Toujours le même monde là.»

[76] **DD-01:** «Mais le quartier, ici, est très réputé pour la solidité de son aspect organisationnel au niveau communautaire et pis tout ça. Y'a beaucoup de jeunes qui sont impliqués, y'a beaucoup d'activité, pis ça dure dans le temps. Chose que tu retrouves pas avec la même intensité dans d'autres quartiers de Montréal.»

DD-05: "It ..yes it destroyed the community. We had the first information meetings three years ago and certain people who are from the area wanted to stay and the folks that are not originally from the neighbourhood want to make a lot of money. So I am talking about the Tanneries as it was before ... before we talked more than we do now. Now, now that the game has been discovered and I think it destroys the atmosphere. Completely. Relationships between people are more difficult than before, but at the same time maybe more frank than before. It was like that before ... how I could say that ... it is very personal to me, I had foolishly thought that the people who came to settle here because they loved it here. But I have realized that no, it is not true. So, it disappointed me a lot and it's that ... uh ... that that's what has undone the atmosphere." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in co-ownership housing on Cazelais Street.*[77]

Thus, from the point of view of this lifelong Tanneries resident increasing fragmentation of neighbourhood-based community life seems an apt description of the changes wrought be gentrification and the potential for expropriation. Interestingly, such feelings of 'destruction of atmosphere' come from the only homeowner included in this study, suggesting in her case resident identification with the 'sense of community' in the Village des Tanneries was more linked to length of residence and the resulting familial atmosphere and solidarity amongst residents, than it was divided along tenure lines. (For a broader discussion of 'sense of community' in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood see Section 8.1.3).

Interestingly, a few residents remarked that the 'sense of history' of the neighbourhood, was a dimension that increased their attachment to it. One resident explained the origins of the Village des Tanneries, as a result of being the horse tending station between Montréal and Lachine, and its value as a beautiful, historic neighbourhood.

DD-02: "Between Lachine and downtown at the time, there was the Village des Tanneries, which was a stop, because we agree that it was an adventure to do that journey on horses, so that is an old village, it is a beautiful historic district. Of course we no longer have the buildings, houses of the time, because ... there also we certainly rebuilt all the time on top of them, but on my street buildings are generally built in 1900-1901, it's still old enough, you know. So there are a few that are in disrepair, but most, we should try to preserve them ... but it's not the case. It'll be an old neighbourhood that will disappear." *[translation] 51 year old woman,*

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[77] **DD-05: «**Ça..oui ça complètement détruit la communauté. On a eu les premières réunions d'information y'a trois ans et euh c'est certain que les gens qui sont originaires du quartier veulent rester pis les gens qui sont pas originaires du quartier veulent faire un coup d'argent. Alors je parle pour les Tanneries euh y'a avant... y'avait avant on se parlait plus que ça. Maintenant, maintenant ça comme découvert des jeux pis euh moi je trouve que ça détruit l'atmosphère. Complètement. Les relations entre les gens sont plus difficiles qu'avant, mais en même temps sont peut être plus franches qu'avant. C'est qu'avant on faisait comme ... comment je pourrais dire ça... moi, c'est très personnel à moi j'avais bêtement pensé que les gens qui venaient s'installer ici c'est parce qui aimaient ça là. Pis j'ai réalisé que non c'est pas vrai là. Fack ça m'a énormément déçue et c'est ça qui fait que ... euh... ça comme défait l'atmosphère.»

longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[78]

One interviewee described the neighbourhood itself as being very special and as a place where you could feel the history of the City.

> **DD-03:** "The neighbourhood is very special. I think that you feel the history of Montréal in Saint-Henri." *37 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in 780 St. Rémi.*

Another resident remarked how the lay-out of the Village des Tanneries as an enclave neighbourhood and the 'sense of place' this created with children playing in the streets, reminded him of the his childhood in a small village in France.

> **DD-01:** "I finally realized that in the Village des Tanneries, it is that the landscape reminded me of the landscapes of my childhood! I had my childhood in the countryside, ok. And if at some point, we are in space, or for a few moments, we forget the highways, cars, traffic and you focus on the environment close to nature, ok, it was an illusion, for a brief moment of ... of ... I mean, often I see memories of childhood, certain situations, when I go in that area. And so that, if we can recreate it, with all the possibilities of life ... that surround it, well we get to see a city that never looks like in the countryside, but that will at least be very liveable. And watching, analyzing the Village of Tanneries, which at the urban level operates a little bit strangely, because it is a enclave neighbourhood, as they say now, okay, so, there's just one street crosses through it, all other streets are dead-ends and it is a little bit like the principles of a garden city, but in miniature form, well it's fun to see the children play, including riding bicycles in the middle of the street! Ok, they are not preoccupied about traffic. There's a freedom when you find yourself in this configuration, that you can not have on the other side of the tracks, where though it might be quiet, there's always traffic in transit that passes and children, will not play in the middle of the street." *[translation] 54 year old male, modest income, longstanding resident, living in 780 St. Rémi.*[79]

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[78] **DD-02:** «Entre Lachine et le Centre-ville de l'époque, y'avait le Village des Tanneries, qui était une halte, parce qu'on s'entend que c'était toute une aventure de faire ça en chevaux, fait que c'est un vieux village, c'est un beau quartier historique. C'est sûr qu'on n'a pu les immeubles, les maisons de l'époque, parce que...là-bas aussi c'est sûr que on reconstruit tout le temps par-dessus, mais sur ma rue les immeubles sont en général construits en 1900-1901, fait que c'est quand même assez vieux. Pis bon, y'en a quelques-uns qui sont en décrépitude, mais la plupart, on devrait tenter de les préserver pis...mais c'est pas le cas. Ça va être un vieux quartier qui va disparaître.»

[79] **DD-01:** «J'ai réalisé que finalement dans Village des Tanneries, c'est que le paysage me rappelait les paysages de mon enfance! Moi j'ai eu l'enfance à la campagne, ok. Et si à un moment donné, on est dans un espace, où pour quelques instants, on oublie les autoroutes, les voitures, le trafic et on se concentre sur l'environnement proche de nature, ok, on a l'illusion, pour un court instant, de...de...Je veux dire, souvent, je revois des souvenirs d'enfance, de certains situations, quand je passe dans ce coin-là. Et donc ça, si on arrive à recréer ça, avec toutes les possibilités de vie qui a à l'entour de ça, ben on arrive à voir une ville, qui ressemblera jamais à la campagne, mais qui va être pour le moins très vivable. Et en regardant, en analysant le village des Tanneries en arrière, qui au niveau urbain fonctionne de façon un petit peu bizarre, parce que c'est un quartier enclavé, comme on dit maintenant, ok, donc, y'a juste une rue qui traverse, toutes les autres rues c'est des cul-de-sac, c'est un peu le principe d'une cité-jardin, mais en miniature, ben c'est le fun de voir que les enfants, y jouent, y font du vélo dans le milieu

Thus, for some neighbourhood residents' their attachment to the area was increased by the sense of history they felt there, invoking its working-class roots.

Past research has indicated that forced relocation often leads not only to an increase in housing costs post-relocation, but further, additional increases in net costs, including increased travel time to work, as well as other one time direct costs (such as lawyers' fees, installation of utilities) (Henry and Pineo 1973; Blondin 1967). For one interviewee, an element of her attachment to the neighbourhood was its close proximity to her workplace (a local school in Little Burgundy) and her appreciation for this convenience.

> **DD-02:** "I did not show you the school, but it takes less time to get to my school than to go to the depanneur. Since I have been in the neighbourhood, I have learned to appreciate the proximity between one's workplace/home, and since I discovered that, it doesn't interest me to do 2-3 hours of driving per day." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[80]*

A last theme that emerged as a force of attachment for residents in the Village des Tanneries was the relative abundance of open spaces and green spaces in the surrounding area, which permitted residents the opportunity to go on long walks. For one resident, (who had two dogs so spent a lot of time walking around the neighbourhood), this abundance of open and green space translated into a 'good quality of life':

> **DD-02:** "And, there's lots of greenery, there's plenty of green spaces around, you can go take long walks. I really like ... I like to have a visual perspective. Behind my home is the highway perhaps, but not directly in my yard, you understand. I have no neighbours behind. I have a clear view (...). It was a good quality of life we have despite the highway. In the Village des Tanneries, we still have a good quality of life." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[81]*

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de la rue! Ok, pis ils se préoccupent pas de la circulation. Y'a toute une liberté que tu retrouves dans cette configuration là, que tu peux pas avoir l'autre bord de la track, où, ça beau être un quartier tranquille, y'a toujours de la circulation de transit qui passe et les enfants, y jouent pas dans le milieu de la rue.»

[80] **DD-02:** «Je t'ai pas montré l'école, mais ça me prenait moins de temps aller à mon école, qu'aller au dépanneur. Depuis que je suis dans le quartier j'ai appris à apprécier la proximité du lieu de travail/habitation, pis depuis que j'ai découvert ça, moi ça m'intéresserait pas de faire 2-3 heures de route par jour.»

[81] **DD-02:** «Pis, y'a beaucoup de verdure, y'a beaucoup d'espaces verts aux alentours, on peut aller prendre des grandes marches. Moi j'aime beaucoup...J'aime avoir une perspective visuelle. En arrière de chez nous c'est peut-être l'autoroute, mais pas directement dans ma cour, on s'entend. Pis, je n'ai pas de voisins en arrière. J'ai une vue dégagée (…). C'était une belle qualité de vie qu'on a aussi, malgré l'autoroute. Dans le village des Tanneries, on a quand même une belle qualité de vie.»

Having outlined the dimensions of attachment to home and to the wider neighbourhood, the following section will explore in depth the different types of psychosocial reactions that residents' experienced in light of the threat of direct displacement through expropriation.

7.2.3 Types of psychosocial reactions:

Fear of expropriation led a number of long-term residents (i.e. who had been living on Cazelais Street for 45 years or more) to leave the neighbourhood before the official redevelopment plans had been finalized. One long-term resident recounted how many left when the redevelopment and initial expropriations were announced for the north side of Cazelais Street, although the plans for expropriation in this part of the neighbourhood have since been abandoned.

> **DD-04:** "Now, we no longer have to go. We had to go. It was two and a half years there, they made everybody leave, they made folks around here leave, it had been 45 years that they were in the same apartment. So they caused such fear for these people, it was the elderly. They really made them afraid. So they moved. I have said that it's strange, but me, they did not make me afraid." *[translation] 72 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[82]

At the time of fieldwork, the neighbourhood was already in a state of flux, as some residents sought to 'jump from a sinking ship,' and were moving pre-emptively, fearful of the future of the neighbourhood.

> **ID-10:** "One of the neighbours, he's been there since the early nineties, he finally moved because he was too fearful because his landlord wants to do changes and renovate and clean up and try to sell or whatever because he is on the south side of Cazelais. So he left, this guy has been here since the early nineties, twenty plus years, 23 or 24 years. And that is one thing that I know that is sad, is that a lot of people in that neighbourhood have transitioned out in the last few years. Long-time residents that are too fearful." *46 year old man, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Interestingly, the prospect of expropriation within close proximity, combined with the forces of gentrification underway in the neighbourhood more generally, had the effect for some residents of increasing their fears of eventual displacement, also acting as a source of stress. One resident of the Village des Tanneries, living in close proximity to the Turcot Interchange, remarked how the wider changes in the neighbourhood had the effect of increasing her concern

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[82] **DD-04:** «Là on part pu. On devait partir. C'était 2 ans et demi là, y'ont faite partir du monde là, y'ont faite partir du monde ici, ça faisait 45 ans qui était dans le même logement. Tellement qu'y ont faite peur à ces personnes là, c'est des personnes âgées. Tellement qui leurs ont fait peur. Alors ils ont déménagé. Ben j'ai dit c'est ben drôle, mais moi y m'feront pas peur.»

that she might in fact have to move and her fear that it would be difficult to find a similar quality of life elsewhere:

> **ID-01**:"I myself have had an increase in concern or reflection about my own displacement or departure. The fact that I am entertaining the idea of moving. And then of course there is the dilemma of where can I move that I can actually afford and will provide me with decent quality of life. Where I will find the same type of sense of community and the same types of services or better. So that is a source of anxiety I think because again, people don't always adapt well to change and to loss; and so I think that we are already dealing with a lot, and that sense of loss because of other people leaving. But also, I think it predisposes us to also throwing in the towel. And then feeling a bit overwhelmed in terms of how to proceed or how to find other possible choices. And I think that the same sense of feeling on hold because of the Turcot thing, I think has created, I think people feel a bit like frozen as to what to do. (…) I had actually made an official request to the CSSS for psychological support to people within the community, to address those issues because a lot of people were talking and showing signs of increased anxiety and feeling paralyzed or grief stricken or whatever." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Another long-term resident living on Cazelais Street in housing originally slated for expropriation echoed this sentiment of life being on hold and feeling a sense of paralysis because this huge decision was out of her control.

> **DD-02:** "I cannot wait to be able to make a decision. I feel, as ... It forces me to go in one direction, I am not able to make decisions." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[83]

Stress is defined as: "psychological and physical strain or tension generated by physical, emotional, economic or occupational circumstances, events or experiences that are difficult to manage or endure" (Colman 2001, 711). Recent work on displacement revealed that the fear of not being able to find adequate replacement housing could be a considerable source of stress for those at risk of displacement (Atkinson et al. 2011, 43). Further, an increase in housing costs as a result of relocation caused by expropriation is a widely documented phenomenon in the literature, both in Canada and the US (see Hartman 1966; Gans 1959; Blondin 1967; Henry and Pineo 1973; Lavigne and Carlos 1975). More recent studies on gentrification-induced displacement have also revealed such changes led to increased housing costs for displacees (Atkinson 2000a; Newman and Wyly 2006). The effects of increased housing costs is likely to be hardest felt by elderly residents living on fixed incomes (see Newman and Wyly 2006; Atkinson 2000a; Lessard 1983; Joyce 1963).

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[83] **DD-02**: «J'ai hâte d'être capable de prendre une décision. J'ai l'impression, tant que...On me force à aller dans une direction, je ne suis pas capable de prendre de décisions.»

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While increased housing costs are a widely documented phenomenon post-displacement, the effects of displacement on housing conditions are more complex. Past research suggests that forced relocation due to urban renewal may in some cases lead to better housing conditions. Henry and Pineo (1973) found that forced relocation led to an increase in overall satisfaction with housing conditions. This was due to the fact that many residents were living in substandard housing and post re-location they found themselves living in better quality dwellings than those they had left behind. However, when these findings were compared to a control group of non-movers, it appeared that voluntary moving (vs. forced mobility) would have resulted in still greater satisfaction (Henry and Pineo 1973, 63-64). In contrast, in the Little Burgundy neighbourhood of Montréal, Blondin (1967) found that due to a lack of affordable housing within the neighbourhood (much of the lower end rental housing was demolished), those with the economic means to do so would go elsewhere, while less economically privileged households who could not afford to pay more, ended up in situations with worse housing conditions than they had previously. In this case the sheer scale of the demolitions expelled a large portion of neighbourhood residents from their homes. When the low-cost public housing that replaced some of that demolished was ready, only a portion of the population displaced were assigned new units there (Bennett 1997, 3). Similarly, Hartman (1966) found when comparing the housing conditions of public and private housing separately, those who relocated into private housing fared far worse than those who moved into public housing projects. More recent studies of gentrification-induced-displacement such as Newman and Wyly's (2006) exploration of displacement in NYC revealed: "for many low-income residents, staying in gentrifying neighbourhoods means accepting poor housing quality, coping with high housing cost burdens and/or sharing housing with other residents" (Newman and Wyly 2006, 48-49).

Further, it has been widely documented that finding replacement housing within one's means was a major challenge for those forcibly relocated (Gans 1959; Blondin 1967; Carr 1994). Lipman (1969) found that renters often experienced more difficulties in finding replacement housing than did owners. Indeed, a number of scholars documented that the lower one's income, the more difficulty and time required finding replacement housing (Lavigne 1974; Gans 1959). These difficulties with regards to finding appropriate replacement housing are even more acute in the case of the elderly, due to a number of considerations such as: finding decent, sanitary housing; the accessibility of such housing (i.e. first floor apartments due to limited mobility); and easy access to public transport, commercial and social services (Blondin 1967; Joyce 1963).

In our study, residents facing forced relocation due to potential expropriation in Village des Tanneries find themselves in a difficult predicament due to the rapid gentrification of the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood and the very limited access to social and community housing. Among the interviewees, only one had spent a considerable amount of time looking at potential replacement housing. One elderly resident interviewed, despite being a property owner, was resolute that she would not be able to find anything even close to her current situation for an equivalent price. She had been living in her present home for 45 years and her monthly costs currently amounted to just over $500 per month for a 1400 square foot co-ownership unit. Her family had once owned the entire triplex, but after her parents died, they sold off the upper floors, and she currently resided on the ground floor. When she feared expropriation, she began looking for alternate housing, much to her dismay, as housing costs in Saint-Henri and Montréal more generally, have escalated enormously in recent years. This realization that expropriation would inevitably lead to diminishing housing conditions potentially combined with increased housing costs was a significant source of stress.

> **DD-05**: "Because well, I still started to do research to find out where I should go. I have 1400 square feet. Do you have any idea how much it would cost me to stay in a place that was fourteen hundred square feet? Well, that's it, I have seen 1 1/2 at $900. A 1 1/2. It's like ... to have the same ... First, they aren't any… (laughs) there are not large places like this and the largest places there are, are if you buy and they are $300 000 and more. I do not have the means." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in co-ownership on Cazelais Street.*[84]

Thus, despite past research that indicates that difficultly finding replacement housing is more acute for renters compared to owners, the length of residence in a particular dwelling in the context of wider neighbourhood change needs to be taken into consideration. When her family bought their triplex forty-five years ago, Saint-Henri was beginning to bear the brunt of deindustrialization and neighbourhood decline. It is currently gentrifying to significant degree, thus escalating housing prices beyond what a long-term elderly resident on a fixed income perceived that she could afford, despite being a homeowner. Having visited her residence however, I can attest that it has been impeccably renovated through her own sweat equity over the years (sanding and restoring all the original floors and trim, redoing windows, etc.). I suspect that her perception that she would not be able to afford a new place of equivalent size may not

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[84] **DD-05**: « Parce que j'avais quand même commencé à faire des recherches pour savoir où je m'en irais. Moi j'ai 1400 pieds carrés. Avez-vous idée que combien ça me coûterait me loger dans un quatorze cents pieds carrés? Ben c'est, moi j'ai vu des un et demi à 900 dollars. Un un et demi la c'est c'est c'est comme... pour avoir la même ... d'abord premièrement y'en a pas (rires) y'en a pas grand comme ça puis les plus grands que y'ont c'est c'est si on l'achète là c'est du 300 000 et plus. J'ai pas les moyens moi là là.»

be completely accurate. Her living costs are very low ($500 per month), as she has paid her mortgage off completely. However, while she might be able to afford something of roughly equivalent size elsewhere, the beautiful atmosphere she has created in her home over the 45 years she has been living there, would be irreplaceable. Fear of change and of literally being uprooted and losing her 'place in the world' are all at play in informing her perceptions of her housing options. A recent study (2010) of homeowners displaced for the redevelopment of the Highway 175 in the townships of Stoneham and Tewkesbury revealed that the elderly (particularly those who had been living in their houses for a substantial amount of time), experienced significant ruptures in their social networks post-relocation. Moreover, due to their strong attachment to their homes, the elderly were particularly likely to talk about the experience of forced relocation in terms of death of a close friend and subsequent mourning (Bresse, Fortin and Després 2010, 136). In our case, this elderly homeowner in chronic pain would definitely have an extremely adverse reaction in the event of forced relocation.

Atkinson et al. (2011) found that having to move one's home is well known to be one of the most challenging stressors, and as a result the experience of serial displacement (involuntary serial migration) posed major psychosocial problems for those affected (Atkinson et al. 2011, 47). For one resident interviewed, having suffered displacement due to repossession twice previously within the neighbourhood, the potential expropriation of her current dwelling was a debilitating source of stress in her life.

> **DD-02**: "Yes, that prevented me from living. Last summer, when I was ... I was off work last year, so I could get very involved, which on the contrary I would not have done had I been at work. Between the two BAPE periods, then the information period, I think it was just a month to get an idea of the project, research, put together a written submission... I was not able to do so. So after depositing the briefs, I became sick, I stopped living, I lost 10-15 pounds ... in any case, I went down to 94 and a half pounds, I have not weighed that since I was a teenager probably. I let my health go, I stopped living, altogether. I only thought of that, I dreamed about it ... It has monopolized all my life, my interests ... All my energy, both physical and mental." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[85]

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[85] **DD-02**: «Ah oui, moi ça m'a empêché de vivre. L'été passé, où y'a eu...J'étais en arrêt de travail l'année dernière, fait que j'ai pu m'impliquer beaucoup, par contre, ce que j'aurais pas pu faire si j'avais été au travail. Pis, entre les deux moments BAPE, là, le moment d'information, je pense que c'était juste un mois, pour se faire une idée du projet, faire des recherches, pondre un texte...Moi je n'ai pas été capable de le faire. Pis après la dépôt des mémoires, je me suis rendue malade, j'ai arrêté de vivre, j'ai perdu...10-15 livres, en tout cas, je me suis rendue à 94 livres et demi, j'ai pas pesé ça depuis que j'étais adolescente probablement. J'ai laissé ma santé, j'ai arrêté de vivre, là, carrément. Je pensais qu'à ça, je rêvais à ça... Ça a monopolisé toute ma vie, tous mes champs d'intérêt...Toute mon énergie, physique et mentale.»

Given her past experiences of displacement and her present feeling of belonging in both her current dwelling and the wider neighbourhood, it is not surprising that even the threat of forced relocation could have such a paralyzing effect on this woman's life. The experience of participating in the BAPE seemed to be a source of stress for many of those involved, although viewed as an essential way to mobilize and try to fight the pending expropriation. For another resident, the double burden of having to work all day, come home and draft a brief in order to fight for her right to stay in her home, was a source of stress that ultimately caused a lot of discord between neighbours who were considered friends.

> **DD-03**: "I must say after the BAPE everybody was exhausted. They got really…they were so fed up with it. I mean, I think that the months that went to the BAPE were the most stressing ones, for a lot of people. A lot of people cracked when they were trying to write their brief. I had a lot of fun with the neighbours and all, but I also know for example we had a lot of personally big arguments. HUGE fights, during the BAPE. And it was all because of the stress and writing and your both working all the day and then the night you have to write a brief, or on the weekend you have to write a brief." *37 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in 780 St. Rémi.*

The elderly homeowner cited above has subsequently learned that her housing will not be expropriated, but even mention of the Turcot Interchange has the effect of raising her stress levels, despite the fact that her tenure is now secure.

> **DD-05**: "I have the problem personally that I live it. I'm starting to calm down a bit, but it is the third year of all this. It's that every time they talk about Turcot, I get stressed again and then at a certain moment, I was like, wait, you are not going to wait until the work is finished before you calm down, that does not make sense." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in a co-ownership on Cazelais Street.[86]*

Closely related to stress, is the feeling of anxiety, which manifests more in terms of: "a state of uneasiness, accompanied by dysphoria (discomfort or anguish) and somatic signs and symptoms of tension, focused on apprehension of possible failure, misfortune, or danger" (Colman 2001, 46). One long-term resident expressed that even the thought of moving was a source of anxiety for her:

> **DD-02:** "Yes, I do not like to move, actually. For me, it's a great big stressor. Yeah. For me, moving is a source of anxiety. I do not like moving. There are some for whom it is a sport, but not for me. No, that's me .... It takes time for me to settle in."

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[86] **DD-05**: «Je le problème personnellement que je vis ça. Je commence à me calmer un peu, mais on est en troisième année de ça là. C'est que là à chaque fois qu'ils parlent de Turcot je restresse pis là un moment donnée je me dis ben là attend, tu vas pas attendre que les travaux soient finis pour te calmer, ça pas de sens là.»

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> *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[87]

This state of mental unease is likely intensified by the ongoing tenure insecurity this resident has experienced in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood during the past fifteen years.

Traumatic shock is defined as: "The partial or total collapse of voluntary or involuntary bodily functions resulting from circulatory failure or a sudden drop in blood pressure brought about by physical trauma, especially blood loss or injury to the spinal cord, anaphylaxis or *intense psychological trauma or stress*" (Colman 2001, 755). Key (1967) found that forced relocation provoked a sufficient amount of stress that it could be characterized as traumatic. Past research revealed even the prospect of having to move led to an increase in mortality among the elderly population (Aldrich and Medkoff 1963; Joyce 1963). In our study, one elderly lifelong resident recounted how she went to a psychologist to receive guidance on strategies to manage her chronic pain. However, the recent news of the Turcot expropriations upset her to such a degree that she was unable to think or talk about anything else, leading the psychologist to diagnose her with post-traumatic shock:

> **DD-05:** "I was completely demolished ... I was shaking like a leaf ... well I have bad health problems so it was by chance I found myself at the same time in the clinic for chronic pain and I asked to see if it was not over Turcot, it is really by chance because I heard of a psychologist who could teach me self-hypnosis in order to deal with my pain. So I made an appointment and I met the psychologist, but there ... (laughs) I was no longer able to able to talk about my pain because was so taken with the Turcot, so I said: 'No it's not in your mandate.' But she said: 'It is distressing you so much that it's going to fit in my mandate.' And she told me: 'You are in post-traumatic shock.' And the first week I was not able to able to stay home all alone ... I I I I ... was crying, weeping and I am not really a crier, but I was completely demolished. It changed my behaviour. In the first week I lost six pounds. For a woman who is not healthy, that does not help. Anyway, finally it's all put back in place, but I went through hell. I really went through hell." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in a co-ownership on Cazelais Street.*[88]

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[87] **DD-02:** «Oui, je n'aime pas déménager, effectivement. Pour moi, c'est un gros gros facteur de stress. Ouais. Le déménagement pour moi c'est une source d'angoisse. Je n'aime pas déménager. Y'en a pour qui c'est un sport, mais pas pour moi. Non, c'est ça....Ça me prend du temps m'installer.»

[88] **DD-05:** «J'étais complètement démolie ... je tremblais comme une feuille euh...bon pis j'ai des problèmes de santé aussi euh qui fait que c'tun hasard je je me suis retrouvée au même moment en clinique de la douleur chronique et j'ai demandé à voir euh ça avait pas rapport à Turcot, c'est vraiment un hasard c'est parce que j'ai appris que y'avait une psychologue qui pouvait m'apprendre l'auto-hypnose pour y dire ma douleur. Faque j'avais pris rendez-vous pis euh j'ai rencontré la psychologue mais là ... (rires) j'étais pu capable de parler de ma douleur j'étais tellement pris avec Turcot pis j'ai dit chu pas c'est pas dans votre mandat. Mais a dit ça vous déstresse tellement que ça va rentrer dans mon mandat faque euh... Pis a m'a dit: "Vous êtes en choc post-traumatique." Et la première semaine j'étais pu capable de rester tout seule chez nous... je je je je... pleurais, chu pas une pleureuse, mais ça m'a complètement

Interestingly, this interviewee used the language of demolition to describe her personal psychological state upon hearing that her home was to be demolished, suggesting that if the plans for expropriations on the north side of Cazelais Street had gone through, its impact on her life could have been very severe, if not devastating. In this case, the combination of elderly status, ill health and lifelong residency, combined with the undermining of her 'secure' tenure as a property owner constituted a significant traumatic event in her life. This intense reaction to the threat of expropriation also seems to correspond to Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock,' where the prospect of her 'mazeway' coming under threat of complete destruction after a lifetime in Saint-Henri combined with the expectation of aging in place was simply too much for her to bear.

As mentioned earlier, past research has revealed that the greater a resident's commitment to an area pre-relocation, the more likely that he or she is to react with grief if forced to move. Moreover, the depth of grief resulting from relocation is directly related to the depth of personal relationships with friends and neighbours in the area (Fried 1966). One elderly long-term resident, who had extensive social networks within the area and was a spokesperson for the community in Village des Tanneries against the expropriation and had been highly involved in the fight against it, suggested that if she were forced to move, it would be a source of grief or sorrow for her. Even the thought of having to move elsewhere within the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood was totally inconceivable.

> **DD-04**: "No. I want to know nothing of that area there. Around here, I know 3/4 of children around here, who are 20-22-23, up to almost 30 years old here. Of the 3/4, we'll say up to 25 years old, I have seen them all coming into the world. I saw their parents marry, and I was invited to the baptisms. Today, they have children, I saw their children come into the world. (...) I have my grandson who is on Desnoyers Street. I have a great-granddaughter and a great grandson, and their parents are expecting another this month. (…) If I have to move, it would cause me sorrow. Because all the youth, call me mom, they call me grandma, grandmother." *[translation] 72 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[89]*

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démoli. Ça a changé mon comportement. Dans la première semaine j'ai maigri de six livres. Pour une femme qui est pas en santé c'est pas aidant là. En tout cas, finalement tout ça s'est replacé, mais j'ai vécu l'enfer. J'ai vraiment vécu l'enfer.»

[89] **DD-04**: «Non. J'veux rien savoir dans c'coin là. Icitte, euh, chu connue, moé, le 3/4 des enfants icitte là, qui ont 20-22-23, aller jusqu'à quasiment 30 ans là, bon. Ben moé euh, le 3/4 là, mets-les jusqu'à 25 ans, j'ai ai toute vu venir au monde. J'ai vu leurs parents se marier, pis j'ai été invité à les baptêmes. Aujourd'hui y'ont des enfants, j'ai vu leurs enfants venir au monde. (...) J'ai mon petit-fils qui reste su'a rue Desnoyers. Bon. J'ai une arrière petite-fille pis un arrière petit gars, pis leur parents, là a attend un autre pour c'te mois ici. (…) Si j'viens qu'à déménager, ça me ferait de la peine. Parce que moé toutes les jeunes, y m'appellent maman, pis y m'appellent mamie, grand-mère.»

This premonition of grief were expropriation to be forced upon her is no doubt due in large part to the extensive social networks the respondent had within the immediate residential environment, combined with her high degree of engagement in community life.

Past research on forced relocation in Little Burgundy highlighted that in the case of displacement due to expropriation, the dire lack of official information with regards to the details of expropriation left residents with strong feelings of powerlessness. In Saint-Henri, many residents felt that the situation was unjust and wanted to fight against it, but had no idea of the means by which to protect themselves as found by Blondin (1967). Indeed, there seemed to be consensus among the respondents interviewed that there was a lack of official information surrounding the plans for expropriation. Some of those interviewed found out about the pending expropriation, not through official channels, such as a letter to inform them that their housing was slated for expropriation, but by chance. For example, one resident of 780 St. Rémi discovered his housing was to be expropriated through looking at the proposed redevelopment plan for the Turcot Interchange and noticing that the footprint of the building he lived in was no longer there. Another resident on Rue Cazelais, who was involved with the neighbourhood housing committee (POPIR) and thus hypothetically in a reasonably good position with regards to potential access to information, described access to information regarding the pending expropriations as being inadequate and in fact that the Ministry of Transport was trying to offer potential expropriees alternatives before the project have even passed through the BAPE (environmental assessment) process:

> **DD-02**: "Well ... It's lousy… We know nothing. We are poorly informed. Me, I was on the strategic committee for a year and it's 5-6 years that I've been part of the POPIR Housing Committee, and even though I am involved in the community, I find that I do not have much information. So those who are not involved, it must be terrible, you know, they know nothing. We learned that we were summoned to the BAPE, perhaps, a couple of weeks before it happened? Before they had called to convene us ... they had tried to coax us. They convened with us and there, they were already talking about how ... acquisitions by mutual agreement, even before it has not passed through the BAPE process, and it's because I was whining, and in the end I regretted it because I thought I should have let them get into trouble, to better throw it back in their face, you know, that what they were doing was against the law, and it's the Department of Transport who did that, then. But it has not worked, because I protested, protested, and they realized there …they have been forced to admit that, yes, they put the cart before the horse. Ultimately, this is what they were trying to do, to offer us something even before the project goes through the BAPE process.

It's scary." *[translation] 51 year old female, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[90]

A recent study of forced relocation in the Netherlands revealed that age was a key factor in terms of ability to deal with the news of pending expropriation. Elderly people (55 and older) were far more likely to have difficulty coping with the notification of the coming relocation (Kleinhans 2003, 486). In our study, a lifelong elderly resident of the neighbourhood received conflicting information surrounding the expropriation before eventually receiving "official" word by mail, leading her to literally 'blow a fuse.'

> **DD-05**: "When it began with the meetings and all that ... I'm going to tell you about it because it's worth it. We had preliminary meetings where they informed us on the project. And the lady who took care of the project, when we went there it was full of people who were there ... and she said, thinking that no one noticed it: "It's no big deal, it's a group of tenants…" Except that it was the project that was presented and that version of the project we were not expropriated. Except that in March I received in my mailbox, a letter to the occupant, which told me of my expropriation. I totally blew a fuse. It is clear, I downright freaked out. And we were invited to a meeting on Desnoyers Street, to explain the expropriation process. So I was so freaked out that I had to bring a friend to come with me to that meeting." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in private co-ownership on Cazelais Street.*[91]

Feelings of powerlessness also took the form of political disempowerment for some residents, due to what they perceived to be a distinct lack of solidarity from local politicians, who were

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[90] **DD-02:** «Ben...C'est nul...On sait rien. On est mal informés. Moi, j'ai été un an dans le comité stratégique, ça fait 5-6 ans que je suis au POPIR Comité Logement, pis malgré que je sois dans le communautaire, je trouve que j'ai pas beaucoup d'informations. Donc ceux qui ne le sont pas, ça doivent être épouvantable, ils savent rien. On a appris qu'on était convoqués au BAPE, peut-être, une couple de semaines avant que ça arrive? Avant ils nous avaient convoqué...Ils ont essayé de nous amadouer. Ils nous avaient convoqué dans le quartier pour nous rencontrer, pis là, heu...y parlaient déjà de...faire des acquisitions gré à gré, avant même que ça ait passé à travers le processus BAPE, pis c'est parce que j'ai chialé, pis en fin de compte je l'ai regretté, parce que je me suis dit, j'aurais dû les laisser se mettre dans le trouble, pour pouvoir mieux leur remettre dans face, qu'y étaient contre la loi, pis c'est le ministère des Transports qui faisait ça, là. Ça a pas marché, parce que j'ai protesté, protesté, pis y se sont rendus compte là...mais y'ont été obligés d'admettre que, effectivement, y'étaient...y'avaient mis la charrue avant les bœufs. En fin de compte, c'est qu'y essayaient de nous offrir quelque chose avant même que le projet passe par le processus BAPE. C'est effrayant.»

[91] **DD-05**: « Quand ça commencer les réunions et tout ça euh... ah j'vais vous raconter ça là parce que ça vaut la peine. On a eut des réunions préliminaires où y'informait du projet. Et la madame qui s'occupait du projet quand on est allé c'est sur parce que y'avait pleins de monde qui était là euh... À l'a dit, en pensant que personne s'en apercevait: " S'pa ben grave s'tune bande de locataires..." .... Sauf que c'était le projet qui était présenté et sur le projet nous n'étions pas expropriés. Sauf que au mois de mars je reçois dans la porte une lettre à l'occupant qui m'annonce mon expropriation. J'ai carrément pété les plombs. C'est clair, carrément pété les plombs. Et on était invité à une réunion sur la rue Desnoyers, pour nous expliquer le processus d'expropriation. Alors moi j'ai tellement pété les plombs que euh j'ai été obligée de faire venir une ami pour euh venir avec moi à cette réunion là. (...) »

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more concerned with the increased property taxes than with the plight of residents whose housing was set for expropriation.

> **DD-02**: "It was through a letter, actually, that we saw that it was more serious ... It was official. So then I started to attend the City Borough Council meetings for the South West. I started talking to elected officials, who were very happy to tell us that they were elected representatives but who had no ears for us ... And that's where we began to see, that ultimately, it's just the increased property tax revenues that interest them, rather than the people, well, as I said earlier, they are interchangeable, it was not important, what is really important there, it's how they bring in taxes, and in our area, we do not bring in enough (tax revenue) for them. So there's potential for development, after the highway has been done, and that's the sign of the buck, you see almost shining in their eyes ... at the Borough Council. So then we just changed the borough council, the people have spoken, I hope that the newly elected councillors will actually make a difference, because we were poorly defended by the Union Montréal municipal party that was there before." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[92]*

Interestingly, it was not only among elected local politicians that some residents felt that their plight fell upon deaf ears. For one property owner, the impact of community division (between lifelong and more recent residents) and perceived differences of interest among renters and owners in the neighbourhood also had the effect of creating a sense of powerlessness. Despite the significant community mobilization against the expropriations and for a better redevelopment project more generally, one lifelong homeowner resident felt a lack of support from the community sector, which she perceived to represent solely the interests of renters.

> **DD-05:** "So the people were very proud to explain how they were going to expropriate us. I couldn't believe it. And in addition for me is that another issue was the community services, which ... uh I say that, I was snubbed because I'm not the concern of community organizations. I am an owner. I'm not a sovereignist either, so for the neighbourhood community organizations, for them, I'm like a villain." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle-income, living in co-ownership housing on Cazelais Street.[93]*

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[92] **DD-02:** «C'est par une lettre, effectivement, qu'on a vu que c'était plus sérieux, là...Là c'était officiel. Pis là j'ai commencé à assister au conseil d'arrondissement de la ville, du Sud-Ouest. Commencé à parler aux élus, qui étaient très contents de nous dire qu'ils étaient des élus, mais qui avaient aucune écoute pour nous…Puis c'est là qu'on voit, que finalement, c'est juste l'accroissement des revenus fonciers qui les intéressent, pis que les citoyens, ben, comme je te disais tantôt, sont interchangeables, ça a pas d'importance, qui est vraiment important là, c'est combien ils rapportent, pis dans notre quartier, ça rapporte pas assez pour eux-autres. Pis, y'a un potentiel de développement, après que l'autoroute aura été fait, et ça, c'est le signe de piasse, tu le vois quasiment briller dans les yeux...au conseil d'arrondissement. Fait que là on vient de changer de conseil d'arrondissement, les gens se sont prononcés, les nouveaux élus, fait que j'espère que ça va faire une différence effectivement, parce qu'on était très mal défendus par l'Union municipale qui était là en place avant.»

[93] **DD-05**: «Pis les gens étaient tout fiers de nous expliquer comment y nous expropriaient. Je n'en reviens pas. Pis en plus moi, c'est que y'avait une autre table c'était les services communautaires où

Thus, due in part to her status as a property owner and the fact that in the case of expropriation she would be bought out by the government, potentially enabling her to buy property elsewhere, combined with her different ideological stance[94], she perceived that her plight did not fall within the mandate of community organizations fighting for the housing rights of low-income tenants in the neighbourhood. A key point to mention here, is that she also perceived a difference of interest between herself as a property owner and lifelong resident and incoming property owners in the neighbourhood who she perceived had bought property in the neighbourhood to make money rather than because they loved Saint-Henri as a place to live. The combination of these perceived differences with both existing and new residents left this resident feeling politically disempowered.

Ultimately, some respondents felt a lack of agency or control over their own lives as a result of their pending expropriation and the fact that they had no choice in deciding to move, but instead it was being forced upon them.

> **ATM**: "So do you feel in control in terms of your move?"
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> **DD-02:** "No, that's it ... I feel as though it's not me who decides. I will be forced, or if it doesn't go through, I can get my life back. Decide for myself. I will not move until I know what is going to happen. I do not want to move. I am certainly do not want to move under constrained circumstances." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[95]

For some residents, their ultimate lack of control over their circumstances led them to have feelings of anger and frustration due to the perceived injustice in their situations. One lifelong resident, an owner-occupier, described her frustration in terms of being 'robbed' by the expropriation process.

> **DD-05**: "I asked my questions and I explained: "I have a house with wood mouldings that there is no longer a lot of examples of anymore, what are you going to do with that?" "Ah, no problem it is the demolition company that will buy them and resell them and that

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euh...je le dis là. J'ai été snobée parce que moi je ne fais pas affaire avec les organismes communautaires. Je suis propriétaire moi là là. J'suis pas souverainiste non plus la pis les organismes communautaires du quartier là pour eux-autres je suis comme une méchante là.»

[94] In Québec there is a historical association of working-class movements with support of Québec independence. Guntzel (2000) argues that support by labour movements for Québec independence began in the late 1960's and continues to this day (Guntzel 2000, 395).

[95] **ATM:** "Alors, est-ce que vous vous sentez en contrôle en termes de votre déménagement?"

DD-02: "Non, c'est ça. Je sens que ce n'est pas moi qui décide. Je vais être forcée, ou si ça tombe, je vais pouvoir reprendre ma vie en main. Décider par moi-même. Je ne vais pas déménager avant de savoir ce qui va arriver. Je ne veux pas déménager. Pis je veux surtout pas déménager de façon contrainte."

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way it costs us less to demolish." Then, I said: "You're in the process of telling me straight to my face how you are going to rob me." *[translation] 65 year old woman, lifelong resident, middle income, living in private co-ownership on Cazelais Street.*[96]

For another resident, the fact of being 'forced' to move and the lack of choice inherent in this, created frustration and feelings of injustice.

> **DD-03:** "So except for these practical problems, I think that there are two things. That it is forced upon you that you have to move. Nobody wants to be forced to move. It's automatic and human to be against it in that way. I mean it's psychology and somebody says: 'you have to do this' and it is not your choice, there will be resistance. And the second part of that is that you know the compensation will not be enough. You know that they are actually, that you get f….ed." *37 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in 780 St. Rémi.*

Indeed the issue of compensation was one that increased residents' feelings of injustice and disempowerment surrounding the expropriation process. During the construction of the Autoroute 720, half of the Village des Tanneries was demolished during the 1960s and at that time expropriees were offered 3 months rent, plus reasonable moving costs. Fifty years later, potential expropriees are being offered the exact same compensation. This sense that history was repeating itself and that on a societal level there was a failure to learn from past mistakes (in terms of the social costs of razing large swaths of neighbourhoods during urban renewal in Montréal) left some respondents feeling frustrated and angry.

> **DD-02:** "When there was, it was 40 years ago when they built the Ville-Marie, and the Décarie and all that, they offered three months rent as compensation, as well as moving costs too. Now it's the exact same thing they are offering! And between the two, after they had offered that, it's been 40-50 years, they said: "Never again will we expropriate for the construction of highways in the city." Not only do they build and they expropriate even if they had said they would not, and they offer no better! Knowing the social impacts. At that time, they screwed everybody. They were interchangeable units. We think we have evolved socially, that we have more community spirit. I doubt it." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[97]

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[96] **DD-05**: «Moi j'ai posé mes questions et euh j'explique: j'ai une maison avec des boiseries y'en a pu comme ça aujourd'hui qu'est-ce que vous faites avec ça?" "Ah pas de problème c'est le démolisseur qui nous les achète pis lui y'é revend pis nous autre ça nous coûte moins cher pour faire démolir." Là j'ai dit: "Vous en train de me dire en pleine face comment vous allez me voler."»

[97] **DD-02:** «Quand il y avait, y'a 40 ans, quand y'ont construit l'autoroute Ville-Marie, pis Décarie, pis tout ça, ils offraient 3 mois de loyer de dédommagement, pis des frais de déménagement aussi. Maintenant, c'est exactement la même chose qu'ils offrent! Et entre les deux, après qu'ils avaient offert ça, il y a 40-50 ans, y'ont dit : "plus jamais on va exproprier pour la construction d'autoroutes en ville". Non seulement ils construisent et ils exproprient même s'ils avaient dit qu'ils ne le feraient pas, et ils n'offrent pas mieux! En sachant les impacts sociaux. Dans le temps, on se foutait du monde. C'était des unités interchangeables. On pense qu'on a évolué sur le plan social, qu'on a plus l'esprit communautaire. J'en doute.»

Thus, the psychological impacts were worsened by the sense of the history of urban renewal repeating itself. Some lifelong and longstanding residents recounted stories of the devastating impact that mass expropriations had already imposed upon their neighbourhood in the past 50 years. One lifelong resident recounted how the expropriations necessary to accommodate Lionel Groulx Métro station affected those displaced and relocated, as well as those ineligible for relocation assistance.

> **ID-23(a)**: "I will go back myself at least 35 years, because I'm 50 today and because it left a real impression on me, it was a street called Albert, which was emptied, people were evicted, because of the Lionel-Groulx Metro that was built at that time. It was full of families who knew each other for years. They were relocated to the apartments the City of Montréal had, most of the people who had lived there, but not everyone was eligible because it also depended on income, if one's income was too high, you could not even go to live in those homes there, so there's been a lot of disconnection between neighbours because they left the neighbourhood, there were many who went to live elsewhere around the neighbourhood. I know them not because I lived on Albert Street, but I had lots of friends and knew families on Albert Street because I also went to live in public housing of the City of Montréal, and that's where I met all these families who were transferred there. And they talked to me so much about Albert Street, it was so familial. (…) So that it was a real upset for the people of Saint-Henri. It's not that we did not need (the Metro), except that the manner they proceeded, it hurt a lot of people." *[translation] 50 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[98]

Another longstanding Saint-Henri resident recounted his memories surrounding the hardship created in Lower Westmount (where he was living at that time) due to the expropriations necessary to build the Ville-Marie Expressway in the late sixties. He was in a privileged position to understand residents' feelings surrounding their potential expropriation as he was running for local political office at the time and had the opportunity to meet every resident living on the Lower Westmount side of the proposed Ville-Marie Expressway during his door-to-door campaigning efforts.

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[98] **ID-23(a):** «Je remonte moi à au moins 35 ans, parce j'en ai 50 aujourd'hui, c'est parce que ça m'a beaucoup marqué, c'était une rue qui s'appelait Albert, pis qui a été vidée, les gens ont été expulsés, au cause de Métro Lionel-Groulx qui ont fondé à ce moment là. C'était plein de familles qui se connaissaient depuis des années. Y'ont été relocalisés dans les logements de la Ville de Montréal qui avait, la plupart des gens ont été habité là, mais c'était pas à tout le monde qui étaient accessibles parce que ça dépendait des revenus aussi là, les revenus, si t'avait un trop gros revenu tu pouvais même pas aller habiter dans ces logements là, donc y'a eu beaucoup de coupure de voisins parce que y'en a qui sont partis du quartier, y'en a qui sont partis ailleurs dans le quartier. Moi, j'les ai connus parce que moi j'habitais pas la rue Albert, mais j'ai eu beaucoup d'amis pis de familles que j'ai connus sur la rue Albert parce que j't'allée vivre aussi dans les logements de la ville de Montréal, et c'est là que j'ai connu tous ces familles là qui ont été transférées là. Pis y m'en ont tellement parlé de cette rue Albert là, que c'était tellement familial. (…) Donc, ça ça a été une grosse peine pour des gens de Saint-Henri. C'est pas qu'on n'avait pas de besoin (de Metro), sauf que la manière qui ont procédés, ça faite mal à ben des gens.»

ID-14: "So where I kind of start to relate to Saint-Henri was with the building of the highway through Lower Westmount. So that started in 1968 and I was very conscious of just how cruelly unfair it was just to ram stuff through really established neighbourhoods, they were not grindingly poor, everybody worked, everybody had a job, they were truck drivers, snow shovel operators, they were city employees, they were piano tuners, small retailers, that lived on Selby Street and the bottom of Saint-Jacques, in the Westmount part. (...) But it was the tenants who were in the solidly rental housing, there were virtually no owners living there. I knew it really well, cause I ran for politics a couple times, so I knocked on every door, I knew everybody who was there. (…) So then, we lost, although it was quite an interesting experience, because we got in contact with a whole bunch of groups that were coalescing across the city following the route of the Ville Marie. It was just phenomenal. It was very, very vibrant because the CBC building was built at the same time, it cleared out 5000 houses. (...) I saw a real hardship created by the driving of the Ville Marie Expressway through a neighbourhood that had some real history. People that really did not want to go. They felt really dragged out of their houses." *67 year old male, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

The process of being actively engaged in the fight against the expropriations led to elevated levels of fatigue for some residents. One resident had an extremely difficult time finishing her brief to present before the BAPE, before eventually just having to submit it in unfinished format due to her extreme fatigue.

DD-02: "It took me three months, because the brief, well, I'm not competent on the computer, the Internet either, so it was a lot of things at once. I sent it because I had no choice, I found myself in the early hours of the morning, the deadline to send the memoir, I sent it unmerged, I tried two briefs, I sent it with two conclusions because I have not even been able to do a text that made sense. I reworked it because I was too involved in it, I was very confused, I was experiencing intense fatigue... Finally I never sent the last copy and I said to myself: 'Well there, it's time to gain strength." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.[99]*

Further, past research has revealed that the elderly found it much more difficult to adapt to the change in circumstances engendered by forced relocation than did young people (Gans 1959; Lipman 1969). In some cases, forced relocation produced an emotional shock for the elderly, a stress that could accelerate death. One long-term resident recounted her concern over the impact forced relocation might have on her aging neighbours, now in their 80's, many of whom had been living in the same apartment for 45-50 years.

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[99] **DD-02:** «Ça m'a pris 3 mois, parce que le mémoire, bon, je suis pas habile sur l'ordinateur, sur Internet non plus, fait que c'était beaucoup de choses en même temps. J'ai envoyé, parce que j'avais plus le choix, j'étais rendue dans les petites heures du matin là, pour la date limite d'envoyer le mémoire, je l'ai envoyé non fusionné, j'avais essayé deux essais, j'ai envoyé ça avec deux conclusions, parce que j'ai même pas été capable de faire un texte qui avait de l'allure. Je l'ai retravaillé, parce que j'étais dedans pis, j'étais très confuse, j'étais trop dans la fatigue intense...Finalement j'ai jamais envoyé la dernière copie. J'ai comme abandonné pis je me suis dit "ben là, c'est le temps de prendre des forces.»

DD-02: "Folks are tired…. There are people on my street, it's been 45 years that they've been there, in the same apartment. The saw the construction, they saw the demolition of the neighbourhood, but now, they are in their late-eighties. They are fed up, they are tired. It might kill them! Who knows! Maybe the next housing they will find themselves in will be the cemetery, you know, because it must be terrible to live when it's been 45 years… It's a lifetime. 50 years in the same dwelling, it is a lifetime." *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing on Cazelais Street.*[100]

Table 7.3 below summarizes the different types of psycho-social reactions residents experienced as a result of the threat of displacement due to proposed expropriations necessary for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. While based only on interviews with five key informants (thus a very small sample), the socio-economic profiles of respondents, as well as length of residence in the neighbourhood, tenure and past experience with displacement differed among them. As such, I have constructed a typology suggesting that residents with different backgrounds will have different emotional reactions to the threat of displacement.

Table 7.3: Typology of Different Types of Residents' Reactions to the Threat of Displacement

Type of resident	Emotional reaction	Potential causes
Long-term elderly resident (renter) – with highly embedded local social network	Fearlessness, willingness to act as community leader Potential for grief, sorrow	Level of community engagement Potential of profound social displacement
Lifelong elderly resident (owner) – with health issues	Post-traumatic shock Difficulty coping Stress/anxiety	Home as refuge/haven – potential loss of safe space Potential loss of deep sense of belonging due to lifelong residence
Serial displacee long-term resident – (renter)	Stress/anxiety – to a point of debilitation Lack of control/powerlessness	Ongoing tenure insecurity Potential loss of sense of belonging at both household and community level
Long-term resident (renter) – live/work space	Fear of loss of livelihood	Potential loss of current dwelling (loft space) which allows for live/work arrangements
Recent resident (renter)	Injustice/powerlessness Anger/frustration	Potential loss of dwelling that suits her needs, functionally and psychologically

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[100] **DD-02:** «Les gens sont fatigués...Y'a des gens sur ma rue, ça fait 45 ans qu'y sont là, dans le même logement. Ils ont vu la construction, ils ont vu la démolition du quartier, mais là, ils sont rendus dans les 80 ans avancé. Ils sont tannés, ils sont fatigués. Ça va peut-être les tuer! Va savoir! Peut-être que le prochain logement qu'ils vont se trouver, ça va être le cimetière, parce que ça doit être épouvantable à vivre, là, quand ça fait 45 ans…C'est une vie, là.... 50 ans que t'es dans le même logement, là, c'est une vie entière.»

7.3 Chapter summary:

In sum, the primary aim of this chapter was to privilege the voices of residents with direct experience of displacement (or the threat of displacement) in order to nuance existing knowledge on direct displacement. As revealed here, the experience of direct displacement can lead to a number of detrimental effects for affected households, such as those documented in Section 1.7 including diminishing housing conditions, increasing housing costs and increasing overcrowding or doubling up. But as the research here reveals, by far the most taxing effects are those that are psychosocial in nature (see Table 7.3). Each resident experienced a different set of emotional reactions, which are informed by different personal circumstances. Fearlessness and the potential for grief in the event of displacement were characteristic of a longstanding elderly renter, with a highly embedded social network. More immediately debilitating reactions such as post-traumatic shock, difficulty coping, stress and anxiety were manifested by lifelong elderly homeowner living with chronic pain for whom the importance of home as a haven and safe space, combined with the potential loss of a deep sense of belonging in Village des Tanneries due to her lifelong residence there were important factors at play. Debilitating stress, anxiety, lack of control and powerlessness were characteristic of the experience of serial displacement for a long-term renter where past tenure insecurity and previous experiences of displacement, combined with the potential loss of sense of belonging at both the scale of her home and wider local neighbourhood informed such emotional upheaval. Fear of loss of one's livelihood was emblematic of a long-term renter who utilized his loft as a live/work space. Last, feelings of injustice, powerlessness, anger and frustration were characteristic of a recent renter due to the potential loss of a dwelling that suited her needs both functionally and psychologically. Furthermore, this section confirms what past studies on the impact of forced relocation and gentrification-induced displacement have found. First, the fear of not being able to find adequate replacement housing within one's means that would afford the same quality of life was a major source of stress (Atkinson et al. 2011). However, this study suggests, contrary to past studies that have revealed that renters experience more difficulty than owners in finding replacement housing to meet their needs, that length of residence in the neighbourhood is a key variable at play here and that owners too may face significant difficulties if they are elderly (on a fixed income) and bought into the neighbourhood long before it gentrified. However, as outlined earlier, fear of change and attachment that homeowners (particularly elderly) who have lived a particular dwelling for a substantial period of time may also be at play here. Second, as in Atkinson et al. (2011), the experience of serial displacement posed major psychosocial problems for those affected. Indeed, one informant who had two past

experiences of repossession-induced-displacement experienced much more serious negative psychological reactions compared to a long-term renter also slated for expropriation but without past experience of displacement. Third, our study illustrates points made by Key (1967) and Kleinhans (2003) in that one lifelong elderly resident (in chronic pain) experienced by far the most debilitating emotional reactions to the threat of displacement, including being diagnosed with post-traumatic shock. Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock' proved useful in terms of trying to understand this resident's experience of the threat of displacement. Fourth, past research has highlighted that the greater one's commitment to an area pre-relocation, the greater the likelihood of a grief-based reaction post-displacement (Fried 1966). Indeed, in our study, the key informant that alluded to the possibility of feeling grief/sorrow in the event that she were forced to move was an elderly long-term resident with a dense local social network and a deep commitment to the area, acting as spokesperson in the fight against expropriation. Further, in line with the findings of (Gans 1959; Lipman 1969), the lifelong elderly homeowner interviewed experienced a variety of very strong negative emotional responses to the prospect of expropriation, thus increasing the likelihood that she too might experience a grief reaction, if not worse.

CHAPTER 8   THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN EVERYDAY LIFE

This chapter will explore the significance of the neighbourhood in the everyday lives of residents. It is divided into four main sections. The first section explores the neighbourhood as a potential source of locally based community and the degree to which residents' social networks are locally based. Second, it documents the role of neighbourhood facilities and services in everyday life, organized around significant spaces in the neighbourhood broadly defined as recreation, public space and retailing. Third, it explores residents' sentiments regarding the quality of the neighbourhood physical environment. Last, it will discuss political life and residents' engagement with neighbourhood political struggles. The goal of the chapter is to develop a deeper understanding of the importance of the neighbourhood according to these various dimensions, in order to ascertain if indirect displacement (in its various forms) is a useful concept for understanding renters' experiences in Saint-Henri.

8.1 The neighbourhood as locally based community?

This section has a number of aims: first is to explore to what degree residents' social networks are concentrated in the neighbourhood – through the use of the concepts of weak and strong ties; second, to explore the 'sense of community' present in Saint-Henri as perceived and experienced by long-term renters; third, to explore to what degree income and generational status affect the degree to which social networks are rooted in the neighbourhood; and last, to evaluate whether or not social displacement is a relevant concept to understand the recent changes in local residents' social networks.

8.1.1 Strong local ties

Past research suggests that for low-income groups, the neighbourhood is of greater importance because residents' social networks are more locally based (Fortin 1988; Authier 2005). This is due in part to 'spatial captivity' whereby low-income people find their daily activities constrained by available finances, poor public transit, and other restriction on personal mobility. However, other research, such as Wellman's (1979) work in a lower-middle-class neighbourhood in Toronto revealed that the majority of residents had both locally-based and more spatially diffuse networks. Further, Bridge's (1994) study in a gentrifying neighbourhood in London revealed that working-class groups' networks were no more dependent on local ties than those of middle-class residents and that city-wide networks were the norm for both groups.

In our study, respondents who reported their annual income to be less than $20 000 still showed significant variety in terms of the importance of strong ties within the neighbourhood. For some, the majority of their family and close friends were still living within the neighbourhood. Take for example, a 45-year-old single mother, born and raised in the neighbourhood:

> **ID-29(a):** "For me, Amy, Saint-Henri is Saint-Henri. I have it tattooed on my heart for real, and the people I spend time with, the majority remain in Saint-Henri. I'll tell you that we are a family of 7. (…) Of seven, there are two who have moved. I have my sister because my sister married a soldier so she had to remain close to the military base. And my other sister moved to Ville Saint-Pierre because you can have the same thing as here for $300 less rent." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low-income, living in public housing.*[101]

However, this was far from the case for everybody. A number of the low-income respondents in the sample reported a situation roughly equivalent to Guest's (1985) concept of 'community mediate' whereby individuals maintain ties at both neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood levels. Many reported close friends and family were now spread throughout the southwest as well as in more suburban locations on the North and South Shore.

Modest-income renters (annual income $20 001-$39 999 per year) were less likely to have strong ties within the neighbourhood than the aforementioned group. A number of residents in this income group reported have no close friends or family living in the neighbourhood. One resident who had no close friends or family in the neighbourhood suggested that this might be one of the positive aspects of the changes underway in the neighbourhood, that more people 'like him' were moving in.

> **ID-06**: "The worst thing is that it has been isolating, especially in the winter, because I don't want to leave either. So, knowing more people in the neighbourhood is always great. (…) So, I think as the neighbourhood gets more popular, and I don't know if that is necessarily gentrification, it is going to be better for people like me, because you will have a bigger community in the neighbourhood. I mean, Saint-Henri is traditionally poor, or lower income, the traditional francophone elements or population in Saint-Henri, I can't relate to. So, it's got to be new people coming into the neighbourhood if I am going to have some friends that live locally." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This was not the case for all modest-income renters in the sample however. One resident had both family and the majority of her close friends in the neighbourhood. However, it seemed as

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[101] **ID-29(a):** «Moi, Amy là, Saint-Henri c'est Saint-Henri. Je l'ai dans tatoué su'l coeur pour vrai, pis les gens que j'côtoie la plupart restent à Saint-Henri. J'te dirais que on est une famille de 7. (…) Pis sur 7, y'en a 2 qui sont déménagés. J'ai ma soeur, parce que ma soeur a s'est marié avec un militaire faque a reste proche de la base militaire. Mon autre soeur a déménager à Ville Saint-Pierre, parce que tu peux avoir la même choses qu'ici pour une loyer de $300 de moins.»

though she was more of an anchor drawing people already in her social network into the neighbourhood over the years.

> **ID-09**: "And of course I know a number of people that are like sprinkled throughout the neighbourhood and I have some friends that live close by like my friends Jan and Heather, who live on Saint-Philippe who live a block over from me. And then I got a very good friend of mine, so my best friend, I got her to move like right next door to me, so we kind of have a shared apartment. (…) And then I convinced this guy friend of mine to move here in the neighbourhood, so he lives just right around the corner. And my sister and my niece also, they used to live with me where I am living now, in the building, but they moved into a housing coop, down near Côte Saint-Paul, on Saint-Ambroise." *33 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Caring for one's aging parents was the major motivating factor for one modest-income respondent who was born and raised in the neighbourhood to move back after a prolonged period living in Saint-Michel, in the northeast of the city.

> **ID-27(a):** "My parents, first thing, it is through them that I have moved here, because they live there in the cooperative Saint-Henri. (...) Apart from that, my aunts. I have one of my great aunts, the last of the family lives in senior housing on the Côte St. Paul Road, right next to the condos at the corner there. (...) And besides that, my father's sister also lives in Saint-Henri at the corner of Du Couvent and St. Jacques. Apart from this, why did I come back to this area, because I wanted to go back to the source. Being close to my parents, to take care of them because as I said to them, I want to be back around here, you folks are getting older, you need help." *[translation] 45 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.*[102]

Past findings on the importance of neighbourhood as a space for forging a social network for middle-income groups are more ambiguous. For example, Fortin's (1998) work in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Québec City revealed that upper-income groups' social networks tended to have greater geographic range than was the case for low-income residents. In our study, of the renters that were middle-income (annual income $40 000 - $79 999 per year), the responses were varied. One resident who moved to the neighbourhood eight years ago had since overseen both his sister and aging father moving to the neighbourhood, in order to facilitate caring for his father in old age.

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[102] **ID-27(a)**: «Mes parents, première des choses, c'est grâce à eux que j'ai pu déménagé ici, parce que eux, y habitent dans la coopérative Saint-Henri. (...) À part ça, mes tantes. J'ai une de mes grandes tantes, la dernière de la famille a l'habite l'habitation pour personnes âgées sur le chemin Côte Saint-Paul, juste à côté des condos au coin de la rue là. (…) Puis à part ça, la soeur de mon père qui habite elle aussi à Saint-Henri au coin de Du Couvent puis Saint-Jacques. À part de ça, pourquoi chu dans c'coin cite, parce que j'ai voulu revenir à la source. Être proche de mes parents, m'occuper d'eux, parce que j'leurs ai dit: «Moi j'veux revenir icitte, vous autres vous vieillissez, vous avez besoin d'aide.»»

ID-03: "When I came here, I knew no one. A friend of mine moved a few months afterwards. Now my sister lives here, my father recently retired and he rents an apartment here as well. I have created a small network. (…) I met my significant other here so… I love this place. I lived on the Plateau for ten years, I don't think that I would go back. It's too much." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

All the renters in this income group reported having at least some strong ties in the neighbourhood, but they were more likely to be friends than family. One interviewee, who had immigrated from France, reported that all her close friends lived in the neighbourhood or in adjacent neighbourhoods in the South-West, while all her family still lived in France. Of the renters in the sample that could be considered high income (i.e. annual income of $80 000+ per year), both reported the presence of strong ties within the neighbourhood. A three-generation household (grandmother, mother and daughter), all born and raised in Saint-Henri, reported having many friends living within the neighbourhood, though most of their relatives were living outside the neighbourhood. Thus, in terms of the presence of strong ties the findings are similar to Fortin (1988) and Bridge (1994) in that middle and higher income groups' networks tended to have greater geographic range. Again, the concept of 'community mediate' in which individuals had maintained ties at both neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood levels seems an apt descriptor of networks of strong ties for middle and higher income groups in Saint-Henri.

Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) assert that while the concept of 'community mediate' is a fairly realistic way of describing the contemporary situation in the U.S., they do qualify this statement by maintaining that for the elderly (as well as those outside the labour force and the poor), the importance of neighbouring is greater in the maintenance and development of social networks. Further, Joyce (1963) found that longer length of residence in a particular neighbourhood, greater the likelihood that elderly persons had both friends and acquaintances living close by that could be called upon in emergency. When the findings on strong ties were analysed according to life stage, all but one elderly respondent reported having some close friends or family living within the neighbourhood. Overall, they were more likely than residents of younger age groups to have strong ties in the neighbourhood. An important caveat here though is that length of residence was also at play for residents, those born and raised in Saint-Henri being more likely to have strong ties in the neighbourhood than those of the same age group who had moved to the neighbourhood more recently. However, the majority of elderly renters reported that their children (now grown) lived elsewhere in the city or in suburban areas and that they had the opportunity to visit them there. One elderly woman, born and raised in Saint-Henri and adjacent Little Burgundy, who lived in a public seniors' residence with one of her grown

daughters, summarized how aside from this, her children were spread out, in the city, suburbs, province and beyond.

> **ID-11**: "My other daughter, we are very close. We don't see each other very often because she lives in Ville Émard. My granddaughter, this one here (pointing to picture on wall), we're very, very close. I raised her because my daughter was working out of town. So I raised my granddaughter, so we are very, very, close. I see her at least once a week. (…) One son lives on the South Shore, we were close for a while. When he is in trouble, he is close to me. And I have one that lives out of town, he lives in Joliette and he is getting back close to me. Like he will be here on Friday night, because he needs mommy of course and a place to sleep and all that. And I have one that's in Ottawa." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*

However, one elderly resident who had lived for many years in the south-west but had only recently moved to Saint-Henri (five years previous), reported having no close friends or family in the neighbourhood. These varied findings again lend credence to Guest's concept of 'community mediate' and question the degree to which the elderly are more dependent on neighbouring relationships than other groups. However, when significant length of residence in the neighbourhood is combined with elderly status, the likelihood of having important friends or acquaintances nearby that can be called upon if need be, seems to increase.

8.1.2 Weak local ties

Past research suggests that in certain endeavours (such as looking for a job or finding housing), having networks of weak ties (acquaintances) can have important functions that cannot be served by 'strong ties.' This is the case because someone who only has strong ties (an thus a limited network of acquaintances) will only have access to information from his or her densely knit network of strong ties. Thus, far from being trivial acquaintances, weak ties can serve a *bridging* function among different networks of strong ties (Granovetter 1983, 202). In Saint-Henri, the neighbourhood proved significant as a source of weak ties for all the respondents. Indeed, among interviewees, there was not a single one who reported not having any weak ties within the neighbourhood. That said, the type of acquaintanceships reported did vary. For example, among the elderly, the range of weak ties reported ranged from casual greeting relationships with familiar faces throughout the neighbourhood, to more concrete exchanges such as an acquaintance that would come weekly to help an elderly woman take out her garbage. Additionally, one elderly woman who felt more isolated within the neighbourhood mentioned the pivotal role played by a local community-based organization, a place where acquaintances could be fostered and blossomed into friendships. The oldest interviewee in my sample, an eighty-four year old woman, reported that she felt so at ease with her neighbours in

the coop where she lived, that she was able to be left alone for significant periods of time (when her daughter and granddaughter were working, for example) and that she felt comfortable to call upon a variety of people within her building if the need arose. Parents with children still living at home seemed to place more significance upon weak ties within the neighbourhood. Many reported having acquaintances nearby whom they would feel comfortable asking for help if need be. Many reported exchanging babysitting with other young parents in the neighbourhood. One interviewee, a father of four, recounted how upon moving into the neighbourhood, a single mother that lived nearby knocked on his door out of the blue one day and offered him a pile of baby clothes that her children had grown out of. Most young parents however, seemed to limit their acquaintanceships to other young parents within the neighbourhood. Another young mother, a recent immigrant who had had a lot of difficulty establishing a social network within the neighbourhood, noted the importance of a communal courtyard in her building, as a factor facilitating the formation of acquaintanceships with her neighbours. Even those without children reported having many weak ties with other neighbourhood residents. A variety of services exchanged were reported including communal organizing of building maintenance tasks (chimney sweeping), babysitting for neighbours with kids, errands, watering gardens and taking care of cats for neighbours, neighbours helping a disabled interviewee to shovel his walk, being able to ask neighbours for help fixing things as well as to borrow equipment such as a ladder. There was the sense among many interviewees that neighbours were looking out for one another, with examples cited such as a neighbour alerting residents to the fact that they were about to be ticketed for illegally parking their car. More casual greeting relationships were also widespread. One respondent even mentioned a neighbour with whom he did not get along, who when there was a fire in his building and he was at work, took in his dog, and indeed his shock that someone with whom he did not consider himself to be on good terms with would look out for him in this respect. Numerous people also mentioned the role of community organizations in the neighbourhood as a forum for fostering acquaintances with other neighbourhood residents.

In addition, similar to Granovetter (1973; 1983) some interviewees recounted events illustrative of the importance that acquaintances can have in terms of the 'bridging' function they may serve among networks, particularly useful in terms of access to information surrounding such pragmatic concerns and employment or housing opportunities. For example:

> **DD-04:** "I've got a little woman, who takes care of her grandchildren and she has a little girl with a disability. And she paid $850. There's mould in the bottom of the walls, mice walk around on the floor. And she has tried everything with her landlord and he doesn't want to do anything about it. I know housing around here that is not too far away that is empty and I know the owner. I saw him that morning. I asked if

your housing is rented, and he says "No." I asked him: "How much do you charge per month?" I said: "I've got a lady, who has a baby girl, who is disabled, in a wheelchair, and absolutely needs a ground floor with a courtyard." He said "$700". I said: "What? "Then I said: "Will you be here all day? Because I'll go and find her." He said, "If you see the door open, you come on in." So I left and went to find my friend. Here I have explained everything, and she brought the little one that had a wheelchair, and they even saw it. She will have the apartment for the first (of the month). And they will save $150 per month." *[translation] 72 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*[103]

However, for one lifelong resident of the neighbourhood, the familial atmosphere and presence of numerous 'weak ties' was something relegated to the past, no longer feeling the familiarity she once had with the neighbourhood's residents.

> **ID-23(a):** "We had a very good neighbourhood, we were not afraid to walk down the street, uh ... it was a good, well for me I say it was good times. Because we had the impression of knowing everyone. So we walked on the street, we didn't see anything that concerned us, like being followed, things like this. I mean, we knew where to go knock, we knew where we were going, I mean to say... We had no worries." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*[104]

This contrasts starkly with the feelings of a much more recent resident living on Rue Cazelais, where the relationship he established with his neighbours and their children made him feel more rooted in the neighbourhood.

> **ID-28:** "When I was living on Cazelais, the people that lived right next door to me had been there for ten years. They were great, they were like extended family, I hung out with them all the time. I helped raise their daughter. Like the kids in the neighbourhood would always just come over to my house and drop in and colour and that sort of stuff. They knew that my place was just a fun little refuge. But I didn't know any of the really, really older folks. But I loved my street and I knew everybody's face, you know." *26 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*

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[103]**DD-04:** «Moi j'ai une p'tite madame là, a garde ses petits-enfants pis a l'a une petite fille d'handicapée. Pis a payé $850. Y'a de la moisissure dans le bas des murs, les souris se promènent à terre. A l'a toute essayé avec son propriétaire, pis y veut pas rien faire. Moi y'a un logement icitte pas ben loin qui est vide, j'connaissais le propriétaire. Je l'ai vu à matin. J'y ai demandé si ton logement y'es-tu loué, y dit "non". J'y ai dit: "Combien tu charges par mois?". J'ai dit: "Moi j'ai une madame, a l'a une petite fille, est handicapée, est en chaise roulante, ça y prend absolument un baux avec une cours." Y dit: "$700". J'dis "Ouin?", j'dis "T'es-tu là toute la journée, parce que, j'vas aller la chercher". Y dit: "Si tu vois la porte ouverte, tu rentres". Chu partie, j'ai été chercher mon amie. Là j'y ai expliqué, j'y ai dit, a m'a amené la petite qui avait une chaise roulante, pis toute, y l'ont vue. Elle va avoir le logement pour le premier là. Pis a sauve 150$ par mois.»

[104] **ID-23:** «On avait un très bon voisinage, on avait pas peur de se promener dans la rue, euh... c'était le bon, ben pour moi je dis c'était le bon temps. Parce qu'on avait l'impression de connaître tout le monde. Pis donc on se promenait sur la rue, on avait pas d'inquiétudes à se voyons, à se faire suivre, des choses comme ça. J'veux dire, on savait où aller cogner, on savait où s'qu'on, où s'qu'on allait, j'veux dire euh... On n'avait pas d'inquiétudes.»

For another resident, familial atmosphere had a different meaning, associated with disputes among her neighbours that while disruptive, seemed to be a part of neighbourhood life that she accepted.

> **ID-13:** "Well, from time to time the guy next door who will get into an argument with his girlfriend. He will hit her, the police come and then ... Yes, there is noise, yes there are children playing in the street, but it's not the animation that you would have elsewhere. It's much more familial. Well, when I say familial, I mean people that hit each other from time to time. The kids screaming to 1 a.m. in the morning. Well, you have to make do with it, but it's good, I do not mind it." *[translation] 43 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[105]

In sum, weak local ties were very characteristic of neighbouring relations among interviewees in Saint-Henri. There was a range of acquaintanceships from casual greetings among neighbours to concrete exchanges and mutual aid. Indeed, there was evidence of the 'bridging' function weak ties may serve among social networks, as found elsewhere (for example Granovetter 1973). However, there was also evidence of a shift in familial atmosphere of the neighbourhood, which suggests that loss of weak ties within the neighbourhood may constitute a form of 'social' displacement for some lifelong residents. For a summary of interviewees' social networks according to type of ties, see Table 8.1 below.

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[105] **ID-13**: «Bon, y a bien de temps en temps le gars à côté qui s'engueule avec sa copine là. Ils se tapent dessus, les polices arrivent et puis bon... Oui, il y a du bruit, oui il y a des enfants qui jouent dans la rue, mais ce n'est pas l'animation qui aurait ailleurs. C'est beaucoup plus familial. Ben, quand je dis familial, je le dis, les gens se tapent dessus des fois. Les gamins gueulent le soir à 1 heure du matin. Bon, faut faire avec là, mais c'est bien, moi ça ne me dérange pas.»

Table 8.1: Summary of resident social networks in Saint-Henri

Type of resident	Experience of neighbourhood (based on past studies)	Weak ties (evidence from Saint-Henri)	Strong ties (evidence from Saint-Henri)
Low-income renters (<\$20 000 per year)	- More locally-based social networks (Fortin 1988; Authier 2005) - Weak ties more important than for other groups (Henning & Lieberg 1996) - Serve bridging function (Granovetter 1983) - City wide social networks (Bridge 1994) - Community 'mediate' but n/h key in development and maintenance of social network (Guest & Wierzbicki 1999)	- All reported weak ties in neighbourhood - Bridging function evident in terms of housing - Variety of small services exchanged - Casual greeting relationships widespread	- Some residents had almost all strong ties within neighbourhood - Majority had strong ties at both neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood level - Community 'mediate' most apt descriptor
Modest-income renters (\$20 001-39 999)	- Both locally based networks and 'liberated' networks (Wellman 1979) - Community 'mediate' (Guest & Wierzbicki 1999)	- All reported weak ties in neighbourhood - Childcare exchanges - Variety of small services exchanged	- Less likely to have strong ties locally than low-income residents - Some did have both friends and family in the neighbourhood
Middle and high-income renters (\$40 000+)	- Less locally based networks than lower-income groups (Fortin 1988) - City wide social networks (Bridge 1994) - Community 'mediate' (Guest & Wierzbicki 1999)	- All reported weak ties in neighbourhood	- All had strong ties in neighbourhood, but more likely friends than family - Community 'mediate' most apt descriptor
Elderly (65+)	- Neighbourhood key in development and maintenance of social networks (Guest & Wierzbicki 1999)	- Called upon in emergency - Help with household tasks (garbage, etc.) - Casual greetings	- Overall more likely than younger age groups to have strong ties in neighbourhood - Family members often lived outside neighbourhood or off-island - NB – length of residence key – lifelong elderly resident more likely to have strong ties locally - Overall, community 'mediate' most apt descriptor

8.1.3 Sense of community?

This section will explore the neighbourhood as a potential source of neighbourhood based community by discussing the main themes that arose in the interviews with regards to: a) factors that contribute to locally based community; and b) factors militating against locally based community. As mentioned above, all the interviewees had weak ties or acquaintanceships within the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood organizations played a key role for many respondents, in terms of facilitating contact with and providing the opportunity to build basic rapport with other local residents. A number of the respondents with young children identified Famijeunes[106] as a key resource in the neighbourhood, which went beyond providing necessary services to in fact being a place where residents could form friendships with others in a similar situation.

> **ID-08:** "Well, well, it's usually after the birth of children there are meetings every Tuesday for women who are breastfeeding... Often there are workshops that are taking place at Famijeunes (…) on child nutrition …education and motor development, on different themes. Often, it is the same people we find there .... so we begun to get to know each other, people we had encountered before only in prenatal classes, so it creates links. It creates links because we find ourselves to be in the same situation at the same time so ... I find it, I like it." *[translation] 37 year old female, recent resident, high income, living in private rental housing.*[107]

It was not only among young parents that community organizations played a role in consolidating locally based community. For one self-identified queer woman living in the neighbourhood, the Sainte-Émilie Skillshare[108] served a similar function:

> **ID-09:** "And the people at Sainte-Em's are not super welcoming because you know they are really cool, but they have the official policy of being welcoming, so you can go over there. And it is nice to have a space as well where you can go and know that there are people around and I recognize some faces around from the community or whatever, just from being active in the community and I see them around." *33 year-old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

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[106] Famijeunes is a neighbourhood organization that provides services and workshops to neighbourhood parents.

[107] **ID-08**: «En fait, ben c'est généralement après la naissance comme des enfants, ils font pour les femmes qui allaitent y font des rencontres tous les mardis. Pis, souvent y a souvent aussi des ateliers qui se passent à Famijeunes, je ne sais plus quel matin par semaine sur l'alimentation des enfants...de l'éducation développement moteur, en fait différent thème. Pis souvent c'est les mêmes personnes qu'on retrouve....donc on commence à se connaître pis des gens qu'on avait seulement rencontrés avant en prénataux donc ça crée des liens. Ça crée des liens parce qu'on se retrouve à être dans la même situation, au même moment donc... je trouve ça, je trouve ça bien.»

[108] «The Sainte-Émilie SkillShare is a group of artists and activists, primarily people of colour and queer people, committed to promoting artistic expression and self-representation in our communities. The Skillshare collective runs an art studio for people to learn new skills, share their skills, and create art in the spirit of revolution and anti-oppression (anti-racism/ sexism/ classism/ homophobia/ transphobia/ ableism/ sizeism/ etc). Our space is open to all. Long live skill-sharing! » (http://steemilieskillshare.org/)

This resident perceived that the queer community was becoming increasingly locally based.

A number of interviewees mentioned that their participation in community organizations enabled them to feel more rooted in the neighbourhood and establish friendships with people living locally who shared similar values. Another example, is of POPIR, the local tenants' rights organization in Saint-Henri.

> **ID-26:** "Well, I will say that when I was (working) at POPIR, I felt really, really rooted here. I stayed there a year and half and I was like -wow- Saint-Henri is my place. So, when I found a job outside the neighbourhood, I gave it up a little, but I feel .... Saint-Henri is my neighbourhood. I have a feeling of belonging to that neighbourhood. But for many reasons, not just because of my relationships with people who have been there a long time, but sure, it plays a role."[109] *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

While working at POPIR allowed this neighbourhood resident to build friendships with many long-term residents, a number of respondents were able to build a similar sense of belonging through volunteering and participating in demonstrations organized by the organization. For one woman, fighting for social housing within the neighbourhood through involvement with POPIR was a way to maintain a social network of comrades in the neighbourhood and help to assure access to the neighbourhood for her children.

> **ID-27(b):** "They live in the neighbourhood and most are in the network of the housing committee. For us, it does, it's really, it is growing precisely because it's friends, and also they have the same involvement that we have and the same values in this sense for the level of, ... social housing. Absolutely. POPIR then is something that is important to us not only because it is something social, but also something familial for us that we want to continue for our children." *[translation] 48 year old woman, recent resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.[110]*

While community organizations played a key role in facilitating contacts and friendships with other residents for a variety of interviewees, their role seemed to be most pivotal for the elderly. All but one of the elderly respondents identified community organizations as a key source of both local friendships and acquaintanceships that could be called upon in a pinch for

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[109] **ID-26:** «Ben, je vais dire que quand j'étais au POPIR, je me sentais vraiment vraiment enraciné là. Je suis resté là 1an et demi pis là, j'étais wow Saint-Henri c'est ma place. Pis, je me suis trouvé un emploi à l'extérieur, donc j'ai un peu délaissé ça, mais je me sens.... c'est mon quartier Saint-Henri. J'ai un sentiment d'appartenance à ce quartier là. Mais, pour plusieurs raisons, pas juste à cause de mes relations avec les personnes qui sont là depuis longtemps, mais c'est sûr que ça y participe.»

[110] **ID-27(b):** «Ils habite dans le quartier et la plupart sont dans le réseau de comité logement. Pour nous, ça fait, c'est vraiment, c'est grandissant parce que justement c'est des amis, et aussi y'ont les mêmes implications que nous et les mêmes valeurs dans ce sens là pour le niveau, le... le logement social. Tout a fait. Alors POPIR c'est quelque chose qui nous tient à coeur parce que c'est aussi non seulement quelque chose de social, mais c'est aussi quelque chose qui est familial pour nous pis qu'on veut continuer pour nos enfants.»

various types of help. One elderly resident mentioned the local Golden Age Club as a weekly activity for maintaining friendships locally. For another elderly resident, the Centre communautaire des femmes actives (CCFA) provided a forum for meeting other residents of her HLM, which ultimately made her feel more at home in the building where she lived.

> **ID-16:** "Let me be frank with you, I don't spend much time with people in my neighbourhood. Except here (CCFA), since I have, I came here. It's been since the last 3 weeks, maybe a month and before that I did not come .... Well, I say hello to people in my building, but that's all. (...) Here (CCFA), I feel at ease, yes. And I meet people here who live in my building. There are 5 or 6 that I met, and it is people with whom I have an affinity. It is fun there and you talk, and we discovered things together. I like it a lot. But it's not something that I discovered at the other side [at her HLM], because we said hello and nothing else*." [translation] 67 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in public housing.[111]*

In this case, the opportunity to pass time engaging in common activities (arts and crafts) with other women living in the neighbourhood and coincidentally also in her building allowed her to develop rapport and discover mutual interests with other people living close by. These relationships had taken on a depth that was not attainable through exchanging simple greetings with neighbours. Another elderly interviewee who is an active volunteer at a couple of different community organizations within the neighbourhood, recounted how the network of people she knew through these activities could be called upon for various types of help, if need be.

> **ID-11**: "Yeah. You know, if I need something they would probably be there to help me. And like the girls at the CEDA and the girls at the POPIR, if I say: 'Well, I am short today $2, could you give it to me and I will pay you back tomorrow?' They would. Not $5 or $50 but you know. Or if I needed help going somewhere and I couldn't do it, I'm sure that I could depend on them, you know. At the CEDA there is a few more than there is at the POPIR, but you know, I have pretty good networks of acquaintances." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing*.

A last catalyzing force for creating the feeling of locally based community identified in the interviews was the role of community events. One respondent reported the inordinate number of fires in the neighbourhood provided an occasion for her to get to know the people living in close proximity, as residents would gather in the back courtyards to watch the fires together and socialize informally. For another life-long resident of the neighbourhood, neighbourhood parties

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[111] **ID-16**: «Je vais être franche avec vous, je fréquente pas beaucoup le gens de mon quartier. Sauf ici (CCFA), depuis que j'ai, que je suis venue ici là. Il y a 3 semaines, peut-être 1 mois et avant je ne fréquentais pas.... Ben je dis, bonjour aux gens de mon immeuble, mais c'est tout. (…) Ici (CCFA), je me sens à l'aise, oui. Pis je rencontre des gens qui restent dans mon building. Il y en a 5 ou 6, que j'ai rencontré, pis c'est des gens avec qui j'ai de l'affinité. C'est le fun là, tu parles et, on a découvert des choses ensemble. Ben j'aime ben ça. Mais, c'est pas quelque chose que j'ai découvert l'autre côté, parce qu'on se dit, bonjour et c'est tout.»

in the back alleys provided a forum for getting to know neighbours during her youth and more recently, as part of her work running a local community organization, she was helping to bring this tradition back.

> **ID-29(a):** "In any case, I can tell you that my mother has made a party at least 2-3 times in our alley. Close the lane, have a party, everyone had chips, pop and hot dogs. (...) But it is a type of involvement that people no longer do these days. Take the trouble to close the lane. That's why I love the 'fêtes des voisins', because the rest of us around here, as a community centre, we did a neighbourhood party, except people begin to realize that it's a party for each other. There are people that are taking it on to do this in their backyard. So then it becomes more community-based. It is just people, ordinary people, Mr. and Ms. average Joe. It's who used to have the parties in the lane ways, which no longer happen." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[112]

Another frequently mentioned theme when exploring residents' feelings about the neighbourhood was the 'sense of community' present in Saint-Henri. Interestingly, many of the interviewees that brought this up were heavily involved in community issues, which was surely at play in terms of their appreciation of the 'sense of community' in the neighbourhood. One interviewee, who was actively involved in a neighbourhood organization in Village des Tanneries, made deliberate efforts at fostering this 'sense of community' through creating bulletin boards to communicate events and other local happenings with other residents of the neighbourhood.

> **ID-01:** "I think that part of our objective, was to be able to create, just through putting up bulletin boards throughout the area, in order to be able to communicate events and things like this. Basically to create events in the middle of the street basically to get peoples attention. So, I think that we have done pretty well. I think people's feedback is that there is something special about the neighbourhood." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Another interviewee who was also very involved in community issues asserted that it was through this involvement that he developed rapport with long-term residents and a deeper understanding of the issues facing the neighbourhood.

> **ID-10:** "I would say in the last three or four years I have been more involved in community stuff. If I can call that recent. I have met a lot of people who are long-term residents through the community stuff I have been involved in. I think that has

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[112] **ID-29(a)** : «En tout cas, moi je peux le dire que à ma mère elle en a faite au moins 2-3 fois dans notre ruelle. Fermer la ruelle, faire une fête pis tout le monde avait des chips, pis de la liqueur pis des hots dogs. (…) Fait que ça, s'en était une implication que les gens y font plus aujourd'hui. De prendre la peine de fermer la cour. C'est pour ça que j'aime beaucoup les fêtes de voisin, parce que nous autres icitte en tant que centre communautaire, on en fait des fêtes des voisins, sauf que ça les gens commencent à se rendre compte que c'est une fête pour eux autres. Fait que là, y à des gens qui prennent en charge de faire ça dans leur cour. Fait que là, ça devient plus communautaire là. C'est les gens, la population ordinaire, madame monsieur tout le monde. C'est qui, qui avait avant les fêtes dans les cours, y en a pu.»

helped me a lot to understand the issues, concerns and preoccupations. As well as the history, in terms of what is going on. So, it's pretty good, I think that we are all in the same boat. We are all on the same page with all the changes that are happening, these people have the knowledge and the experience to call these things into question." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Having kids was inevitably an important factor in terms of feeling a 'sense of community' as one respondent pointed out in terms of feeling 'solidarity' with other parents in the neighbourhood.

> **ID-20:** "Particularly with other parents with kids, because you make more links and stuff like that, you know. And solidarity, like I said, even there's neighbours that have moved, one lady, that she was a long-time resident and our kids grew up together and then her house burned down, the apartment burned down so they got an HLM in Verdun. But she when she comes and visits her brother she always drops by with clothes for our kids. Stuff like that." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

There are parallels here with earlier remarks in this chapter regarding the social networks that develop in the neighbourhood among people in the same life stage. A number of different residents likened the atmosphere in the neighbourhood to that of a village. The following quotation from a life-long Saint-Henri resident, describes the village atmosphere and 'sense of community' in both the neighbourhoods past and present.

> **ID-29(a):** "So, it's not everybody that, but I can tell you that in Saint-Henri, the population before and today's population, I find that all this time it has had the atmosphere of a village, so you knew your neighbour, and you knew who had nothing to eat, you know? You knew ... Me, I can tell you Amy, we were 7 children at home there, so I will not lie to you, that's 9 people with my mother and father, and we were never less than 12 for dinner at our house. Because there was always a cousin, a cousin who was visiting and my mother never asked: 'Have you eaten today', she just invited him to eat, you understand. She did it discreetly: 'Oh, so you're going to have dinner with us!' So, you know why he ate dinner with us? Probably because there was nothing to eat at home, but this ... The people did not point it out amongst each other." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[113]

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[113] **ID-29(a):** «Pis, c'est pas tout le monde ça, mais je peux te dire qu'à Saint-Henri là, la population d'avant pis la population d'aujourd'hui, je trouve ça tout le temps eu l'air d'un village, donc tu connaissais ton voisin, pis tu savais qui avait rien à manger, tu comprends? Fait que si tu savais... Moi, je peux te dire Amy, on était 7 enfants chez nous là, pis je te mens pas là, ça fait 9 personnes avec ma mère pis mon père pis on était jamais en bas de 12 pour manger chez nous. Parce qu'y avait tout le temps une cousine, un cousin qui venait en visite pis ma mère a lui demandait pas t'as-tu mangé aujourd'hui, a l'invitait à manger, tu comprends. A faisait discrètement « Ah, pis tu vas souper avec nous autres!». Pis, là, pourquoi qui soupait avec nous autres? Parce que probablement qui en avait pas chez eux, mais ça... Les gens y faisaient pas la remarque entre eux.»

A far more recent arrival in the neighbourhood, though still living in the neighbourhood ten years, shared a similar sentiment.

> **ID-07:** "There is a village mentality that is still really present and that I really like. I am part Québecer and part African so my mother is from Trois Rivières, a small village and we used to go to the small village where she was from, and I love this vibe of small Québec villages. And you still find that mentality from the people that were born in Saint-Henri. It used to be a village." *33 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

One younger resident who was also a community activist in the neighbourhood felt a deep 'sense of community' with other young punks and queers moving into the neighbourhood. However, he also felt a clear sense of responsibility for his role, in making the neighbourhood more comfortable for subsequent gentrifiers.

> **ID-28:** "I would meet lots of young queers and young punks coming into the neighbourhood. (…) There is a punk house here on Notre-Dame, called Squalor, that people are moving into and moving out of all the time. So I would meet them, hang out, swap dumpster locations, that kind of stuff. Yeah, hang out. A couple of years ago it was really nice, there were really nice punks living down below me and we would have fires underneath the highway, go dumpstering in Verdun or over by the Market. I think we are obviously very mindful about the gentrification that we were a part of, you know? I mean obviously in the gentrification process, somebody needs to make it comfortable for the yuppies to move in, so it is going to be young white kids. So we totally knew what was happening and our role in it and so for me at least, I can't really speak for them, but for me it was important to keep things skiddy in the area so it is less comfortable for the yuppies. (…) There is just a sense of we want to protect Saint-Henri because it is nice, it is really cheap, it has a really important history, and I think everybody tried to connect to that. I mean we are not necessarily connected to the long-term residents, language barrier you know and lots of barriers. But I think we still tried to respect the space, you know." *26 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*

This resident clearly felt a sense of solidarity with long-term residents despite the fact that due to cultural barriers such as lack of shared language, he was unable to really develop strong ties with many of the long-term francophone residents of the neighbourhood. Nonetheless, he valued the historic 'sense of place' in Saint-Henri and tried to slow the incursion by more affluent groups. When probed to explore how exactly he did so, he answered by sharing an anecdote about a condo that had been under construction in the neighbourhood for over four years, where the windows were constantly being broken. He was quick to mention however, that he didn't know anything more about those incidents. Nonetheless it served as an example of how radical queer punks in the neighbourhood might try and make the area less comfortable to more affluent groups.

While many residents did feel a part of a locally based community, this was far from the case for everyone. Respondents mentioned a number of factors militating against the formation of locally based community. Being a recent immigrant and thus not feeling a part of the culture of the neighbourhood was mentioned by one interviewee:

> **ID-04**: "I find that.... I do not know if I may say so, but I think in people's culture here, it is not easy here. We are both viewed as immigrants and already we have no family here at the outset, there is not anyone who can help. It is not obvious. I remember being pregnant, believing that I had to go to hospital immediately and my neighbour was like: 'Well, no I cannot go because I have had a beer.' It was ridiculous. When you are in distress and need of... Well, it's just an example, but ... I do not find that in general people are very helpful." *[translation] 38 year old female, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[114]

Another resident echoed this feeling of being outside the culture of the community, though in his case, he viewed his feelings of cultural exclusion as related to his inability to speak French:

> **ID-06**: "Well, because I don't speak French, I am sort of cut off because a lot of the older people in Saint-Henri don't speak much English. Or our cultures are totally different so, I have always felt kind of badly about that I can't really take part in the community stuff that I see happening in the neighbourhood. I sort of try to have an impact in making the neighbourhood better by getting to know my neighbours. So there is sort of a languish cultural barrier there." *33 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Another factor mentioned was the high turnover in rental housing, and the fact that it required significant energy to recreate ties with neighbours on an annual basis in the face of high turnover.

> **ID-01**: "Yeah. I am seen as the go-to person for a lot of things, which is cool, but it can be exhausting a well. I think that even in this immediate building, I used to know every neighbour (…) So I know people peripherally, or they know me, but it is not quite the same as it used to be where, I used to have a relationship with Sara and I used to have a relationship with John, and people move away basically. So it is difficult to recreate that every time, especially because there seems to be such a turnover in rental units for a few reasons. I think it is almost a deliberate, it's certainly encouraged by the owners a great deal, and there has been such a turnover in ownership as well, that it is hard to sustain a sense of community. And people who are just here for a year or two really don't care that they are paying forty dollars a month too much and they don't care that it is going to affect people after them. And they don't invest in the community either. They don't get involved, they don't

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[114] **ID-04:** «Je trouve que.... je ne sais pas si je peux me le permettre là, mais je trouve que dans la culture des gens ici là, c'est quand même pas trop, c'est pas facile là. C'est comme vue qu'on est les deux immigrants et qu'on a pas de famille déjà, d'emblée de la famille, y en n'a pas qui peut t'aider là. Ce n'est pas forcément évident. Je me rappelle enceinte là, avoir cru que il fallait que j'aille à l'hôpital tout de suite tout de suite là pis mon voisin c'est comme : 'Ben non je ne peux pas y aller parce que je viens de boire une bière.' C'était comme ridicule là. Quand tu es en détresse et t'a besoin de.... Bon, c'est juste un exemple là, mais…Je ne trouve pas qu'en général, les gens soient très aidants.»

contribute anything, so that's, that's frustrating." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This finding of frequent turnover and its devastating impact in terms of sustaining a sense of community in one's immediate neighbourhood must be viewed in the context of the on-coming redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange which is immediately adjacent to this resident's apartment and surely also has a role to play in terms of the frequent turnover within her apartment block.

Another important factor militating against locally based community was the frequent fires within the neighbourhood and the lack of affordable replacement housing.

> **ID-20:** "Well, we had one good friend family that were close friends of ours and again they, well, their apartment burned down. They lived on Notre-Dame and they had four kids too, and it was impossible for them to find another apartment in the neighbourhood that they could afford. So they moved outside of Montréal. That was real sad for us because they had four kids all at the same ages as we did and sometimes also when you have a lot of kids it is different from when you just have one kid. (…) So when they moved out we were pretty sad, you know. Because now we see them maybe once a year, but they live outside the city and we have to rent a van to go see them, you know. So that is going to cost us at least a hundred dollars." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

This combination of unforeseen circumstances (fire and inability to find replacement housing in the neighbourhood) led to a fracturing of this resident's social network in the neighbourhood, which was a cause of sadness for him and his partner.

Another factor taking a toll on locally based community mentioned by one respondent was repossession-induced displacement, whereby a neighbour whose housing was being repossessed tried to get into the coop next door so she could stay close by, unfortunately without success.

> **ID-22:** "Have I lost people because of gentrification? Yes, of course. The neighbour next door, she was forced to leave. She was living in a large apartment. A 6 1/2 I think and then the owner repossessed her housing for his daughter. So she tried to get into our coop here or elsewhere. Finally, she was replaced, I have no news of her, she disappeared. We do not know where she has wound up. So it is clear that when one has to leave like that, we no longer see them." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing*[115]

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[115] **ID-22**: «Est-ce que j'ai perdu des gens à cause de la gentrification? Oui, bien sûr. La voisine d'à côté, elle a été obligée de partir. Elle occupait un grand logement. Un 6 1/2 je pense et puis là, le propriétaire a repris possession pour sa fille. Alors, elle a cherché à se replacer dans notre coop ici ou ailleurs. Finalement, elle s'est replacée, je n'ai pas de ses nouvelles, elle a disparu. On sait pas où est-ce qu'elle est rendue. Alors, c'est certain que, il y a des gens qui doivent quitter comme ça, qu'on voit pu.»

Last, some residents did not feel part of a locally based community because although they did have a network of acquaintances locally, these people were not considered 'friends,' as in the case of one young father, who had been living in the neighbourhood for nine years:

> **ID-07:** "Not enough, no. Like I used to have a good friend that was here before me, he was living on Saint-Antoine and he moved. But aside from him, I never had a time where a close friend was living by. I have a close friend in Verdun, but most people are acquaintances. I don't have anybody on my street that comes over for dinner regularly or just passes by." *33 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

While this respondent did have many acquaintances within the neighbourhood, these were mostly as a result of his children and forming acquaintanceships with the parents of his kids' playmates, and as a result he experienced an absence of 'friends' within the neighbourhood. Another woman (whose case was introduced in Section 7.1), who had been living years in the neighbourhood for twenty-five years, but had recently (five years ago) been forced to move into OBNL housing after her father sold the triplex she had been living in for 20 years, reintegration in the neighbourhood was still a challenge.

> **ID-17**: "There is the Centre Gadbois also where I started going to gymnastics classes and meeting new people because since I moved there are many links that have been broken, also I no longer had work in the neighbourhood so all that meant that I had to recreate my network of friends.(…) So I have been going to Gadbois trying to tell myself maybe I'm going meet with the locals ... who I'm going to get along with. After that, because it would take people who are like me, who are free in the morning also. It is not obvious. I realize that with my work in the evening that I've had for two and a half years, almost three years uh ... well it also cut me off from some activities ... that there are out there, but just the same on Friday, Saturday, Sunday when I am free ... I find that at my age is not as obvious where to make new friends either. It's like ... not so easy to do, to meet people… it has a huge affect on me to be isolated. It affects me tremendously." *[translation] 57 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*[116]

For her, local organizations and activities were the only avenues available to try go beyond acquaintanceships to friendships within the neighbourhood. Five years after her eviction (due to

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[116] **ID-17:** «Il y a le Centre Gadbois aussi que j'ai commencé à aller pour faire des cours de gymnastique et rencontrer du nouveau monde parce que depuis qu'j'ai déménagé y'a beaucoup d'liens qui ont été brisés aussi que...pis j'avais pu d'travail dans l'quartier pis tout ça fak euh fait j'refasse toute ma réseau d'amis. (…) Donc, j'suis allé à Gadbois en essayant de me dire peut-être que j'vas rencontré des gens du coin que j'vas...que j'vas bien m'entendre avec. Après ça, pis aussi ben parce que ça m'prends du monde qui sont comme moi, qui sont libres le matin aussi. Ce n'est pas évident non plus. J'm'aperçois qu'avec mon travail de soir que j'ai depuis deux ans et demi, bientôt trois ans euh...ben ça m'coupe aussi de certaines activités là ...fait que là ben j'ai quand même le vendredi, samedi, dimanche de libre puis euh...pis j'trouve qu'à mon âge c'est comme pas aussi évident de s'faire des nouveaux amis non plus. C'est comme pas aussi facile de faire, de rencontrer des gens...ça m'affecte ben gros d'être isolée. Ça m'affecte énormément.»

repossession-induced-displacement), she still did not feel the sense of rootedness and locally based community that she had before being forced out of her house. Again this seems to lend credence to Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock', where she argues that damage to the individual's mazeway cannot be undone simply through restored geography (Fullilove 2004, 14).

Thus, in terms of evidence for social displacement, a factor which ultimately led to a fracturing of social networks for some residents was the widespread fires within the neighbourhood and the subsequent displacement of friends who were then unable to find replacement housing nearby, due to the lack of affordable housing. Additionally, the shift in neighbourhood atmosphere identified through loss of many acquaintances and the subsequent loss of familial atmosphere within Saint-Henri may constitute a form of social displacement, experienced through the dilution of networks of weak ties. This may be related to length of residence, as the likelihood of significant turnover of neighbours 'writ large' over time (no doubt accelerated by the forces of gentrification) seems more likely to be perceived and experienced in a negative fashion by those who have been residing in the neighbourhood for a significant duration of time. Further, high turnover in rental housing (due to lack of maintenance by the landlord) seemed to be a factor which mitigated against 'locally based community' and networks of weak ties in so far as it was reported that it required significant energy to recreate ties with neighbours on an annual basis in the face of high turnover. Another factor that led to a fracturing of social networks was repossession-induced-displacement, whereby friends or neighbours were pushed out of their housing and were unable to find replacement housing close by. Evidence presented here suggests that in the case of repossession, even if one has the ability and/or good fortune to be able to remain within the neighbourhood after the fact, it does not mean that such events will not have a dire impact on one's social network or social re-integration into the neighbourhood more generally.

8.2 Neighbourhood facilities and services in everyday life

This section explores the role of neighbourhood facilities, services and the built environment in the everyday life of neighbourhood renters. It aims to explore both the practical instrumental value of such facilities and services and their potential contribution to 'sense of community' within the neighbourhood. It begins with discussion of respondents' use of local services within the neighbourhood, investigating potential differences between long-term and more recent residents' uses of local services and feelings towards recent changes in local service provision, divided into two main sections: recreation and public space; and retailing. This is followed by exploration of residents' feelings with regards to the quality of the physical

environment of the neighbourhood including dimensions such as health (pollution), aesthetics and safety. The overall goal of the exploration of neighbourhood facilities and services is to explore whether residents' uses of and attitudes towards neighbourhood services reveal findings indicative of appropriation by newcomers and displacement of incumbent residents.

8.2.1   Recreation and public space

Saint-Henri has a number of parks (Parc Sir-Georges-Etienne Cartier, Parc Saint-Henri, Parc Louis-Cyr and the Lachine Canal as well as numerous parkettes (refer to Figure 8.1 below) which were widely used by residents. Among respondents who had young children, it was not only a place for their kids to stretch their legs, but also a place where numerous cultural activities took place, which they would attend with their children.

> **ID-07**: "There are some cultural events happening in the neighbourhood during the summer, organized in the park or along the Canal, that we go to. There are concerts during the summer in the park, which is very nice. We go with the kids. There are plays for kids in the park also. Parc Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier. There is a lot happening in that park during the summer." *35 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Interestingly, though, one part-time single father remarked how the recent incursion of residents with small children had led to a change in local parks, but how nonetheless, when not with his son, his choice was to frequent parks elsewhere in the City.

> **ID-06:** "I think, like a lot of people in Saint-Henri, I don't spend a lot of my free time here. I seem to be doing it a lot more in the last year. But if I wanted to go to the park and hang out with some friends, I would go up to Laurier Park or Parc Lafontaine or Parc Jeanne-Mance. I wouldn't go to Saint-Henri. A lot of the parks here are really dead, even on nice summer days you wouldn't see anybody in them. In the last few years that's changed because there is more families and more kids and there's definitely people in the parks now." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Figure 8.1: Parks and Services in Saint-Henri
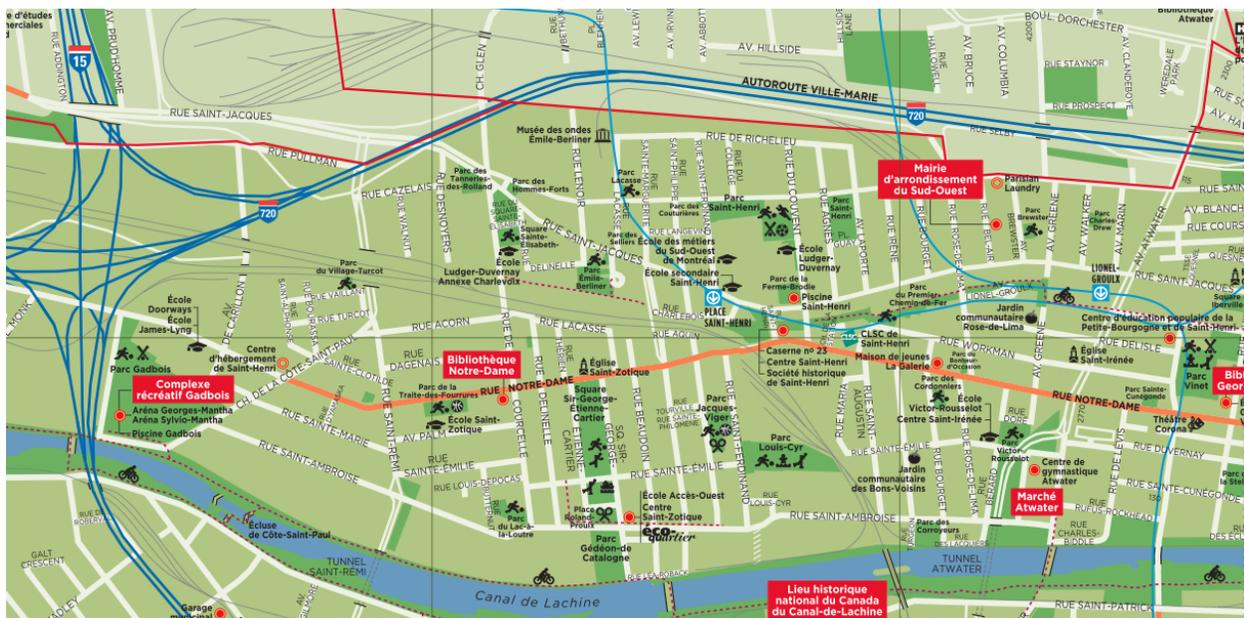
Source: Arrondissement du Sud-Ouest 2006. Used by permission.

The local parks in the neighbourhood, however, were widely used among neighbourhood residents without kids (regardless of length of residence). Local parks provided an escape from swelteringly hot apartments in the summer months.

> **ID-10:** "So, when I want to get out and stretch my legs, I go to the Canal or I go to the park here, Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier, which is really nice in the summer. When it is 85 degrees out and it is 95 degrees in your place, it is a nice place to come and sit under a canopy of trees with a fountain. The whole openness of the air, it is nice. Same thing along the Canal, it is nice, they have picnic benches, people go there to nap, they put their place mat down and cook there and they have a nice dinner. And they drink their wine and everything." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Numerous interviewees mentioned the outdoor pool in Parc Georges-Etienne-Cartier as a saving grace in the summer time. One interviewee affectionately referred to this pool as 'going to the beach.'

Park use was a little less frequent among the elderly respondents; this however, was due in part to difficulties with mobility related to aging itself, or to family considerations. One woman who lived on the edge of Little Burgundy and Saint-Henri, would take her granddaughter to Oscar Peterson Park, in Little Burgundy, but could no longer walk the distances required to get to the Lachine Canal.

> **ATM:** "Do you spend time along the Lachine Canal for instance?"

ID-11: "Not anymore, I used to a lot, years ago. But I have a hard time walking, I have a lot of bad pain and I don't walk as much as I used to. I used to go down there and picnic there and whatnot but not anymore, I don't. I know that it is there, it is lovely, the boats, they have there." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

Another elderly woman, too, no longer spent much time in neighbourhood parks, despite appreciation for them, preferring to spend the lion's share of the summer months in Châteauguay visiting with her children and grandchildren.

A number of factors influenced comfort levels in neighbourhood parks. For one resident, parks assumed a key socializing function in the neighbourhood, due in large part to the fact that neighbourhood organizations would organize various types of activities there:

ID-27 (a): "We regularly visit the Lachine Canal, which is a 5 minute walk. We know all the surrounding neighbourhood parks in Saint-Henri. In the summer there are also neighbourhood parties (in the park). So for us it is important to participate. (…) There are always parties, organizations in the parks, and it's very exciting for us. We do not need to pay for a Recreational Association. If we feel like it we go around the corner from us, we know our parks and our local environment." *[translation] 45 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in OBNL housing.*[117]

Another factor influencing comfort in Saint-Henri's parks was the presence of dogs. The recent addition of a dog park (in Parc Louis Cyr) was remarked by a number of residents as a welcome addition to the neighbourhood. Tissot (2011) has explored the creation of dog runs in gentrifying neighbourhoods. She argues that gentrifiers actively use public spaces, such as dog runs, in order to create social boundaries, by defining both insiders and those to be excluded. She noted homogeneity among users of the dog run (the overwhelming majority were White, upper-middle income residents). Those fighting for the creation of the dog park would invoke themes such its major contribution to the community as a whole, its value derived in part by its role in 'connecting people' (Tissot 2011, 276). However, less-wealthy neighbourhood residents chose to use another park and run their dogs off-leash illegally. For one less-affluent resident, this was specifically to avoid the snobbish atmosphere at the dog run (Tissot 2011, 271). Similarly, in Saint-Henri the recent addition of a dog park in the neighbourhood elicited varied reactions among residents. One lifelong resident of Saint-Henri expressed appreciation for the new dog run and the beauty of seeing diverse breeds of dogs playing together there:

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[117] **ID-27(a):** «Régulièrement, on fréquente ici le canal Lachine, qui est à 5 minutes à pied. Les parcs environnants du quartier à Saint-Henri, on les connaît tous. Parce qu'il y a aussi l'été les fêtes de quartier. Donc pour nous c'est important de participer (…) Y'a toujours des fêtes, des organisations dans les parcs, et c'est très très intéressant pour nous. On n'a pas besoin de payer pour obtenir une société comme on dit récréative. Si on veut, on va au coin de chez nous, on connaît nos parcs et on connaît notre milieu.»

> **ID-23(a):** "So there is Louis Cyr Park on St-Philippe. Where it is very familial, in particular now that there they have made a dog park. So, my daughter has 2 Pit Bulls, so she brings them to the dog park with her and I go occasionally with her and it's fun. I find it to be so much fun. The dogs are free in an enclosed area, and they play together, and you cannot believe it sometimes. The breeds of dog that can find themselves together and play together there, it is incredible and sometimes surprising, but it is beautiful to see. I like it." *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[118]

Another long-term resident that lived right across the street from Parc Louis Cyr and the dog run suggested that it was a space for 'mixing' among the long-term and new incoming population:

> **ID-22:** "Yeah, well, we recognize the old faces. But there are many new people, I see it, there are many new people because that in the back of the park here, there is a dog run. And all the people who have condos, come here to walk their dogs. So it's difficult to recognize them…. there are so many people here. In the condos, it is not children they have, it's dogs. Yes, there are a lot of people. I see them. I'm living just across from that park." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[119]

While the dog run is a potential space for 'connecting people' across difference in Saint-Henri, it is avoided by one more affluent dog owning renter altogether who remarked that it was to be avoided (especially at night), for both his own safety and that of his dogs.

> **ID-03:** "They actually built a dog park very close to here that we never go to because it is very dangerous. I mean our female friends are scared of getting raped. I wouldn't go there with my dog cause you know, there are Pit Bulls running around. (…) There's a kiddy pool that they are rebuilding and there's a baseball diamond, and it (the dog park) is behind. So it is very isolated and dark and no, I don't feel safe at all." *36 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, the recent addition of the dog park seems to be a point of divergence among renters. Both a lifelong and a long-term low-income resident reported that it was a valued addition, that permitted the mixing of diverse breeds of dogs as well as some minimal social contact with the more affluent residents of the nearby new-build condo developments on the Lachine Canal.

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[118] **ID-23(a):** «Ben y'a le parc Louis Cyr sur la rue St-Philippe. Où c'que c'est beaucoup familial aussi, là ben là surtout que là aujourd'hui y ont y sont rendus avec un parc à chiens. Ma fille a 2 Pit-Bull, donc a les amène au parc à chien pis j'vas avec elle d'temps en temps pis c'est l'fun. J'trouve ça tellement l'fun. Les chiens sont en liberté c'est clôturé, pis ça s'amuse ensemble, tu peux pas croire des choses des fois là. Les races de chien qui peuvent se ramasser là pis jouer ensemble là, c't'incroyable des fois c'tellement surprenant pis c'est beau à voir. Ça j'aime ça.»

[119] **ID-22:** «Oui, ben, on reconnaît les anciens visages là. Mais, il y a beaucoup de nouvelles personnes, je le vois ça, y a beaucoup de nouvelles personnes à cause que, dans le fond du parc ici, il y a un air d'exercice pour les chiens. Et toutes les gens qui ont des condos, y viennent promener leurs chiens ici. Alors, c'est difficile de reconnaître.... il y en a tellement de monde ici. Dans les condos ici, c'est pas des enfants qu'ils ont, c'est des chiens. Oui, il y a beaucoup de personnes. Pis moi je les vois. Je suis juste en face du parc.»

However, a more affluent renter living farther west in the neighbourhood suggested he avoided this area both for his own safety and that of his dogs, with specific mention of the desire to avoid Pit Bulls. Interestingly, Tissot (2011) found that gentrifiers choices of breeds appeared to be a choice of body attitudes that echoed their owners 'habitus.' Thus, none of the middle-upper income dog owners in her study had Rottweilers, Pit Bulls, or German Shepherds, which are all known for their aggression, their owners low socio-economic status and their protective qualities (Tissot 2011, 274). In our case, it is interesting to note that a more affluent dog owner (while still a renter) avoided a neighbourhood dog run in part to avoid Pit Bulls, while a low-income lifelong resident whose daughter had two Pit Bulls observed the magic of watching these dogs interact and play with much smaller breeds.

Contestation in terms of acceptable uses of public space is a dynamic that has been observed in some gentrifying neighbourhoods. For example, in Harlem, incumbent residents would cook out in local parks. However, as the areas adjacent to parks gentrified, incoming residents sought to stop this type of park use (Freeman 2006, see also Teixeira 2007). In Saint-Henri, dogs came up as a key issue in terms of conflicts in the use of local parks and levels of comfort among different park users. Many of the more recent newcomers to the neighbourhood living in the condos along the Lachine Canal had dogs. Those who opted for letting their dogs run off-leash in Saint-Henri's other parks (Parc Sir Georges-Etienne-Cartier and Parc Saint-Henri) created tension among park users. For example, this surfaced as an issue for some parents with young children.

> **ID-20:** "Well, we used to go to Saint-Henri Park, but there is a lot of dogs there with Anglophone owners, that let them run loose and say: 'Oh, don't worry, he is very gentle with kids.' But it's bullshit! I mean, maybe it is not bullshit, but…
>
> AT: But it is terrifying the thought of dogs running wild with your kids there…
>
> **ID-20**: Yeah, because they could knock them down and you never know how a dog is going to react. And for a while we tried to battle and argue and it just becomes too much mental tension. So we go there less. But some of my kid's friends, they live around that park, so we still go there sometimes. Mainly, we come here to this park (Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier)." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

Another long-term resident, who did a lot of babysitting of local kids, echoed this sentiment. Interestingly, in her case, it was with reference to Parc Louis Cyr mentioned above, where a dog run had recently been created, but many dog owners preferred to let their dogs run loose outside this enclosed area:

> **ID-24(c):** "They rebuilt Louis Cyr Park, they have put in water games for children. But what happened is that they have created a park of grass, before it was games,

now they have just put down grass, but then is like a dog park. It's not supposed to have dogs, but the kids call it the dog park and they will not go there because there is poop on the ground, so they cannot walk there and cannot go play there. So we don't go there anymore. But when I was little, we went to this park. We would play there. But since 5 years, 10 years, we can't go because there are dogs. (…)They leave them off leashes as well, and do not pick up the poop and leave the dogs roaming free. It's dangerous for children. So we go to the parks further away." *[translation] 24 year old female, lifelong resident, high income, living in coop housing.[120]*

In this case, despite actual infrastructure being provided for dogs, the design of the park itself lent itself to being taken over by dog owners, who would use it as a open space to run their dogs, despite being provided with a enclosed area for the same purpose.

In terms of residents' feelings regarding local parks and green spaces, residents were more unanimous in their responses. Overall, there was widespread appreciation for the existing parks and green spaces within the neighbourhood.

> **ID-13:** To its advantage Saint-Henri is very green. Personally, I find it very pretty. Georges-Étienne Cartier Park and most of all Saint-Henri Park is really pretty. It's beautiful. In the evening for example, in the summer, you can eat your ice cream and that's cool. We do it rarely, but sometimes. *[translation] 43 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.[121]*

That said, with the recent new-build development and adaptive reuse of existing industrial buildings along the Canal to condominium development and the consequent increase in population in the neighbourhood, some residents expressed the need for more green spaces in order to accommodate the increase in population.

> **ID-10:** "We have got this park here, Sir Georges Etienne Cartier, which is a beautiful park with an incredible fountain. We also have another one just by the old tobacco factory, which is a beautiful place, beautiful. Do you know what the cost of making those fountains is now? They are very ornate, very expensive. And they are one hundred and fifty years old. It shows the whole working-class, the real style. These houses are so close together and this is their space and place to come out and gather and assemble and stretch. We don't have that now and this is something that

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[120] **ID-24(c):** «Y ont refait le parc Louis Cyr, y ont mis des jeux d'eau pour les enfants. Mais ce qui arrivent c'est que, y ont fait un parc de gazon, avant c'était des jeux, maintenant y ont mis du gazon, mais là c'est comme un parc à chien. C'est pas supposé d'avoir des chiens, mais les enfants appellent ça le parc à chien pis ils y vont pas parce que y a des cacas à terre, y peuvent pas marcher y peuvent pas aller jouer là. Fait qu'on y va pu. Mais quand j'étais petite, on allait dans ce parc là. On allait jouer là. Là depuis 5 ans, depuis 10 ans on peut plus y aller à cause qu'il y a les chiens. Pis, ils les laissent pas de laisse aussi, ramasse pas le caca et laissent en liberté. C'est dangereux pour les enfants. Fait qu'on va dans les parcs plus loin.»

[121] **ID-13:**«Mais à son avantage, Saint-Henri est très vert. Moi, je trouve cela très joli. Et plus que Georges-Étienne Cartier et le parc Saint-Henri est vraiment joli. C'est magnifique. On y va le soir par exemple, l'été tu peux manger ta crème glacée et ça c'est cool. Rarement, mais on le fait des fois.»

really concerns me. These parks were built specifically because of that, because of the tightness of the housing and lack of space and all this, because it is a working-class neighbourhood. And now we are doing this with the condos, we're inviting people to move into the city and come with one or two children and stay here, but they are not giving them any space or place to stretch." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Despite appreciation for some of the neighbourhood's larger parks, many of the smaller parkettes within the neighbourhood were regarded as derelict areas, in need of improvement in order to be a safe environment for children.

> **ID-07:** "There are a few other parks, like one on a smaller street a bit further east, near Notre-Dame but the few times we went there it was really dirty and it was contaminated with syringes. And the one close to Atwater Market, close to that school that I was talking about with the McDonalds further east, there is a park right behind that and this one is also a bit more dirty. There are syringes or needles that you can find there or garbage from McDonalds." *33 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

The vast majority of residents (despite differences in income) expressed appreciation for the Lachine Canal, as a green space within the neighbourhood, where one could go and stretch one's legs, have a picnic, go for a bike ride, etc. One lifelong resident expressed appreciation for the fact that the Lachine Canal is a resource within the neighbourhood that leads to other parts of the city and beyond.

> **ID-23(a):** "The Lachine Canal, I find it fun also. I don't go often enough but I tell myself, yeah, but I should enjoy it more, go for a walk there, I have a bicycle. I find it pretty enjoyable. It takes us out of the neighbourhood, it practically takes us out of the city, certain areas especially there are beautiful trees, I love to see beautiful trees." *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[122]

But for another lifelong resident of the neighbourhood, all the recent changes along the Lachine Canal had changed the character of the place in such a way that she was no longer interested in spending time there.

> **ID-02:** "Well that's it, the park along the waterfront, where I used to spend time before, I no longer go there, because it's too ... I don't know ... It's too ... it's become commercial ... Everybody is there now, there's boats now, you know before there wasn't, there was nothing there. Everyone was ... there was nothing on the shores, everyone pitched old cars and stuff in the Canal ... But, now, no. Now it has boats, people swimming, people canoeing, I don't know ... It's become too busy."

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[122] **ID-23(a): «**Le Canal Lachine, j'trouve ça l'fun aussi. Je n'y vais pas assez souvent mais j'me dis, mais j'devrais en profiter plus, aller me promener là, j'ai un bicycle. J'trouve ça agréable. Ça nous sort du quartier, ça nous sort comme d'la ville quasiment, certains endroits surtout là, faque y'a des beaux arbres, j'adore voir des beaux arbres.»

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Thus, while one lifelong low-income resident appreciated the Canal and the fact it enabled connection to and exploration of other parts of the City, another lamented these same improvements, as they had led to a vast increase of park users and a shifting 'sense of place' that she no longer identified with. Similarly, Bélanger's (2010) study of appropriation of public space along the Lachine Canal led to the conclusion that even among traditional residents who still frequented the Canal, their feelings of belonging seem to have been diluted by the proliferation of new development on its banks (Bélanger 2010, 152).

Recent work on the experience of incumbent residents in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Harlem revealed that recent neighbourhood improvements were greeted by many with cynicism, as they were perceived to be for gentrifiers or 'them,' resulting from the collaboration between city officials and white residents. Thus, in this case, race was more salient in defining "us" and "them," than was class per se, as long term homeowners were among those that expressed the most cynicism regarding recent changes in the neighbourhood (Freeman 2006, 122-123). In our study while a number of residents noted that there had been a recent improvement in many of the local parks, which was appreciated overall, for some these changes were greeted with cynicism. One such resident (quoted above for her appreciation of the Canal), felt insulted that such improvements were made only because of the entrance of new wealthier residents into the neighbourhood.

> **ID-23(a):** "Everything, everything, everything is new. Big baseball field that was there, they improved the field, and now there is a dog park, that we did not before, but we like it. Except that, well, what we say is that, well this is our park, and it is because of the others. The tennis court on St-Philippe, the entire time it was a grey asphalt, all the time. Now, it has become, I don't know, but here it looks like it's almost blue carpet from one end to another, with a border. Wow! Never would they have done that for us, never! It is the city paying for it down there; they never would have even thought to do that for us. It's insulting." *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in private rental housing.[124]*

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[123] **ID-02:** «Ben c'est ça là, les parc le long du bord de l'eau, où ce que je fréquentais avant, j'y va pu, parce que c'est trop...Je sais pas...C'est trop...Rendu commerce...Tout le monde est rendu là, y'a des bateaux maintenant, avant y'avait pas ça, y'avait rien là. Tout le monde était...Y'avait rien sur le bord, tout le monde pitchait des vieilles autos dans le Canal, genre...Mais là, non. C'est rendu des bateaux, du monde qui nage, du monde qui font du canot, que je sais pas...C'est trop rendu passant.»

[124] **ID-23(a):** «Toute toute toute toute est neuf là. Gros terrain de baseball qu'on avait, y'ont amélioré le terrain, pis là on est rendu avec un parc à chien, on n'avait pas avant, mais ça on aime ça. Sauf que, ben c'est qu'on s'dit, ben c'est notre parc, pis c't'à cause d'eux autres. Le parc de tennis su'a rue St-Philippe, ça tout l'temps été une 'asphalte grise comme ça, tout l'temps. Là c'est rendu comme, j'sais pas, là on dirait quasiment c'est du tapis bleu d'un bout à l'autre, avec une bordure. Wow! Jamais qui ont fait ça

This feeling was expressed by a few residents, who while appreciative of all the recent work the city had been investing in local parks, were somewhat frustrated that such investments were made only once more affluent residents were moving into the neighbourhood. One resident (see Section 6.1.2) recounted the story of the sudden appearance of what she called the 'alien' park, in a vacant lot that literally appeared from one day to the next, in her view, to help market the new condo development adjacent to it.

Generally speaking, those within the neighbourhood who used local public services appreciated them. The neighbourhood library (refer to Figure 8.1 above) was a frequently mentioned public service used by residents. The library had recently changed locations and been expanded quite significantly. One recent resident with young children appreciated the quality of services, but equally the opportunities to meet people there and have his kids take part in the activities organized there.

> **ID-07:** "Quality of service plus you meet people there. You meet, it's strange, our kids, most of the contact we have with families and kids come from our children. They have a lot of friends that go to FACE and live here and because they go to FACE and live here there is obviously a connection. So we meet them at the library, but there is also a proximity with the local neighbours that is interesting. But the quality of services is nice too. (…) But there is a lot of involvement, especially from the public library, for the local kids. They have programs, reading programs and activities, I could go on. So our kids have been a part of a few of those programs." *33 year male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

For this resident, the library served not only as a place to cross paths with his children's friends from school (FACE – a school located in another neighbourhood), but it also provided a forum for meeting other local neighbours. It is important to note that FACE is known for its enriched arts program and is associated with the new middle-class. It was not only among interviewees with children however, that there was appreciation for the library. One resident appreciated the new improved library combined with the continued presence of the old librarian:

> **ID-13:** "It is much better than it was, that's for sure. The old library had its charm, its own little charm. (…) Well, that disappeared with the new library, but the new library is very beautiful, very comfortable. (…) But the new one is superb. And the people have not changed; it is still the same Madame that is there. I do not know what her name is. I have always seen her there, so it's cool to see that she is still there. Yeah, she's the pillar of the library. It's good!" *[translation] 43 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[125]

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pour nous autres, jamais! Ça c'est la ville qui paie ça là, jamais y'ont faite ça pis y'aurait, qui ont pensé même à faire ça pour nous autres. C't'insultant.»

[125] **ID-13:** «Elle est beaucoup mieux qu'elle était ça c'est sûr. Mais, le petit charme d'avant dans la vieille bibliothèque, y avait son petit charme. Bon, ça disparut avec la nouvelle bibliothèque, mais qui est très

Thus while this resident appreciated the recent improvement in library services, she was equally appreciative of the continued presence of the neighbourhood librarian as this provided continuity in terms of 'sense of community' in this neighbourhood public space. Another resident who was born and raised in the neighbourhood and went to the old library as a child expressed appreciation for the newly improved library and in particular the fact that it was much bigger than the previous location and that enabled activities like day camps for local kids to take place there which wasn't not possible at the previous location.

In terms of the use of recreational services within the neighbourhood, the Centre Gadbois (refer to Figure 8.1 above) was a key resource mentioned by numerous respondents. Interviewees took advantage of a variety of resources there including the pool, various courses offered at the pool such as 'aqua fitness', and watching hockey at the arena in the wintertime. One local resident appreciated that there was somewhere to go swimming in the neighbourhood before the outdoor pools opened. Another resident appreciated not only the services offered at the Centre Gadbois, but also the opportunity it afforded to meet other people who live close by. Thus, for a variety of neighbourhood residents, local public services were appreciated not only in terms of the services they provided, but also in terms of the opportunities they afforded to meet other local residents. Local public services help to facilitate the formation of social ties not only among long-term residents, but further helped some newer residents establish ties both with other newer residents and with longstanding residents of the area.

Another frequently mentioned recreational space in the neighbourhood was the Centre CRCS St Zotique. A number of interviewees spent time there doing varied activities from country line dancing, to public and community meetings. Some interviewees did use recreational services outside the neighbourhood, but this was due to the fact that the classes that their kids were interested in taking were located outside the neighbourhood.

In sum, parks within the neighbourhood were well used by a variety of residents including those with kids, those without kids, and to a lesser degree, the elderly. In terms of levels of comfort, dogs surfaced as a key point of tension in the use of public parks. While a dog run had recently been provided to accommodate the increased number of dogs in the neighbourhood, not all dog-owners felt it was safe for their dogs there due to the presence of so-called 'aggressive' breeds. This links to Tissot's (2011) work where she argues that

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belle, très confortable. (…) Mais la nouvelle est superbe. Les gens n'ont pas changé, c'est toujours la même veille madame qui est là. Je ne sais pas comment elle s'appelle. Je l'ai toujours vu là, donc c'est cool de voir qu'elle est toujours là. Ouais, c'est le pilier de la bibliothèque. C'est bien !»

gentrifiers' choices of breeds tended to reflect body attitudes which mirrored their owners 'habitus.' As a consequence of this lack of comfort, some dog owners would walk their dogs off-leash in other neighbourhood parks, which in turn created tensions, especially with parents with young children, or with neighbourhood children that did not want to play in areas frequented by dogs. Interestingly, however, some lifelong and long-term residents felt that the dog run afforded an opportunity for mixing of diverse breeds of dogs, as well as a minimum of social contact with the more affluent newcomers to the area, many of whom owned dogs. This contrasts with Tissot's (2011) findings where gentrifiers who advocated for the creation of the dog run in a gentrifying neighbourhood stressed its contribution in terms of 'connecting people,' despite the fact that users were fairly homogeneous. Another factor influencing levels of comfort in parks was the presence of community organizations and activities facilitated by them, which, according to some residents led parks to serve a key socializing function within the neighbourhood. Generally, there was widespread appreciation for neighbourhood parks and green spaces, although some residents felt the need for more green spaces due to the recent increases in population due to the new-build development along the Canal. The redevelopment of the Canal and the changing 'sense of place' inherent therein, was experienced differently among lifelong residents of the area. While some greatly appreciated the improvement in infrastructure along the Canal, for others it had simply become too frequented leading to a shifting 'sense of place' there, in line with Bélanger's (2010) findings that the recent development along the Lachine Canal had the effect of diluting long-term residents' sense of belonging there. Improvements in parks were widely noted, although among some long-term and lifelong residents they were greeted with cynicism, as residents felt insulted that such improvements were made only after the influx of a more affluent population. Residents both with and without children used local public services, such as the library and Centre Gadbois. Local public services were appreciated not only for the services they provided, but also for the opportunity they created to meet other neighbourhood residents. As such, in contrast to the other public spaces of the neighbourhood (i.e. parks, the Lachine Canal), residents were more unanimous in their appreciation of local public services.

8.2.2 Retailing

This section will investigate residents' perceptions of changes in recent commercial service provision, with the discussion organized around three key places in the neighbourhood, rue Notre-Dame (the main commercial street in the area), the IGA Supermarket (the main

grocer located in the heart of the neighbourhood), and the Atwater Market (a local produce market on Saint-Henri's eastern border).

A major theme emerging from the interviews was a lack or fit or suitability between the new services opening along rue Notre-Dame, and the needs the long-term residents. Specific examples of the types of commercial services that were missing in the neighbourhood included basic amenities such as a cobbler, affordable children's apparel and basic household items (curtains, carpets).

> **ID-18**: "Well, me, I find that on Notre-Dame there are not enough stores for everyone…for parents, people who have children and all that. To clothe our children we are obliged to go to Wal-Mart or Bedon on Wellington Street [Verdun], where there are stores for children's clothing and all that." *[translation] 48 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[126]

Further, stores where residents could pay for items incrementally (such as the Saint-Henri Syndicate) were no longer in the neighbourhood and many of the second hand stores and used clothing stores have raised their prices. This increase in prices was likely due in part to the incursion of antique stores farther west along rue Notre-Dame from adjacent Little Burgundy. This lack of certain basic commercial services relevant to the needs of the average long-term residents of Saint-Henri was combined with the feeling among many respondents that the new services on offer catered to the needs of a different income group. The following quotation came from a respondent who worked as a waitress in a local diner in the neighbourhood.

> **ID-23(b):** "The new services are not for the poor, but there's the poor, the middle class and the wealthy middle class, but there should be (services) for between poor and middle class, but it's just a little before the middle class and the poor, the neighbourhood here, they're (services) not coming for the poor, and for us that it's been 50 years 60 years here, there's the ladies, it's been 60 years that they remain in the same dwelling in Saint-Henri, and they said: "My God, I don't recognize my neighbourhood anymore. It's becoming too chic." So, these ladies here tell us, what they tell me at the restaurant is: "We are no longer even able to look at someone to say hello.""[127] *[translation] 51 year old woman, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

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[126] **ID-18:** «Comme moi je trouve sur Notre Dame y'a pas assez de magasins comme pour le monde... les parents... le monde qui ont des enfants pis toute ça. Pour les habiller sont obligés d'aller au Wal-Mart ou Bedon sur la rue Wellington, y'a des magasins de linge pour les enfants pis toute ça.»

[127] **ID-23(b):** «Les nouveau services sont pas pour les pauvres ou, mais, y'a pauvres, classe moyenne pis riches, mais y devraient faire entre pauvres et classe moyenne là, mais c'est juste un ti peu avant la classe moyenne pis les pauvres, le quartier ici, y s'en vient pas pour les pauvres, pis pour nous que ça fait des 50 ans 60 ans, là, y'a des mesdames, ça fait 60 ans qui restent dans le même logement à Saint-Henri là, pis a dit: "Mon Dieu, j'reconnais plus mon quartier. Ça s'en vient trop chic." Pis ces mesdames là c'qui nous disent, moi au restaurant c'est: « On est même plus capables de regarder quelqu'un pis leur dire bonjour.»»

A woman who was born and raised in Saint-Henri and had recently moved back to the neighbourhood observed that one important space for socializing, the neighbourhood café, had become less affordable:

> **ID-29(c)**: "Yes, but Notre-Dame at this point, I particularly find that it is no longer made of stores for the people of Saint-Henri. When I came back, it had become shops, small terraces, little cafés, I go into a little café and go sit down with someone I know, drink a coffee, and it costs 17 dollars for a coffee and a hot chocolate! It's like, look, excuse me, but with the salary that I make, raising two children, my rent, my electricity and everything, I cannot afford it. For me it is no longer boutiques or shops for me. It's like we said earlier, for the Lachine Canal. (...) It's that the poor have been squeezed out to make room for the rich. Sorry, but ..." *[translation] 44 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[128]

While many of the low-income (i.e.<$20 000 per year) residents expressed dissatisfaction with the local commercial street due to a perceived mismatch between services available and those needed by residents, some middle-income renters also expressed dissatisfaction with the availability of local services as well as with the general appearance of the street itself.

> **ID-03:** "The variety, the cleanliness, no, I don't feel that it is welcoming. It's grey and it is filthy. I mean they have done improvements but you know look at the kinds of shops. Just look at Mont Royal Street, I remember when my sister lived there, fifteen or twenty years ago, it was worse than this and now it is very hip and trendy and that is probably what is going to happen here. It's a matter of time. But the thing is if they want people to stay they have to open up some diversity of businesses. We have no shoe repair in Saint-Henri." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

Another more affluent renter expressed deep dissatisfaction not only with the commercial street, but also with the neighbourhood more generally, despite improvement in the time he'd been living in the neighbourhood.

> **ID-14**: "Satisfied with the commercial street, certainly not. But you know, but it is what it is. But damn it all, no. Nobody could be satisfied with Saint-Henri. It is just impossible to be satisfied with Saint-Henri. It is just a place that has to come up so much and you know, you try to help. You try to help the best that you can but obviously it is never going to be enough. Saint-Henri is really a tough place, it is a

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[128] **ID-29(c):** «Oui mais Notre-Dame en ce moment moi particulièrement j'trouve que, c'est plus rendu des magasins pour le monde de Saint-Henri. Pis quand j'ai r'venu, c'était rendu des magasins, des petites terrasses, des p'tits cafés, j'rentre dans un p'tit café j'dis ah, j'vas aller m'assir avec quelqu'un j'connaissais, bois un petit café, ça coûté 17 piastres pour un café pis un chocolat chaud! C'est comme, r'gar j'm'excuse, au salaire j'fais, élever deux enfants, j'paye mon loyer mon électricité pis toute, j'ai pas les moyens. Faque pour moi c'est pu les boutiques pour moi c'est pu les magasins pour moi. C'est comme qu'on disait tantôt pour le Canal Lachine. (…) C'est les pauvres ont été tassés pour faire la place aux riches. Désolée, mais…»

tough place to heal. It is going to stay tough." *67 year old male, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, interestingly, both low-income and middle-income residents were dissatisfied with the local commercial strip. For low-income residents this was due to the mismatch between new services available and the basic services they needed in the course of their daily lives. Some middle-income residents, while mindful of recent improvements, still highlighted the shortcomings of the main commercial artery including its general appearance and lack of certain services they required.

Consequently, it was not uncommon among interviewees to have to use commercial services outside the neighbourhood. The most frequently used services outside the neighbourhood were the surrounding malls including Angrignon Mall and Alexis Nihon Plaza. One single mother, who was born and raised in the neighbourhood, reported having to leave Saint-Henri in order to buy clothes for her son and the extra costs she had to incur by doing so:

> **ID-23(a)**: "To buy clothes for my boy, I can not, there's nothing, not even a pair of boxers, no. A pair of boxers! If I want a pair of socks, I must go to Pitt. Fortunately they sell socks as well, because it is a shoe store. Occasionally you can grab, sometimes it happens that they have t-shirts as well at Pitt, occasionally. I am happy: "Oh, my god, you have t-shirts." They cost $5, it's okay, you know? It depends. But if I want to get clothes for my boy, I have never, he is 12 years old my boy, and I have never been able to buy clothes for him on Notre-Dame. I am obliged to take the subway, I'll go to Angrignon Mall, I'll go to Alexis Nihon. And now with the increase in subway prices it is $5 for me, just to get there and back." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[129]

Another lifelong resident echoed this sentiment of having to leave the area to shop for certain basic items and noted that the only new services on rue Notre-Dame were restaurants, of which she perceived there to be an over-supply.

> **ID-11:** "And I mostly go out of the area, I go to the Alexis Nihon Plaza, it is just up the street, like for other shopping, because we don't have them anymore down here. And we will go to Carrefour Angrignon because they have the boutiques and they have the restaurants and they have the Zellers and all that. You can go to Wal-Mart, it's my baby, I could go into Wal-Mart everyday if I had to, my girl, I love it! I love shopping there, but we don't have that sort of store around here. Which would be good if one at least on Notre-Dame would open, but when they open things it is only

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[129] **ID-23(a):** «Habiller mon garçon, j'peux pas y'a rien, même pas une paire de boxer, non. Une paire de boxer! Si j'veux une paire de bas, faut que j'aille chez Pitt. Heureusement qui vendent des bas aussi, parce que c'est un magasin de souliers. Temps en temps tu peux pogner, des fois, ça arrive y'ont des t-shirts aussi chez Pitt, temps en temps. Chu contente "Oh, mon Deux, vous avez des t-shirts". Sont 5$, c'est correct, tu comprends? Ça dépend. Mais si j'veux habiller mon gars, jamais, j'ai jamais pu, y'est rendu à 12 ans mon gars, j'ai jamais pu l'habiller sur la rue Notre-Dame. J't'obligée de prendre le métro, j'vas au Carrefour Angrignon, j'vas à Alexis Nihon. Pis aujourd'hui avec l'augmentation des métros, c'est 5$ pour moi, juste aller-retour.»

restaurants. That we have so much of." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

This resident made a direct link between the lack of suitability of new services available on rue Notre-Dame for the needs of existing residents (and the over-supply of restaurants in particular), while at the same time identifying a real gap in available retail services. The other frequently mentioned shops that residents would use outside the neighbourhood were grocery stores (interviewees mentioned numerous grocery stores in adjacent neighbourhoods where prices were lower or where they were able to find better variety of products than at the local IGA or Super C).

The discussion of supermarkets here is limited to the new IGA supermarket constructed in 2006 on a redundant CN rail yard in close proximity to the Place Saint-Henri Metro station. I chose to focus on this case because this supermarket is located in the heart of the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and its recent relocation was widely mentioned by interviewees. It had formerly been located on the other side of the street at the intersection of Notre-Dame and Sainte-Marguerite. One respondent who had immigrated from France and had been living in the area six years summarized the changes in the neighbourhood grocer in the following way:

> **ID-04:** "But IGA for example, which is the neighbourhood grocery store, has changed its location. Before it was much closer to our home, finally, they moved to a larger location, and the presentation of things, the diversity of items they offer here, has been largely developed, but at what price? And what was said and it actually seems likely, is that the IGA wanted to attract a different type of clientele. (…) The people from condos, anyway, it seems to me that the type of service now offered by the IGA in any case, is for people from the condos ... Of course it's better there, but it's not obvious how to have the power financially to keep up and another place where you can be supplied with vegetables, with fruits and vegetables is the Atwater market. And ouch, it's expensive. So, the population of Atwater market is far from being just the average citizen of the South West. Or of Saint-Henri."[130] *[translation] 38 year old female, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This sentiment of upscaling in ambience and price was reflected in the statements of many interviewees. One interviewee likened the new store to a 'theme park' that far exceeded her

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[130] **ID-04:** « Mais le IGA par exemple qui est l'épicerie du quartier a changé de place, avant elle était beaucoup plus proche de chez-nous, enfin, ils l'ont déplacé dans un endroit qui est plus grand, la présentation des choses, la diversité des articles qu'ils proposent là, a largement été développé là, mais à quel prix. Pis ce qui s'est dit pis ce qui semble probable effectivement c'est que le IGA voulait aller chercher un autre type de clientèle. Des gens des condos (…) il me semble que le type de service qu'offre le IGA maintenant en tout cas, c'est pour les gens des condos.... C'est sûr que c'est mieux là, mais ce n'est pas évident de pouvoir suivre au niveau financier pis après un autre endroit où que tu peux te fournir en légumes, en fruit et légumes c'est marché Atwater. Pis aïe que c'est cher. Puis, la population du marché Atwater là c'est vrai loin d'être juste le petit citoyen moyen du Sud-Ouest là. Ou de Saint-Henri là.»

needs in terms of a local grocer. Another remarked how the clientele had transformed from being working-class to more upscale.

> **ID-13:** "Before it was really...it was working-class ... prices were lower, less considerable, that's for sure. Uh, now it's become grandiose, and it is not at all the same people that we used to meet at the other IGA, not at all. Moreover, we ourselves, rarely go there. Prices are ... for fruits and vegetables it is ridiculous."[131] *[translation] 43 year old women, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

For some residents this shift in terms of serious upscaling of the building itself and the drastic increase in prices that accompanied the move, lead to a shifting 'sense of place' at the neighbourhood grocer. One life-long resident expressed no longer feeling at 'home' there.

> **ID-23 (a)**: "It is very, very, very expensive there, it is certain that for him [the grocer] ... We are the last of his worries. Yet it is a man that, well it has been years that he is in the neighbourhood. (...) Here we had a small IGA, and when I say small, it is not just the size of the place, but I mean to say that a little IGA for me, I mean that we felt at home when we went there back in the day. But not today. Today it has moved and been renovated, there's ... they built a luxury IGA, we call it luxury, it is not even affordable. You no longer feel ... It's no longer our neighbourhood IGA there. It's really no longer the same." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.[132]*

Interestingly, while for most interviewees the IGA was regarded as exorbitantly priced, some residents continued to shop there out of solidarity with the lifelong Saint-Henri residents who were employed there, with the understanding that unless they supported the supermarket, friends from around the neighbourhood would be out of work.

> **ID-29 (a)**: "Me, yes Amy. And I'll tell you why I keep coming to Saint-Henri. Before I go buy something at Carrefour Angrignon, I make sure that it is not available in Saint-Henri (...) Everybody would tell me: "Ah! You go to IGA!" Yes, I go to IGA! I'll tell you why, because it's families from here working there. People who work at IGA, I know, it's the folks who live in Saint-Henri ... IGA at least ... sometimes I had troubles with it ... because I find that it is expensive ... Except I'm going say why I shop at IGA, because I do get reproached often that "I do not understand why you go there!" It's because families who work there, it is families that I know. It is people who live in the neighbourhood. I tell myself that if we no longer go buy there, they'll

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[131] **ID-13:** «Avant c'était vraiment.... c'était populaire...les prix étaient moins, moins importants, moins élevés ça c'est sûr. Euh, pis maintenant c'est devenu grandiose euh, il n'y a plus du tout les gens qu'on pouvait croiser à l'autre IGA, plus du tout. D'ailleurs, nous-mêmes, on y va rarement. Les prix sont... pour les fruits et légumes c'est ridicule.»

[132] **ID-23(a):** «Y'est très, très, très cher là, c'est sûr que pour lui... On est le dernier de ses soucis. Pourtant, c't'un monsieur ça, ça fait des années qui est dans le quartier. (…) Ici y'avait un petit IGA, quand j'dis petit, ç'pas pour la grandeur de la place mais j'veux dire un p'tit IGA moi, j'veux dire que on s'sentais chez nous quand on y allait dans le temps. Mais pu aujourd'hui. Aujourd'hui y'a déménagé y'a rénové, y'a ... y'a faite bâtir même un IGA de luxe, on appelle ça de luxe, c'est même pu achetable même. On se sent pu... C'est pu notre IGA du quartier là. C'est vraiment pu pareil.»

lose their jobs." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.* [133]

However, not all renter households viewed the shift to the new store in negative terms. One respondent saw the IGA as one of the positive outcomes of the gentrification underway in the neighbourhood:

> **ID-06**: "But I think that gentrification has had a positive effect in two places along Notre-Dame. One is a really nice massage place on Notre-Dame, a legitimate one, and it's beautiful in there. And having the IGA move from this side of the tracks to the other side was huge. We went from having the worst grocery store in the City to one of the nicest." *35 year old male, modest income, longstanding resident, living in private rental housing.*

This respondent was not alone in remarking that the changes underway in the neighbourhood were resulting in better commercial services within the neighbourhood. During deindustrialization Saint-Henri suffered from serious disinvestment and commercial vacancies, a situation which one resident remarked is currently being remedied to some degree by the changes underway:

> **ID-10:** "Even before I moved here, in the eighties and the nineties, we lost a lot of good banks, there were banks but a lot of the financial services were lost. That was a real criticism of Saint-Henri in the eighties, it was really, really down and out. (…) But it was really hard, hard times here. But commercially, my personal view is that there is a lot of vacancies. A lot of the mom and pop restos, the cultural and you know ethnic restos are opening. That's cool. We got a McDonald's at the corner of Atwater, when that was built we knew something was happening in the neighbourhood cause McDonald's does a lot of research. (...) But for services, I mean there is more restaurants, a bigger, better store, the IGA. There are banks that have come back, there is a new bank, Banque Nationale. Around the Canal, around the Atwater Market there was a lot of vacant land, there are now condos there and there are lots of services that have been built up around it. The Super C, the pharmacy and the liquor store." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Indeed, this resident astutely points out the connection between the increasing presence of corporate chains such as McDonald's and the increasing gentrification of the neighbourhood. Zukin et. al.'s (2009) investigation of retail gentrification in two gentrifying NYC neighbourhoods

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[133] **ID-29(a)**: «Moi, oui Amy. Pis je vais te dire le pourquoi que je continue à venir à Saint-Henri. Avant d'aller acheter quelque chose au Carrefour Angrignon, je m'assure qui l'a pas à Saint-Henri (…) Le monde y me dise : « Ah ! Tu vas au IGA!» «Oui, je vais au IGA!». Je vais te dire le pourquoi, parce que c'est des familles d'ici qui travaillent là. Les gens qui travaillent au IGA, je les connais, c'est du monde qui habite Saint-Henri pis... IGA au moins... des fois j'ai eu des misères avec lui...parce que je trouve qui vend cher pis...Sauf que je vais te dire, c'est pourquoi que je vais magasiner encore au IGA, parce que je me le fais reprocher souvent que « Je comprends pas pourquoi tu vas là !». C'est parce que les familles qui travaillent là, c'est des familles que je connais. Pis c'est des gens qui habitent le quartier. Fait que je me dis, si on va pu acheter là, y vont perdre leurs jobs.»

revealed that there were stark similarities between them in terms of the types of businesses that were opening and closing: strong growth in "new entrepreneurial" retail capital (boutiques); a notable increase in "corporate" retail capital (chain stores); and deep decline in old, "local" retail stores.[134] Interestingly, while many interviewees mentioned Miracle Pizza (a local mom and pop retail) as a restaurant they really appreciated within the neighbourhood, during the course of my fieldwork, a Domino's Pizza (corporate retail) opened up within a block of this long-term neighbourhood establishment, suggesting a similar pattern to what Zukin (2009) highlighted. Significantly, these differences of opinion with regards to commercial service provision in the neighbourhood seem to depend in part on socio-economic position and length of residence in the neighbourhood. Those who viewed the changes positively were more recent entrants into this historically francophone working-class neighbourhood. Both the quotations cited above came from renter households who had been living in the neighbourhood for ten years and who had a higher annual income and thus were likely not priced out of the new services provided. The more negative views expressed were all by lifelong Saint-Henri residents, who had been born and raised in the neighbourhood. Not all longstanding residents viewed the new supermarket in negative terms, however. Similar to Freeman's (2006) findings in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Harlem cited in Chapter 1, one low-income resident made the link between incoming middle-class households and better services and remarked that while some would be priced out of the new services, for those who could manage, the proximity of services was welcome:

> **ID-16:** "Because there are many condos that were built, houses, new arrivals. So it helps to have newcomers in the neighbourhood. Well, yes, I say so anyways. That brings the new businesses and that helps us, the lowest paid, if you want. Not poor, but it helps those who have the means, the middle class if you want or lower-middle-class, as you see fit. We are not obliged to go to the other side of the world to do our groceries; there is one not far from home."[135] *[translation] 67 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in public housing.*

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[134] Ironically however, research into the consumption practices of gentrifiers has revealed that in some cases cultural identity becomes bound up with consumption practices, such that gentrifiers opt for rejection of mass produced items and the uniformity of chain stores etc. (i.e. corporate retail), preferring instead the uniqueness of individual boutiques (i.e. new entrepreneurial retail). (See for instance Ley, 1996).

[135] **ID-16:** « Parce que, il y a beaucoup de condos qui se sont construits, des maisons, des nouveaux arrivants. Alors, ça l'aide d'avoir des nouveaux arrivants dans le quartier. Ben, moi je dis que oui là. Ça l'amène des nouveaux commerces pis ça nous aide nous, les moins rémunérés si tu veux. Pas les démunis, mais ça l'aide ceux-là qui ont moyens, la classe moyenne si tu veux ou semi-moyenne c'est comme tu l'entends. On n'est pas obligé d'aller à l'autre bout du monde pour faire son épicerie, on en a un pas loin de chez soi.»

Next, this section will discuss the Atwater Market, a local produce market at the far eastern extremity of the neighbourhood, bordering Little Burgundy and just south of the 'city above the hill', Westmount, one of Montréal's oldest elite enclaves. The Mission Statement of Montréal's public markets (of which the Atwater Market is one) is: "To assure access to (local produce) to Montréalers in public markets that correspond to their identities (Corporation de Gestion des Marché Publics de Montréal, 2011)."[136] A number of interviewees remarked that the market had changed in recent years. The following quotation was from the only property owner included in my sample. She was born and raised in the Village des Tanneries neighbourhood and the co-ownership unit she had been living in for the past 45 years on Cazelais Street was initially slated for expropriation for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. She made very astute observations about the shifting of cultures underway in the neighbourhood and how it made her feel. She recounted to me a story of wanting to make a typical Québécois dish (Pied de cochon) for some guests who were visiting at Christmas. When she went to the local market to buy the ingredients however, none of the butchers at the Atwater Market had the specific ingredients she needed.

> **DD-05**: "Atwater Market is no longer even Québécois and I mean I regret that. Sure (Pig's foot) is not food that is eaten all year because it is very rich but it was still special. It hurt me. It hurt me. Because Saint-Henri is still an area that has really remained typically Québécois and now the Québécois are in the process of leaving. (…) It is good that there are people coming from other ethnic groups ... that does not bother me, but that it takes away what I consider to be my identity, this is a difficult step for me." *[translation] 65 year old female, lifelong resident, middle income, property owner living in same house for past 45 years.*[137]

This feeling of no longer having a place for traditional Saint-Henri residents at the Atwater Market was echoed by another lifelong resident living in coop housing within the neighbourhood.

> **ID-23(a):** "Yes. I worked at Atwater Market, I might have been 19-20 years old. I worked for a farmer, I sold things outside: tomatoes, eggs, vegetables ... And at that moment, I didn't see it. It was not like today. That's to say that at that time it was affordable to everybody (…) but since the last couple years, I really don't know when exactly it changed because I wasn't paying particular attention, but it is no longer affordable. It is no longer like it was before. It's really, it is no longer us, it is

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[136] «Assurer aux Montréalais et aux Montréalaises un accès aux produits de la terre, dans des marchés publics qui correspondent à leur identité».

[137] **DD-05**: «Le marché Atwater y'é même pu québécois la j'veux dire je regrette là. C'est sur que c'est pas une nourriture que l'on mange à l'année parce que c'est très riche mais c'était quand même spécial là. Ça m'a blessée. Ça m'a blessée. Parce que le quartier Saint-Henri c'est quand même un quartier qui est vraiment resté typiquement québécois pis là c'est en train de partir là... Bon qui est des gens d'autres ethnies parce que c'était vraiment un quartier pure laine. Que j'ai des gens d'autres ethnies qui viennent... ça me dérange pas ça là, mais qu'on m'enlève ce que je considère être mon identité, ça je le prends difficilement.»

Westmount." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[138]

Another interviewee was more direct in making the link between the recent large-scale new construction and adaptive reuse of former industrial buildings to condominiums along the Lachine Canal (directly adjacent to the Atwater Market) and the increase in prices at the market.

> **ID-19**: "It's expensive, it's very expensive, very expensive. So, I'll almost never go there, almost never. I had been going there for years when I had my family. Sometimes it had a little appeal, but it has changed. Because of the condos, it has changed.
>
> **ATM:** Ok, so you noticed the connection with new construction along the Canal?
>
> **ID-19:** Yes, yes, yes. That's one big fact. Because they know that people that go there will buy and that they have money. Money and condos, so they do not mind paying $4 for a cauliflower or broccoli there. They will say it's fresh from the garden, it is fresh picked or organic! But I will not pay $4 for a cauliflower or broccoli there. Come on, that does not make sense.[139]" *[translation] 65 year old female, longstanding resident, low income, living in public housing.*

On the one hand, culturally appropriate items are no longer available; on the other hand, what is available is beyond the financial means of many incumbent residents. This seems to resonate with Lehman-Frisch's (2002) work exploring 'cultural displacement' in San Francisco where her study of the Noe Valley neighbourhood revealed that once gentrified, institutions and services to serve long-term residents were absent and as a result long-term residents lived on the margins both culturally and economically (Lehman-Frisch 2002, 68). Her later work (2008) exploring gentrification in the Mission Hill neighbourhood shed light upon the ways in which incumbent residents felt 'culturally excluded' from the area with the rapid influx of newcomers and more specifically with the 'culture of money' that some long-term residents were unable to identify with (Lehman-Frisch 2008, 157). In Saint-Henri, we see evidence of a sense of 'cultural

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[138] **ID-23(a):** «Oui. J'ai travaillé au marché Atwater, j'avais peut-être 19-20 ans là, j'travaillais pour un fermier là, j'avais euh, j'vendais dehors l'extérieur, des tomates des œufs, des légumes... Pis à c'moment là euh, j'ne m'voyait pas... Ce n'était pas comme aujourd'hui. C't-à-dire, j'trouvais qu'c'était abordable à tout l'monde à c'moment-là, mais là, j', là ça fait 30 ans de t'ça. Mais depuis une couple d'années, je sais pas quand est-ce ça changé, j'ai pas faite attention à ça, mais, c'est pu abordable. C'est pu comme c'était. C'est vraiment, c'est pu nous autres, c'est Westmount.»

[139] **ID-19**: «C'est cher, c'est très cher, c'est très cher. Pis, je n'y vais presque jamais, je n'y vais presque jamais. J'y ai été y a ben des années quand j'avais ma famille. Des fois ça l'avait un petit peu d'allure, mais ça l'a ben changé. À cause des condos, ça l'a ben ben changé.

A.T.M: Ok, alors vous avez remarqué le lien avec les nouvelles constructions au bord du Canal?

ID-19: Oui, oui, oui. Ça c'est un, un gros fait. Parce qui savent que les gens y vont acheter y ont de l'argent. L'argent et les condos, fait que ça ne les dérangera pas de payer 4 $ pour un chou-fleur ou un brocoli là. Y vont dire c'est frais du jardin, c'est frais cassé là ou bio là ! Mais, je ne vais pas payer 4 $ pour un chou-fleur ou un brocoli moi là. Voyons donc ça pas d'allure.»

disappropriation' as traditional Québécois products are no longer available at a local market in what was a traditional Québécois working-class neighbourhood and the feeling of being hurt by such changes. On the other hand, the lack of affordability of local produce at the market leads some residents to feel excluded and that it is no longer their place, but rather for more economically privileged households who have moved in or come in from adjacent neighbourhoods (such as Westmount).

However, as in the case of opinions about grocery shopping, this feeling of recent change in the Atwater Market and it becoming increasingly financially inaccessible to traditional Saint-Henri residents was not unanimous. One respondent, a 26 year old male, who was born and raised in the neighbourhood, but had not lived there since 2006 (though both his parents and brother still did, so he visited frequently), felt that the market had always been a site of privilege within the neighbourhood frequented by the more upwardly mobile residents of adjacent Westmount. While it has certainly changed in recent years, in his experience it had never been destined to the traditional Saint-Henri population:

> **ID-12:** Yeah, but still it was already expensive when I was little. I think when I was young, there was already a lot of stuff catering to the Westmount world, coming down Atwater Street and then returning up Atwater. This is not a small neighbourhood market. (…)Sure, yeah, sure there must have been a change. But at the same time when I was little it was not me who paid. But all the time I had this feeling that Atwater Market is like ... It's good food, it is something special (privileged) there. Ok, even when I was little." *[translation] 26 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in private rental housing.* [140]

In sum, neighbourhood retailing was a point of divergence in terms of the views of interviewees. There was evidence of a mismatch between available retail services and the needs of some long-term residents especially in terms of certain basic items such as children's clothing, forcing residents to leave the neighbourhood to shop for these basic amenities. The local IGA was a noted point of conflicting views. While some long-term residents felt uncomfortable in the new store due to the loss of a more familial small-scale neighbourhood grocer and its replacement with a much larger, more expensive store, others felt that this was a real improvement in the neighbourhood, though those expressing this view were more recent entrants into the neighbourhood and were modest income, so likely not priced out of the new

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[140] **ID-12:** «Oui, mais c'était quand même cher déjà quand j'étais petit. Je pense quand j'étais petit, y avait déjà pas mal de trucs du monde de Westmount qui descende, qui descende la rue Atwater, qui remonte la rue Atwater. C'est pas un petit marché de quartier. (…) C'est sûr que, ouais, c'est sûr que y doit y avoir un changement. Mais, en même temps quand j'étais petit ce n'est pas moi qui payais (RIRES). Mais, j'ai tout le temps eu ce feeling que Marché Atwater c'est comme... C'est la bonne bouffe, c'est truc privilégié là. Ok, même quand j'étais petit.»

store. Interestingly, a key point of tension was raised by one lifelong resident, who was caught between rock and a hard place in so far as she felt conflicted about supporting the new store (due to its exorbitant prices) on the one hand, but continued to shop there in order to help sustain the store and protect the jobs of many long-term neighbourhood residents who were employed there. In light of deindustrialization and the rise of precarious employment, this resident saw the strategic value in keeping low-income residents employed within the neighbourhood, even at the expense of larger grocery bills for her family. The public market too was a point of discord. While some residents clearly felt culturally excluded by the lack of availability of traditional Québécois ingredients and the high prices of produce there, another longstanding resident suggested that in fact this had never been a market destined to the local population. These results suggest that particularly in the case of lifelong residents, cultural displacement had occurred within neighbourhood retail establishments.

8.3 Quality of the neighbourhood physical environment

The following section explores residents views on the quality of the neighbourhood physical environment including three main dimensions: health concerns related to pollution; aesthetics of the built environment; and last, safety within the neighbourhood. The aim of this section is to better understand incumbent residents perceptions of changes in the neighbourhood physical environment. For example, to explore whether residents feel that the neighbourhood is neglected because it is low-income or whether they perceive that recent improvements are linked to gentrification.

8.3.1 Health (pollution):

An aspect of the physical environment of the neighbourhood that was raised as an area of concern for numerous residents was local air quality. This is not surprising considering Saint-Henri is bordered on two sides by major urban expressways (Highway 720 in the north, and the Turcot Interchange in the west, which is the confluence of three urban expressways, Autoroute 20, 720 and 15 see Figure 4.1). One resident with four small children was especially active on this issue as it seemed to be having a direct impact on the health of his young family.

> **ID-20:** "But mostly right now it is around the Turcot because we live near the highway so we are personally affected. Especially on the health question because our kids have respiratory problems, asthma, and our youngest was hospitalized in respiratory distress when he was two months old and the doctor said that there was a clear link between the proximity of the highway and that. So we are especially active on that front and with whoever organizes activities, it is mainly the POPIR but

also CEDA now. But Mobilization Turcot as well, but mainly with the POPIR and the CEDA." *39 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

Another interviewee felt that over the time he had been living in the neighbourhood he had become desensitized to how poor the air quality was. Upon visiting his parents, living in Outremont, it was his son who pointed out the difference between the air quality in the two neighbourhoods.

> **ID-22:** "Well, I'll tell you something. The other day I took the subway with my son to go see my parents who recently moved to Outremont. The first thing my son said when leaving the Outremont Metro was: "Dad, it smells good here. " He had noticed the air quality. Me, I had not noticed, but he had noticed. So here we are always coughing. Ok. We don't even notice it. It's hard to breathe. It is close to the motorway. That has a big impact. There are many on the periphery who bring us their pollution on the Turcot motorway and all that." *[translation] 55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[141]

One respondent, who had been living in the neighbourhood for five years and was involved in the creation of the Sainte-Émilie Skillshare, regarded Saint-Henri as a place where many people could only stay for a limited amount of time due to problems of air quality and soil contamination.

> **ID-28:** "And other people just move away because, I mean, the houses are not good here. I mean, if you live along the tracks, you get lots of like bad fumes and bad soil. So people can only take that for so long before lots of people develop allergies and chemical sensitivities. Like at the Skillshare for instance, we only took over that space because it was historically so toxic to people living there. People would develop intense allergies, food allergies, people would develop, what's that called, fibromyalgia. My friend that lived there, she can't be around onions or garlic. Another friend of mine has fibro and all kinds of intense allergies. And the place next door is full of mould. And it is right, right, right next to the tracks. So lots of people move away for that reason too." *26 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*

Thus, for some interviewees there were serious concerns raised in terms of the health impacts of living in the neighbourhood. On the one hand, negative health impacts were attributed to Saint-Henri's location at the confluence of three major urban expressways. On the other hand, some residents perceived and experienced a residual toxicity in certain parts of the neighbourhood due in part to its past legacy as an industrial hotbed of Canada and the continued rail traffic through the area.

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[141] **ID-22:** «Ben, je vais te dire un truc. L'autre jour, j'ai pris le métro avec mon fils pour aller voir mes parents qui viennent de déménager à Outremont. Pis la première chose que mon garçon a dit en sortant du métro Outremont : « Papa, ça sent bon ici ». Il avait remarqué la qualité de l'air. Moi, je n'avais pas remarqué, mais lui avait remarqué. Alors ici, on est toujours en train de cracher. Ok. On s'en rend même pu compte. C'est difficile de respirer. On est proche de l'autoroute. Ça c'est un gros impact. Il en a beaucoup en périphérie qui nous amène leur pollution sur l'autoroute Turcot pis tout ça.»

8.3.2 Aesthetics:

In terms of whether residents were satisfied with the quality of the built environment in general terms, the responses were varied, but consensus emerged in terms of there being room for improvement. Modest income renters (i.e. annual income $20 001- $39 999) were more critical of the quality of the built environment in the neighbourhood than were low-income renters (i.e. <$20 000). Some residents would respond with their frame of reference in terms of the cleanliness of the streets on the block on which they lived. One resident lamented the perceived lack of respect his neighbours had for the neighbourhood, manifested in frequent garbage flying around in the street:

> **ID-06:** "No, not at all. It is still a dump. The City has been doing a nicer job of picking up trash, now we see people pushing carts that have three different bins on them in the summers and stuff. But my street's a dump. There is always trash on the street, there is always furniture people are throwing out. There is one apartment down the street, maybe after two years they got rid of all the junk in their apartment. They were always piling crap, they wouldn't even put it in front of their place, they would put it across the street in front of the park, couches and furniture. But no, people in Saint-Henri, they don't respect the neighbourhood. There is always trash flying around, people don't pick up in front of their places." *35 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This resident was not alone in attributing a lack of neighbourhood pride or respect to some incumbent residents. A lifelong resident living in HLM housing also noted a general lack of respect by residents in the building where she lived, manifested in the daily re-accumulation of garbage around her building:

> **ID-18:** "The people here, it is dirty all the time, well, pick up the garbage. It's just that. Aside from that, if everyone maintained their living area, it would be clean everywhere. But there are some places it's not clean but is because of the people. Where I am, there is a community garden in front, on my side is public housing. The guy from the City comes here to clean, not deep cleaning, but he cleans. But the next day it is as full of garbage, because people who live there, they eat a bag of chips or something ... it's on the ground. I think there are perhaps not enough garbage cans." *[translation] 48 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[142]

However, numerous interviewees saw the issue in terms of a lack of pride among the incoming condo owners.

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[142] **ID-18:** «Les gens ici, c'est tout le temps sale, ben ramassez-les vos déchets. C'est rien que ça. À part de ça, tout les gens, si y'entretiennent son carré de vie, ça serait propre partout. Mais y'a certaines places c'est pas propre propre mais c'est à cause de les gens. Comme dans où ce que je suis là, y'un jardin communautaire en face, de mon bord c'est HLM. Mais le gars de la ville y vient nettoyer, il ne nettoie pas en profondeur, mais il nettoie. Pis le lendemain c'est aussi plein, parce que les gens qui habitent là, ils mangent un chip ou quelque chose... à terre. Moi je trouve qu'ils mettent peut-être pas assez de poubelles.»

> **ID-23(a)**: "We have 450 just in front of us. Condos. I have no friends there. None. Even the neighbours, I will never borrow an egg on the other side of the street, never. Me, I had a bad experience with them ... it's not all of them, I know there are good people in there too. (…) I live in a cooperative, it was small field of grass, but how many times I have seen them cross the street to let their dog piss on our lawn? It's unbelievable, unbelievable. Even my daughter at some point, there was one in particular that has a car with the sunroof open ... And she said: "Mum, I am fed up." She said to empty the litter into his car, if it continues! (laughs)!" *[translation] 51 year old female, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[143]

Another resident who lived farther west in the neighbourhood on Saint-Ambroise in CT 84, directly adjacent to new-build condominiums on the Lachine Canal, echoed a similar sentiment. With reference to the new condos across the street from his place, he said:

> **ID-25:** "I noticed that when I left there today, somebody new moved into the neighbourhood because all of a sudden there is dog shit piling up. Well, not piling up because I remove it, but every second or third day there is dog shit there. Somebody is new in the neighbourhood because I am not shy, I am not a shy person, I get along really well with you and I won't let things under my skin and irritate me. If I know it's your dog and I know it's you, I will just tell you: 'Look, this is our place, we do work here, we have a garden here.'" *55 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*

Thus, lack of pride or respect for the neighbourhood emerged as a divisive theme, which for some was a problem of long-term residents themselves and for others was viewed more in terms of an on-going conflict between long-term residents and the new incoming condo owners living along the Lachine Canal.

Residents also commented on many other aesthetic elements of the neighbourhood. One resident commented specifically in terms of the recent changes in the neighbourhood's built environment, in particular the adaptive re-use of old industrial buildings and infill development of condominiums along the Lachine Canal. In particular, he felt that the existing street grid should have been respected, to continue direct access for existing residents to the Lachine Canal.

> **ID-22:** "Yes, that's unfortunate. That's really unfortunate. But at least, you can still go on the edge of the Lachine Canal. You must go around a bit but… It is poorly constructed architecturally. The streets should descend there. Residential streets

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[143] **ID-23(a)**: «Moi j'en ai 450 juste en avant chez nous. Condos. Je n'ai aucun ami là-dedans. Aucun. Même les voisins, j'irai jamais emprunter un œuf l'autre bord de la rue là, jamais. Moi, j'ai eu une mauvaise expérience avec eux autres, ... c'pas toute eux autres, je sais qui a du bon monde là-dedans (…) J'habite dans une coopérative, on a petit terrain de gazon, mais combien de fois j'les ai vus traverser la rue pis aller faire chier leur chien sur notre gazon? C'est incroyable, incroyable. Même ma fille à un moment donné, là, ma fille à un moment donné, y'en avait une en particulier, a l'avait un char euh, à toit ouvrant... Pis là a dit: "M'man, là là, a dit chu tannée là," a dit m'a aller vider la litière dans son char, si ça continue!»

should go down to the canal. Unfortunately, this is not the case for St Philippe and it is not the case for St Ferdinand and this is not the case for Ste-Marguerite. On the other hand, Rue Beaudoin, descends all the way down to the canal." *55 year old male, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[144]

A number of residents commented that they would like to see more greenery in the neighbourhood, in terms of more trees and planters. Cleanliness surfaced as an issue in terms of the need for more garbage cans throughout the neighbourhood.

> **ID-10:** "So, it is still very cold, there is a lot of places where they could still put trees in, places where we are missing trees. Not many down here but there are spaces where they are supposed to have trees where they have not been replaced. There could be more benches; there could be more garbage cans than are out now. And not these little ones that are out now that are very small and don't take a lot. We need larger garbage cans." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

So while not all residents expressed dissatisfaction *per se*, there was widespread agreement regardless of length of residency and income that there was room for improvement in terms of the physical landscape of the neighbourhood. One type of space identified as particularly problematic, were the back alleys throughout the neighbourhood, which were identified as an eyesore and wasted space by some residents. One resident expressed the view that Saint-Henri was a gritty neighbourhood, in need of healing. When probed as to a specific area in need of attention, he referred to the laneways:

> **ID-14:** "So the alleys, the rear lanes here are not really very well cleaned. Nobody bothers with them. The city employees have basically written them off. Nobody puts a cleaning broom down a rear alley. Nobody picks up the crud that people throw into the alleys. The lanes used to represent a kind of playground plus there used to be some socializing going on. There would be even snow clearance in the wintertime to keep things free for fire trucks. Today, the rear lanes are just a no man's land. They might as well be incorporated into the properties that adjoin them. It's too bad. But there are a few kids out here playing and they play skip the rope and they do all that stuff. But they are really an exception. There is a building with public housing right behind us and there are kids in there but there are very few kids that I am aware of that play in lanes anymore. I guess it is because the lanes are so insalubrious.*" 67 year old male, two person household, annual income $60 000-$79 999 per year.*

A resident who was born and raised in Saint-Henri echoed much the same sentiment with regards to the back alleys.

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[144] **ID-22:** «Oui, ça c'est malheureux. Ça c'est vraiment malheureux. Mais encore là, on peut encore y aller sur le bord du Canal Lachine. Faut faire le tour un ti peu mais... C'est mal construit architecturalement. Les rues auraient dues pouvoir descendre. Les rues résidentielles auraient dues pouvoir descendre jusqu'au canal. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas le cas pour la rue St-Philippe et ce n'est pas le cas pour la rue Ferdinand et ce n'est pas non plus le cas pour Ste-Marguerite. Par contre Beaudoin, descend jusqu'au canal.»

ID-24(b) "The alleys are disgusting. (…) It's yucky. All the time .... dirty, and they are not maintained, and they smell. I can't even understand why there are children who play there. It stinks. And one sees a big difference in terms of the cleanliness of streets compared to Westmount. As soon as you pass through the tunnel and one arrives in Westmount, the grass is well maintained throughout, everything is well maintained, the sidewalk, trees. In Saint-Henri, you see dog poop everywhere, garbage. But I think there are many people who are not paying attention either." *[translation] 50 year old woman, born and raised in the neighbourhood, living in coop housing.*[145]

Another type of neighbourhood space mentioned to be in need of improvement were neighbourhood parks. Among the lifelong residents of the neighbourhood, some expressed dissatisfaction with the aesthetics of local parks. For example, one lifelong resident recounted how they were not beautiful enough, so she would take her kids to Verdun:

ID-02: "No ... no. There's no park beautiful enough here. On the edge of the Lachine Canal, I fear that my children might fall or something, since they are young. I would rather go in Verdun when I want ... it to be beautiful or whatever ... so that the children can play, and I have no fear, I go to Verdun on the waterfront." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[146]

Another lifelong resident, who often babysits kids from the neighbourhood and so often had occasion to go to the park, preferred instead going up to the park in Westmount.

ID-24(c): "With the children from here, I go to the parks, but often I prefer to go to Westmount Park. Because if you go to the park in Saint-Henri, first you must cross the railway tracks and after that go really far. The best park is quite far, and is disgusting. You never know what you'll find there, beer bottles, full of things like that, folks that are doing graffiti and everything is busted. But if we go up a little and go to Westmount Park it is great, because most of the time, the children prefer to go to the park in Westmount than to go to parks in the neighbourhood." *[translation] 24 year old woman, lifelong resident, high-income, living in coop housing.*[147]

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[145] **ID-24(b):** «Les ruelles c'est dégueulas. (…). C'est dégueu. Tout le temps, c'est le tout....sale, pis c'est pas entretenu, pis ça pu. Je ne comprends même pas pourquoi qu'il y a des enfants qui jouent là-dedans. Ça pu. Pis, non, on voit une grande différence sur la propreté des rues comparées à Westmount. Aussitôt qu'on passe le tunnel de Westmount après ça on arrive, le gazon est toute bien entretenu, le trottoir, les arbres..... tout est bien entretenu pis à Saint-Henri, on voit des cacas de chien partout, des déchets. Mais je pense qu'il y a beaucoup de monde qui font pas attention non plus.»

[146] **ID-02:** «Non...non. Y'a pas de parcs assez beaux. Sur le bord du Canal Lachine, j'ai peur que mes enfants tombent ou quoi que ce soit, vu qu'ils sont jeunes. Je va plutôt à Verdun quand j'ai envie de...Que ce soit beau ou quoi que ce soit... Que les enfants puissent jouer, puis que j'aye pas peur, je vais plutôt à Verdun sur le bord de l'eau.»

[147] **ID-24(c)**: «Avec les enfants d'ici, moi je vais, dans les parcs, mais souvent y aiment mieux aller au parc Westmount. Parce que si on va au parc à Saint-Henri, premièrement y faut traverser les voies ferrées après ça aller vraiment loin. Le parc qui à le plus d'allure est assez loin pis, c'est dégueulas. Tu sais pas ce que tu vas trouver là, des bouteilles de bière, tout plein d'affaires comme ça du monde qui font des graffitis pis tout est peté. Mais, on monte juste un ti peu, aller au parc Westmount pis c'est super beau, fait que la plupart du temps, les enfants aiment mieux aller au parc Westmount que aller dans les parcs du quartier.»

Interestingly, it was the lifelong residents that preferred taking their kids (or kids that they babysat) to parks outside the neighbourhood. Among more recent residents with children, time was divided between the larger neighbourhood parks and parks elsewhere in the City.

8.3.3 Safety:

Safety within the neighbourhood was an issue for some residents, irrespective of gender and length of residence. Generally speaking however, most interviewees felt that the neighbourhood was a safe place during the day. For one lifelong resident however, the back alleys were a place to be avoided even during the day.

> **ID-02:** "For sure, I am scared of the alleys, like they found a truck ... a car with a woman dead inside, just across the alley from me. It was beneath the snow for several months and nobody found it. So that made me go "wow", you know... It scared me." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[148]

For many though, at night safety was an issue and a number of respondents (particularly women) recounted that they were not comfortable walking around the neighbourhood alone at night. Another area within the neighbourhood that was identified as being unsafe at night was the recently created dog run in Parc Louis Cyr. This was due mostly to the park design itself, which placed the dog run in the very back of the park adjoining the railway tracks, an area that was both poorly lit up and isolated.

One life-long resident linked her no longer feeling safe after dark in the neighbourhood to the wider changes underway. The loss of Saint-Henri's familial atmosphere that was central to her youth meant that she did not feel at ease walking neighbourhood streets after dark.

> **ID-23(a):** "Not now (…) It's probably because there have been too many changes, yes. Because in those days when I was younger, going back 25 years here, you know, if we returned at night, me and my daughter, when it gets dark, now she is eleven years old, it's dark, you come back home to the house. But before you would have been able to stay there, if it was 8pm and it is dark you would have been able to stay until 9 pm, but now no, because I don't know. It's true. It is precisely because it is no longer the familial neighbourhood it was*." [translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*[149]

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[148] **ID-02**: «C'est sûr que y'a des ruelles qui font peur, y'ont trouvé un camion...une auto avec une femme dedans décédée, pis c'est juste en face de chez moi, la ruelle. Pis y'était là depuis quelques mois en-dessous de la neige pis y'a personne qui l'a trouvé. Fait que ça ça m'a faite comme "wow". Ça me fait peur.»

[149] **ID-23(a)**: «Non maintenant (…) À cause probablement parce que y'a eu trop de changements, oui. Parce que dans l'temps là moi quand j'tais plus jeune là, mettons on recule 25 ans là, si on rentrait le soir, moi ma fille, quand y commence à faire noir, a l'a onze ans là, y fait noir, tu t'en viens à la maison là. Mais avant, a l'aurait pu rester là, si y'est 8hres pis y fait noir là, t'aurais pu rester jusqu'à 9hres là, mais

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For this resident, feeling comfortable in the neighbourhood in terms of familiarity or weak ties with other local residents was intimately linked to feeling safe in the area after dark. Not all women however, felt unsafe walking around the neighbourhood at night as the following exchange highlights:

> ATM: "So you feel safe in public spaces in the neighbourhood such as parks, streets?
>
> **ID-05:** Sure, certainly. I'm safe. Never any problems here.
>
> ATM: And are there any places in the neighbourhood where you feel more comfortable during the day than at night?
>
> **ID-05:** Not at all. In Saint-Henri here, it's normal, I walk normally, even at night. I'm never afraid." *[translation] 31 year old female, longstanding resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*[150]

For a number of residents, the neighbourhood was perceived as becoming safer over the time that they had been living there. One life-long resident of the Saint-Henri and Little Burgundy, a seventy-year-old woman, expressed that the safety in the neighbourhood area had greatly improved.

> **ID-11:** "Oh, yes. No problem, no problem, whatsoever. We had a lot of problems, like I said before, but that's pretty much been sorted out. And I feel comfortable, I am not scared coming out the Metro at eleven o'clock at night and coming home or I am not scared walking the streets. I've seen myself going to a party and coming out of the CEDA[151] at three in the morning and walking home. I had had a few drinks, but…(laughs). But I walked home. I am not scared. I feel comfortable out, this is my home." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

One resident commented on how in recent years, many of the bars along Notre-Dame (which he perceived to be run by organized crime) had closed down and this had in his view made the neighbourhood safer.

> **ID-06:** "You know, one thing that has really changed in the neighbourhood is that most of the sketchy bars closed down. And that is a huge difference. Right at the top

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maintenant non, parce que j'sais pas. Hein, c'est vrai. Parce que justement c'est plus le quartier familial comme avant.»

[150] ATM: «Alors vous sentez-vous en sécurité dans les espaces publics du quartier, comme les parcs, les ruelles?»

ID-05: «Sûr et certain. Je suis en sécurité. Jamais de problèmes ici.»

ATM: «Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits dans le quartier où vous sentez plus à l'aise le jour que le soir ?»

ID-05: «Non, du tout. À Saint-Henri ici, c'est normal ça me dit rien, je marche normal, même le soir. J'ai jamais peur.»

[151] CEDA= Comité d'éducation aux adultes de la Petite-Bourgogne et de Saint-Henri.

of the street (…) used to be Bar Voir, which serviced the black community and they all came from different neighbourhoods and sometimes you would see some really fancy cars outside. But it was super loud, it felt really sketchy. I had a roommate that came back once in the middle of the night on the way home from the Video store that he worked at, and there had just been double murder there.(…) So there was a fire there and they closed down for a few months and then they rebuilt it with an even louder, more powerful, sound system. (...). And then I think there was another fire in there, a second one, like a year later, and then they closed down for good. There was a huge bar called Miami Vice, which was just across from the IGA, maybe this side from John's and it got burned down by the Hells Angels, it was reported on in the news. I don't know why. I think they might have sold coke there." *35 year old man, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Interestingly, this resident expressed the view that the neighbourhood had become safer due to the closing of several bars he perceived to be connected to organized crime. However, another interviewee who was also a neighbourhood organizer mentioned that people had recounted to her that in fact they felt safer in the neighbourhood when there was a more pronounced 'biker' presence, as at least there was the impression that someone was watching over the neighbourhood.

A number of residents were resolute in their conviction that the neighbourhood was relatively safe. Interestingly, a couple of immigrants to the neighbourhood evaluated the safety of the area compared to Paris. One recounted how compared to the Parisian region, Montréal in general and Saint-Henri is particular was 'really peaceful'. Another, who had actually had the experience of narrowly escaping being mugged in the neighbourhood, recounted how despite this experience, she was not afraid in Saint-Henri:

> **ID-13:** "Listen, I arrived 10 years ago, 11 years ago, (…) I come back at 3 o'clock in the morning, I've crossed all of Montréal, all of Saint-Henri ... Nothing has ever happened. I'm not saying it's not dangerous, I almost got mugged once on the canal when I was on a bike, but was in November, there was no lighting .... it can happen. But I'm not afraid at night in Saint-Henri. (…) When it comes to other countries ...like if you come from Paris, I'm from Lyon, but Lyon at 9 pm it is the same, you do not walk the streets at 9 o'clock. Here is nothing in comparison! That's it. I feel safe! It's just perception and people they have a perception ... I have friends who were born in Côte St. Paul, listening to stories of their youth, there were bodies in the canal which was .... people were shot at the canal. It's over. This is great security in comparison." *[translation] 43 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[152]

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[152] **ID-13**: «Écoute, moi je suis arrivée il y a 10 ans, non, 11 ans (…) je suis revenue à 3 heures du matin, je traversais tout Montréal, tout Saint-Henri... Il s'est jamais rien passé. Je dis pas que c'est pas dangereux, j'ai failli me faire agresser une fois sur le canal en vélo, mais c'était en novembre, il n'y avait pas d'éclairage.... ça peut arriver. Mais, j'ai pas peur le soir à Saint-Henri. (…) Quand on vient de d'autres pays... comme si tu viens de Paris, moi je viens de Lyon, mais Lyon à 9 heures du soir c'est pareil, tu ne

While this resident evaluated the safety of the neighbourhood compared to her experience in France, and her impressions of Saint-Henri in the past, other interviewees compared the their feelings of safety in Saint-Henri compared to other Montréal neighbourhoods.

> **ID-28:** "It doesn't feel scary and it doesn't feel dangerous. I feel way more scared in the Plateau than I ever have in Saint-Henri. I mean I have gotten attacked in the Plateau plenty of times, but never here. Especially on my street, I feel super comfortable, all of my neighbours knew I was queer and it was no big deal. (…) And you say Saint-Henri and either people don't know the neighbourhood or they get a sketchy vibe from it, cause I guess there used to be bikers in the neighbourhood (…) but it is not like that anymore. I'm sure that is part of the gentrifying process, but…" *26 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in private rental housing.*

As such, for this resident, his familiarity with his neighbours in his immediate residential environmental enabled him to feel at ease in a way he did not in neighbourhoods elsewhere in the city. A number of residents expressed that Saint-Henri was safe, especially in contrast to the adjacent neighbourhood of Little Burgundy. One woman who was born and raised in Saint-Henri recounted how she felt ill at ease with the youth in Little Burgundy:

> **ID-18:** "I find the youth are wild in Little Burgundy. Me I would not live there. Because the evening, around 7 pm, 7:30 pm there you do not want to go out. Because you will be attacked. I know people who are living there, but they want to move. She has three children and wants to move because she has been attacked by blacks. She, herself. Her son, she cannot even send him to the store at 7 in the evening. He's 17 years old, 16 years old!" *[translation] 48 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*[153]

This resident was not alone in expressing fear with regards to personal safety in Little Burgundy. Another interviewee, a mother of two who raised her children in Saint-Henri, recounted how on two separate occasions her youngest son had been attacked in the Little Burgundy Metro Station.

In sum, this section has explored residents' perceptions of recent changes in the neighbourhood's physical environment. A number of residents noted health concerns related to the ongoing concern of local air quality due to the close proximity of urban expressways as well as residual toxicity from the neighbourhoods industrial past. In terms of the aesthetics of the

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te promènes pas dans les rues à 9 heures du soir. Ici, c'est rien, en comparaison là ! C'est ça. Je me sens en sécurité ! C'est juste la perception et les gens ils ont une perception... J'ai des amis qui sont nés à Côté St-Paul, écoute dans leur jeunesse, il y avait des cadavres dans le canal quoi, c'était.... ça se tirait dessus sur le canal. C'est fini ça. C'est la grande sécurité en comparaison.»

[153] **ID-18:** «Les jeunes sont sauvages je trouve dans la Petite-Bourgogne. Moi je n'habiterais pas là. Parce que le soir, vers 7h, 7h30 là, tu veux pu sortir. Parce que tu te fais attaquer. Moi je connais des gens qui restaient, ils veulent déménager. Elle a trois enfants pis a veut déménager parce que elle se fait attaquer par les Noirs. Elle-même. Son fils, a peut même pas l'envoyer au dépanneur à 7h le soir. Y'a 17 ans, 16 ans!»

physical environment, there was consensus that there was room for improvement, especially in insalubrious back alleys and neighbourhood parks. Lack of respect or pride in the neighbourhood (manifested in terms of garbage accumulation) was a divisive issue, attributed by some interviewees to incumbent residents and by others to the incoming condo dwellers who some long-term residents felt didn't respect the wider neighbourhood. Last, safety was a concern for a number of residents (including both women and men), especially at night particularly in back alleys and certain neighbourhood parks. Some residents felt neighbourhood safety had improved in recent years and was partly attributable to the gentrification process and the lessening of the biker presence within the neighbourhood, while others felt that Saint-Henri was a safe neighbourhood compared to elsewhere in Montréal or abroad. For one lifelong resident however, the presence of less weak ties or acquaintances in the neighbourhood than in the past, lead to feelings of diminished safety.

8.4 Political life

This section explores the political involvement of long-term renters in local neighbourhood issues in order to try and access whether it is still possible in the post-industrial era to identify Saint-Henri as a 'working-class' neighbourhood in a traditional sense. It goes on to examine the concept of 'political displacement' in order to access whether this is a relevant concept to understanding the changing landscape of community organizations in the neighbourhood.

8.4.1 Increasing fragmentation of political life in Saint-Henri?

Bacqué and Sintomer (2002) question the degree to which in the contemporary age it is still possible to identify 'working-class' neighbourhoods as such, which historically have both social elements (strong locally-based ties), and spatial elements (living and working in the same area). Their work in the Parisian suburbs revealed that due in part to the onset of deindustrialization and the increasing precariousness of wage labour (i.e. from unionized to non-unionized jobs), that among people living in the same area, at the bottom of the social ladder with the same residential status, there was a sharpening of normal conflicts, internal cleavages and fragmentation of neighbourhood-based community life. This potential fragmentation was also highlighted in Martin's (2007) study of political displacement in Atlanta, where she suggests that it is not only when organizations are formed that is crucial, but what constituency they serve. Maintaining the political investment of long-term residents in their community is of key importance for keeping these long-term residents in the neighbourhood (Martin 2007, 625).

In our study, due in part to the gentrification and the shifts in population inherent therein, it may no longer be possible to identify a 'cohesive' working-class community in Saint-Henri. Rather, there seem to be multiple marginal populations within the neighbourhood, which may or may not be able to mobilize collectively. A frequently mentioned theme among those who volunteered with local community organizations was that there was a shift going on within their organizations, as the original residents (activists) who had started these organizations were aging and moving into retirement. One elderly life-long resident who had served on the Board of Directors at POPIR, the local tenants' rights organization, commented directly on this shift underway:

> **ID-11**: "So it's good, because at the POPIR it is all a new team. The whole team is new. Cause one retired, one quit, one went to Greece and the other one just had a baby. (…) We have Patricia, and Patricia is great! She knows where she is going, you know. And then we have two other little girls, I call them little girls because everybody are little girls to me (...) So I am working with them, it's fun to work with young people. Cause they are feeding back things, they have experience but they are still learning. Which is great contact, you know." *70 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public seniors housing.*

Another resident who volunteered at the same organization commented more directly on the fact that the activist base of the organization were now all seniors, and that their hope in hiring a new team of young people, was to find some way to renew the base of the organization.

> **ID-22**: "POPIR, there is a activist base that has been there for at least 40 years. They were young people; today they are golden agers. And they come to our demos. Just yesterday, it was the golden agers especially. Here at POPIR, we try to rejuvenate the membership. I am one of the youngest, too bad I'm 55. We have new employees who are young, who will bring people they know. In terms of social involvement .... it is not so sexy a period in the community sector, but perhaps it will come back, I don't know." *[translation] 55 year old man, longstanding resident, low income, living in coop housing.*[154]

This sentiment of needing to renew the base of the organization and find a way to involve younger residents was widespread among interviewees who volunteered there. Another interviewee, who had also served on the Board there in the past recounted how he hoped that the recent infusion of young people onto the staff of the organization would result in more social activism in the streets:

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[154] **ID-22**: «POPIR, il y a une base de militant qui est là depuis au moins 40 ans. C'était des jeunes, aujourd'hui c'est des personnes de l'âge d'or. Et puis, ils viennent à toutes nos manifs. Encore hier, c'était les personnes de l'âge d'or surtout. Là au POPIR, on essaie de rajeunir le membership. Moi, je suis un des plus jeunes, pis j'ai 55 ans. On a des nouveaux employés qui sont jeunes, qui font venir des personnes qui connaissent. D'implication sociale.... on est pas tellement dans une période sexy pour le communautaire, mais ça va peut-être revenir, je le sais pas.»

> **ID-25**: "The people that are in POPIR now, (…) they are go-getters, they are changing the structure for the better, as far as I am concerned. It needed to be shaken up because it started to become routine and mundane. (…) I mean there is a lot of work, but the social activism on the street, it is not happening enough. And one of the problems is that the people that they have relied on before are all now in their sixties and seventies. We have a large membership, but the average age has to be sixty years old. Very few twenty year olds, a few thirty year olds who still haven't lost the dream, and then the rest, they are spread out but most of it is at the high-end." *55 year old male, recent resident, low income, living in OBNL housing.*

These residents seemed to see these changes as a sign of the times and placed a lot of hope in having a staff of young enthusiastic people bringing new life to the organization. However, some residents seemed to be more optimistic than others that this hope could be realized, that the community sector could return to its militant heyday or reinvent itself with renewed vigour through the involvement of a new generation of activists into the organization.

Among long-term residents who participated in local community struggles and demonstrations, there was a widespread sentiment that there was a distinct lack of participation from the new residents in the neighbourhood. One lifelong resident who participated regularly in community events recounted how wealthy newcomers rarely mobilized along side existing residents in the neighbourhood:

> **ID-02:** "Well, I think when I go there, what I see a lot of is people like me, who it's been years that they are here. I don't see too many new residents, the rich and all that ... mobilizing for something ..." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.[155]*

This is complemented nicely by a comment made by one of the more affluent renters interviewed:

> AT: "Are you involved in local community issues at all?"

> **ID-03**: "Not really, not really. I'm concerned but not involved." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

One private sector renter who had been living in the neighbourhood for eight years regarded the incumbent residents of the neighbourhood as particularly militant and active and recounted a story of how he was aware of this tradition before moving to the neighbourhood.

> **ID-10**: "Well, we have a pretty active tradition down here in Saint-Henri. When I was still living up in NDG in Monkland Village, they were going to put a garbage dump literally in Saint-Henri under the Turcot. And everyone was like 'No, no, no.' They finally went as far as to go to the Minister of the Environment and he refused to sign

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[155] **ID-02:** «Ben, je pense que quand je vas là-bas, je vois beaucoup que c'est des gens comme moi, que ça fait des années qui est ici pis toute ça. Je vois pas beaucoup des nouveaux résidents, des riches pis toute ça...se mobiliser pour quelque chose...»

and to sign off on the environmental part. So that is how much it was, well, they are very active and they are very solid. And I think that that is a good tradition here. As people move out, well, that's the thing, we get less active." *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

His remarks highlight not only the past tradition of active engagement with community issues within the neighbourhood, but further, how as long-term residents move out of the neighbourhood (either by being pushed out, or moving of their own volition), the tradition of active engagement within the community is undermined.

A younger resident, who had been living in the neighbourhood eight years, remarked how in general it is becoming increasingly difficult to mobilize people and in particular how newcomers to the neighbourhood presented a particular challenge.

> **ID-26:** "That's one thing I noticed when I was at POPIR and now that I am a community organizer elsewhere, it is increasingly difficult to mobilize people. There, there is a core of people who are involved in organizations for several years, but newcomers do not get involved. I'll give you an example, one of my colleagues, he lives here in Pointe St-Charles, he's been living there a long time, he went to one of many new condo projects on the canal. So he entered a small clique for fun, to see what they were going to say, and the lady told him: "What is fun here is that you have the advantage of the canal, but you are backed onto the neighbourhood, so you do not need to be involved", so at the end of the day that is a selling point, "Come here, it is cool, you do not need to invest." It's a funny sales pitch, to not get involved in the neighbourhood, but ... For me it is the major problem that is happening in the neighbourhood. It is that people opt for comfort and after that are pretty much fairly indifferent to what is happening outside." *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*[156]

This may explain in part the lack of involvement of many of the newer residents in local community issues, as many may not actually see themselves as living in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. Recall comments earlier in this chapter regarding the recent recasting of the new-build developments along the Lachine Canal by incoming residents who saw themselves as residents of the Canal rather than the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, per se. This seems to be

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[156] **ID-26**: «C'est une des choses que j'ai remarquées quand j'étais au POPIR, pis maintenant que je suis organisateur communautaire, c'est de plus en plus difficile de mobiliser les gens. Il y a, il y a un noyau de personnes qui sont impliquées dans des organismes depuis plusieurs années, mais les nouveaux venus ne s'impliquent pas. Je vais te donner un exemple, un de mes collègues de travail, ça fait longtemps, lui y habite à Pointe St-Charles, ça fait longtemps qui habite là, pis y est allé a une nouveau projet de condo, un des nombreux sur le bord du canal. Pis, y était entré dans une petite clique pour le fun, pour aller voir ce qu'on allait lui dire, pis la dame lui a dit: «Ce qui est le fun ici, c'est que vous avez tout l'avantage du canal, mais vous faites dos au quartier donc vous avez pas besoin de vous impliquer », ce qui fait que dans le fond, c'est un argument de vente, «Venir ici, c'est cool, vous avez pas besoin de vous investir ». Pis de, de ne pas vous impliquer dans le quartier, c'est un drôle d'argument de vente là, mais... Pour moi c'est, c'est... c'est le problème majeur qui se passe dans le quartier. C'est que les gens optent pour leur confort pis après ça y sont pas mal assez indifférents de ce qui se passe à l'extérieur.»

validated by Bélanger's (2010) research in the neighbourhood, where some traditional residents reproached incoming gentrifiers for their lack of involvement in social and cultural life in Saint-Henri (Bélanger 2010, 151). One resident, however, had a different interpretation as to why the newer residents to the neighbourhood did not get involved.

> ATM: "For instance, have you seen any of the new residents that are moving into the condos along the Canal, is there a sense that they are willing to participate or are participating in neighbourhood life?"

> ID-10: "Well, no. And that is one of the concerns actually, if you mention it like that. That is one of the concerns that I personally have. But I know that some of the community groups, like the Social Services Department at the CSSS are cognizant of that. Those people actually don't have the same needs as those that all these community groups have been oriented to serve. Those aren't their needs, plus they have a different set of needs that can't and won't be met. So they are like: 'Whatever, do I live in the neighbourhood, no, I live on the Canal, I don't live in Saint-Henri.' And they don't talk to me, they turn their back on me.'" *46 year old male, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This resident interpreted the lack of involvement in neighbourhood life and community issues by new residents along the Canal to the fact that local organizations are only oriented towards serving the needs of the traditional low-income population and thus, new residents do not feel that their interests are represented by local community groups and feel no desire to involve themselves in organizations in the neighbourhood.

The shift in membership within the key housing advocacy organization (POPIR) in Saint-Henri and the difficulty in involving a younger generation of long-term residents into its fold, could pose problems in terms of keeping these residents within the neighbourhood. However, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, many of the grown children of long-term residents seem to be residing outside the neighbourhood (some of whom wish to return). This could explain in part the difficulty in renewing the organization's membership. It could also suggest that the low-income long-term population of the neighbourhood is more fragmented than was historically the case. If so, this would resonate with Bacqué and Sintomer's (2002) finding's elsewhere, that increasing fragmentation and internal cleavages are characteristic of community-based neighbourhood life in the post-industrial era, compared to 'traditional' working-class neighbourhoods of the past.

These changes however, could also be due in part to the changing orientation of the community sector over the past 40 years in Montréal. Hamel (1995) argues that the first wave of urban social movements in Montréal during the 1960s and 1970s focused on a number of housing related issues in response to the demolition and transformation of working-class

neighbourhoods, such as housing conditions, tenants' rights and the development of social housing. Beginning in the 1970s however, many activists of the early urban social movements began to be engaged in the organization and production of urban services (Hamel 1995, 290-291). In the eighties, with the retrenchment of the welfare state, urban social movements in Montréal launched the idea of services managed by the local population with a perspective grounded in participatory democracy and supported by community organizations. This resulted in downloading of responsibility to the community level, which in turn contributed to the institutionalization and professionalization of the community sector (Hamel 1995, 295). Shragge (2003) argues that during this time the community sector grew and shifted from a focus on mobilization and political education to service-provision, which then required skilled providers with university training or on-the-job experience, in turn encouraging a growing professionalism (Shragge 2003, 50). "The funding from government, the service delivery agenda, and the expansion of responsibilities of community organizations decreased their involvement in political and social struggles" (Shragge 2003, 51). Thus, this transition implied a shift in community organizing from a process of grassroots development and conflict to 'innovative' and professionalized services representing the needs and "interests" of their clients (Shragge 2003, 51).

Martin (2007) argues that in gentrifying neighbourhoods long-term residents tend to be involved in their neighbourhoods through local churches, block clubs, civic organizations and other social organizations. Accordingly, political displacement occurs when they become out-numbered within such organizations by newer residents, or through the creation of new organizations, dominated by new residents. Long-term residents organized to prevent political displacement and expressed concerns about the rising political influence of newcomers and concerns that long term residents would lose both power and a sense of belonging in their neighbourhoods (Martin 2007, 605, 623). Fraser (2004) found in Highland Park, Chattanooga, that a subset of new residents essentially dominated the course of neighbourhood change and actively fought against and discursively constructed incumbent groups as being obstacles to the dominant image of what the neighbourhood should be (Fraser 2004, 454). In our case, we have an example of discord between the institutionalized community sector in Saint-Henri and a residents' association that opted not to formalized in order to remain more autonomous. However, as we will explore in more detail below, political displacement as such is not underway in Saint-Henri. The Village des Tanneries is a small enclave neighbourhood within Saint-Henri. The neighbourhood is currently the focus of a lot of attention due to the plans to redevelop the Turcot Interchange and the fact that housing within the neighbourhood was set for

expropriation. While the revised plan is set to expropriate much less housing (100 as opposed to 160 units) within the neighbourhood, there are many other quality of life concerns associated with living in close proximity to such a large-scale redevelopment project. There is an active resident's association called the Comité Citoyen des Village des Tanneries (CCVT), which has been active in organizing in the neighbourhood for the past ten years. The organization's founder, a private sector renter living in the neighbourhood, chose not to formally register the group, so that it remained less bureaucratic.

> **ID-01:** "So we started the Citizens Committee of the Village des Tanneries and much to the annoyance of local community groups we choose not to register as a formal group in order to remain informal and less bureaucratic. So we don't really have a source of funding that's very consistent, we just depend on goods in kind and things like this. But because we are not registered as a formal community group, for whatever reason, I have been told that because they feel that because we are less easy to control, that a lot of community groups are very defensive about, and unwilling to acknowledge the Citizens Committee as a real group. So, we've dealt with, we've participated in meetings with different community groups for the past ten years, we've been pretty involved so, it's more of a political thing. The problem with the community groups right now is that all their funding tends to come from the City and so, they tend to become very institutionalized themselves in terms of the decisions they make and how apply or fulfill their mandate." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

This 'annoyance' on the part of the established community sector seems to resonate with what Shragge (2003) describes elsewhere in Montréal, whereby when residents mobilize of their own accord, this may create conflict within the established community sector, where jealousy can arise from other local organizations that feel they have a mandate to represent the interests of residents and are uncomfortable about the fact that residents want their own voice (Shragge 2003, 35). In Saint-Henri, the CCVT has been active in the neighbourhood for ten years, organizing activities, creating bulletin boards throughout the neighbourhood to keep local residents up to date of local happenings, organizing weekly neighbourhood barbecues, fighting for more green space in the neighbourhood, and in 2004 helping to organize a tree planting project which involved planting over 2000 trees along the railway track at the south border of the neighbourhood where it is cut off from the rest of Saint-Henri. Then ProVert Sud-Ouest helped to create a community garden along the Allée des Tanneries by installing raised beds for gardening. However, soon after, ProVert's funding was reduced, so they were unable to continue running the new community garden. At this point another Saint-Henri resident stepped in and started a non-profit organization (OBNL) funded out of his pocket in order to keep the community garden running. This however, created some discord among 'community' groups within the neighbourhood.

ID-10: "With the Village des Tanneries group, (…) there has been a disconnect, (…) since our disagreement, with that community group, forget myself but our community group is not getting emails sent about events that they are putting on, instead, I am getting them from POPIR Comité Logement because CCVT connects with them. (...) I spent my own money to open that OBNL and garden because number one, I didn't want to see that garden fail and number two, people were frightened that CCVT was going to come in and take it over. (…) CCVT outright accused me of being a thief and stealing that garden. (…) I'm like, 'Stole from you? You don't have anything on me, you rent your apartment as well.' It's a community garden, that's the whole thing; it is a community garden for all people. (…) So I did what I felt was right. We have a Board of Directors; we've had five meetings a year, and every thing's registered. We are moving forward and becoming a member of Solidarité Saint-Henri, an umbrella group of community groups and that is something I was doing as a way to undo the division." *46 year old man, longstanding resident, modest income living in private rental housing.*

This 'story' serves to highlight a number of salient points. First, it serves as an example of how gentrifiers (albeit a modest income renter) can set up parallel organizations (in this case a privately funded non-profit organization) within gentrifying neighbourhoods that end up vying for power with an already existing organization (an important indicator of *potential* political displacement according to Martin (2007)). Further, not unlike what Fraser (2004) found elsewhere, such groups may discursively construct longer-term groups as an impediment or obstacle to what the dominant image of what the neighbourhood (or in this case a community garden as a microcosm) should be. It is important to note however, this 'story' does not constitute a significant example of 'political' displacement in Saint-Henri. Mark Davidson's (2008) investigation of indirect displacement in three neighbourhoods with substantial new-build gentrification along the Thames in London revealed much more concrete examples of explicit conflicts between new and existing residents. For instance, one site of conflict was over the plans to redevelop the main commercial street and evidence of gentrifiers' political weight and power giving them the upper hand in this contestation over defining the future dimensions of place. My research in Saint-Henri did not reveal evidence of this type of conflict underway in Saint-Henri. I can postulate a few possible reasons for this. First, London is near the top of the global economic hierarchy of advanced tertiary cities. Thus, it seems likely that the differences in power between low-income incumbents and incoming gentrifiers (in both economic terms and political terms) are more extreme than what is observed in our case in Montréal. Second, it might also be a matter of timing, as incoming condo dwellers living along the Lachine Canal in Saint-Henri were not yet actively mobilized in the neighbourhood at the time of fieldwork – a situation that could change if their number increase and if turnover is not too high.

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Second, this example reveals some of the difficulties that can arise in the context of the bureaucratization of the 'traditional' community sector in Québec. The CCVT is somewhat on the margins of the community sector in Saint-Henri, due in large part to their decision not to formalize and become an 'official' community group, a decision made to avoid the bureaucracy of the formal community sector, and to maintain autonomy. However, this decision severely hampered their access to resources and ultimately the CCVT's ability to shape the future of the community garden that they were central to beginning. While the CCVT was initially integral in improving the 'public space' along the Allée des Tanneries, when ProVert was no longer able to maintain the garden due to funding cutbacks, another resident of the neighbourhood stepped in and created a 'formal' community organization to manage the garden. This serves to highlight the wider transition in the formal community sector outlined above from a focus on mobilization and grassroots struggle towards service provision, professionalization and institutionalization highlighted above. Neighbourhood groups squarely focused on a more grassroots level, find themselves in conflict with this more institutionalized way of operating. It is also useful to understand this shift in terms of governance and particularly how the shift to neo-liberalism has also implied a shift from urban government to urban governance, within which collaborations among different actors preoccupied with social and economic development of local territories constitute a form of 'local' governance. Within this 'local' governance scheme, civil society (through community organizations) play an important role (Friedmann 1998). Inherent in this transition to 'governance' is increasing horizontality and interdependence between the public, private and voluntary sectors (Fontan et al. 2009). This however, has also implied greater 'institutionalization' of the community sector (as detailed above), which may impose limits on both autonomy and democracy, as the majority of funding for such organizations comes from other levels of government, which limits the degree to which they can act completely autonomously. It was precisely to avoid this institutionalization and the potential limits on autonomy that formal status and funding entails that the CCVT chose to remain an 'informal' neighbourhood organization, despite significant and on-going engagement in the community for over ten years.

> **ID-01:** "Because I mean basically we did not want to replace any existing community organization in fulfilling their mandate. We wanted to simply encourage different groups like ProVert to come into the neighbourhood and do what they do and for the CLSC or for Prevention Sud-Ouest for example to come in and do what they do and I had suspected that if we were to become a proper group then they would more easily say: "Well this is your neighbourhood, you deal with that problem." And we don't have the resources to do that." *47 year old woman, longstanding resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

Due to the limited resources inherent in maintaining this 'informality,' the CCVT were unable to step in when another resident chose to start his own OBNL in order to manage a community garden the CCVT had been involved in creating.

In sum, this section has explored the political engagements of long-term residents within the neighbourhood. The difficulty in renewing the membership of the main housing advocacy group within the neighbourhood highlights that there may be more fragmentation (or diversity) among low-income long-term renters than was the case in the past when Saint-Henri was a 'traditional' francophone working-class neighbourhood. There is much more heterogeneity among residents within the neighbourhood than was historically the case, as the assertion that community organizations within the neighbourhood were not oriented toward serving and did not represent the needs of incoming residents suggests. However, this increasing heterogeneity extends beyond tenure observed through the increasing diversity among renters themselves, as earlier comments on the increasing number of recent immigrants, queers, artists and students and language divisions highlighted. Thus, a 'cohesive' working-class in Saint-Henri may be less evident than in the past.

Additionally, unlike what has been found elsewhere (Davidson 2008), in Saint-Henri there is no evidence of political displacement in terms of incoming residents vying for power with incumbent residents in their attempts to shape the future dimensions of place in the neighbourhood. This study did reveal the formation of a parallel 'formal' community organization to manage an established community garden within Villages des Tanneries, when an already established informal neighbourhood group within the neighbourhood could have served this purpose. While the creation of parallel organizations by incoming gentrifiers is one of Martin's (2007) indicators of potential political displacement, in this case both organizations were created by marginal gentrifiers and as such political displacement per se is not underway to date. This 'story' also highlights some of the tensions inherent in the institutionalization of the community sector in Montréal and the shift from a focus on grassroots mobilization and conflict towards providing professionalized services and the 'marginalization' of neighbourhood groups who prefer to stay on the less bureaucratic, more grassroots end of the spectrum.

8.5 Exclusionary Displacement

Twenty-five years ago, Marcuse (1986) raised the concern that as neighbourhoods gentrify, they would become increasingly inaccessible to low and modest-income households as competition for more economically privileged households pushed housing costs beyond their

means. There was definitive evidence of this type of indirect displacement underway, however it seemed to depend upon one's socio-economic position. In Saint-Henri, there were numerous respondents who expressed the view that due to the changes underway in the neighbourhood, the lack of affordable rentals created significant problems for those in private rental market. Many respondents (particularly those in public or coop housing within the neighbourhood) said that friends or family were on the waiting list for social and community housing in the neighbourhood, and that this was their only hope of returning. This echoes Teixeira's (2007) finding, that as Toronto's Little Portugal gentrified, the increase in housing prices prevented former residents from moving back to the neighbourhood from suburban areas. Significantly, this lack of affordable housing and the difficulties inherent in friends and family wanting to come back to live in the neighbourhood and being unable to do so, had the effect of eroding the sense of belonging for some remaining long-term residents.

> **ID-23(b)**: "Yes, sure, because it's like in our neighbourhood, we are no longer at home. We cannot come and go as we want. Worse is like all of a sudden you, well once you leave, the minute you leave it's already there, when you're in private rental housing it is not easy, but if you leave the neighbourhood, it is even harder to return. So it is like you are no longer at home, no longer able to come and go as you want. It's finished. You no longer have that feeling of belonging, of being at home. Finished." *[translation] 51 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in coop housing.* [157]

However, it was not only among lifelong Saint-Henri residents that there was the sense that they neighbourhood was suffering from a lack of affordable rentals. Even among those who were able to etch out a place in the private rental market within the neighbourhood five years ago, there was evidence that their peers (who were modest-income households) were unable to do so now. Nonetheless, one respondent whose friends were currently priced out of the neighbourhood, saw this situation as temporary and related to the life-cycle and hypothesized that as his peers became more established in their career paths, they would be able to find housing within the neighbourhood.

> ATM: Ok, so you have family or friends who want to move to Saint-Henri, but are unable because housing costs are too expensive now?
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> **ID-26**: "Oh, many! Well a couple with a child who wanted to come here that have not been able to. They have surprisingly found a lower rent in the Petite Patrie. I don't know, it's the same process that is happening there, but they looked really hard!

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[157] **ID-23(b)**: "Oui, certain, parce que c'est comme si notre quartier, on n'est plus chez nous. On ne peut pas rentrer pis sortir comme qu'on veut. Pis c'est comme, un coup tu, ben un coup tu sors, c'est, déjà là, quand t'es au privé c'est pas facile, mais si tu sors du quartier, c't'encore plus difficile de revenir. Faque t'es pu chez vous comme tu n'es pas capable de rentrer pis sortir comme tu veux. C'est fini là. Tu l'as pu ce sentiment d'appartenance pis de, pis d'être chez vous. Fini."

They were looking for a yard, a courtyard for their baby. Actually, they wanted to live on the first floor. Maybe not a court, but wanted to be on the 1st floor and they were not able to find something here. For others, people who live NDG who wanted to come here, but they have not found anything. But at the same time I know I have friends who have... education, jobs, and even they are not capable, but I'm sure in 10 years they would be able to come here without problem." *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.* [158]

Some respondents however, felt that the neighbourhood was still clearly within reach for their friends and family. Indeed, the interviewee quoted below, who had been living in the neighbourhood eight years, was able to find housing for both his sister and elderly father within a block of his apartment in order to facilitate caring for his father in his old age.

ATM: "Do you have other friends or family that would like to move to Saint-Henri but are unable to do so because the cost of housing has become too high here?"

ID-03: "No. It is still within reach. Especially compared to other neighbourhoods, I mean if you compare to the Plateau, I mean, come on, it's the same types of apartments. I lived at Marianne and St. Hubert, I had the same type of apartment that I do now and it was like three times what I pay. I mean I am pretty lucky, I have really low rent. I got really lucky with my place and it was horrible when I moved in and we fixed it up." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle income, living in private rental housing.*

This respondent however, was clearly in a much more comfortable economic position than those who expressed the view that the neighbourhood had become too expensive. This finding resonates with Millard-Ball's (2002) findings in Stockholm, that as competition for rental housing increases in gentrifying neighbourhoods, more affluent renter households are at an advantage due to their larger incomes and ability to pay higher rents (Millard-Ball 2002, 852). An important caveat however, is that this resident anticipated that he might not be able to become a homeowner in the neighbourhood, an aspiration of his, due to the wider changes under way (refer to Section 6.1.5).

However, the interviews also revealed that some long-term Saint-Henri residents had *chosen* to go to suburban areas, independent of gentrification pressures, as due to the combination of the lack of affordable housing within the neighbourhood, its character as a poor

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[158] **ID-26**: "Ah, plusieurs! Ben un couple avec un enfant qui aurait voulu venir ici pis qui n'ont pas pu. Ils ont surprenant trouvé un loyer moins cher dans la Petite Patrie. Je ne sais pas, c'est le même processus qui se passe là-bas, mais, pis y cherchait vraiment beaucoup là! Y cherchait, ben eux, y voulaient une cour, une petite cour pour leur bébé. Euh, en fait, ils voulaient habiter le premier étage. Peut-être pas une cour, mais y voulaient être au 1er étage pis y étaient pas capable de trouver ça, pis d'autres, un, ben des gens qui habitent à NDG auraient voulu venir ici, y ont pas trouvé. Mais en même temps j'ai des amis qui ont des études, des emplois, pis même eux sont pas capables, mais, je suis sûr que dans 10 ans, ils seraient capables de venir ici sans problème."

neighbourhood and the greater accessibility to green space in suburban areas, they felt you could have more for less in more peripheral areas.

> **ID-02:** "No. The people I know all want to leave Saint-Henri! Many people I know want to leave here. First, because the cost of housing is too expensive, second, well, it's not a neighbourhood ... how could I say ... popular ... it is a neighbourhood in poverty, there is a lot of poverty here ... So that Mercier, Châteauguay, everyone goes there. Saint-Henri has wound up there! Everyone is going to the suburbs."
>
> ATM: "Because it's cheaper there?"
>
> **ID-02**: "Well, it is equivalent, as I said earlier, the price of housing is equal to here, almost. And you have more space, a garden." *[translation] 32 year old, woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.* [159]

This counter-example recalls Hamnett's (2003) argument that while there was undoubtedly gentrification-induced-displacement (both direct and indirect forms) underway in London, it is important not to ignore the long-term changes in industrial and occupational structure in London over the last 40 years (Hamnett 2003, 2421). He argues further: "The transformation that has taken place in the occupational class structure of London has been associated with the gradual replacement of one class by another, rather than large-scale direct displacement" (Hamnett 2003, 2424). Atkinson (2003a) argues in response however, that there is a fine line to be walked in between local stories of displacement and loss and macro scale explanations for London's success. Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) argue further that Hamnett's statement above may in fact allude to the staggering scale of gentrification and displacement in London, where there is no longer much of a working class left in the occupational class structure of the inner city (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008, 218). So the question remains to what degree the suburbanization of the working-class is due to gentrification-induced-displacement as Atkinson (2000), Slater (2006) and Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) argue, or to processes of class replacement as Hamnett suggests. In Montréal, both processes seem to be going on: some long-term residents who have left the neighbourhood cannot come back because competition has pushed rents beyond their capacity to pay and thus experience a form of indirect displacement; while others, due to the gentrification and rising rents within the neighbourhood, decided they could get more for less in suburban areas and moved of their own accord. One lifelong Saint-Henri resident expressed

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[159] **ID-02:** "Non. Le monde que je connais veulent toute partir de Saint-Henri! Beaucoup de personnes que je connais veulent partir d'ici. Premièrement, parce que le coût des logements est rendu cher, pis deuxièmement, c'est pas un quartier...comment je pourrais dire... Renommé… quartier où en pauvreté, il est beaucoup là...Fait que Mercier, Châteauguay, tout le monde s'en va là. Saint-Henri est rendu là-bas! Tout le monde s'en va en banlieue.

ATM: Parce que c'est moins cher là-bas?
ID-02: Ben, ça équivaut, comme j'ai dit tantôt, ça équivaut le même prix qu'un logement ici, quasiment. Et vous avez plus d'espace, un jardin."

the view that although many of her friends and acquaintances from the neighbourhood had moved to more peripheral areas to save on housing costs, some were trying to make their way back.

> **ID-29(a):** "They all come back. Everyone goes away but at some point, those who come back it's because it is their roots. And their parents were raised around here, as they were too. So why is it that they went to live anywhere else, for example my sister, who moved to Ville St-Pierre? It is because the rent in Ville St-Pierre and the rent here is a difference of $300." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.* [160]

Thus, the neighbourhood was now beyond reach of many of its original inhabitants, who had moved to more peripheral areas. Nonetheless, more affordable rentals were still available in some neighbourhoods close by, such as Ville St. Pierre.

In sum, as the forces of gentrification take hold in Saint-Henri there is evidence of exclusion. In particular, as lifelong low-income residents leave the neighbourhood, either through the forces of displacement or through choice due to the lack of affordable rentals in the area, those who decide later to try and come back experience difficulty doing so. The presence of social and community housing (i.e. off-market housing options) are a saving grace here for those who manage to find their way into them. But the experience cited here of low-income long term residents can surely be generalized to the low-income population of Montréal, as gentrification and competition from more affluent households have pushed much of the private rental stock beyond their financial capacities. Modest-income renters too are at risk here, though to a lesser extent than low-income renters, as some modest income residents expressed that their peers were unable to find housing within the neighbourhood. These findings resonate with Atkinson et al.'s (2011) work which argued that there were twin pressures at work in relation to displacement in Australian cities. On the one hand, in many central locations, gentrification and the expansion of high-income households have increased pressures on many households. This had the effect of creating increased housing stress for many renters, while others had chosen to move to more peripheral neighbourhoods, including suburbs, to lessen their housing costs. On the other hand, the wider context surrounding these changes is changes in the metropolitan housing system, such that housing stress and housing affordability issues are touching a broader range of income groups (Atkinson et al. 2011, 49).

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[160] **ID-29(a)**: "Y'r'viennent toutes. Y s'en aillent mais y'r'viennent à un moment donné, parce que c'est, ceux qui r'viennent c'est leurs racines. Pis leurs parents y'ont été élevés icitte pis eux autres aussi. Pis le pourquoi qu'y allaient vivre ailleurs là, comme entre autres, ma soeur, qui est déménagée à Ville St-Pierre? C'est parce que le loyer à Ville St-Pierre pis le loyer c'est une différence de 300 dollars."

8.6 **Chapter summary:**

The goal of this chapter was to explore the significance of the neighbourhood in the everyday lives of long-term renters, in order to access whether the concept of 'indirect' displacement (broken down into four constituent types: social, cultural, political and exclusionary displacement see Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3) is useful in terms of understanding incumbent residents' experiences of gentrification in Saint-Henri. We began by exploring the neighbourhood as a potential source of locally based community. Exploration of residents' social networks revealed that there were a number of factors that led to social displacement including: fires and repossession-induced-displacement combined with the lack of affordable replacement housing; the loss of familial atmosphere experienced through the dilution of networks of weak ties; high turnover in rental housing due to lack of maintenance; and the experience of repossession-induced-displacement which had the effect of damaging residents' 'mazeway,' (the cognitive map through which a resident understands their relationship to the world) such that re-integration elsewhere within the neighbourhood posed significant challenges.

To explore cultural displacement in terms of shifting neighbourhood cultures and 'sense(s) of place' we explored residents' experiences of and feelings about neighbourhood parks and facilities, neighbourhood retailing and the quality of the physical neighbourhood environment in order to access whether there were indications of appropriation and displacement. With regards to level of comfort in neighbourhood parks, the increased presence of dogs (attributable in part to recent increases in population along the Lachine Canal) was a point of conflict. As Tissot (2011) found, the increased presence of dogs in a gentrifying neighbourhood has an important relationship to indirect displacement in terms of shifting 'sense(s) of place' in neighbourhood public spaces. Another factor that influenced levels of comfort in neighbourhood parks was the presence of neighbourhood organizations. Activities facilitated by such groups provided key opportunities for social interaction with other neighbourhood residents. The redevelopment of the Lachine Canal and the shifting 'sense(s) of place' that resulted were a point of divergence among long-term residents. While some were appreciative of improved infrastructure, the shifting 'sense of place' therein led others to feel that the area had become too frequented. This echoes Bélanger's (2010) findings in the same neighbourhood, where she found that the redevelopment had the effect of diluting incumbent residents' sense of belonging there. While improvements were widely appreciated, they were greeted with cynicism by some long-term residents, due to the perception that they were only made after a more affluent population moved into the neighbourhood. This is line with Freeman's (2006) research where some perceived such improvements to be for the gentrifiers, resulting from collaborations between city

officials and white incoming residents. Local public services were widely appreciated by those that utilized them, both for the services they provided and the opportunities for crossing paths and meeting other local residents. As such, in contrast to neighbourhood parks, there was more unanimous appreciation among long-term residents for such services.

The exploration of neighbourhood retailing exposed real fault lines or points of divergence among interviewees. Along the main commercial artery there was a lack of basic services relevant to the needs of some of long-term renting population, forcing residents to leave the neighbourhood to go to regional shopping centres. The new local supermarket was also a source of conflicting views. Some low-income lifelong and long-term residents felt the new store was not only too expensive but also that the shift to the new store had destroyed the familial atmosphere of their local neighbourhood grocer, thus diminishing their sense of belonging there. This serves as concrete evidence of commercial displacement in Saint-Henri. Interestingly however, another lifelong resident continued to shop there despite the exorbitant prices with the understanding that unless she continued to do so, local friends and acquaintances employed there would lose their jobs. However, some of the more modest income renters felt that this supermarket was a real improvement, though they were likely not priced out of the new store to the same degree. The local produce market was also a point of conflicting views. Some felt upset by the lack of availability of traditional Québecois ingredients and the exorbitantly high prices of produce there, while others felt that the market had never truly been destined to the local Saint-Henri population. These results indicate that especially in the case of low-income lifelong residents, cultural displacement had taken place in some neighbourhood retail establishments. This is similar to Lehman-Frisch's (2002; 2008) findings in San Francisco, where the absence of institutions and services to serve the incumbent population and exclusion from the 'culture of money' usurping the neighbourhood led some incumbent residents to experience cultural displacement.

With regards to the physical environment of the neighbourhood, residents agreed there was room for improvement, with back alleys and some neighbourhood parks frequently mentioned as 'problem' areas. Lack of pride or respect for the local environment (noted in terms of garbage accumulation) was a key issue. Some long-term renters attributed this to the incumbent population. Others, however, saw it as the doing of incoming condo dwellers who lacked respect for the wider local neighbourhood. Safety was an issue for some residents, interestingly, in the same areas that were noted as in need of attention (i.e. back alleys and some neighbourhood parks). Many residents felt that safety had improved in recent years, due

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in part to the gentrification process and the diminishing presence of bikers in the neighbourhood. This is similar to Pashup-Graham's (2003) findings where long-term residents in a gentrifying neighbourhood appreciated some changes induced by gentrification including a drop in gang activity and related crime. Others however, felt that Saint-Henri was a safe neighbourhood especially compared to elsewhere in Montréal and abroad. However, the loss of weak ties within the neighbourhood was mentioned as a factor diminishing the feeling of safety in the Saint-Henri.

To explore the potential of political displacement, we examined residents' political and community engagements and recent changes thereto. The difficulty renewing the base of the tenants' rights organization indicates that there may be more fragmentation (or diversity) among low-income renters than in the past. Furthermore, there is certainly more tenure diversity than in the past evidenced through the increases in owner-occupation throughout the neighbourhood. This increasing diversity (particularly among renters) seems to resonate with Bacqué and Sintomer's (2002) findings where the increasing precariousness of wage society led to a sharpening of internal cleavages and fragmentation of neighbourhood political life. In our case, it seems there is no longer necessarily a 'unified' working-class in Saint-Henri, but rather multiple marginal populations, with the increasing presence of recent immigrants, queers, artists, students and language divisions. However, there was no evidence of political displacement underway in Saint-Henri. Unlike recent investigations elsewhere (Davidson 2008) there were not concrete examples of explicit conflicts between incoming and incumbent residents trying to shape the future dimensions of neighbourhood and place.

Last, as the process of gentrification accelerates in Saint-Henri there is evidence of exclusionary displacement. Particularly among lifelong low-income residents who had left the neighbourhood either through displacement or through choice as they sought more affordable rentals elsewhere, those who wish to move back experience difficulty doing so. This finding is in line with Teixeira's (2007) work in Toronto, where long-term Portuguese immigrant residents trying to return from suburban areas experienced difficulty doing so. Trying to find one's way into social and community housing within the neighbourhood is the only recourse available to such residents. This experience can likely be generalized to the low-income renting population of Montréal, who, as the inner city gentrifies, find themselves increasingly priced out of the private rental market. Additionally, modest-income residents may also be at risk here. These findings are in line with those of Atkinson et al. (2011) where there were mutually reinforcing pressures at play: gentrification caused increasing housing stress for remaining low-income

residents and out-migration by some to lessen housing costs; but more broadly due to changes in the metropolitan housing system, housing stress and affordability issues were touching a wider range of income groups.

CONCLUSION

This thesis makes a substantial contribution to the literature on displacement due to gentrification and mega-project development through a case study of the Saint-Henri neighbourhood in Montréal. At the outset, this thesis had two main objectives: 1) to operationalize the expanded conceptualization of indirect displacement developed in my conceptual framework, in order to generate insight on the challenges faced by long-term residents in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, which was undergoing gentrification; and 2) to explore the experience of direct displacement due to mega-project development which was also occurring in the neighbourhood, and in so doing to privilege the voices of those affected as such accounts are extremely sparse in the existing literature.

Towards emotional geographies of displacement:

Davidson and Lees (2010) argue that a phenomenological reading of dis*place*ment provides a powerful critique of the positivist tendencies present in theses on replacement such as Hamnett (2003) who argues one class (professionals) gradually replaces another (the working class), rather than large-scale direct displacement occurring: "it means analysing not the spatial fact or moment of displacement, rather the 'structures of feeling' and 'loss of sense of place' associated with displacement" (Davidson and Lees 2010, 403). This thesis aimed at gleaning a broader understanding of the varied ways in which long-term residents experience neighbourhood change under the individual and combined forces of urban restructuring, mega-project development (including new-build) and traditional gentrification, and at understanding what meaning (if any) displacement had in their lives.

In terms of evidence of indirect displacement in Saint-Henri, Table 9.1 synthesizes findings broken down into each of the four constituent types developed in my conceptual framework. With regards to the impact of gentrification on incumbent renters' social networks, some resident's experienced feelings of sadness or loneliness due to loss of contact with friends and neighbours that resulted from the widespread fires and repossession-induced displacement within the neighbourhood and their displaced friends and neighbours inability to find replacement housing nearby due to severe shortage of affordable housing in the neighbourhood. This is similar in some ways to Fried's (1966) findings where those displaced experienced loneliness (or in more extreme cases grief) due to such loss of contact. In our case however, we have examined the feelings of those left behind rather than those displaced, only to discover that they too suffer from such changes underway in the neighbourhood. Another

form of social displacement experienced by some residents in Saint-Henri was the loss of familial atmosphere (formerly experienced through widespread weak ties) as networks of weak ties become increasingly diluted by the wider changes in the neighbourhood. This seems to be related to length of residence in the neighbourhood, with lifelong residents more susceptible to the loss of acquaintances over time. In Saint-Henri, all respondents interviewed reported having weak ties in the neighbourhood that they relied upon in various ways. Further, in some parts of the neighbourhood, the high turnover in rentals (due to lack of maintenance by landlords) was a factor that militated against locally based community and networks of weak ties, as some long-term residents found it required substantial energy to recreate ties with new neighbours on an annual basis. As such, the loss of weak ties caused by gentrification and neighbourhood change is likely to the detriment of wider community fabrics. These are extremely important findings in light of recent research on the relationship between social support and quality of life of disadvantaged populations in Saint-Henri and Pointe-Saint-Charles which revealed that: "variables related to social support constitute the best predictor of quality of life in economically disadvantaged people. Attachment, which provides emotional support, and reassurance of one's worth are the two variables that best predict quality of life" (Caron 2011, 11). Indeed, most researchers agree that social ties have a beneficial effect on mental health and psychological well-being (Kawachi and Berkman 2001; see also Cattell 2001).

In terms of assessing the evidence of cultural displacement we begin by synthesizing the findings on neighbourhood retail services. As more affluent residents move into a gentrifying neighbourhood, there is often an effect of the availability of commercial services. In some cases, this is to the advantage of lower-income residents, as middle-class purchasing power may led to a better array of neighbourhood services. In Saint-Henri, some modest and middle-income residents experienced changes in commercial services as an improvement in the neighbourhood's commercial landscape similar to what has been found elsewhere by Freeman (2006) in his work exploring the gentrification of Harlem. However, some low-income longstanding residents experienced changes in available commercial services as a form of cultural displacement, as the working-class culture of neighbourhood retailing was in part usurped by the upscaling of services to appeal to the upper income groups moving into the neighbourhood. Evidence of commercial displacement included the mismatch between new services and needs of long-term residents; the loss of familial atmosphere in neighbourhood grocer; the lack of availability of traditional Québécois ingredients at local market; and the lack of affordability of foodstuffs at the local grocer and the local produce market for many long-term residents. This is in line with Lehman-Frisch's (2002; 2008) findings whereby the absence of

commercial services upon which traditional residents relied, leaves them relegated to the margins economically and culturally. Similarly, recent research in the Petite-Patrie neighbourhood in Montréal revealed that gentrification triggered processes that led to social exclusion among elderly incumbent residents, such as the loss of social spaces for elderly residents which led to social disconnectedness and invisibility (Burns, Lavoie and Rose 2011, 1).

Moreover, this is similar in some ways to what has been recently observed by Davidson and Lees (2010) who explored the experience of incumbent residents in London neighbourhoods affected by new-build gentrification and found that while residents remained in place, a set of displacement processes similar to physical displacement were underway: the forced disconnection from familiar place and the phenomenological relocation into a new urban social context (Davidson and Lees 2010, 405). In the Wandsworth neighbourhood, due to the advanced stages of gentrification underway the transformation of the commercial landscape was quite advanced, with a plethora of boutiques, high-end restaurants and food stores having replaced previous neighbourhood facilities. Many residents saw such improvements as for others and not for them (Lees and Davidson 2010, 406; see also Doucet 2009; Mazer and Rankin 2011). The significant changes wrought by gentrification led residents to articulate a more advanced sense of displacement, imbued with feelings of bereavement, dislocation and disassociation (Davidson and Lees 2010, 406). Thus, it would appear that the cultural displacement underway in Saint-Henri experienced through commercial gentrification is less extreme than what is observed elsewhere, notably in London, perhaps due in part to its higher position in the urban hierarchy as a global city compared to Montréal's more modest status as a marginal advanced tertiary city. Indeed the rue Notre-Dame service inventory confirms that while there has been a relative increase in both chains and entrepreneurial businesses along this commercial street (these being indicators of commercial gentrification according to Zukin et al. (2009)), to date this does not seem to have had the effect of displacing a substantial number of local businesses or community services. Instead, the number of vacancies along rue Notre-Dame has diminished substantially over the 1996-2011 time period. However, it is not unreasonable to expect that as competition increases for commercial space on rue Notre-Dame, long-term local commercial services and community services will be vulnerable, leading to an increased mismatch between the needs of long-term incumbent residents and available commercial and community services. Recent research in Toronto has revealed that the continued availability of community-based social services within Parkdale served to maintain

critical social spaces of support and stability in the face of wider neighbourhood changes (Mazer and Rankin 2011; see also De Verteuil 2011).

Table 9.1: Evidence of Indirect Displacement in Saint-Henri

Type of indirect displacement	Evidence from past studies	Evidence in Saint-Henri
Social displacement	- Loneliness and grief – loss of contact with friends and/or neighbours (Fried, 1966) - Loss of security among elderly – i.e. loss of relations to be called upon for emergency help (Joyce 1963; Blondin 1967)	- Sadness/loneliness due to loss of friends/neighbours (due to fires or repossession and inability to find replacement housing) - Loss of familial atmosphere due to loss of weak ties - Inability to maintain weak ties due to high turnover in rentals
Cultural displacement	- Absence of commercial and community services upon which long-term residents relied (Lehman-Frisch 2002) – thus increased inconvenience, economic and cultural exclusion (see also Davidson and Lees 2010; Mazer and Rankin 2011)	- Mismatch between new commercial services and needs of long-term residents - No evidence of social services displacement - Loss of familial atmosphere in neighbourhood grocer - Lack of availability of traditional Québecois ingredients at local market - Loss of local Catholic Churches
	-Cultural dispossession – exclusion from imposed 'culture of money' (Lehman-Frisch 2008)	- Lack of affordability of local grocer and local produce market for many long-term residents
	- Conflicting uses of public space – (Freeman 2006; Tissot 2011)	- Presence of dogs in parks – point of discord between some long-term residents and incoming gentrifiers
	- Contesting 'senses of place' (Zukin 1991; Blomley 2004; Martin 2005)	- Identification with Saint-Henri neighbourhood vs. living along the Canal
Political displacement	- Political disempowerment relative to newer/more affluent residents (Martin 2007) - Concrete battles between new and incumbent residents to define the future dimensions of place (Davidson 2008)	- Less cohesive 'working-class' neighbourhood than in the past – evidenced through difficulty renewing membership of local tenants' organization - No evidence of political displacement to date
Exclusionary displacement	- Increased difficulty finding appropriate housing (Millard-Ball 2002) - Long-term residents wish to return but cannot (Teixeira 2007)	- Many long term residents wish to return but cannot until they have been accepted into social or community housing
	- Decreasing residential mobility and fewer opportunities to move due to increased competition (Millard-Ball 2002) - Inconvenience of remaining in unsuitable housing	- Family/friends cannot return: erodes sense of belonging for some who remain in the neighbourhood
	- Housing stress and affordability issues reaching a broader range of income groups (Atkinson et al. 2011)	- Housing stress and affordability issues wide(Ville de Montréal, 2006)spread among low and modest income renters - Modest and middle-income renters anticipate they will no longer be able to become owners in the neighbourhood

These results suggest that further entrenching social and community services along rue Notre-Dame may be an important strategy in order to provide spaces of support and continuity for long-term low-income residents in Saint-Henri in the face of wider neighbourhood changes.

In some gentrifying neighbourhoods it has been observed that the influx of new residents leads to a shifting sense of place in local public spaces, as conflicts arise between longstanding residents and newcomers (see Freeman 2006). In Saint-Henri, the increased presence of dogs in neighbourhood parks served as one example of how competing uses of public space can arise in gentrifying neighbourhoods and create conflicts between longstanding and more recent residents (who in this case have a disproportionate number of dogs). The provision of a dog park to respond to this increased incursion of dog culture has only mitigated the situation to some degree, as some dog owners prefer off-leash play in other neighbourhood parks. This complements Tissot's (2011) findings where gentrifiers actively use public spaces such as dog runs to create social boundaries by defining both insiders and those to be excluded. Interestingly though, in our case long-term residents were appreciative of such new spaces in the neighbourhood, in part because they provided opportunities to establish casual contacts with the incoming population, whereas more affluent renters avoided the dog run due to the presence of so-called aggressive breeds, thus choosing to walk their dogs off-leash and create conflicts with other park users, such as families with young children.

The Lachine Canal is another key hotspot in terms of shifting 'sense of place' in Saint-Henri. While most residents were appreciative of the improvements along the Canal, for others the Canal had just become too frequented, leading them to stop spending time there. Significantly, this study has revealed in contrast to past investigations such as Martin (2005) that symbolic aspects of place are important to some lifelong working-class residents in Saint-Henri, who were angered by incoming residents' attempts to recast the areas abutting the Canal as distinct from the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. More generally, there were some residents who while appreciative of general improvements in parks (including the Canal), expressed cynicism that such changes were made only once more high-income people were living in the neighbourhood. This is in line with Freeman's (2006) findings elsewhere, where improvements were perceived to be for 'them' and not for 'us' (Freeman 2006; see also Davidson and Lees 2010). Bélanger (2010) has recently explored gentrification and the appropriation of public space along the Lachine Canal in Montréal's southwest in order to assess whether long-term working-class residents were feeling chased out of their territory by incoming populations' uses of neighbourhood public space. In terms of long-term residents' use of the Canal, their feeling of

belonging seemed to have been diluted by the proliferation of new-build condominiums along the Canal. The author concludes tentatively that there has been a (re)definition of home territory among long-term residents, which excludes the Lachine Canal recreational corridor (Bélanger 2010, 152). However, due to the small sample size the author cautions that more interviews with long-term residents were needed in order to solidify this conclusion. Our study findings provide support for this hypothesis, as well as evidence that incoming residents are shifting the 'sense of place' along the Canal, as they symbolically recast this area as 'Canal-Marché' as distinct from the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. This is in line with Blomley's (2004) findings for Vancouver's Downtown Eastside where developers and incoming residents colluded to create a dominant 'sense of place' in which the dogma of 'highest and best use' manifests itself in terms of the development of up-scale lofts on formerly 'wasted' areas and constitutes an 'improvement.' Indeed, in our study we learned how a selling point of such new developments along the Canal was that they 'turn their back on the neighbourhood,' so new residents need not feel obligated to get involved in the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood.

This led some longstanding and lifelong residents to feel a profound disconnect and sense of social separation from the Lachine Canal condo dwellers. This was due in part to the orientation of the physical footprints of the new-build developments with their frontage onto the Canal rather than facing the wider Saint-Henri neighbourhood but further was manifest in new residents lack of social integration into the wider neighbourhood. Similarly, in Belanger's (2010) study traditional residents reproached newcomers for their lack of involvement in the social and cultural life of the neighbourhood (Bélanger 2010, 151). On a more concrete level, some long-term residents experienced discord with incoming condo dwellers and related their experiences of condescension and snobbery in their interactions with newcomers. This echoes what has been found elsewhere, where some long-term Parkdale residents reported feeling considerable anxiety due to the judgement and harassment they experienced in their uses of public space (Mazer and Rankin 2011, 829).

However, not all respondents reported feeling this social separation. Indeed there were a few cases of friendships with more affluent condo dwellers within the neighbourhood. However, such instances were almost pre-selected by having major points in common that facilitated such friendships, such as volunteer work at a local school combined with middle-class status or the parents sharing immigrant status in addition to their children playing together. This resonates with what has been found in previous research on social mix, whereby social proximity is filtered (i.e. it will only occur with others who are close in status to oneself) (Dansereau, Germain and

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Eveillard 1997, 2). Overall, residents' experiences with incoming condo dwellers in Saint-Henri are more aptly described by Robson and Butler's (2001) concept of social tectonics where relations between different social and ethnic groups were parallel rather than integrative in nature. Similarly, recent research in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Toronto, Parkdale, revealed that demographic social mix does not seem to be reflected in actual practices of social mixing between long-term, low-income users of social services in the area and the more recently arrived middle-class homeowners (Mazer and Rankin 2011, 826).

In Saint-Henri, neighbourhood organizations and services were frequently mentioned among interviewees as an important forum for meeting other neighbourhood residents, as well as being appreciated for the varied services they provided. Interestingly, a recent study of social capital among the poor found that residents that had access to more neighbourhood resources may also have been more likely to trust their neighbours and perceive shared norms precisely because it was through such institutions and public spaces that residents had the opportunity to meet others in the community (Curley 2010). In Saint-Henri simply rubbing shoulders in the streets with more affluent residents in the neighbourhood seems an unlikely way for incumbent residents to gain individual social capital, but the continued presence of a variety of neighbourhood organizations and services could provide important forums of collective social capital where such contacts might be established.

In terms of evidence of political displacement in Saint-Henri the findings are more ambiguous. The difficulty renewing the membership of the key housing and tenants' rights organization in the neighbourhood may indicate both an increase in heterogeneity among neighbourhood residents in general and among long-term low-income renters compared to the past when the area was a traditional Francophone working-class neighbourhood. This seems to echo Bacqué and Sintomer's (2002) research whereby with the shift to a post-industrial economy the constitution of 'disadvantaged' neighbourhoods has also changed, leading to a less unified working-class. This increasing heterogeneity among renters in the neighbourhood could have important implications in terms of the ability to mobilize and fight for the right to housing and against displacement, as it could result in increasing fragmentation and a less 'cohesive' working class than was the case historically. That said, the successes of "Mobilisation Turcot" in mobilizing against and minimizing the number of households affected by the purposed expropriations for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange would suggest that neighbourhood residents are still able to mobilize across differences in order to fight for their right to 'stay put' and to maintain a decent quality of life in their neighbourhood.

There is however, no evidence of political displacement underway in Saint-Henri to date. While there was evidence of the formation of a parallel 'formal' community organization to manage a community garden when a longstanding 'informal' organization already existed which could have served this purpose, this example does not constitute political displacement per se within the neighbourhood (see Davidson 2008). This 'story' does however serve to highlight the tensions ingrained in the professionalization and institutionalization of the community sector in Montréal, whereby neighbourhood groups who choose to remain informal in order to guard their autonomy and grassroots focus may find themselves relegated to the margins (Shragge 2003). Moreover, the question of political displacement in Saint-Henri is one that needs to be revisited at a later date due to the relatively recent incursion of upper and middle-income groups along the Lachine Canal. To date, there are no active residents' associations within the new-build condo developments along the Lachine Canal. However, as this population becomes more entrenched in the neighbourhood, they may mobilize around a competing vision of the neighbourhood and what they feel it 'ought' to be. In light of the equivocal evidence of political displacement in the case of Saint-Henri, I have some reservations about the concept itself (if for example, the local working-class had no real power to begin with, notwithstanding the strength of local organizations, isn't the debate about political displacement moot?)

In terms of evidence of exclusionary displacement, overall as gentrification accelerates in Saint-Henri it is clear that the forces of exclusion are increasingly at play. Similar to Teixeira's (2007) findings for the Little Portugal neighbourhood in Toronto, friends and family of long-term residents in Saint-Henri who try to come back to live in the neighbourhood find the private rental market prohibitively expensive. Indeed, getting on waiting lists for access to the social and community housing in the neighbourhood is the only feasible option for many residents who wish to return. This experience can surely be generalized to the low-income private renter population in other parts of inner-city Montréal, as gentrification and competition from more affluent households pushes private rental prices up, an increasing proportion of low-income people are finding themselves priced out of inner city neighbourhoods. This of course raises all sorts of concerns over the spatial mismatch between social service hubs in the inner-city and the increasing dispersion of lower income populations to more peripheral areas, not to mention the importance of access to the neighbourhoods well serviced by the Metro for lower income groups. Moreover, even among modest and middle-income renters (who are currently housed in the private rental market), there is concern that they will not be able to become property owners due to the wider changes in the neighbourhood. Like Atkinson et al.'s (2011) findings for Australian cities, it seems that Montréal is currently suffering from a wider housing affordability

crisis beyond gentrification per se. On the one hand, the continued traditional gentrification in Saint-Henri (and other gentrifying inner city neighbourhoods) and the influx of higher-income households has increased pressure on low and modest income households in terms of competition for available rental units, in some cases pushing rental prices beyond what they are able to pay. This affordability crisis in the rental housing market extends far beyond Saint-Henri. In the Montréal Metropolitan Region the vacancy rate in 2010 remained below 3% at 2.8% and declined to 2.5% in 2011 (IRIS 2010, 1; CMHC 2011, 1). The average rent in the Montréal Region was $698 in 2011, an increase of 2.6% between 2010-2011 (CMHC 2011, 3). Furthermore, since 2001 there has been a decline in the affordability of rental housing in Greater Montréal where median rents are increasing faster than median incomes of renter households (CMM 2011, 7). According to the last census in 2006, 261 000 households in Greater Montréal (more than a third of all renter households), spent 30% or more of their income on rent (CMM 2011, 7). On the other hand, within new-build developments in the neighbourhood and elsewhere in Montréal, even those which units are deemed 'affordable' homeownership units, targeted at first time buyers, are beyond many Montréalers' ability to pay, because 'affordability' is defined in terms of 120% of the regional median income. As such, it seems that there are broader difficulties in the Montréal housing system, whereby housing stress and housing affordability issues are touching a broader range of income groups. Similar pressures in Australia led Atkinson et al. (2011) to identify 'systemic displacement' underway, as inter-related to yet distinct from gentrification. Based on the intersection of these twin pressures, exclusionary displacement is underway, whereby an increasingly large number of households are prevented from accessing the neighbourhoods they would ideally like to live in.

Nuancing and deepening knowledge on direct displacement:

The second objective of this thesis was to deepen existing knowledge on direct displacement through the exploration of residents' experiences of the threat of displacement due to the expropriations deemed necessary for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange. The threat of direct displacement due to expropriation was a major source of discord in the lives of those affected. As has been found elsewhere, the stress associated with the fear of not being able to find adequate replacement housing within one's means that would afford the same quality of life was a major burden for those affected (see Atkinson et al. 2011). However, this was a burden faced by both renters and owners slated for expropriation, suggesting that homeowners too face significant difficulties with the looming prospect of expropriation, especially if they are elderly and bought into the neighbourhood long before it gentrified, making

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a diminishment in housing conditions inevitable if forced to move. As research elsewhere has revealed, the amount of stress provoked by forced relocation or in this case the looming prospect of it can be characterized as traumatic especially in the case of the elderly (See Key 1967; Kleinhans 2003). Moreover, as in previous studies (Fried 1967), commitment to the area pre-relocation had direct bearing on the likelihood of grief-based reactions in the event of displacement. In our study, those who alluded to grief-based reactions in the event of displacement were lifelong and longstanding residents with extensive locally based social networks. Similarly, recent Australian research revealed that gentrification-induced displacement was a highly difficult and emotional experience for residents who felt a kind of mourning for the areas and lives they left behind. This was commonly manifested as feelings of dejection and resentment and was in many cases accompanied by fear and worry about finding another place in such a competitive real estate market (Atkinson et al. 2011, 45). Furthermore, like Bresse, Fortin and Déspres' (2010) recent findings on the experience of expropriation elsewhere in Québec, elderly homeowners are also likely to have grief-based reactions in the event of being forcibly relocated. Moreover, Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock' seemed an apt characterization of the type of experience of one of the key informants interviewed, whereby the threat of expropriation and the potential destruction of her 'mazeway' destabilized her to such a degree that she was having extreme difficulty coping, to the point of being diagnosed with post-traumatic shock.

Additionally, the experience of serial displacement among renters created serious psychosocial effects, which were much more extreme than in the case of renters set for expropriation without such past experience of displacement. This constitutes a new finding undocumented in the literature reviewed. This resonates with Atkinson et al. (2011), whose work revealed serial displacement posed major psychosocial problems for those affected. Again, Fullilove's (2004) concept of 'root shock' seemed an apt descriptor for understanding the type of psychosocial reactions this individual experienced as a result of repeated experiences of direct displacement and the looming threat of forced relocation. While our exploration of the threat of forced relocation is limited by the small sample size (5 key informants), it is important to note that at least two of these cases demonstrated the relevance of the concept of 'root shock' drawn from environmental psychology (a body of literature not commonly used in urban studies research) for understanding the meaning of displacement.

Last, in terms of evidence for the effects of direct displacement, some partial accounts of repossession-induced displacement were explored. These accounts suggest that even the

threat of repossession can be a considerable source of stress, while the experience of repossession can cause a variety of emotional reactions including stress, anxiety and in extreme circumstances, shock (again see Fullilove 2004). Further, due to the wider gentrification of the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and the lack of affordable housing, repossession can have the effect of pushing residents out of the neighbourhood altogether, in some cases forcing them to double up with relatives elsewhere in the city. This is in line with Newman and Wyly's (2006) findings, that as a result of increased housing costs post-displacement, there was an increase in overcrowding especially among the elderly. Moreover, evidence presented herein suggests that among those who experience repossession-induced displacement and are able to find replacement housing close by, such events have a negative impact upon their existing social networks as they experience difficulty socially reintegrating into the neighbourhood.

Contributions and limitations of the thesis:

The key contribution of this thesis lies in the ability to grapple with and shed light upon the nuances of residents' experiences of gentrification and wider neighbourhood changes (including megaproject development) in the case study area. The indirect displacement framework developed and operationalized through fieldwork helped to highlight subtle differences in terms of residents' experiences depending upon their length of residence, in which part of the neighbourhood they lived and their housing tenure. Moreover, the inter-disciplinary approach utilized here combines theoretical and empirical insights from urban geography, urban sociology, environmental psychology and public health to understand the multiple meanings of displacement for residents and constitutes a significant contribution to the displacement literature to date. This trans-disciplinary approach enabled us to begin with exploration of the macro forces of urban economies and the effects of different phases of urban economic restructuring in order to provide contextualization in terms of the successive and on-going forces generating displacement of low-income residents from the industrial revolution to the present. The census-based analysis provided "objective" indicators against which the qualitative findings were assessed and contextualized. This was further augmented by the commercial services inventory that provided an approximate portrait of commercial gentrification to date in Saint-Henri. Moreover, while we begin at the level of macro forces generating displacement, the bulk of this thesis explores the emotional ecosystems or 'emotional geographies' of residents affected by such changes, thus exploring the complex interplay of structure and agency at global and local scales through experiences of everyday life.

Clearly, this thesis has certain limits. First, because it is a single case study of a neighbourhood in Montréal, which utilized qualitative methods, there is no larger claim to generalizability here. Rather, the goal is a theoretical generalization, i.e. through using case study methods to explore resident experiences of indirect displacement and the threat of direct displacement through expropriation, we have sought to generate better understandings of both the broader social processes and specific neighbourhood and community circumstances, that structure these particular experiences of displacement. Moreover, issues of sampling bias are relevant in our case due to the high number of interviewees that were recruited through neighbourhood based community organizations. The experiences highlighted by my research are in some ways particular to the specific context in Saint-Henri. However, the conceptual refinement of the concept of 'indirect' displacement into four constituent types and the testing of this framework is a significant contribution to understanding the multiple contours of displacement in Saint-Henri.

Second, due to the choice of single versus multiple case study design (in order to provide more depth to the exploration of displacement in Saint-Henri at the expense of breadth by choosing two or more different neighbourhoods), this thesis addresses itself very specifically to the 'geography of gentrification' in Saint-Henri. Replication in another Montréal neighbourhood undergoing gentrification and mega-project development would be necessary in order to make broader claims of this case being representative of 'geographies of gentrification' in Montréal. This work however does contribute a 'type' to a wider typology of different geographies of gentrification in Montréal.

Third, due to the qualitative nature of this study, there has been no attempt at measuring or mapping the contours of displacement in Montréal. Recent displacement studies such as Atkinson et al. (2011), Wyly et al. (2010) and Van Criekingen (2010) have all utilized origin/destination analysis in order to better understand where displacees are going. While beyond the scope of this work, such analyses are useful tools for policy and planning as inner-city gentrifying neighbourhoods also frequently serve as social service hubs. Thus, displacement may create a spatial mismatch between where necessary services are located and where the populations that need them have relocated to, which will need to be addressed as gentrification gains force in inner-city areas and low-income populations are pushed to more peripheral areas.

Where does displacement research go from here?

In terms of future directions for displacement research our findings suggest a number of trajectories further inquiry could follow. Further documentation of displacement (in any or all its forms) is necessary in other Canadian cities that have experienced significant gentrification and/or new-build developments. As in the approach adopted here, such investigations need to document the experience of displacement 'from below,' i.e. in the terms of those longstanding neighbourhood residents who experience it. Slater (2011) argues that we have much to learn from poignant accounts of 'love and loss' in the context of the devastation of displacement. Further investigations of displacement (especially direct displacement) need not limit themselves to exploring its impacts just for the most vulnerable residents (low-income renters). As this thesis highlighted, incumbent homeowners faced with the threat of forced expropriation can also suffer enormously, while research that explored homeowners reintegration post-forced relocation, such as Bresse, Fortin and Deprés (2010) also revealed that 'love and loss' and grief were characteristic elements of displacees' experiences. Thus, future research needs to explore the degree to which 'love and loss' are characteristic elements of displacement despite differences in housing tenure.

Moreover, there is a need for further development of phenomenological explorations of dis*placement* and the 'emotional geographies' of displacement in other Canadian cities to see if similar dynamics are observed elsewhere in neighbourhoods undergoing significant new build developments. Such accounts need to glean a more profound depth of understanding of the impact of displacement (in both direct and indirect forms) upon mental health for disenfranchised groups. Indeed, there is evidence that poverty and the material and social deprivation associated with it are primary causes of poor health among Canadians. As a result of such circumstances, quality of life can be compromised which in turn can led to negative impacts upon mental health, such as increased depression and anxiety (CMHA 2007, 3). Given recent research that highlights that indicators of social support were the most significant variables in predicting quality of life among disenfranchised low-income groups in Montréal neighbourhoods (Caron 2011), the added burden of displacement (in its various forms) or even the threat of displacement could constitute a serious barrier to well-being among low income people in Montréal and elsewhere.

In light of the current available evidence of indirect displacement in Saint-Henri, future research could build upon this work in order to develop specific planning recommendations in order to limit its negative effects upon incumbent residents in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, if the findings of this thesis are replicated in other Montréal neighbourhoods, effort needs to be

made towards developing wider planning and policy recommendations for the City of Montréal to implement in low-income neighbourhoods undergoing significant new build developments. This is especially pressing due to the fact that, as Rose (2010) highlights, Montréal municipal policy makers have long sought to avoid direct displacement of existing residents through encouraging new construction as a component of the City's neighbourhood revitalization and densification strategy rather than conversion of rental property, with the hope that increasing housing supply would reduce pressure on the existing rental housing stock (Rose 2010, 420). Moreover, since 2004 it has sought to provide a certain percentage of social and affordable rentals within such developments whenever they exceed over 200 units. However, to date there is no policy to address the effects of indirect displacement, which are in part an outcome of City policy. Indeed, Davidson and Lees (2010) remark that in contrast to direct displacement tied to traditional gentrification processes, "indirect displacement can avoid legislation (…) that seeks to protect poorer inner city residents from displacement" (Davidson and Lees 2010, 398).

This seems all the more pressing in light of the fact that the forces of gentrification will accelerate in coming years in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. At the outset of this thesis research, part of the concern about gentrification in Saint-Henri was grounded in the coming of the McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) on the Glen Yards (a rehabilitated brownfield adjacent to Saint-Henri above the Saint-Jacques Escarpment) and the fear that it might lead to an acceleration of gentrification as competing land uses led to increasing property values and speculation in adjacent areas. Further, there was concern that there would be an increased demand for housing in the abutting neighbourhoods, as professional employees of the new mega-hospital seek to move closer to their place of employment. A recent study by the City of Montréal revealed that among surveyed hospital employees, a staggering 40% of those surveyed intended to move within the next three years. Among those who were considered 'future buyers,' the Sud-Ouest Borough (of which Saint-Henri is a part and adjacent to the future MUHC) was the preferred destination neighbourhood. (Habiter Montréal 2012). This creates serious cause for concern. As this thesis has revealed, the neighbourhood is already changing significantly as a result of continuing traditional gentrification combined with the considerable new-build developments that have lined the banks of the Lachine Canal in the last fifteen years. While the true impacts of the MUHC development are beyond the scope of this work (the hospital will likely not be completed until 2014 at the earliest) the findings of the Ville de Montréal (2012) suggests that gentrification and displacement pressures on low-income households are likely to worsen in the coming years.

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In light of the findings highlighted by this exploration of displacement in Montréal, future scholarly research in urban studies in North American cities should continue to adopt qualitative approaches to exploring incumbent residents' experiences of neighbourhood change, in order to continue to shed light upon the nuances, complexities and local specificities of displacement. This thesis has revealed that concepts from urban geography, urban sociology, environmental psychology and public health are particularly useful in understanding and untangling the multiple meanings of displacement.

LIST OF APPENDICES:

Appendix A: Interview guide for exploring indirect displacement

Appendix B: Interview guide for exploring threat of direct displacement

Appendix C: Letter of Information

Appendix D: Information Leaflet

Appendix E: Consent form

Appendix F: Interview Recruitment Diagram

Appendix G: Summary Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Appendix H: Detailed Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Appendix I: Résumé long en français

Appendix A   Interview Guide for exploring Indirect Displacement

English version: Interview Guide for exploring Indirect Displacement

1. Perceptions of Neighbourhood Change:

So, to begin with, the first series of questions refer to what sorts of physical changes you have noticed in the neighbourhood.

Could you describe the main changes that have taken place in the neighbourhood in the last few years?

> Examples:
>
> - New construction, renovation of housing? (e.g. along the Lachine Canal, Parc Saint-Henri, Parc G. Etienne-Cartier, Imperial Tobacco)
> - The cost of housing
> - Redevelopment of commercial streets, traffic calming measures, measures for improving pedestrian safety, parking, public transport?
> - Parks and other public spaces? (e.g. Lachine Canal, Atwater Market)
> - Businesses? (e.g. IGA, Spa, Restaurants on Notre Dame)
> - Public and community services? (Public Library, Borough Office)

How have the people that live in or visit the neighbourhood changed?

How has neighbourhood life changed as a result of these changes you have just spoken about?

Do these changes raise concerns for you in terms of you potentially having to move?

If so, have you tried looking for other housing in the neighbourhood?

2. Involvement in local organizations and institutions:

So the next set of questions are meant to explore your involvement with local organizations and institutions in Saint-Henri.

Do you currently frequent cultural, religious or recreational organizations in the neighbourhood? How about outside the neighbourhood?

Are there any cultural, religious or recreational organizations that you used to go to go to but they shut down or you stopped going to them for another reason?

Did this change anything important for you?

Are you involved in local neighbourhood issues?

Do you participate in any local community groups or neighbourhood organizations? If so, which groups/organizations, in what capacity, for what length of time have you been involved, etc.?

Have you perceived recent changes in terms of which residents participate in neighbourhood organizations or community groups? (e.g. Village des Tanneries)

Have you perceived recent changes in the power dynamics with the community groups or neighbourhood organization you participate in?

3. Neighbourhood Commercial and Social Service Use:

Okay, so the next series of questions is meant to explore what types of services you use within the neighbourhood. We will begin with commercial services, such as supermarkets, grocery stores, bank, pharmacy, coffee shops, restaurants, etc.

What businesses to you frequent regularly (specific examples – IGA, Jean Coutu, Boucherie Notre-Dame, Atwater Market)? Where are they located? How often do you go there?

Do you appreciate those local shops? What importance do they have for you?

Are there businesses that you have stopped going to in the last few years? (e.g. RONA hardware store). If so, where are they located?

What was the reason that you stopped going there? What were the consequences for you?

Okay, now let's talk a little bit about what types of public services (such as health services, medical services, CLSC, public libraries or community services) you use.

Do you go to the local CLSC?

What are the public services a part from those you have already mentioned that you use regularly? Where are they located? How long have you been going there?

Do you appreciate those services? What importance do they have for you?

In the course of the last few years, have you changed doctors or CLSC (or other public services mentioned above)? Where were they located?

What was the reason for you changing? What were the consequences for you?

Have there been recent changes in the location of social services upon which you rely?

4. 'Sense of Place':

Okay, now I am going to ask you a few questions about your interactions with other people within the neighbourhood.

A: Questions based on variables of behaviour:

How do you characterize your relationships with other long-term residents in your immediate neighbourhood? Examples, amicable, supportive, convivial, familiar, ambivalent, distant, hostile etc.?

Have you noticed any changes in terms of the type of people that live around here? (Probe if necessary – age groups; type of households/family; is it higher income people with different lifestyles compared to long-time residents?)

Do you know people that live in the newly constructed housing in the neighbourhood, for example along the Lachine Canal? Do you have ties with them?

How do you characterize your relations with incoming residents? Examples : amicable, ambivalent, distant, hostile, etc.?

Okay, now I am going to ask a few questions about places in the neighbourhood where you spend your time.

Are there other places in the neighbourhood, such as parks or commercial streets that you go to regularly? Where are they located? How long have you been going to them?

What do you appreciate about these places? What importance do they have for you?

In the course of the last few years, are there places that you have stopped going to? Where are they located?

What are the reasons you stopped going there? What consequences did this have for you?

B: Questions based on variables of personal feeling (i.e. affective variables):

Now, I am going to ask you a few questions about how you feel about the neighbourhood.

Are you satisfied with the physical appearance of the local neighbourhood (examples, quality of housing, commercial streets, parks, alleys etc.)?

Do you feel comfortable in the surrounding physical and built environment of the neighbourhood, such as on local commercial streets, back alleys, or other public spaces, such as parks, the Lachine Canal etc.?

Do you feel a part of a locally-based community – i.e. of friends, family, neighbours etc., who live close by in the neighbourhood and upon whom you can rely for basic favours and or help?

Do you experience feelings of security in neighbourhood public spaces?

Are there places in the neighbourhood where you feel more comfortable during the day compared to the night?

5. Social Ties and Social Networks:

Now I am going to ask some questions about your social networks and social life more generally.

Begin with family whom you do not live with. Who is important for you? Please describe your relationship with each of them. How often do you see or communicate with them?

Now, tell me about your close friends. Where and for what reason do you see them or speak with them? Please describe the relationships that you maintain with them.

Now, could you describe your relationships with your neighbours for me? Are there any neighbours that are particularly important for you? Why? How often do you see or talk with them? For what reasons?

Are there other people who you see or who you communicate with regularly and are important to you? Who are they? Why are they important to you? In what circumstances do you see them? How frequently do you see them?

Are there people with whom you used to spend time that you are no longer in contact with? Why have you lost contact with them?

Have there been recent changes in terms of who in the immediate area you can ask for help and/or small favours?

Do you have family or friends who would like to move to Saint-Henri, but are unable to do so because the cost of housing has become to high? (If so, probe, see if they think this person would be willing to do an interview.)

Exclusionary Displacement:

What were your reasons for trying to move to Saint-Henri?

How long did it take you to find your current place of residence?

How well does your current residence meet your needs, for example, in terms of space, accessibility etc.?

What changes, if any, would you make – i.e. find a bigger apartment, find a cheaper apartment, find an apartment better located in terms of access to friends, family etc., coop housing?

Basic information on respondents housing careers:

Proportion of household income paid to rent:

Number of years living in the neighbourhood:

Number of years in their current apartment:

Whether they have lived elsewhere in the neighbourhood:

If so, their reasons for moving to their current apartment:

Basic socio-demographic and economic information:

Gender:

Household type:

Age:

Mother tongue:

Ethnicity:

Level of education:

Employment status:

Household income:

Version française: Guide d'entretien pour l'exploration du déplacement indirect

1. Perceptions par rapport au changement du quartier :

Donc, pour commencer, la première série de questions font référence à quelles sortes de changements physiques que vous avez remarqué dans le voisinage.

Pouvez-vous me décrire les principaux changements qu'il y a eu dans le quartier au cours des dernières années?

> ***Exemples:***
>
> - Nouvelles constructions, rénovation des logements (ex. au bord du Canal Lachine, Parc Saint-Henri, Parc G. Etienne-Cartier, Imperial Tobacco)?
> - Le coût du logement?
> - Réaménagement des rues et des commerces, mesure de modification du trafic (voitures, cyclistes), mesures pour la sécurité des piétons, stationnement, transport en commun
> - Parcs et autres lieux publics de recréation, places pour s'amuser ? (ex. Canal Lachine, Marché Atwater)
> - Les commerces ? (ex. IGA, Spa, Restos sur Notre Dame)?
> - Les services publics et communautaires ? (ex. Bibliothèque, Bureau de l'Arrondissement)?

En quoi les personnes qui résident ou qui fréquentent le quartier ont-elles changé ?

En quoi la vie du quartier a-t-il été modifié par les changements dont vous venez de me parler ?

Est-ce que ces changements soulèvent des préoccupations pour vous concernant un éventuel déménagement?

Si oui, avez-vous essayé de chercher un autre logement dans le quartier?

2. Engagement dans les organismes et les institutions du quartier :

Donc, la prochaine série de questions servent à explorer votre participation dans des organismes et institutions locales à Saint-Henri.

Fréquentez-vous présentement des organismes culturels, religieux ou récréatifs dans le quartier? Et à l'extérieur du quartier?

Y a-t-il des organismes culturels, religieux ou récréatifs que vous fréquentiez avant mais qui n'existent plus ou que vous avez cessé de fréquenter pour une autre raison?

Est-ce que cela a changé quelque chose d'important pour vous?

Êtes-vous impliqué dans les luttes communautaires du quartier? (ex. Mobilisation Turcot)?

Êtes-vous membre des groupes communautaires de quartier? Si oui, lesquels? Quel est votre rôle? Depuis combien de temps?

Avez-vous remarqué des changements récents en ce qui concerne les résidents qui s'impliquent dans ces organismes de quartier? ex. Village des Tanneries

Avez-vous remarqué des changements récents dans les relations de pouvoir au sein de l'organisme de quartier dont vous êtes membre?

3. Utilisation des services commerciaux et sociaux du quartier :

Alors, la prochaine série de questions a pour but d'explorer quels types de services que vous utilisez dans le quartier. Nous allons commencer avec les services commerciaux, comme les supermarchés, les épiceries, banque, pharmacie, cafés, restaurants, etc.

Quels sont les commerces (épicerie, banque, pharmacie, café ou restaurant, etc.) que vous fréquentez régulièrement? (ex. IGA, Jean Coutu, Boucherie Notre-Dame, restos, Marché Atwater). Où sont-ils situés? Depuis quand les fréquentez-vous?

Qu'appréciez-vous de ces commerces? Quelle importance ont-ils pour vous? Est-ce qu'il y a des services de proximité?

Au cours des dernières années, y a-t-il des commerces que vous avez cessé de fréquenter? (ex. Quincaillerie RONA). Où étaient-ils situés?

Pour quelles raisons vous ne les fréquentez plus? Quelles ont été les conséquences de ce changement pour vous?

D'accord, maintenant parlons un peu du type de services publics (tels que les services de santé, les services médicaux, CLSC, bibliothèques publiques ou les services communautaires) que vous utilisez.

Allez-vous, parfois, au CLSC?

Quels sont les services publics, de santé, tels le médecin, le CLSC, la bibliothèque ou des services communautaires (à part ceux dont vous avez déjà parlés), ou autre que vous utilisez régulièrement? Où sont-ils situés? Depuis quand les fréquentez-vous?

Qu'appréciez-vous de ces services? Quelle importance ont-ils pour vous?

Au cours des dernières années, avez-vous dû changer de médecin ou de CLSC (ou autre service public indiqué)? Où étaient-ils situés?

Pour quelles raisons avez-vous changé? Quelles ont été les conséquences pour vous?

Au cours des dernières années, y a-t-il des services sociaux sur lesquels vous comptez qui ne sont plus dans le quartier?

4. 'Sens du lieu' :

Bon, maintenant je vais vous poser quelques questions au sujet de votre interaction avec d'autres personnes dans le quartier.

A: Questions basées sur des variables de comportement.

Comment décrirez-vous vos relations avec les résidents de longue date dans votre voisinage? Par exemple : amicales, conviviales, familières, de soutien, ambivalentes, distantes, hostiles, etc.

Avez-vous remarqué des changements par rapport au type de personnes qui vivent ici? (Sonde si nécessaire - les groupes d'âge, le type de ménages/ familles, est-il c'est des gens avec un revenu plus haut avec des modes de vie différents de ceux des résidents de longue date?)

Connaissez-vous des gens qui habitent dans des logements construits récemment? Avez-vous des liens avec eux?

Comment décrirez-vous vos relations avec les nouveaux résidents? Par exemple : amicales, ambivalentes, distantes, hostiles, etc.

Bon, maintenant je vais vous poser quelques questions sur les endroits dans le quartier où vous passez votre temps.

Enfin, y a-t-il d'autres endroits tels des parcs et des rues commerçantes que vous fréquentez régulièrement? Où sont-ils situés? Depuis quand les fréquentez-vous?

Qu'appréciez-vous de ces endroits? Quelle importance ont-ils pour vous?

Au cours des dernières années, avez-vous cessé de fréquenter certains de ces endroits? Où étaient-ils situés?

Pour quelles raisons vous ne les fréquentez plus? Quelles ont été les conséquences de ce changement pour vous?

B: Questions basées sur des variables de sentiment personnel (i.e. variables affectives)

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur comment vous vous sentez sur le quartier.

Êtes-vous satisfait avec la qualité de l'environnement physique du quartier? (Exemples : les bâtiments, les ruelles, les parcs, les rues commerçants, etc.)

Vous sentez-vous à l'aise dans l'environnement physique et bâti du quartier, tels que les rues commerçantes, les ruelles ou autres lieux publics, comme les parcs, le Canal Lachine, etc.?

Avez-vous l'impression de faire partie d'une communauté locale grâce à, par exemple, des amis, de la famille et/ou des voisins qui vivent à proximité du quartier et sur qui vous pouvez compter pour des services ou pour une aide quelconque?

Vous-sentez vous en sécurité dans les espaces publics de votre quartier, comme des parcs, ruelles, etc.?

Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits dans le quartier où vous sentez plus à l'aise le jour que le soir?

5. Liens sociaux et réseaux:

Je vais maintenant vous poser des questions par rapport à votre réseau social et la vie sociale du quartier.

Commençons d'abord par les membres de votre famille qui n'habitent pas avec vous. Qui sont ceux qui comptent le plus pour vous? Décrivez-moi votre relation avec chacun d'entre eux? À quel moment et à quelle fréquence vous voyez-vous ou communiquez-vous?

Parlez-moi maintenant de vos amis proches. Où et à quelles occasions vous rencontrez-vous ou échangez avec eux? Décrivez-moi les relations que vous entretenez avec ces amis?

Maintenant, pouvez-vous me décrire vos relations avec vos voisins? Qui d'entre eux compte particulièrement pour vous? Pourquoi? À quelle fréquence vous voyez-vous ou vous parlez-vous? À quelles occasions?

Y a-t-il d'autres personnes que vous voyez ou avec qui vous communiquez régulièrement et qui sont importantes pour vous? Qui sont ces personnes? Pourquoi sont-elles importantes? Dans quelles circonstances et à quelle fréquence les voyez-vous?

Y a-t-il des personnes que vous passer du temps avec ou avec qui vous étiez en contact et que vous ne fréquentez plus ? Qu'est-ce qui explique la fin de ce contact?

Y a-t-il eu des changements récents en ce qui concerne les voisins à qui vous pouvez vous adresser pour des petits services?

Avez-vous de la famille ou des amis qui voudraient déménager à Saint-Henri, mais sont incapables de le faire parce que le coût du logement est devenue trop élevé? *(Si oui, sonde, voir s'ils pensent que cette personne serait prête à faire une entrevue.)*

Déplacement exclusionaire:

Pour quelles raisons avez-vous essayé de déménager à Saint-Henri?

Combien de temps vous a-t-il fallu pour trouver votre lieu de résidence actuel?

Est-ce que votre logement actuel répond à vos besoins? Par exemple, en termes d'espace, d'accessibilité, etc.

Feriez-vous des changements? Si oui, lesquels? Par exemple, trouver un logement plus grand, trouver un logement moins cher, trouver un logement mieux situé en termes d'accès aux amis, à la famille, etc., trouver un logement COOP/HLM?

Info de base par rapport aux trajectoires résidentielles:

Proportion du revenu de ménage consacré au loyer :

Nombre d'années vivant dans le quartier :

Nombre d'années dans le logement actuel :

S'ils ont vécu dans un autre logement ailleurs dans le quartier :

Si oui, les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont déménager dans leur logement actuel :

Info économique et démographique de base **:**

Genre :

Type de ménage :

L'âge :

Langue maternelle :

L'ethnicité :

Niveau d'éducation :

Statut d'emploi :

Revenu du ménage :

Appendix B   Interview Guide for Exploring Direct Displacement due to Expropriation:

English Version: Interview Guide for Exploring Direct Displacement due to Expropriation:

Interview #1 - Pre-eviction phase:

1. Residential History:

Okay, so I am going to begin by asking you a series of questions about your housing history.

How many years have you lived here (current apartment)?

Do you like your current apartment?

Does your current apartment satisfy your needs?

How often have you moved in the last 10 years?

What are your feelings about moving? Are you, for instance, the type of person who likes to stay in a place for a long time, or do you like the potential that moving somewhere new offers?

Do you hope to become a homeowner some day?

Do you hope to move into social or community housing (i.e. COOP or HLM)?

2. Importance of home and dwelling:

Okay, so the next series of questions is meant to explore whether your apartment itself is an important part of your life.

Have you made any changes to your dwelling unit during the time you have lived here? (Examples: painting, small-scale renovations, planting a garden etc.)?

Is your apartment important to you?

How do you feel in your current dwelling? Examples - comfortable, at ease, ambivalent, uncomfortable, trapped?

What feelings have you had regarding your imminent eviction? Examples – grief, anxiety, loss of control, uprootedness, loss of security, loss of sense of self, freedom, empowerment, new beginning?

What opportunities does moving present for you?

3. Expropriation process:

Okay, the next series of questions pertain to the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange and the expropriation process.

How did you find out that your apartment is going to be expropriated?

How would you describe the quality of access to information surrounding dates for expropriation?

What, if any resources were made available to you to ease your experience of displacement? Examples: alternative housing, help finding alternative housing, moving expenses, etc.

Do you feel a sense of agency (i.e. were in control of your changing circumstances) regarding the coming move – for example with regards to your new apartment or new neighbourhood?

Describe the process of finding replacement housing (examples: word of mouth, newspapers, for rent signs etc.).

Have you faced any challenges in your search for new housing? If so, provide examples.

Have you participated in any political activities in the neighbourhood to resist the expropriations? If so, in what capacity, (i.e. as an organizer, as a local participant)?

Did you participate in the public hearing on the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange?

Basic information on respondents housing careers:

Proportion of household income paid to rent:

Number of years living in the neighbourhood:

Number of years in their current apartment:

Whether they have lived elsewhere in the neighbourhood:

If so, their reasons for moving to their current apartment:

Basic socio-demographic and economic information:

Gender:

Household type:

Age:

Mother tongue:

Ethnicity:

Level of education:

Employment status:

Household income:

Version française: Guide d'entretien pour les déplacements directs liés à l'expropriation

Entretien #1 – Avant relocation:

1. Histoire résidentielle:

Donc je vais commencer par vous poser une série de questions sur vos logements précédents.

Depuis combien d'années habitez-vous dans ce logement?

Est-ce que vous aimez votre logement actuel?

Est-ce que votre logement actuel répond à vos besoins?

Combien de fois avez-vous déménagé au cours des dernières dix années?

Quel est votre avis sur les déménagements? Par exemple, préférez-vous rester dans un endroit plus longtemps ou préférez-vous le potentiel offert par un nouvel endroit?

Espérez-vous devenir propriétaire un jour?

Espérez-vous accéder à un logement social (i.e. COOP ou HLM)?

2. Importance de chez soi et du logement:

OK, alors la prochaine série de questions vise à déterminer si votre appartement lui-même est une partie importante de votre vie.

Avez-vous apporté des modifications à votre logement depuis que vous y êtes locataire? (Par exemple : peinture, petites rénovations, faire un jardin, etc.).

Est-ce que votre appartement est important pour vous?

Comment vous-sentez vous dans votre logement actuel? Par exemple : confortable, à l'aise, ambivalent, inconfortable, coincé?

Comment vous-sentez vous par rapport à votre expulsion? Par exemple : tristesse, anxiété, perte de contrôle, déracinement, perte de sécurité, perte d'identité, liberté, prise de pouvoir, nouveau début?

Est-ce qu'un déménagement vous offre de nouvelles opportunités?

3. Processus d'expropriation:

Ok, la prochaine série de questions portent sur le réaménagement de l'échangeur Turcot et le processus d'expropriation.

Comment avez-vous découvert que vous alliez être exproprié?

Comment décririez-vous la qualité de l'accès à l'information concernant les dates de l'expropriation?

Est-ce que des ressources ont été mises à votre disposition afin de faciliter votre expérience de déplacement? Par exemple : logement alternatif, assistance pour trouver un autre logement, frais de déménagement, etc.

Est-ce que vous sentiez en contrôle en termes de votre déménagement ou nouveau quartier?

Pouvez-vous décrire le processus que vous avez suivi pour vous trouver un nouveau logement (exemples: bouche à oreille, journaux, affiches, etc.).

Avez-vous été confronté à des obstacles dans votre recherche pour un nouveau logement? Si oui, avez-vous des exemples?

Avez-vous participé à des activités politiques dans le quartier afin de résister aux expropriations? Si oui, quel était votre rôle (i.e. organisateur, participant local)?

Avez-vous participé à la consultation publique sur le réaménagement de l'Échangeur Turcot?

Info de base par rapport aux trajectoires résidentielles:

Proportion du revenu de ménage consacré au loyer :

Nombre d'années vivant dans le quartier :

Nombre d'années dans le logement actuel :

S'ils ont vécu dans un autre logement ailleurs dans le quartier :

Si oui, les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont déménager dans leur logement actuel :

Info économique et démographique de base :

Genre :

Type de ménage :

L'âge :

Langue maternelle :

L'ethnicité :

Niveau d'éducation :

Statut d'emploi :

Revenu du ménage :

Appendix C   Letter of Information

English version

« Exploring Resident Experiences of Displacement in a Neighbourhood Undergoing Gentrification and Mega-Project Development: A Montréal Case Study »:

Solicitation of your participation for an interview,

Dear Madam, Sir,

I am a PhD student who is undertaking my dissertation research in Urban Studies at the INRS – Centre Urbanisation, Culture and Société. This year I will be doing a study in a Montréal neighbourhood (Saint-Henri) which is undergoing both gentrification and the development of mega-projects (e.g. MUHC mega-hospital, Turcot Interchange) in the surrounding area. Gentrification is a type of neighbourhood change that may involve physical, economic, social and cultural changes in the neighbourhood. It typically involves the arrival of middle and upper-income residents in working-class neighbourhoods, and the subsequent displacement of many of the original residents. My research aims to explore the perceptions and experience of long-term renters of the changes underway in the neighbourhood.

I hope to explore the following themes with long-term renters: housing experiences in the neighbourhood, perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood change, social networks, engagement in local institutions and organizations, utilization of local commercial and social services, utilization of neighbourhood public spaces, etc.

I would like to solicit your participation for an individual interview that would permit me to understand your point of view on these themes. The interview can take place at the time and location of your choice and will take at least 60 minutes.

I hope that my research will make a useful contribution to the public debates surrounding neighbourhood revitalization and that it will contribute to an improvement in policy to better protect long-term residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods which are simultaneously undergoing mega-project development.

If I pose questions which you cannot or prefer not to respond to, you are completely free not to respond without having to provide your reasons for doing so. Also, as a voluntary participant in this study, you have the possibility of withdrawing at any moment, if you feel it to be necessary.

The confidentiality of results will be assured in the following way: for each interviewee a pseudonym will be chosen. No elements of the research report will permit retracing either your identity or that of a third party, either directly or indirectly.

Please find attached two copies of a consent form which I would like you to sign if you accept to participate in an interview. The objective of the consent form is to show that the interviewer is concerned with protecting the rights of research participants. Before signing the form, feel free to ask me for any additional information that you would like on the research project. Also, you can contact my research supervisor for additional information, whose contact information is listed below. Additionally, you will also find below the name of the external resource person who can inform you on your rights as a subject in this research project, Mr. Michel Charbonneau.

If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to communicate with me. I sincerely hope that you accept to participate and wish to extend my thanks in advance.

Amy Twigge-Molecey

Doctoral student

Tel: 514-499-4086

amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

My project is under the supervision of Mrs. Damaris Rose (Professor)

Telephone : 514 499 4028

Email : damaris.rose@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, culture et société,

385 rue Sherbrooke Est, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ON ETHICAL DIMENSIONS

This research has been approved by the INRS Research Ethics Committee (CER 09-197). For all questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research, please contact:

Mr. Michel Charbonneau

President of the Ethics Committee for Research with Human Subjects

Institut national de la recherche scientifique

490, rue de la Couronne

Québec (Québec) G1K 9A9

Telephone: (418) 654-2514

Fax: (418) 654-3858

Email address: Michel.Charbonneau@iaf.inrs.ca

Version française: Lettre d'information

« Étude exploratoire des expériences de déplacement vécues dans un quartier en voie de gentrification et à proximité des méga-projets»:

Sollicitation de votre participation à une entrevue

Madame, Monsieur,

Je suis une étudiante au doctorat en études urbaines à l'INRS – Urbanisation, Culture et Société. Dans le cadre de mes études, je mène une enquête dans un quartier montréalais (Saint-Henri) affecté en même temps par des changements liés à la gentrification et au développement des méga-projets (ex. CUSM et Échangeur Turcot). La gentrification implique généralement l'arrivée dans un quartier populaire de nouveaux résidents qui ont un revenu plus élevé, ce qui pourrait amener des changements au quartier au niveau physique, économique, social et culturel. Cela peut également mener au déplacement des premiers résidents. Mon étude vise à explorer les perceptions des résidents de longue date sur les changements en cours dans le quartier.

Je souhaite interroger des résidents de longue date sur des thèmes tels que les expériences de logement dans le quartier, les perceptions des changements du quartier, les réseaux sociaux, l'engagement dans les institutions et les organismes locaux, l'utilisation des services commerciaux et sociaux dans le quartier, l'utilisation des espaces publiques du quartier, etc.

Je sollicite donc votre collaboration pour participer à une entrevue (menée individuellement) afin de de connaître vos points de vue sur ces thématiques. L'entrevue aura lieu à l'endroit et à l'heure qui vous conviendront et aura une durée d'au moins 60 minutes.

Par cette recherche, je souhaite faire une contribution utile aux débats publics sur la revitalisation des quartiers. J'espère aussi contribuer à l'amélioration des politiques qui protègent les résidents dans les quartier en voie de gentrification et face au dévellopement des méga-projets.

S'il y a des questions auxquelles vous ne pouvez ou préférez ne pas répondre, vous pouvez le faire sans avoir à fournir de raisons et sans inconvénient. Sachez par ailleurs qu'à titre de participant volontaire à cette étude, vous avez la possibilité de vous en retirer à tout moment si vous le jugez nécessaire.

La confidentialité des résultats sera assurée de la façon suivante : j'utiliserai un nom fictif pour chaque participant. Aucun élément du rapport de recherche ne permettra de retracer leur identité ou celles de personnes tierces, ni directement, ni indirectement.

Vous trouverez ci-joints deux exemplaires d'un formulaire de consentement que je vous demande de signer si vous acceptez de participer. L'objectif de ce formulaire est de démontrer les mesures que je prendrai pour protéger les droits des participants à la recherche. Avant de signer le formulaire, vous pouvez, si vous le désirez, me contacter pour toutes questions ou demande d'informations supplémentaires sur le projet de recherche. Vous pouvez aussi rejoindre la directrice de la recherche, dont les coordonnées apparaissent ci-bas. Vous trouverez également les coordonnées de Michel Charbonneau, une personne extérieure à la recherche pouvant vous renseigner sur vos droits en tant que participant à cette recherche.

J'espère vivement que vous accepterez de participer à ce projet et je vous en remercie chaleureusement.

Amy Twigge-Molecey

Étudiante au doctorat

Tél: 514-499-4086

amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

Mon projet est sous la direction de:

Madame Damaris Rose, professeure

Tél. 514-499-4028

Adresse électronique damaris.rose@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société,

385 rue Sherbrooke Est, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

INFORMATION SUPPLÉMENTAIRE SUR LES DIMENSIONS ÉTHIQUES

Cette recherche a été approuvée par le Comité d'éthique en recherche de l'INRS (CER 09-197).

Pour toute question concernant vos droits en tant que participant à cette recherche, veuillez contacter:

M. Michel Charbonneau

Président du Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains

Institut national de la recherche scientifique

490, rue de la Couronne

Québec (Québec) G1K 9A9

Téléphone : (418) 654-2514

Télécopieur : (418) 654-3858

Courriel : Michel.Charbonneau@iaf.inrs.ca

Appendix D   Information Leaflet

English Version

My name is Amy Twigge. I'm a student in Urban Studies at the Urbanisation, Culture et Société Centre of the Institut national de la recherche scientifique, Montréal.

I'm doing a research project on residents' experiences of neighbourhood change in Saint-Henri. I'm interested in talking people who have been living in the neighbourhood for 5 years or longer (or used to and have moved recently) and live in rental housing, to learn about their perceptions and experiences of changes in the neighbourhood.

I would like to explore topics with you such as housing, local shops and services, parks and public spaces and neighbourhood social life.

If you would like further information or would like to meet with me to do a personal interview, please feel free to contact me by phone at: 514-499-4086 or by email at the following address:

amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca.

Thanks a lot for helping me with my project.

Amy Twigge-Molecey
INRS Urbanisation, culture et société,
385 Sherbrooke Est
Montreal, QC H2X 1E3

Version française:

Je m'appelle Amy Twigge et je suis étudiante en études urbaines à l' Institut national de la recherche scientifique, Centre Urbanisation, Culture et Société, à Montréal.

Je fais une recherche sur ce que vivent les résidents de St-Henri face aux changements qui affectent leur quartier (ex. Autoroute, Canal Lachine). Je voudrais rencontrer des locataires habitant le quartier depuis au moins cinq ans (ou qui y ont habité et qui ont déménagé récemment), afin d'en savoir plus sur leurs perceptions et leurs expériences des changements survenus dans le quartier.

J'aimerais aborder des sujets tels que le logement, les services et les commerces de proximité, les parcs et les espaces publics ainsi que la vie de quartier.

Si vous souhaitez avoir de plus amples renseignements ou si vous serez disponible pour participer à une entrevue individuelle, n'hésitez pas à me contacter par téléphone: 514-499-4086 ou par courriel. Merci de m'appuyer dans cette recherche!

Amy Twigge-Molecey
INRS Urbanisation, culture et société,
385 Sherbrooke Est
Montréal, QC H2X 1E3
amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

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Appendix E Consent form

"Exploring Resident Experiences of Displacement in a Neighbourhood Undergoing Gentrification and Mega-Project Development: A Montréal Case Study"

I have understood the nature of the research project described in the presentation letter. I would like to participate in this university study aimed at understanding the point of view of long-term residents' in private rental housing of the changes underway in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood.

I have been informed, both orally and in writing, of the objectives of the research, the methods of data gathering and the terms of my participation in the project.

I accept that this interview will be recorded to permit exact transcription of my views. I am aware that I can request that the recording be stopped at any moment.

I am free to indicate to the interviewer any questions that make me uncomfortable and which I would prefer not to respond.

I have also been informed of my right to communicate with the supervisor of the project (Madame Damaris Rose, Tél. 514 499 4028), if I have any other questions.

I have also been informed of the ways in which the interviewer will assure the confidentiality of the data and protect the information gathered.

I have assurance that all information gathered during the interview will be treated in a confidential and anonymous fashion. However, I am aware that despite all precautions taken to guarantee confidentiality, there is the chance that I could be identified in an indirect manner.

By signing this consent form, I accept to participate in this research project according to the terms described in the project presentation letter.

I have signed two copies of this consent form, one of which I will keep.

Signature

Family Name   Initial(s)

Date

Principal Researcher: Amy Twigge-Molecey

Tel. 514 499 4086 Email Address : amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, culture et société, 385 Sherbrooke East, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

Under the direction of Professor Madame Damaris Rose

Tel. 514 499 4028 Email address : damaris.rose@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, culture et société, 385 Sherbrooke East, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

Version française:

> « Étude exploratoire des expériences de déplacement vécues dans un quartier en voie de gentrification et à proximité des méga-projets.»

J'ai pris connaissance du projet de recherche décrit dans la lettre de présentation. J'accepte de participer à cette étude universitaire qui a pour but de comprendre le point de vue des résidents de long date qui habitent dans logement locatif privé sur les changements en cours dans le quartier de Saint-Henri.

J'ai été informé(e), oralement et par écrit, des objectifs du projet, de ses méthodes de cueillette de données et des modalités de ma participation au projet.

J'accepte que cette entrevue soit enregistrée, ce qui permettra une transcription fidèle de l'entretien. L'enregistrement pourra être arrêté à tout moment.

Je pourrai signifier à l'intervieweuse mon refus de répondre à toute question et ce sans justification ni préjudice.

Je pourrai mettre fin à l'entrevue à tout moment, et ce sans justification ni préjudice.

J'ai également été informé(e) de mon droit de communiquer, si j'ai des questions sur le projet, avec la responsable du projet (Madame Damaris Rose, Tél. 514 499 4028)

J'ai également été informé(e) de la façon selon laquelle la chercheur assurera la confidentialité des données et protégera les renseignements recueillis,

J'ai l'assurance que les propos recueillis au cours de cet entretien seront traités de façon confidentielle et anonyme. Cependant, je suis conscient que malgré toutes les précautions prises à cet effet, il demeure possible que je sois identifié(e) de façon indirecte.

J'accepte, par la présente, de participer à la recherche selon les modalités décrites dans la lettre d'information sur le projet ci-jointe.

Je signe ce formulaire en deux exemplaires et j'en conserve une copie.

Signature
_____

Nom de famille   Initiale(s)
_____

Date
_____

Chercheure principale: Madame Amy Twigge-Molecey

Tél. 514 499 4086 Adresse électronique amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, culture et société, 385 rue Sherbrooke Est, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

Sous la direction de la professeure Madame Damaris Rose

Tél. 514 499 4028 Adresse électronique damaris.rose@ucs.inrs.ca

INRS-Urbanisation, culture et société, 385 rue Sherbrooke Est, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

Personne-ressource extérieure au projet :

M. Michel Charbonneau

Président du Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains

Institut national de la recherche scientifique

490, rue de la Couronne

Québec (Québec) G1K 9A9

Téléphone : (418) 654-2514

Télécopieur : (418) 654-3858

courriel : Michel.Charbonneau@iaf.inrs.ca

Approbation du Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains de l'INRS :

« 17 juillet, 2009 »

Appendix F   Interview Recruitment Diagram
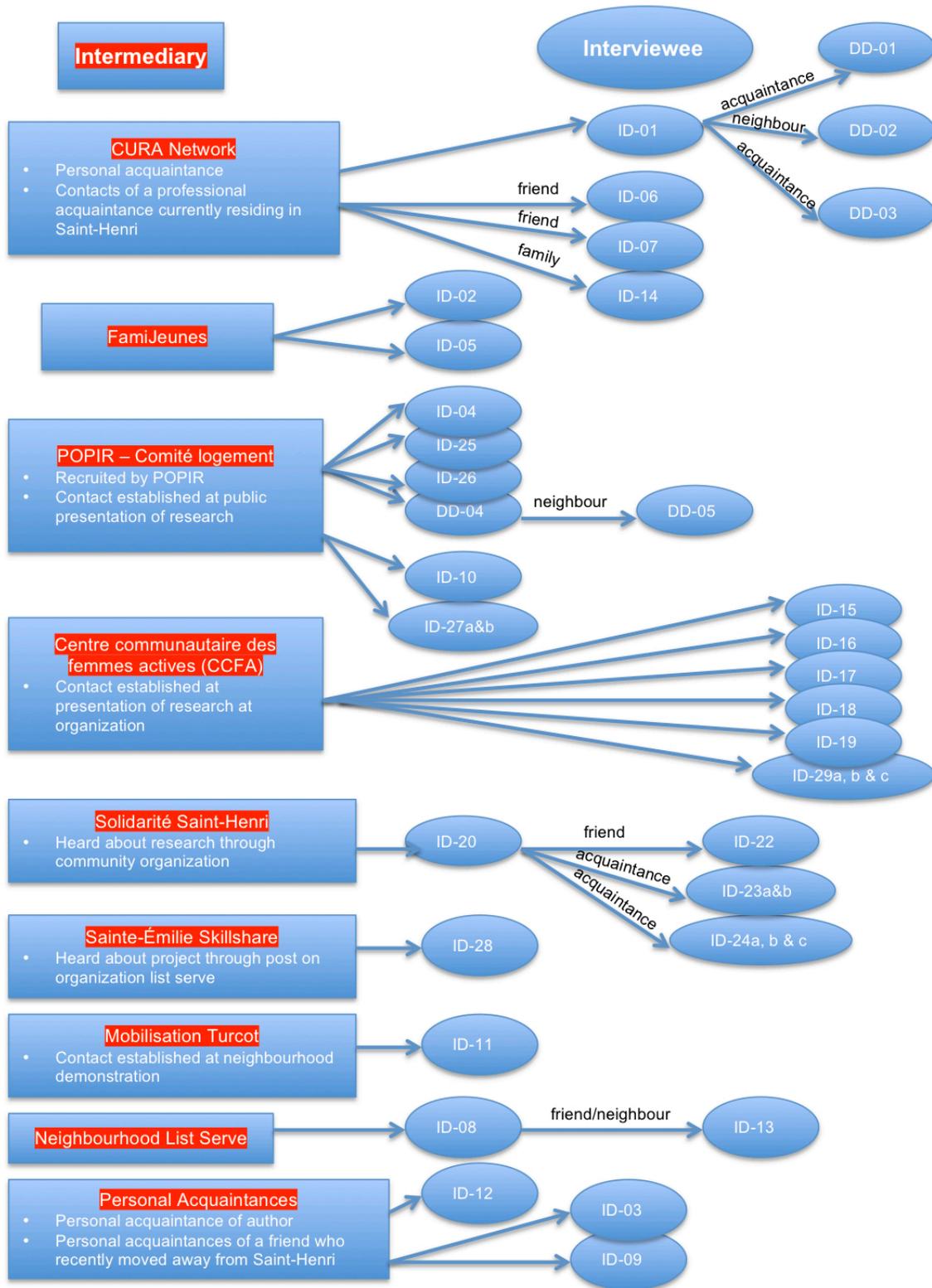
Appendix G   Summary Socio-Demographic Information on Indirect Displacement Interviewees

Age range of interviewees

65+ 18%
< 30 12%
31-40 26%
41-50 29%
51-64 15%

Sex of interviewees

Male 38%
Female 62%

Ethnicity

- Caucasian
- Moroccan
- Algerian
- Quebecois - Mixed Origin
- Algonquin

Mother Tongue

Other 3%
French 71%
English 26%

Rental Tenure Type

12%
41%
24%
24%

- Private
- Public-HLM
- Public-COOP
- Public-OBNL

Household Income

12%
9%
50%
29%

- Less than $20 000
- $20 001-$39 999
- $40 000-$79 999
- $80 000

Level of Education

- University degree or in progress — 35%
- CEGEP or equivalent — 27%
- Highschool diploma — 12%
- Highschool without diploma — 26%

Years living in Saint-Henri

- Entire lifetime 21%
- 5-9 years 29%
- 10 years or more 50%

Census Tract of Residence

- CT 84 18%
- CT 79 23%
- CT 80 6%
- CT 81 18%
- CT 82 15%
- CT 83 20%

Appendix H   Detailed Socio-Demographic Information on Indirect and Direct Displacement Interviewees

No.	Sex	Age	Mother tongue	Household type/living arrangement	Kids at home	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Level of education	Household income	Income source	Hous-ing tenure	yrs in n/h
ID-01	F	47	English	one-person	no	Canada	Caucasian	University degree - Masters	$20 000-$39 000	disability pension	private rental	10
ID-02	F	32	French	couple	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	DEP	<$20 000	unemployed without insurance	HLM	32
ID-03	M	35	French	gay couple	no	Montréal	Mixed origin - Quebecois - Mexican	CEGEP	$60 000-$79 999	employed	private rental	8
ID-04	F	38	French	couple	yes	France	Moroccan	Graduate Diploma	$20 000-$39 999	on unemployment insurance	private rental	6
ID-05	F	31	Arab	couple	yes	Algeria	Algerian	CEGEP	$60 000 - $79 999	employed	private rental	11
ID-06	M	35	English	lives with unrelated adults; part-time lone parent	part-time	Canada	Caucasian	University degree - Bachelors	$20 000 - $39 999	on unemployment insurance	private rental	10
ID-07	M	33	French	couple	yes	Quebec	Mixed origin - Quebecois - African	University degree - Bachelor	$20 000-$39 999	employed	private rental	9
ID-08	F	37	French	couple	yes	France	Caucasian	University degree - PhEng	$80 000 +	employed	private rental	7
ID-09	F	33	English	one-person household	no	Canada	Caucasian	DES and DEP	$20 000-$39 999	employed	private rental	12
ID-10	M	46	English	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	Bachelor degree in progress	$20 001-$39 999	disability pension	private rental	12
ID-11	F	70	French	two-person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	Grade 9	<$20 000	retired on old-age pension	public seniors housing	20

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No.	Sex	Age	Mother tongue	Household type/living arrangement	Kids at home	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Level of education	Household income	Income source	Housing tenure	yrs in n/h
ID-12	M	27	French	lives with unrelated adults	no	Montréal	Caucasian	CEGEP	<$20 000	on welfare	private rental	22
ID-13	F	43	French	two-person household	no	France	Caucasian	Prof. Diploma	$20 001-$39 999	employed - self-employed	private rental	11
ID-14	M	67	English	two-person household	no	Canada	Caucasian	University Degree Masters	$60 000-$79 999	employed	private rental	10
ID-15	F	76	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	6th grade	<$20 000	retired on old-age pension	public seniors housing	60
ID-16	F	67	French	one-person household	no	Québec	Caucasian	8th grade	< $20 000	retired on old-age pension	HLM	5
ID-17	F	57	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	Bachelor Degree	< $20 000	employed	OBNL	25
ID-18	F	48	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	8th grade	< $20 000	on welfare	HLM	40+
ID-19	F	65	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	7th grade	< $20 000	retired on old-age pension	HLM	35
ID-20	M	39	English	6 person household	yes	U.S.	Caucasian	LLB in progress	< $20 000	full-time student on loans, bursaries	coop	9
ID-21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1/2
ID-22	M	55	French	2 person household	part-time	Montréal	Caucasian	Bachelor degree	< $20 000	on welfare	coop	16

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No.	Sex	Age	Mother tongue	Household type/living arrangement	Kids at home	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Level of education	Household income	Income source	Housing tenure	yrs in n/h
ID-23 (a)	F	51	French	3 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	10th grade	< $20 000	on welfare	coop	37
ID-23 (b)	F	51	French	1 person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	10th grade	< $20 000	employed	coop	19
ID-24 (a)	F	84	French	3 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	8th grade	$80 000	retired	coop	84
ID-24 (b)	F	50	French	3 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	Bachelor degree	$80 000	employed	coop	50
ID-24 (c)	F	24	French	3 person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	Bachelor degree in progress	$80 000	student, employed part-time	coop	24
ID-25	M	55	English	2 person household	yes	Canada	Algonquin	part of university degree	< $20 000	Disability pension	OBNL	5
ID-26	M	28	French	2 person household	no	Québec	Caucasian	University degree Masters	$20 001-39 999	employed	private rental	5
ID-27 (a)	M	45	French	2 person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	11th grade	$20 001-39 999	on unemployment	OBNL - non subsidized	24
ID-27 (b)	F	48	French	2 person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	Diploma in accounting	$20 001-39 999	unemployed by choice	OBNL - non subsidized	5
ID-28	M	26	English	3 person household - unrelated adults	no	U.S.	Caucasian	Finished high school	< $20 000	employed	private rental	5

No.	Sex	Age	Mother tongue	Household type/living arrangement	Kids at home	Birthplace	Ethnicity	Level of education	Household income	Income source	Hous-ing tenure	yrs in n/h
ID-29 (a)	F	45	French	2 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	Finished high school	< $20 000	employed	HLM	45
ID-29 (b)	F	46	French	3 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	Finished high school	< $20 000	employed	coop	46
ID-29 (c)	F	44	French	3 person household	yes	Montréal	Caucasian	Finished high school	< $20 000	employed	HLM	44
DD-01	M	54	French	one-person household	no	France	Caucasian	University degree - Bachelors	$20 000-$39 999	employed - self-employed	private rental - in commercial loft	11
DD-02	F	51	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	University degree - Bachelors	$40 000-$59 999	employed	private rental	17
DD-03	F	36	Dutch	lesbian couple	no	Belgium	Caucasian	University Degree - Bachelors	$20 000-$39 999	self-employed	private rental - in commercial loft	5
DD-04	F	72	French	3 person household, elderly couple plus grown son	yes	Québec	Caucasian	10th grade	< $20 000	retired	private rental	25
DD-05	F	65	French	one-person household	no	Montréal	Caucasian	University degree - Masters	$40 000-$59 999	retired	Home-owner	66

Appendix I Resumé long en français

Expériences de déplacement de résidents dans un quartier qui subit simultanément un embourgeoisement et le développement de méga-projets

Cette thèse explore les expériences de déplacement de locataires à revenus faibles et modestes dans un quartier de Montréal qui subit à la fois un embourgeoisement et le développement de méga-projets. Hall (2002) affirme que les villes sont de plus en plus remodelées par des méga-projets qui combinent bon nombre d'activités, culturelles, de loisir, de magasinage, de même qu'une mixité sociale résidentielle. Cette tendance renvoie au concept de réutilisation adaptative, qui vise à ré-imaginer et à se réapproprier de vastes secteurs urbains devenus désuets en raison de la désindustrialisation. Ainsi, le projet de Centre de Santé de l'Université Mc Gill (CUSM) sera construit d'ici 2015 sur l'ancienne cour de triage Glen et créera sans doute une plus grande demande de logement dans les quartiers adjacents, puisque les employés du CUSM voudront certainement habiter plus près de leur travail, accélérant l'embourgeoisement déjà en cours dans le quartier de Saint-Henri. Un deuxième méga-projet, le redéveloppement de l'échangeur Turcot, a nécessité l'expropriation et l'expulsion subséquente d'environ 100 logements. La combinaison de ces facteurs créera fort probablement un déplacement à la fois direct et indirect. Le déplacement direct fait référence aux cas où les résidents sont expulsés de leur logement en raison de changements dans leur quartier tels que l'embourgeoisement ou les expropriations causées par les méga-projets de construction. Le déplacement indirect fait référence au fait que même si un résident n'a pas été directement expulsé de son quartier, il pourrait néanmoins subir des effets indirects des changements survenus dans son quartier.

Cette thèse est divisée en huit chapitres : les chapitres 1 et 2 présentent des matériaux théoriques et empiriques utilisés dans la construction de l'hypothèse de recherche et dans l'articulation de du cadre conceptuel, qui est présenté dans le troisième chapitre. Le chapitre 4 expose la méthodologie et les questions de recherche. Le chapitre 5 offre une analyse statistique descriptive de l'embourgeoisement dans Saint-Henri basée sur l'utilisation d'indicateurs de recensement et sur un inventaire des changements dans les services commerciaux sur la rue commerciale principale du quartier. Les chapitres 6, 7 et 8 comportent une analyse détaillée des extraits d'entrevues avec les locataires de longue date dans le quartier Saint-Henri, concernant leur expérience des changements dans le quartier et leurs expériences de déplacement sous toutes ses formes. Enfin, la conclusion explique les

contributions importantes de cette thèse, de même que ses limitations, ainsi que les directions proposées pour de futures recherches sur le déplacement.

1. La restructuration économique urbaine et les expériences de déplacement des résidents de quartiers urbains centraux :

Traditionnellement, l'embourgeoisement implique des processus physiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels, et l' «invasion» de quartiers originalement de classe ouvrière par des groupes de citoyens à revenus moyens ou élevés, ainsi que le déplacement direct de plusieurs des résidents d'origine (Hamnett 2000). Bien que les milieux universitaires aient accordé beaucoup d'attention aux causes de l'embourgeoisement, ses effets sur des quartiers spécifiques ainsi que ses conséquences pour leurs résidents actifs n'ont toujours pas été suffisamment examinés, en partie en raison des difficultés éprouvées à calculer et à mesurer le taux de déplacement, de même qu'à localiser les locataires déplacés (van Weesep 1994; Slater et al. 2004).

Récemment, l'embourgeoisement a pris des formes de plus en plus diverses telles que l'embourgeoisement par la construction neuve (qui se manifeste soit par des lotissements réaffectés ou par la création de quartiers complets sur des sites industriels désaffectés). Dans ces cas, les promoteurs immobiliers comme les gouvernements municipaux affirment qu'il n'y aura pas de déplacement, puisque ces lotissements créent des nouveaux logements additionnels plutôt que de réhabiliter des logements déjà existants comme c'était le cas avec l'embourgeoisement traditionnel. Cependant, Davidson et Lees (2010, 408) suggèrent que l'embourgeoisement par la construction neuve implique la relocalisation de la classe moyenne dans les quartiers pauvres, l'aménagement d'un paysage embourgeoisé et le déplacement indirect des résidents à faible revenu dans les quartiers adjacents.

Le renouveau de l'intérêt des universitaires pour le concept de déplacement indirect - d'abord remarqué par Chernoff (1980) dans son ouvrage explorant le « déplacement social » dans un quartier embourgeoisé d'Atlanta - est dû en grande partie à la prolifération généralisée de lotissements de construction neuve dans les quartiers pauvres. Martin (2007) a soutenu le besoin d'un raffinement conceptuel du concept de « déplacement social » de Chernoff, parce que tel qu'il a été défini, il peut à la fois faire référence au déplacement culturel, social ou politique vécu par les anciens résidents. Le concept de déplacement d'exclusion, de Marcuse (1986), constitue une des premières tentatives d'exploration du déplacement indirect. Il fait référence à une situation qui survient quand une famille ne peut pas déménager dans un

logement particulier parce que la compétition de familles plus riches a fait augmenter le coût de location au-delà de leurs moyens.

2. L'importance du quartier et « le sens du lieu » :

Afin de contribuer à ce raffinement conceptuel du concept de déplacement indirect, j'ai exploré la documentation en sociologie urbaine portant sur l'importance du quartier pour différents groupes sociaux. On reconnaît la nécessité de comprendre les débats élargis sur l'importance du quartier en tant qu'espace social, parce que s'il n'a aucune importance particulière pour les résidents, alors le déplacement, qu'il soit direct ou indirect, ne porte pas non plus à conséquence. Une revue de la documentation sur les liens sociaux et les réseaux sociaux suggère que le quartier est particulièrement important pour les groupes sociaux à faible revenu ainsi que pour les personnes âgées, parce que leurs réseaux sociaux sont beaucoup plus liés aux quartiers dans lesquels ils habitent. Toutefois, il n'est pas sûr que l'on peut généraliser ces affirmations. Ainsi, l'affirmation que les réseaux sociaux des personnes à faible revenu sont plus locaux que ceux de groupes à revenus supérieurs doit être explorée plus en profondeur, en partie en raison des variations des contextes culturels et en partie en raison de la taille des villes d'une étude de cas à une autre.

J'ai aussi exploré la documentation géographique urbaine sur « le sens du lieu.» Les lieux peuvent être définis comme étant un genre d'objet et donc, apprendre à connaître un quartier requiert l'identification de repères particuliers à l'intérieur de cet espace. Tuan (1977) a affirmé qu'un lieu devient une réalité concrète quand nous le ressentons avec tous nos sens. La résidence à long terme dans un espace particulier nous permet de connaître cet espace de façon intime, mais aussi souvent de manière délimitée. Par exemple, notre expérience d'un lieu est circonscrite par nos expériences quotidiennes, et donc ce lieu doit comprendre notre rue, ou les boutiques ou magasins du quartier que l'on fréquente (Tuan 1977, 1975). Ainsi, le lieu peut être compris comme une unité d'expérience environnementale, une convergence des pensées, des émotions et des comportements des gens qui les vivent (Canter 1986, 1991).

Les débats à propos du « sens du lieu » ont souvent trait à deux concepts interreliés : l'attachement à un lieu et l'identité d'un lieu. L'attachement à un lieu est souvent représenté comme étant un concept à multiple facettes qui caractérise la création de liens affectifs entre deux personnes et leurs lieux importants (ex. Giuliani 2003; Low et Altman 1992). On devient psychologiquement attaché à un lieu de trois façons principales : à travers nos émotions, à travers nos connaissances, et à travers nos comportements. L'identité d'un lieu a été décrite comme étant l'incorporation de l'espace dans le concept élargi de soi d'un individu : un « pot-

pourri de souvenirs, de créations, d'interprétations, d'idées et d'émotions reliées à des cadres physiques spécifiques, de même qu'à différents types de cadres (Proshansky et al. 1983). » Ainsi, l'identité d'un lieu est un autre aspect de l'identité, semblable à l'identité sociale, qui décrit la socialisation d'un individu avec le monde physique qui l'entoure.

Le terme « le sens du lieu » (*sense of place*) est utilisé pour mettre en valeur le fait que les lieux sont importants parce qu'ils sont reliés à des sentiments personnels. Ceux qui habitent des lieux y insufflent du sens et des émotions (Rose 1995, 88). L'endroit seul n'est pas suffisant pour créer un « sentiment d'appartenance à un lieu »; ce dernier émerge de l'interaction entre les gens et le lieu (Pretty et al. 2003). Dans les quartiers embourgeoisés, les explorations du « sens du lieu » que l'on trouve sont souvent des représentations de lieux en concurrence entre les résidents de longue date et les nouveaux arrivants bourgeois (voir Blomley 2004; Martin 2005).

3. Cadre conceptuel :

Une des contributions originales de ma thèse est le développement d'une typologie de déplacement indirect basée sur la documentation de la géographie et la sociologie urbaines, qui organisent les expériences de déplacement indirect en quatre types d'éléments constitutifs (voir la figure 3.2). Premièrement, le déplacement d'exclusion, qui survient quand à travers les mécanismes en place dans les quartiers embourgeoisés, des endroits qui étaient auparavant accessibles aux familles à revenus faibles et modestes ne le sont plus parce que la compétition de familles plus riches a fait augmenter le coût de location au-delà de leurs moyens (Marcuse 1986; Millard-Ball 2002). Cette situation pourrait être vécue au niveau individuel en termes de difficulté accrue à trouver un logement convenable, de mobilité résidentielle réduite, et de la frustration de vivre dans un logement inadéquat. Deuxièmement, le déplacement social est lié à l'impact des processus d'embourgeoisement sur les attachements et les réseaux sociaux des résidents de longue date. Cette situation peut être vécue par l'individu en termes de fracturation de ses réseaux sociaux locaux et, dans de tels cas, pourrait occasionner des sentiments de solitude ou de peine (Fried 1966). Troisièmement, le déplacement culturel est relié à l'idée de cultures en compétition à l'intérieur de quartiers embourgeoisés entre les résidents de longue date et les nouveaux arrivants embourgeoiseurs, qui ont tendance à refaçonner le quartier à leur image. Le quartier devient alors un site de contestation entre les sentiments opposés d'appartenance à un lieu des résidents, nouveaux et anciens (Rose 1995; Massey et Jess 1995; Blomley 2004; Martin 2005; Lehman-Frisch 2002, 2008). Cette situation peut être vécue par les anciens résidents de bien des façons, y compris l'exclusion culturelle et économique,

l'inconvénient résultant des déplacements des services commerciaux, ou, inversement, de l'appréciation de nouveaux services locaux; la nouvelle situation peut également affecter les niveaux de confort dans les espaces publics du quartier. Enfin, le déplacement politique a trait aux changements des dynamiques de pouvoir à l'intérieur des institutions et organismes communautaires du quartier ou la création de nouveaux organismes par les nouveaux résidents des quartiers en processus d'embourgeoisement (Martin 2007). Ces changements de dynamiques à l'intérieur d'organismes ou la création d'organismes parallèles par des nouveaux venus peuvent donner lieu soit à une perte de pouvoir politique ou, inversement, à un gain de pouvoir politique par l'accès à un nouveau capital social.

J'étais sur le point de commencer mon terrain de recherche lorsqu'on annonça le redéveloppement de l'échangeur Turcot, qui nécessiterait l'expropriation de 100 ménages. Puisque aucune des difficultés méthodologiques associées au déplacement dû à l'embourgeoisement ne s'appliquaient à ce cas, j'ai décidé d'élargir mon sujet d'étude pour inclure un plus grand éventail de types de déplacement, y compris le déplacement direct dû à l'expropriation. Ceci voulait dire que je devrais explorer les recherches de la psychologie environnementale sur la signification du foyer, parce que c'est un sujet primordial en termes d'expérience de déplacement.

La signification du foyer est souvent conceptualisée en tant que havre ou refuge. Dans de tels cas, l'expérience de déplacement peut occasionner un certain nombre de réactions psycho-sociales négatives, tels que le chagrin, l'anxiété, le stress, la dépression, la perte de sécurité et de contrôle, l'aliénation, le déracinement, ou la perte du sentiment de soi (Fried 1966; Key 1967; Carr 1994; Kleinhans 2003; Vandemark 2007; Desprès 1991). Mandy Fullilove (une psychiatre de la santé publique) croyait que les termes existants ne décrivaient pas les implications psycho-sociales de déplacement de façon adéquate et donc a développé le concept de «choc du déracinement» (*root shock*) pour tenter de décrire la réaction au choc traumatique que cause la destruction d'une partie ou même de l'entièreté de notre écosystème émotionnel. L'individu a sa propre manière de maintenir l'équilibre externe entre lui-même et le monde, que Fullilove nomme *mazeway* (passage de labyrinthe), un système externe de protection pour la navigation dans notre environnement. Quand ce passage est endommagé, l'individu entre en «choc du déracinement». Ce choc représente un profond niveau de bouleversement émotionnel qui déstabilise essentiellement le modèle fonctionnel de l'univers qui existait auparavant dans l'esprit de l'individu. Néanmoins, nous ne pouvons pas assumer que le foyer recèle toujours une signification aussi profondément positive. Ailleurs dans la

documentation sur le foyer celui-ci est représenté non pas comme un havre ou un refuge, mais plutôt comme un piège, par exemple pour les personnes âgées ou les gens sans emploi qui sont confinés chez eux (Moore 2000) (voir la figure 3.3).

4. Méthodologie :

Le but de cette thèse est d'étudier les expériences de déplacement (direct et indirect) de résidents dans un quartier qui subit simultanément un embourgeoisement (traditionnel et de construction neuve) et le développement de méga-projets. Je me suis concentrée sur le quartier Saint-Henri, coincé entre les nouveaux développements résidentiels et aménagements récréatifs le long du canal de Lachine et les méga-projets du centre de santé de l'Université McGill et de l'échangeur Turcot.

Saint-Henri, situé dans le sud-ouest de Montréal (voir le tableau 4.1), est l'un des plus vieux quartiers ouvriers de la ville. L'ouverture du canal de Lachine en 1826 a été d'une importance-clé pour son développement (Blais et al. 1981, 8). Le quartier Saint-Henri est aussi reconnu depuis longtemps pour son activisme. Dès 1880, les travailleurs des usines en bordure du canal de Lachine déclenchaient la grève pour protester contre leurs salaires et leurs conditions de travail dans les usines bordant le canal de Lachine, et à compter de 1898 ils avaient récolté leurs premières victoires. Les femmes jouèrent un rôle important dans de telles luttes et étaient des leaders-clés dans l'organisation des premiers syndicats. Les horribles conditions de travail des usines du quartier, en combinaison avec cette tradition d'activisme syndical, ont fait de Saint-Henri un site permanent d'agitation ouvrière dans les décennies suivantes (Michaudville et al. 1972).

En raison de la désindustrialisation, Saint-Henri a connu un déclin de population depuis les années soixante. En 1966, la population était à son plus haut point à 26 699 habitants, puis elle a continuellement diminué jusqu'en 2001, année où son déclin était le plus marqué, avec seulement 13 563 habitants. Les difficultés du chômage causé par la désindustrialisation en combinaison avec cette longue tradition d'activisme et d'entraide ont donné naissance aux premiers comités de citoyens à Montréal au début des années soixante. S'en est suivi l'établissement de toute une gamme d'institutions populaires dans le quartier (voir Mills 2009, Godbout et Collin 1977, McGraw 1978). Favreau (1989) catégorise Saint-Henri comme un quartier populaire traditionnel, qui possède les caractéristiques historiques suivantes : une situation de relative homogénéité sociale ; un sentiment d'appartenance au quartier développé plutôt sur une base culturelle (c'est-à-dire des Blancs canadiens-français catholiques) que socio-occupationnelle ; la création d'un certain type de vie sociale et culturelle ; et un cadre de

référence lié à un sentiment d'appartenance à un quartier très précisément défini, où domine le quartier comme unité (Favreau 1989, 53).

Néanmoins, plus récemment, le long déclin de la population depuis les années soixante a cessé. Entre 2001 et 2006, il y a eu une augmentation de la population de 9,1 % (Statistique Canada, recensement 2006). Aujourd'hui, Saint-Henri est encore largement un quartier ouvrier francophone, qui détient un pourcentage élevé de familles monoparentales, de ménages à faible revenu et de locataires. Le quartier a considérablement changé au cours des dernières années, avec les nouveaux lotissements de condominiums le long du canal Lachine (désigné corridor récréatif par Parcs Canada en 1997) et la transformation généralisée des anciennes zones industrielles en logements. À ce jour, la longue tradition d'activisme dans le quartier se poursuit. Entre 2000 et 2007, on a compté 72 actions collectives dans Saint-Henri, la grande majorité étant des manifestations contre les lotissements de condominiums qui bourgeonnaient le long du canal Lachine et contre les plans de localiser une décharge publique dans le quartier (Hernandez Latorre et Le Bel 2011).

Les questions de recherche sous-tendant cette thèse étaient les suivantes : quelles sont les significations du déplacement, depuis la perspective des résidents de longue date vivant dans des immeubles locatifs de ce quartier ouvrier de Montréal, qui font simultanément l'expérience d'un certain nombre de suite d'actions, vraisemblablement en voie de générer des déplacements (ex. embourgeoisement traditionnel, embourgeoisement de nouvelle construction, développement d'un énorme hôpital et redéveloppement d'un vaste échangeur autoroutier) ? Comment ces résidents vivent-ils ces expériences de déplacement ? De quelles façons sont-elles significatives dans leurs vies ?

J'avais deux objectifs de recherche principaux. Mon premier objectif était de rendre opérationnelle ma conceptualisation élargie et améliorée du déplacement indirect dans ma recherche sur le terrain, et de générer de nouvelles idées quant aux problèmes réels et anticipés des résidents de longue date dans les quartiers adjacents aux méga-projets du MUHC et de l'échangeur Turcot. Mon deuxième objectif était d'explorer les expériences de déplacement direct reliées à un méga-projet dans ma recherche sur le terrain, et de privilégier les voix des résidents de longue date qui seront déplacés par le redéveloppement de l'échangeur Turcot, afin de générer de nouvelles idées quant aux problèmes auxquels les anciens résidents font face.

Afin d'explorer les multiples dimensions du déplacement, l'étude de cas semblait être l'approche méthodologique optimale, en partie en raison de ses avantages-clés : la capacité de

saisir des phénomènes sociaux complexes et d'intégrer un certain nombre de types d'indices. Ma stratégie méthodologique visait la combinaison de nombre de méthodes différentes. J'ai commencé avec une recherche documentaire qui consistait en trois approches principales. Premièrement, j'ai examiné des statistiques descriptives (utilisant une analyse fondée sur le recensement) pour déterminer le degré d'embourgeoisement de Saint-Henri jusqu'à ce jour. J'ai complété cette approche par une mise en contexte reposant sur divers types de sources documentaires, y compris des rapports de planification. De plus, j'ai fait un inventaire des approvisionnements de services commerciaux sur la rue commerciale principale, la rue Notre-Dame, que j'ai ensuite comparé aux approvisionnements de services commerciaux en 1996 dans le but de me faire une idée approximative des changements survenus dans l'offre de services de vente au détail. Cependant, une grande partie de mon processus de recherche a consisté à mener des entretiens semi-dirigés avec les résidents de longue date pour déterminer s'ils avaient vécu un déplacement (direct ou indirect) et, le cas échéant, pour déterminer le sens de ce déplacement dans leurs vies.

En dépit de mon hypothèse initiale que l'exploration des déplacements indirects ne posait pas les mêmes problèmes méthodologiques que celle des déplacements directs parce que les résidents interviewés habitaient encore le même quartier, le recrutement s'est révélé l'un des aspects les plus problématiques du projet. Mon point d'entrée initial a été les organismes de Saint-Henri qui faisaient partie de la Coalition Inter-Quartier, parce que j'avais travaillé avec eux depuis ma maîtrise à l'École d'urbanisme de l'Université McGill. Cette expérience m'a amenée à entrer en contact avec un certain nombre d'autres organismes dans le quartier où j'ai fait des présentations et laissé de l'information sur mon projet à leur clientèle. J'ai aussi utilisé nombre d'autres stratégies de recrutement, y compris laisser des brochures sur mon projet dans des espaces publics du quartier, aller à des fêtes et des prestations dans le quartier, faire des présentations publiques des résultats de mon évaluation de l'embourgeoisement dans le quartier et prendre des échantillons boule de neige des participants initiaux (voir l'Appendice F).

Mon échantillon pour la composante « déplacement indirect » de ma recherche consistait en 29 entrevues avec 34 résidents au total. Si l'on considère les caractéristiques démographiques de base, la majorité des candidats avaient entre 31 et 50 ans et il y avait nettement plus de femmes que d'hommes. Plus des deux tiers de l'échantillon avaient le français comme langue maternelle, un quart étaient des anglophones, et 3 % parlaient une langue autre que les langues officielles du Canada. Cela équivaut à peu près à la

représentation linguistique du quartier, quoi que les immigrants y soient sous-représentés. La vaste majorité des candidats étaient caucasiens (pour de plus amples informations, voir les Appendices G et H).

Quant aux statuts d'occupation des résidents, un peu moins de la moitié des de l'échantillon étaient des locataires du secteur privé, tandis que le reste des locataires habitaient dans différents types de logements sociaux (HLM, co-op et OBNL). Les sujets interrogés étaient dans des tranches de revenu variées, quoi que la majorité eût des revenus faibles ou modestes, les niveaux d'instruction étant variés. Sous l'angle de la durée de résidence, 29 % des sujets avaient vécu à Saint-Henri entre 5 et 9 ans, 50 % des sujets y avaient vécu pendant 10 ans ou plus, et 21 % avaient passé leur vie entière dans le quartier. En ce qui a trait aux endroits de résidence des sujets, ils étaient assez bien répartis sur l'entièreté du quartier, la plus petite portion habitant dans CT 80, qui a connu un embourgeoisement traditionnel avant les autres parties du quartier.

L'échantillon de déplacement direct consistait en des entrevues de témoins privilégiés dont les logements avaient été désignés pour être expropriés en vue du redéveloppement de l'échangeur Turcot. Initialement, j'avais planifié deux entrevues avec chaque candidat (avant et après le déplacement) afin de mieux comprendre les problèmes liés aux différents stades de déplacement dans leurs vies. Cependant, cela n'a pas été possible en raison des retards accusés par le projet et du calendrier de l'analyse et de l'écriture de cette thèse. Des cinq témoins privilégiés, quatre étaient des locataires du secteur privé et un était un propriétaire qui habitait dans la même maison depuis 45 ans. J'ai interviewé quatre femmes et un homme, appartenant à tout un éventail de groupes salariaux. Les candidats avaient entre 36 et 72 ans. La durée de leur résidence dans ces quartiers était entre 5 et 66 ans (voir l'Appendice H).

5. L'embourgeoisement dans Saint-Henri ? Les preuves issues de sources documentaires et de statistiques descriptives :

L'analyse de l'embourgeoisement basée sur les recensements comparait les indices pertinents pour 1996 et 2006 de façon à esquisser un portrait très précis de l'embourgeoisement dans le quartier jusqu'en 2006. L'analyse a révélé un embourgeoisement considérablement généralisé dans Saint-Henri, mais les trajectoires des différents secteurs du quartier (opérationnalisées en tant que secteurs de recensement) étaient quelque peu hétérogènes (voir la Figure 5.2). Différents secteurs de Saint-Henri avaient connu différents degrés d'embourgeoisement, de même que diverses voies vers cet embourgeoisement (l'embourgeoisement traditionnel, qui correspond à l'amélioration des logements existants, par

opposition à l'embourgeoisement par la construction neuve). La portion nord-est du quartier (correspondant aux secteurs de recensement 80 et 81, qui sont les plus près de Westmount), a connu l'embourgeoisement traditionnel le plus intense. Les districts au sud de celle-ci (secteurs de recensement 79 et 83) adjacents au canal Lachine ont connu un embourgeoisement généralisé par la construction neuve, en raison surtout de la transformation d'ancien sites industriels en condominiums. La pointe ouest du quartier qui longe l'échangeur Turcot (secteurs de recensement 82 et 84) exhibait des changements de divers ordres. Non seulement les indices d'embourgeoisement y étaient moins prononcés, mais ces secteurs avaient la plus haute proportion de logements sociaux et communautaires, d'immigrants récents, et de résidents vivant sous le seuil de faible revenu (SFR).

L'inventaire commercial comparait les commerces et les services au détail situés sur Notre-Dame (entre Atwater et St. Rémi) en 2011 à ceux de l'année 1996 en utilisant l'annuaire Lovell rue-adresse du Montréal métropolitain afin de dresser un portrait approximatif de l'embourgeoisement commercial dans le quartier jusqu'à nos jours. Quoiqu'on ait enregistré des gains proportionnels relatifs autant dans les chaînes de commerces que dans les commerces indépendants (ceux-ci étant des indices d'embourgeoisement commercial, selon Zukin *et al*. (2009)), jusqu'à maintenant cela ne semble pas avoir eu comme effet de déplacer un nombre substantiel de commerces locaux ou de services communautaires. Au lieu de cela, les pressions visant l'embourgeoisement semblent avoir été absorbées par le nombre présent de commerces vacants, puisque ce nombre a diminué de façon substantielle durant cette période. L'embourgeoisement commercial dans Saint-Henri semble ainsi être beaucoup moins important que dans le cas de la ville de New York, que Zukin *et al.* ont observé (2009). Tout de même, on ne peut pas dire que l'incursion de nouveaux types de commerce dans le quartier ait été bénéfique pour la moyenne des résidents de longue date de Saint-Henri, un problème que j'éxamine en détail dans le chapitre 8. De plus, au fil des années, cette vitalité accrue sur la rue Notre-Dame pourrait avoir comme effet d'augmenter la compétition pour les espaces commerciaux à tel point que ces petits commerces locaux s'avéreraient incapables de survivre.

6. Perceptions des changements dans le quartier :

Le but principal de ce chapitre est d'explorer les perceptions des changements dans le quartier par les locataires de longue date qui y résident. Ce chapitre débute avec l'exploration des perceptions des résidents à propos des changements physiques dans le quartier. Semblablement aux découvertes de Smith (1996), la combinaison de poches d'embourgeoisement traditionnel, d'abandonnements et d'incendies fréquents a donné lieu à

une disparité de loyer *(rent gap),* ce qui a fourni une motivation et des marges de profit suffisantes pour une multiplication des investissements dans le quartier. Dans Saint-Henri, cette situation s'est manifestée par des développements de réaffectation et une réutilisation adaptative des entrepôts industriels pour les transformer en condominiums. Dans Saint-Henri, le redéveloppement du canal Lachine constitue un exemple poignant de la stratégie esquissée par Hall (2002), qui consiste en la recréation des espaces rendus désuets par la désindustrialisation. Ce redéveloppement du canal Lachine a aussi servi de catalyseur pour le redéveloppement du quartier environnant. Les résidents ont perçu ce développement comme étant partiellement responsable non seulement du développement d'innombrables condominiums, mais aussi de l'amélioration des parcs, des traditionnels parcs de logements, ainsi que de la sécurité du quartier. Ces changements ont exercé un certain nombre de pressions sur les locataires de longue date, telles qu'une diminution des logements à prix abordable ; une augmentation de la pression sur les locataires puisque les propriétaires ont pris note de ces changements et ont de plus en plus capitalisé sur ceux-ci ; et ils ont même créé la crainte chez les locataires plus affluents de ne plus pouvoir se permettre de devenir propriétaires dans le quartier en raison des hausses de prix. Enfin, le développement inégal est exploré avec un accent particulier sur la détérioration et le déclin observés par les résidents de la portion ouest du quartier longeant l'échangeur Turcot. Ces découvertes reflètent ce qui a déjà été prouvé ailleurs : qu'une fois que le redéveloppement d'un espace est imminent, il peut avoir un effet négatif sur le milieu résidentiel aux alentours, puisque les propriétaires ont moins d'intérêt à entretenir leurs édifices, ce qui donne lieu à l'augmentation du vandalisme et même de la violence dans le quartier (Lavigne 1971 ; Carr 1994).

Cette discussion des changements physiques observés est suivie dans ce chapitre par l'exploration des perceptions résidentielles des changements démographiques en cours dans le quartier. Les sujets interrogés ont relevé un certain nombre de ces changements. Premièrement, l'arrivée de professionnels à revenus élevés a été souvent mentionnée, ce qui reflète les conclusions de chercheurs ailleurs dans le monde, telles que celles de Ley (1996). Chose intéressante, dans le cas de Saint-Henri, les sujets anglophones interrogés ont souvent mentionné la présence accrue de leur groupe linguistique, sans établir de lien direct entre celui-ci et son rôle dans le processus d'embourgeoisement. Ces conclusions renforcent ce qui a déjà été découvert ailleurs, c'est-à-dire que ceux qui contribuent à la création du processus d'embourgeoisement n'ont souvent pas conscience de leur propre rôle dans celui-ci (Ocejo 2011, Caulfield 1994). Une augmentation constante de la diversité ethnique a été notée par les résidents continus, qui se souviennent d'une époque où Saint-Henri était un quartier beaucoup

plus homogène. Une incursion de jeunes familles a aussi été mentionnée, particulièrement celles qui ont des enfants. Enfin, en raison des changements de population mentionnés ci-dessus, la perte ou la réappropriation d'églises traditionnelles dans Saint-Henri par d'autres groupes ethniques ou affiliations religieuses était un thème important mentionné par certain des résidents de longue date et peut être vue comme une forme de déplacement culturel (pour un autre exemple montréalais, voir Lavoie et al. 2011). Tout de même, une importante mise en garde est que la vulnérabilité de l'Église catholique aux reprises a été augmentée par le déclin généralisé de la participation parmi la population franco-canadienne dans les quatre dernières décennies.

Suite à la discussion des perceptions des résidents à propos des changements physiques et démographiques du quartier Saint-Henri, nous continuons l'exploration de leurs perceptions et de leurs expériences de mixité sociale avec l'arrivée d'une population plus aisée dans le quartier. Certains des sujets interrogés ont remarqué un manque d'interaction entre eux et les nouveaux habitants des condos, phénomène reflétant le concept de tectonique sociale de Robson et Butler (2001), notion qui définit les relations sociales comme étant parallèles, se croisant de manière occasionnelle, plutôt que d'être de nature intégrante. Par ailleurs, en accord avec les recherches de Fortin (1998), certains des résidents ont caractérisé leurs relations avec les nouveaux arrivants en termes d'indifférence polie. Les amitiés qui avaient été rapportées avaient été facilitées par du bénévolat ou la présence d'enfants. De plus, quand ces amitiés s'épanouissaient, elles étaient 'filtrées', ce qui confirme les découvertes antérieures sur la mixité sociale à Montréal telles que celles de Dansereau et al. (1997). Enfin, comme cette citation suivante l'illustre, certains des sujets interviewés ont exprimé des sentiments de division et de séparation sociale entre eux et les nouveaux résidents des condos, et sentaient que certains de ces nouveaux résidents essayaient de symboliquement redéfinir les lotissements du canal Lachine de telle manière qu'ils ne faisaient pas partie de Saint-Henri :

> **ID-29(a):** « C'est des snobs, je suis désolée... (…) Amy, on a fait un sondage ok, on a été sur le bord du canal. Les gens sur le bord du canal, si tu leurs demandes...« Bonjour madame, vous habitez à Saint-Henri ?» « Non, je suis désolée. » « Ah, vous êtes dans un autre quartier ? » « Ben, j'habite ici sur le bord du canal. » « Ben, madame, le bord du canal c'est Saint-Henri. » « Non, non, non madame. Moi, j'habite à ...» « Ben, dites-moi donc le nom de votre quartier d'abord ? » « Ben, j'habite à Montréal ! » « Ben, je suis désolée de vous dire madame mais vous habitez à Saint-Henri ». C'est ça que je lui ai dit. Pis je suis partie. Pis, pas juste 1 madame, mais 2 mesdames pis pas ensemble. Y habitent pas à Saint-Henri, eux-autres. Y habitent sur le bord du canal. Je suis désolée, mais c'est là que tu habites. » *Femme de 45 ans, résidente de toute une vie, faible revenu, vivant dans un HLM.*

Nous voyons ici un exemple de deux sentiments contradictoires de « sens du lieu », nourris par des résidents de longue date et des nouveaux résidents des condos (Blomley 2004). Ceci constitue une preuve de déplacement culturel en termes de « sens du lieu ». Par contre, en contraste avec des études antérieures (Martin 2005), dans Saint-Henri nous découvrons que les représentations symboliques de l'espace sont non seulement importantes pour les nouveaux arrivants mais aussi pour certains des anciens résidents à faible revenu. À un niveau plus concret, certains des résidents de longue date ont vécu de la discorde avec des nouveaux résidents des condos, qui se montraient snobs et condescendants envers eux, situation semblable aux récentes conclusions de chercheurs pour le West End de Toronto (Mazer et Rankin 2011).

7. L'exploration du déplacement direct par le biais de la repossession et de la menace de déplacement direct :

Le but principal de ce chapitre est de privilégier les voix des résidents ayant vécu un déplacement direct (ou une menace de déplacement direct) de façon à nuancer les connaissances actuelles sur le déplacement direct. L'expérience de déplacement direct peut donner lieu à nombre d'effets nuisibles pour les maisonnées affectées, comme ceux qui ont été documentés dans la section 1.7, y compris une détérioration des conditions de logements, une augmentation des coûts de location et une augmentation de l'entassement ou de la cohabitation. Mais comme ma recherche ici le révèle, les effets les plus néfastes sont de loin ceux de nature psychosociale (voir le tableau 7.3). Vivre sous la menace de déplacement a provoqué un certain nombre de réactions émotives pour chaque informateur-clé, réactions qui sont causées par différentes circonstances personnelles. Une locataire de longue date, âgée, qui avait un réseau social très établi dans le quartier présentait une grande intrépidité et entrevoyait clairement le chagrin que lui causerait un déplacement. Des réactions plus immédiatement débilitantes telles que le choc post-traumatique, la difficulté à faire face à la situation, le stress et l'anxiété ont été manifestées par une propriétaire aînée souffrant de douleurs chroniques, et pour qui l'importance d'un foyer en tant que havre de paix, espace sécuritaire, de même que la perte potentielle d'un profond sentiment d'appartenance au Village des Tanneries où elle avait vécu toute sa vie, étaient des facteurs importants. Cette résidente parla de son expérience de menace d'expropriation en termes de destruction du soi:

> **DD-05:** « J'étais complètement démolie ... je tremblais comme une feuille euh...bon pis j'ai des problèmes de santé aussi euh qui fait que c't'un hasard je je me suis retrouvée au même moment en clinique, de la douleur chronique et j'ai demandé à voir euh ça avait pas rapport à Turcot, c'est vraiment un hasard c'est parce que j'ai appris que y'avait une psychologue qui pouvait m'apprendre l'auto-hypnose pour y

dire ma douleur. Faque j'avais pris rendez-vous pis euh j'ai rencontré la psychologue mais là ... (rires) j'étais pu capable de parler de ma douleur j'étais tellement pris avec Turcot pis j'ai dit chu pas c'est pas dans votre mandat. Mais a dit ça vous déstresse tellement que ça va rentrer dans mon mandat faque euh... Pis a m'a dit: « Vous êtes en choc post-traumatique. » Et la première semaine j'étais pu capable de rester tout seule chez nous... je je je je... pleurais, chu pas une pleureuse, mais ça m'a complètement démoli. Ça a changé mon comportement. Dans la première semaine j'ai maigri de six livres. Pour une femme qui est pas en santé c'est pas aidant là. En tout cas, finalement tout ça s'est replacé, mais j'ai vécu l'enfer. J'ai vraiment vécu l'enfer. » *Femme de 65 ans, résidente de toute une vie, revenu moyen, vivant en co-propriété sur la rue Cazelais.*

Pour un locataire de longue date avec de multiples expériences de déplacement dans le quartier, un stress débilitant, une anxiété, un sentiment de perte de contrôle et d'impuissance étaient caractéristiques de son expérience de la menace d'expropriation. L'insécurité ressentie en ce qui concerne la perte éventuelle de l'occupation du logement et ses expériences passées de déplacement, de même que la perte entrevue de son sentiment d'appartenance, à la fois à son logement et à son quartier, nourrissaient cette détresse émotive. La crainte de perdre son moyen de subsistance était emblématique pour un autre résident de longue date qui utilisait son loft également comme espace de travail. Enfin, des sentiments d'injustice, d'impuissance, de colère et de frustration étaient caractéristiques d'un autre locataire récent en raison de la perte potentielle d'un logement qui était adapté à ses besoins, à la fois fonctionnels et psychologiques.

Cette section de la thèse confirme les conclusions des études antérieures sur l'impact de la relocalisation forcée et le déplacement dû à l'embourgeoisement. Premièrement, la peur de ne pas pouvoir trouver un logement adéquat dans ses moyens qui offrirait la même qualité de vie était une source importante de stress (Atkinson et al. 2011). Néanmoins, cette étude suggère -contrairement aux études antérieures qui ont révélé que les locataires ont plus de difficulté que les propriétaires à trouver un foyer de remplacement qui conviendrait à leurs besoins- que la durée de résidence dans le quartier est une variable-clé et que les propriétaires aussi peuvent avoir des difficultés significatives s'ils sont des aînés (avec un revenu fixe) et ont acheté dans le quartier bien avant son embourgeoisement. Néanmoins, comme il a été mentionné précédemment, la crainte du changement et l'attachement ressenti par les propriétaires (particulièrement des aînés) qui ont vécu dans une habitation particulière pendant une période de temps prolongée sont aussi des facteurs possibles. Deuxièmement, comme le montrent Atkinson *et al.* (2011), l'expérience de multiples déplacements a causé des problèmes psychologiques importants pour les résidents affectés. En effet, un des informateurs qui avait vécu deux expériences de déplacement occasionnés par la repossession de son logis a souffert

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de réactions psychologiques négatives beaucoup plus sérieuses qu'un locataire de longue date sans expérience de déplacement, mais qu'on avait informé de son expropriation. Troisièmement, notre étude illustre certaines des conclusions de Key (1967) et de Kleinhans (2003), puisque la résidente aînée de toute une vie (souffrant de douleurs chroniques) a souffert de loin les réactions émotionnelles les plus débilitantes face à la menace de déplacement, y compris un diagnostic de syndrome de stress post-traumatique. Le concept de «choc de déracinement» de Fullilove (2004) a été utile quant à la compréhension de l'expérience de menace de déplacement de cette résidente. Quatrièmement, les recherches antérieures ont mis en évidence le fait que plus un résident est dévoué à un quartier avant sa relocalisation, plus il risque de souffrir d'une réaction affective négative après le déplacement (Fried 1966). Ainsi, dans notre étude, l'informatrice-clé qui a mentionné la possibilité d'éprouver du chagrin dans le cas où elle serait forcée de déménager était une résidente aînée ayant longtemps vécu dans ce quartier et y ayant entretenu un réseau social complexe. Elle éprouvait une dévotion profonde pour son quartier, agissant en tant que porte-parole dans la lutte contre l'expropriation. De plus, la résidente aînée interviewée a accusé un certain nombre de fortes réactions émotives négatives à l'idée de son expropriation, ce qui augmente ainsi ses risques de subir des réactions liées au chagrin, sinon pire, situation que corroborent les conclusions de Gans (1959) et de Lipman (1969).

Les découvertes les plus surprenantes dans cette partie de ma recherche ont été les effets psycho-sociaux extrêmement négatifs ressentis par trois des cinq résidents interviewés. On peut dès lors affirmer que le «choc du déracinement» était une description adéquate de l'expérience de deux de ces informateurs-clés : l'une, résidente aînée présentant de sérieux problèmes de santé et ayant vécu sa vie entière dans Saint-Henri ; l'autre, une résidente qui a vécu plusieurs expériences de déplacement dans Saint-Henri avant sa expropriation. Tel que je l'ai mentionné dans le chapitre 2, le processus psychologique d'attachement à un lieu comporte trois aspects : il se produit par l'entremise des pensées, des émotions et des comportements. Compte tenu de l'intensité des réactions psychosociales négatives de trois des cinq informateurs, il semblerait que la durée de résidence dans un quartier est un facteur-clé dans l'approfondissement des aspects psychologiques de l'attachement à un lieu. De plus, la participation à la lutte pour préserver son quartier semble intensifier l'identification à un lieu, c'est à dire l'incorporation que fait un individu d'un lieu (Saint-Henri dans ce cas-ci) au grand concept de soi.

8. La signification du quartier dans la vie quotidienne :

Ce chapitre explore la signification du quartier dans les vies quotidiennes des résidents. Il est divisé en quatre sections principales. La première section explore le concept de quartier en tant que source potentielle de communauté locale, de même que de réseaux sociaux (locaux) des résidents. Deuxièmement, ce chapitre documente le rôle des établissements et des services du quartier dans la vie quotidienne des résidents, organisé autour des espaces significatifs dans le quartier généralement définis en terme de récréation, d'espaces publics, et de commerces. Troisièmement, il explore les sentiments des résidents en ce qui a trait à la qualité de l'environnement physique du quartier. Enfin, il discute la vie politique et l'engagement des résidents dans les luttes politiques du quartier. Le but de ce chapitre est de développer un meilleur entendement de l'importance du quartier selon ces multiples aspects, de façon à vérifier si le déplacement indirect (dans toutes ses formes) est un concept utile pour aider à la compréhension des expériences des locataires de Saint-Henri. Les sections suivantes donnent un aperçu des preuves accumulées de cette exploration selon les différents types de déplacements indirects développés dans mon cadre conceptuel (voir la figure 3.2).

<u>Les réseaux sociaux et le déplacement social ?</u>

Pour explorer le déplacement social potentiel, j'ai examiné les réseaux sociaux des résidents afin de découvrir s'ils avaient des amis et des membres de la famille dans le quartier. Tous les groupes de revenus tendaient à avoir au moins des liens faibles dans le quartier, comme des connaissances. En ce qui concerne les connaissances intimes, certain des résidents à faible revenu ont rapporté que presque toutes leurs connaissances intimes habitaient dans le quartier. La citation suivante est d'une résidente qui a vécu toute sa vie dans le quartier et démontre que le quartier s'avère d'une extrême importance en ce qui concerne la localisation de son réseau social.

> **ID-29(a):** « Moi, Amy là, Saint-Henri, c'est Saint-Henri. Je l'ai tatoué su'l coeur pour vrai, pis les gens que j'côtoie la plupart restent à Saint-Henri. J'te dirais que on est une famille de 7 (…) Pis sur 7, y'en a 2 qui sont déménagés. J'ai ma soeur, parce que ma soeur a s'est mariée avec un militaire faque a reste proche de la base militaire. Mon autre sœur a déménagé à Ville Saint-Pierre, parce que tu peux avoir la même chose qu'ici pour un loyer de $300 de moins. » *Femme de 45 ans, résidante depuis sa naissance à Saint-Henri, faible revenu, vivant dans un HLM.*

Un des facteurs qui a éventuellement donné lieu à la fracturation des réseaux sociaux de certains résidents a été les incendies fréquents dans le quartier et le déplacement ultérieur de connaissances intimes qui étaient incapables par la suite de trouver un autre loyer dans les alentours en raison du manque de loyers abordables. Il est possible que le changement

d'atmosphère du quartier créé par la perte de plusieurs connaissances ainsi que la perte de l'atmosphère familiale de Saint-Henri constituent aussi une sorte de déplacement social vécu par le biais de la dilution des réseaux locaux de liens faibles. Ce phénomène pourrait être relié à la durée de résidence, puisque les risques de rotation de voisins après un certain temps sont très hauts (et sont sûrement accélérés par l'embourgeoisement) et risquent d'être perçus de façon négative par ceux qui ont habité dans ce quartier pendant un nombre considérable d'années. De plus, une rotation élevée des locataires dans les logements (due au manque d'entretien de la part du propriétaire) semble être un facteur travaillant contre les 'communautés locales' et les réseaux de connaissances puisqu'il a été rapporté que la recréation annuelle de liens avec les voisins dans le cas de rotations élevées requérait beaucoup d'énergie. Un autre facteur contribuant à la fracture des réseaux sociaux était le déplacement occasionné par la repossession, c'est-à-dire quand des amis ou des voisins ont été expulsés de leurs foyers et se sont trouvés incapables de trouver un nouveau logement dans les alentours. Les preuves présentées ici suggèrent que dans le cas de la repossession, même si l'on a la capacité ou la chance de pouvoir rester dans le quartier après, cela ne veut quand même pas dire que de tels événements n'auront pas des conséquences néfastes sur son réseau social ou, de façon plus générale, sur sa réintégration sociale dans le quartier.

<u>Le déplacement culturel dans les services commerciaux locaux?</u>

Les commerces du quartier constituaient un point de divergence dans les points de vue des sujets interviewés. Des indices de dépareillement apparaissaient entre les services commerciaux disponibles et les besoins de certains des résidents de longue date, particulièrement dans le cas de certaines commodités de base tels que des vêtements pour enfants, ce qui obligeait les résidents à sortir du quartier pour se procurer ces biens. L'idée d'un « sens du lieu » changeant en raison des changements dans le quartier était clairement illustrée dans certains aspects du paysage commercial de Saint-Henri. Un endroit important de contestation était le nouveau supermarché IGA ouvert en 2006. Ce IGA local était un nœud bien connu de points de vue en opposition. Certains des résidents de longue date se sentaient mal à l'aise dans le nouveau supermarché en raison de la perte de leur petite épicerie locale plus familiale et de son remplacement par un marché beaucoup plus gros et plus cher, ce qui donna lieu à une perte du sentiment d'appartenance à ce lieu de l'épicerie du quartier, devenu un espace avec lequel ils ne pouvaient plus s'identifier.

> **ID-23(a):** « Y'est très, très, très cher là, c'est sûr que pour lui... On est le dernier de ses soucis. Pourtant, c't'un monsieur ça, ça fait des années qui est dans le quartier. (…) Ici y'avait un petit IGA, quand j'dis petit, ç'pas pour la grandeur de la place mais

j'veux dire un p'tit IGA moi, j'veux dire que on s'sentais chez nous quand on y allait dans le temps. Mais pu aujourd'hui. Aujourd'hui y a déménagé y a rénové, y a ... y a faite bâtir même un IGA de luxe, on appelle ça de luxe, c'est même pu achetable même. On se sent pu... C'est pu notre IGA du quartier là. C'est vraiment pu pareil. » *Femme de 51 ans, résidente de longue date, faible revenu, vivant dans une coopérative d'habitation.*

D'autres, par contre, trouvaient que le nouveau IGA était une belle amélioration du quartier, mais ceux-ci étaient des récents arrivants à revenus modestes et donc les prix ne leur semblaient pas aussi exorbitants. Chose intéressante, une des résidentes qui avait passé sa vie dans le quartier avait mis le doigt sur l'une des tensions principales pour les anciens habitants du quartier, qui était qu'elle se sentait prise entre Charybde et Scylla dans le sens où elle hésitait à appuyer le nouveau supermarché (en raison de ses prix exorbitants), mais qu'elle continuait tout de même d'y faire ses emplettes pour protéger les emplois de plusieurs résidents de longue date du quartier. À cause de la désindustrialisation et de la précarité grandissante des emplois, ce sujet interviewé voyait la valeur stratégique de s'assurer que les résidents à faible revenu demeurent employés dans le quartier, même si l'épicerie pour sa famille était plus élevée. Le marché public aussi était un point de discorde. Tandis que certains des résidents se sentaient culturellement exclus par le manque de disponibilité d'ingrédients québécois traditionnels et le prix élevé des légumes, un autre résident de longue date suggéra qu'en fait ce marché n'avait jamais été destiné à la population locale. Dans l'ensemble, ces résultats suggèrent que pour les résidents permanents, du moins, un déplacement culturel s'était produit dans les commerces du quartier.

<u>Le déplacement culturel dans les espaces publics du quartier?</u>

Les parcs du quartier étaient souvent fréquentés par des résidents divers, dont les familles avec enfants, et à un degré moindre, les personnes âgées. En ce qui concerne le niveau de confort, les chiens étaient un point de tension dans les parcs publics. Même si une aire pour chiens avait récemment été élaborée, certains des propriétaires sentaient que leurs chiens n'y seraient pas en sécurité en raison de la présence de certaines races dites/considérées comme agressives. La logique de cette affirmation est examinée dans l'ouvrage de Tissot (2011), où l'auteure soutient que les choix de races des embourgeoiseurs avaient tendance à présenter des attitudes corporelles qui reflétaient les 'habitus' de leurs propriétaires. En conséquence de cet inconfort, certains propriétaires de chiens promenaient leurs chiens sans laisse dans d'autres parcs du quartier, ce qui créait des tensions, particulièrement avec les parents de jeunes enfants, ou avec les enfants du quartier, qui ne voulaient pas jouer dans des espaces fréquentés par des chiens :

ID-24(c): « Y ont refait le parc Louis Cyr, y ont mis des jeux d'eau pour les enfants. Mais (…) avant c'était des jeux, maintenant y ont mis du gazon, mais là c'est comme un parc à chien. C'est pas supposé d'avoir des chiens, mais les enfants appellent ça le parc à chien pis ils y vont pas parce que y a des cacas à terre, y peuvent pas marcher y peuvent pas aller jouer là. Fait qu'on y va pu. Mais quand j'étais petite, on allait dans ce parc-là. On allait jouer là. Là depuis 5 ans, depuis 10 ans on peut plus y aller à cause qu'il y a les chiens. Pis, ils les laissent pas de laisse aussi, ramassent pas le caca et les laissent en liberté. C'est dangereux pour les enfants. Fait qu'on va dans les parcs plus loin. » *Femme de 24 ans, résidente permanente, revenu élevé, vivant dans une coopérative d'habitation.*

Chose intéressante, par contre, certains des résidents de longue date du quartier, de même que ceux qui y avaient passé leur vie voyaient les aires de chiens comme une occasion d'interaction de différentes races de chiens, ainsi que d'un contact social minimal avec les nouveaux arrivants à l'aise, plusieurs de ceux-ci étant propriétaires de chiens. Ces conclusions vont à l'encontre de celles de Tissot (2011), où les embourgeoiseurs qui encourageaient la création d'une aire de chiens dans un quartier embourgeoisé mettaient l'accent sur sa contribution en termes de 'rapprochement des résidents', malgré que les utilisateurs étaient assez homogènes (i.e. des résidents à revenu moyen ou élevé).

Un autre facteur influençant les niveaux d'aise dans les parcs était la présence d'organismes communautaires et des activités qu'ils organisaient, ce qui, selon certain des sujets interviewés, contribuait grandement à la fonction sociale des parcs dans le quartier. Généralement, on remarquait partout une appréciation des parcs et des espaces verts du quartier, même si certains des résidents sentaient que les espaces verts devraient être agrandis ou augmentés à cause des récentes augmentations de population dues aux lotissements de construction neuve le long du canal. Le redéveloppement du canal et le changement du sentiment d'appartenance au lieu que ce développement a apporté ont été vécus différemment parmi les résidents permanents. Même si certains d'entre eux appréciaient beaucoup l'amélioration de l'infrastructure le long du canal, d'autres trouvaient que l'endroit était devenu trop fréquenté, ce qui donnait lieu à une érosion du sentiment d'appartenance au lieu, en accord avec les découvertes de Bélanger (2010), qui suggérait que les lotissements récemment construits le long du canal Lachine avaient eu pour effet de diluer le sentiment d'appartenance des résidents de longue date de cet endroit. Les améliorations des parcs ont souvent été mentionnées, quoique certains des résidents à long terme les voyaient de façon cynique, puisqu'ils se sentaient insultés que de telles améliorations aient seulement été apportées après l'arrivée d'une population plus aisée. Les sujets interviewés, qu'ils aient des enfants ou non, utilisaient les services publics locaux tels que la bibliothèque et le Centre Gadbois. Ceux-ci étaient appréciés non seulement pour les services qu'ils fournissaient, mais aussi pour les

occasions de rencontrer d'autres résidents du quartier. Ainsi, en contraste avec les autres espaces publics du quartier (tels que les parcs et le canal Lachine), les résidents interviewés étaient beaucoup plus unanimes dans leur appréciation des services publics locaux.

<u>Déplacement politique?</u>

De façon à examiner s'il y avait un déplacement politique en cours, j'ai vérifié s'il y avait eu des changements de pouvoir entre les organismes communautaires existants ou si de nouveaux organismes créés par des embourgeoiseurs nouvellement arrivés luttaient pour obtenir plus de pouvoir avec les organismes déjà établis. Comme la citation suivante l'illustre, une des choses mentionnées était qu'il y avait un réel manque de participation des nouveaux arrivants dans les luttes socio-politiques du quartier.

> **ID-02:** « Ben, je pense que quand je vas là-bas, je vois beaucoup que c'est des gens comme moi, que ça fait des années qui est ici pis toute ça. Je vois pas beaucoup des nouveaux résidents, des riches pis toute ça...se mobiliser pour quelque chose...» *Femme de 32 ans, résidente permanente, faible revenu, vivant dans un HLM.*

Un résident plus récemment arrivé mentionna un de ses amis qui avait visité un condo, se faisant passer pour un acheteur potentiel, et avait découvert que l'un des points de vente principal de l'agent immobilier était que l'on avait l'avantage du canal, mais l'édifice ne donnait pas sur le quartier alors on n'avait pas besoin d'en faire partie.

> **ID-26:** « Pis, y était entré dans une petite clique pour le fun, pour aller voir ce qu'on allait lui dire, pis la dame lui a dit: «Ce qui est le fun ici, c'est que vous avez tout l'avantage du canal, mais vous faites dos au quartier donc vous avez pas besoin de vous impliquer », ce qui fait que dans le fond, c'est un argument de vente, «Venir ici, c'est cool, vous avez pas besoin de vous investir ». Pis de, de ne pas vous impliquer dans le quartier, c'est un drôle d'argument de vente là, mais... Pour moi c'est, c'est... c'est le problème majeur qui se passe dans le quartier. C'est que les gens optent pour leur confort pis après ça y sont pas mal assez indifférents de ce qui se passe à l'extérieur. » *Homme de 28 ans, nouvel arrivant, revenu modeste, vivant dans un logement privé.*

Ces découvertes sont en accord avec les recherches de Bélanger, qui révélaient que certains des résidents de longue date en voulaient aux embourgeoiseurs nouvellement arrivés pour leur manque de participation dans la vie sociale et culturelle du quartier. Par contre, elles sont en contraste saisissant avec ce qui a récemment été découvert par Mark Davidson dans son enquête du déplacement indirect dans trois quartiers subissant un embourgeoisement substantiel de nouvelles constructions le long du fleuve Thames à Londres, qui révélaient des exemples concrets de conflits explicites entre les nouveaux résidents et les anciens. (Par exemple, un des conflits était à propos des plans de redéveloppement de la rue commerciale

principale et des preuves du pouvoir et de l'influence politique des embourgeoiseurs, leur donnant le dessus dans cette contestation de la définition des dimensions futures de cet espace.) Je n'ai pas trouvé de preuves de ce genre de conflit dans Saint-Henri. Je peux en postuler quelques raisons possibles. Premièrement, Londres est près du sommet de la hiérarchie économique globale des villes tertiaires avancées. Ainsi, il semble probable que les différences de pouvoir entre les résidents présents et les embourgeoiseurs nouvellement arrivés (en termes économiques et politiques) seraient plus extrêmes que ce qui est observable dans notre cas à Montréal. Deuxièmement, c'est peut-être aussi une question de *« timing »* puisque les nouveaux résidents des condos dans Saint-Henri n'étaient pas activement mobilisés dans le quartier au moment de ma recherche sur le terrain -une situation qui pourrait changer au fur et à mesure que leur nombre augmente, et si leur rotation n'est pas trop élevée. Considérant les preuves équivoques de déplacement politique dans le cas de Saint-Henri, j'ai certaines réserves à propos du concept même (si la classe ouvrière n'a aucun pouvoir dès le départ, sauf pour le pouvoir des organismes locaux, le débat à propos de déplacement politique n'est-il pas sans intérêt?)

Déplacement d'exclusion?

Il y avait certainement des preuves du déplacement d'exclusion. Par contre, ce type de déplacement semblait dépendre de la situation socio-économique du résident et avait plus de chance d'être vécu par les résidents de longue date, comme la citation suivante l'illustre :

> **ID-23(b)**: « Oui, certain, parce que c'est comme si notre quartier, on n'est plus chez nous. On ne peut pas rentrer pis sortir comme qu'on veut. Pis c'est comme, un coup tu, ben un coup tu sors, c'est, déjà là, quand t'es au privé c'est pas facile, mais si tu sors du quartier, c't'encore plus difficile de revenir. Faque t'es pu chez vous comme tu n'es pas capable de rentrer pis sortir comme tu veux. C'est fini là. Tu l'as pu ce sentiment d'appartenance pis de, pis d'être chez vous. Fini. » *Femme de 51 ans, résidente de longue date, faible revenu, vivant dans une coopérative d'habitation.*

Cette perspective n'était pas unique parmi les locataires de longue date, particulièrement ceux vivant dans des HLM du quartier. Ils avaient déjà été exclus des logements du secteur privé à cause du prix de location, et quoique leur permanence eût probablement été assurée dans le quartier, pour leurs amis et leur famille la seule manière de ré-emménager dans le quartier était de mettre leurs noms sur les listes des logements publics et d'espérer y être admis. Cet état de fait est en accord avec la découverte de Teixeira (2007) qu'au fur et à mesure que le Petit Portugal de Toronto s'est embourgeoisé, l'augmentation des coûts des maisons empêchait les anciens résidents de déménager des banlieues pour revenir dans le quartier. Néanmoins, ça n'était pas la perspective de tous les résidents de longue date interviewés. Une résidente de

toute une vie racontait que plusieurs de ses amis et de sa famille avaient choisi de déménager dans les banlieues en raison de la confluence d'un certain nombre de facteurs, dont le manque de logements abordables, la réputation de quartier pauvre de Saint-Henri et l'accessibilité accrue aux espaces verts dans les banlieues (cour pour les enfants, etc.).

Toutefois, ce n'étaient pas tous les locataires privés qui trouvaient que le quartier était trop peu abordable. La citation suivante est la parole d'un résident récemment arrivé, qui avait réussi à trouver un logement à un pâté de maison de chez lui pour sa sœur et son père vieillissant, afin de faciliter la prise en charge de son vieux père.

> **ID-03**: « Non. C'est encore abordable. Particulièrement comparé à d'autres quartiers. J'veux dire, si on compare au Plateau, j'veux dire, franchement, c'est le même genre d'appartements. (…) J'avais le même genre d'appartement que j'ai maintenant et c'était trois fois ce que je paye maintenant. » *Homme de 35 ans, résident récent, revenu moyen, vivant dans un logement du secteur privé.*

Comme cette citation le met en évidence, il est clair qu'il croyait que les prix des logements dans le quartier étaient abordables. Son inquiétude était plutôt qu'au fur et à mesure que les prix augmentaient il finirait par ne plus pouvoir un jour être propriétaire dans le quartier. Cela reflète les découvertes de Millard-Ball (2002) dans un quartier embourgeoisé de Stockholm voulant qu'au fur et à mesure que la compétition pour les logements augmente dans les quartiers embourgeoisés, elle privilégie les ménages plus affluentes.

Conclusion :

Dans la conclusion, je résume les preuves des déplacements direct et indirect (voir le Tableau 9.1) puis je poursuis avec un aperçu des limitations et des contributions de la thèse, pour terminer avec des suggestions de recherche sur le déplacement à partir d'ici. Il y a trois limites principales à ma thèse. Premièrement, parce que c'était une étude de cas unique utilisant des méthodes principalement qualitatives, il n'existe pas de possibilité d'appliquer ces découvertes de façon générale à d'autres quartiers que Saint-Henri. La répétition de ces découvertes dans un autre quartier de Montréal qui subit un embourgeoisement ainsi qu'un développement de méga-projets serait nécessaire afin d'élargir mes affirmations à propos de ces résultats, et de les présenter comme étant représentatives des « géographies de l'embourgeoisement » (Lees 2000) à Montréal. Deuxièmement, en raison de la nature qualitative de cette étude, aucune tentative n'a été faite pour mesurer le nombre de déplacements directs en cours ou de localisation des résidents déplacés (voir Atkinson et al. (2011), Wyly et al. (2010) et Van Criekingen (2010)). Une dernière mise en garde a trait aux restrictions d'échantillons. Malgré 16 mois de recherche sur le terrain et diverses stratégies de

recrutement, l'échantillon est moins diversifié que je ne l'avais prévu, en ce sens que près de la moitié des candidats ont été recrutés par le biais d'organismes communautaires. Puisque certains de ces organismes ont travaillé sur des problèmes relié à l'embourgeoisement et au déplacement dans Saint-Henri, il est possible que les histoires rapportées ici aient été dans certains cas et d'une certaine manière influencées par leur engagement dans de tels organismes.

La contribution la plus substantielle de cette recherche est le développement d'une typologie des déplacements indirects qui, par son utilisation d'un nombre d'ouvrages de différents sous-domaines et traditions à même les études urbaines, raffine et nuance ce concept en le subdivisant en quatre types de composantes. Une deuxième contribution est l'application de ce cadre conceptuel dans ma recherche de terrain et mon analyse qualitative. La mise en œuvre de cette typologie a permis d'identifier des différences subtiles en termes d'expériences des résidents selon la durée de résidence, l'endroit où ils habitaient dans le quartier et leur type de logement. Une troisième contribution de cette thèse est le traitement holistique du concept de déplacement (direct et indirect) dans un contexte local particulier, qui comporte de multiples facettes.

En vue de futures recherches sur le déplacement, cette étude nous aide à identifier un certain nombre de voies qui nécessitent une exploration plus détaillée. D'autres examens des divers contextes et expériences de déplacement (direct et indirect) dans d'autres villes canadiennes qui vivent l'embourgeoisement s'avèrent nécessaires. Ces recherches utiliseront des méthodes qualitatives de façon à approfondir notre compréhension du déplacement «par en bas». Deuxièmement, nous avons besoin d'exhumer les «géographies émotionnelles» (Davidson et Lees 2010) du déplacement dans les quartiers où il existe un nombre significatif de lotissements de nouvelles constructions. Enfin, considérant les preuves particulières, quoique tout de même pas sans équivoques, de déplacement indirect des anciens résidents de Saint-Henri, une recherche future pourrait enrichir cette étude avec des recommandations de planification spécifiques de façon à limiter ses effets négatifs.

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