STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE INNER CITY

HOUSING STOCK OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND; 1980-1982

By

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ABSTRACT

In general, the objective of the current study is to measure in a temporal context the magnitude, type and location of structural change in the inner city housing stock of St. John's, Newfoundland. The principal focus is on the standing stock of residential dwellings and the process of structural change occasioned by a highly speculative and uncertain urban environment. Although the primary concern is an empirical analysis of spatial variations in structural maintenance and repair activity and stock deletions, the study also examines specifically the responsive nature of the stock to changes in home ownership and type of ownership and assesses the impact of one particular public welfare policy, housing code enforcement, upon the supply state of the active inventory.

The study reveals several important things. First, 26.5% of the inner city housing stock experienced some form of structural reinvestment between 1980 and 1982, 70.6% of the stock remained unchanged while 2.9% of the stock were physically removed. Of the dwellings that did experience reinvestment, 76.1% were upgraded by incumbent owners. The value of incumbent upgrading as a percent of the total value of all maintenance and repair activity measured 45.2%, nearly half of the total amount spent on structural reinvestment throughout the study area. The value of maintenance and repair resulting from ownership transaction was seen to vary according to the particular type of transaction involved. Transactions involving the purchase of residential properties by resident owners from non-resident corporate owners accounted for 14.3% of the total value

of maintenance and repair generated by ownership change. Ownership transactions involving the replacement of resident owned dwellings by non-resident owners resulted in 8.6% of the total value of maintenance and repair activity while transactions from resident owners to different resident owners brought with them 8.5% of the total value of residential reinvestment.

Throughout the study area, though, 39.4% of the total value of maintenance and repair was involuntary and made necessary by the violation of minimum property standards. Dwellings in violation of codes and by-laws enforced by the City of St. John's amounted to 17.5% of all inner city dwellings and, on average, each violating dwelling incurred 5.7 violations and took 361.9 days to comply with letters of notification.

In view of the research contained herein, the current investigation contends that although there has been evidence of some reinvestment activity in the form of inner city revitalization, that which has occurred has been sporadic and spatially variable. Most importantly, recent structural change does not appear to support a process of gentrification or return to the city on a prodigious scale. Rather, incumbent upgrading of the stock has been more apparent than stock improvements made by recent in-movers. While structural disinvestment has shown signs of arrest, it has not been transformed into large scale, area-wide reinvestment activity. Being neither in decline or in revitalization, then, the inner city housing stock of St. John's as of 1982 has assumed a state of quiescence. Speculation as to its immediate future appears to be nearly as irresolute as the policy environment in which it exists.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

The general objective of this study is to measure the magnitude, type and location of the structural change which occurred between 1980 and 1982 within the inner city housing stock of St. John's, the capital city and largest urban agglomeration in the Province of Newfoundland. The principal focus is on the standing stock of residential dwellings and the process of structural change occasioned by a highly speculative and uncertain urban environment. Although the primary concern is an empirical analysis of spatial variations in structural maintenance and repair activity and stock deletions, the study also examines specifically the responsive nature of the stock to changes in home ownership and type of ownership and assesses the impact of one particular public welfare policy, housing code enforcement, upon the supply state of the active inventory.

There is a second objective to the current study that demands some attention. This concerns the development of a research methodology suitable for the relatively short period of time over which the study was conducted. According to Phipps (1983:241), one of the main criticisms to be levelled at previous studies of structural change has been the temporal context employed. Phipps has reasoned that the results obtained in studies such as those by Mendelsohn (1977), whose sample included 5,539 census observations on individual owner occupants collected over two winter quarters between 1971 and 1972[1], and Morrison (1978), who employed a fifteen year period from 1958 to 1973 to determine quality

change in the inner city housing stock of Metropolitan Toronto, should be considered carefully given their time-specific as opposed to tenure-specific orientation. In other words, he has suggested that proper study of structural maintenance and repair should be conducted over a household's duration at a particular dwelling. The argument here, of course, is that a tenure orientated approach would provide a much more accurate picture of repair frequencies and variations in costs of repairs than would an approach which disregarded tenure entirely and was specific in terms of time only.

The view taken in the current study, however, is that structural maintenance and repair is in part a responsive process, the volume, type and location of which can be gauged over time. While the current study attempts to assess the influence of ownership change upon contemporary stock modifications, it is argued that rigid adherence to the tenure-specific approach alone is overly restrictive in that it fails adequately to recognize market speculation and uncertainty as a means of increasing or decreasing the level of maintenance and repair activity regularly performed. Thus, the current study employs a knowledge of the inner city housing stock of St. John's as it existed prior to 1980 and remarks upon subsequent change in response to elements of speculation and uncertainty fostered during the mid to late 1970's.

SPECIFIC RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Inner City Revitalization and Decline

The current study has five specific research objectives. The first is to present a critical examination of that part of the housing literature which addresses the problems and processes associated with contemporary inner city revitalization and decline. Of primary concern is to place within the wider context of previous research those events which together have contributed to the present state of the housing stock in the core area of St. John's. Examples will be drawn from and comparisons made with studies conducted in various cities throughout Canada, the United States and Britain. The current study thus rectifies a very real paucity of comparative housing research and attempts to place St. John's within the larger arena of urban inquiry.

Objective 2: The Speculative and Uncertain Environment of Inner City St. John's

The second objective of this research is to describe in detail the development environment, characterized by a great deal of speculation and uncertainty, that existed in the inner city of St. John's as a result of events which occurred prior to 1980. This objective is critical to the thesis in that it forms the basis for the choice of temporal period and points to expected results via an a priori hypothesis garnered from the most recent study of inner city housing dynamics conducted by Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a). The hypothesis states that due to an uncertain and highly speculative environment; fueled by both imprecise and uncoordinated Municipal legislation; the absence of a Municipal Plan; previous examples of misguided non-residential developments and

proposals; the capricious approach of City Council to decisions concerning inner city land use; and the discovery in late December, 1979 of offshore hydrocarbon reserves; there have been significant adjustments made to the inner city housing stock in terms of its supply and structural condition. Furthermore, Shrimpton and Sharpe have suggested that there has been a trenchant refocussing of both private and public sector demand for housing in a manner typical of contemporary gentrification. Precisely what structural changes have been made in response to these events remain unknown and must therefore be examined.

Objective 3: Description of Recent Structural Change

The third objective is to describe as accurately as possible recent structural change in the inner city housing stock between 1980 and 1982. As discussed above, a rigorous research methodology was required in order to achieve this goal, the details of which will be discussed later in Chapter Three.

The basic problem faced was in obtaining representative data for all forms of structural maintenance and repair activity. Ideally, for a study of this nature, the structural characteristics of each dwelling unit should be recorded at the time of construction and adjusted according to structural modifications performed over the course of the dwelling's existence. While it is true that Municipal tax assessment records are periodically adjusted according to variations in assessed capital value, the task of tracing records of structural modifications per dwelling through time is an onerous one, particularly in view of the fact that 87.7% of the housing stock was constructed prior to 1946 (Statistics Canada, Cat 95-968, Table 1). This difficulty is primarily a

result of the filing system employed by the City. Repair, building and demolition permits issued by the Department of Building and Development, City of St. John's, are listed in chronological sequence only and not, as one might hope to expect, by political or administrative boundary. Thus, if it is assumed that 1,060 repair, 1,070 building and 43 demolition permits are issued annually throughout the City[2], the consolidation of only those permits which apply to a particular section of the City is a most lengthy procedure.

Considering the use of repair, building and demolition permits, the question must then be asked: how representative are such permits of all forms of structural change? It is no doubt possible, and indeed probable, that a homeowner or landlord might perform structural repairs without obtaining a permit to do so, although this is required by law (City of St. John's Act, Section 369). Minor interior and exterior repairs which do not require the use of contracted labour nor entail large scale capital investment may be absent from Municipal records. In the same manner, major structural repairs requiring greater capital expenditures, such as exterior re-cladding and painting or the construction of interior fire walls, may also be performed without a valid permit, although the likelihood of these sorts of repairs escaping the attention of the Department of Building and Development is relatively small compared with repairs of a less extensive or visible nature.

With respect to the preceding discussion, the current study assumes that all structural modifications made during the established temporal period were done so under permit. The study fails to recognize unauthorized structural modifications and must make the assumption that modifications made under such conditions were sufficiently few not to

endanger the validity of the findings.

As previously stated, one of the general objectives of the current study is to measure the magnitude of contemporary structural change. By magnitude, the study refers to the estimated dollar cost of the labour and materials required to raise, maintain or enhance the operating efficiency of each particular dwelling unit under examination. Such figures are included on repair and building permits and are submitted by the individual homeowner or contractor. However, it must be made clear that these figures are estimates only and under no condition should they be considered reliable. It is important to note, though, that under-estimation of the cost of labour and materials serves no purpose other than to reduce the cost of the permit itself. Not until 1985 will the estimated cost of structural maintenance and repair be integrated with the Municipal capital value tax assessment system, thereby providing an on-line method of adjusting the assessed capital value of a dwelling unit as structural modifications occur or, conversely, do not occur. With virtually no threat of escalating tax assessments, the homeowner or landlord therefore has no apparent reason to falsify estimated costs on the permit form. Until the integrated system described above is implemented, it is reasonably safe to conclude at this point in time that estimated costs as reported approximate closely the genuine cost of structural maintenance and repair performed in each particular case. Given this assumption, the current study develops an optimum measurement of spatial variations in the magnitude of recent maintenance and repair activity in the inner city housing stock of St. John's and contends that such a measurement is, perforce, highly representative of contemporary structural reinvestment.

In addition to maintenance and repair, a record of the location of all structural demolitions has been compiled. The current study subsequently attempts to describe not only the areal extent of such structural change but also the spatial variability of such change in relation to structural maintenance and repair. This is accomplished through the use of mapping techniques which demonstrate on a block basis relative structural reinvestment and disinvestment activity. The summary and analysis of recent structural change fulfills more than a simple descriptive function in that it serves as an indirect estimate of the impact of inner city speculation and uncertainty in instigating structural modifications and stock adjustments within the active inventory. Likewise, it also provides a basis for assessing the roles of home ownership, type of ownership and the housing code as influential actors in the structural change process.

Objective 4: Analysis of Structural Maintenance and Repair

Given the preceding data, the fourth objective of the current study is to collate it with data obtained on home ownership and housing code violations. The purpose of this will be to respond to two important questions:

(1) What sort of relationship, if any, exists between changes in home ownership, type of ownership and structural change, and

(2) What effect has housing code enforcement had on structural maintenance and repair activity and on stock deletions?

Research into the impacts of variations in and types of home ownership and their effect on levels of stock maintenance and repair provides a basis for understanding the process of contemporary structural change in St. John's. Briefly, the basic theory derived from the

literature is that owner occupied dwellings will receive greater inputs of maintenance capital than will renter occupied units. A number of reasons have been postulated for this, including the owner occupant's tendency to overmaintain (Grigsby, 1963); the insinuation that owner occupancy provides the close supervision necessary to ensure proper structural maintenance (Sternlieb, 1966); the idea that tenants tend to be more careless and therefore contribute more significantly to structural deterioration; a systematic tendency for rental properties to occupy higher value sites relative to owner occupied properties which, unless compensated for through higher rents, reduces the amount of maintenance capital available to the landlord, and the lower cost of do-it-yourself maintenance and the proclivity to do so in owner occupied properties (Dildine and Massey, 1974).

As Sweeney (1974) has indicated, though, it is often unjust to predict a priori differences in maintenance behaviour as a function of mode of tenure. The intrinsic argument in Sweeney's paper, however, is that differences in observed maintenance occur because the owner occupant alone is affected by variations in the quality of his dwelling and he himself bears the costs or reaps the savings from changes in the maintenance expenditure rate. In isolation this may in fact be the case. However, maintenance and repair decisions simply do not occur in a vacuum, but are affected by and are vulnerable to exogenous decisions, both private and public. While renter occupied units may not receive the same level of maintenance as owner occupied properties, both types may in fact experience undermaintenance under abnormal, speculatively induced market conditions. If the notion that households moving into an inner city neighbourhood purchase or rent according to the utility derived from

inner city living is accepted, externalities would be expected to exist in utility functions simply because of the neighbourhood context in which such housing operates. Thus, the subjective utility derived from one property depends not only on the structural condition of the property itself but also upon the structural condition of adjacent and surrounding properties.

The extent to which contemporary structural change in the inner city housing stock of St. John's is a function of changes in home ownership and type of home ownership is unknown. While Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a:25-30) have concluded that there was a higher percentage of maintenance and repair being performed by newly arrived households (as opposed to incumbent households) in 1979, and that there was also evidence of significant gentrification, it was also acknowledged that uncertainty and speculation arising from offshore hydrocarbon-related impacts and the lack of coherent inner city housing policy threatened to nullify whatever reinvestment had taken place.

To respond to this, the current study examines home ownership as it existed in 1980 and compares it on a block-by-block basis with home ownership in 1982. A conclusion can then be made as to whether maintenance and repair activity is directly related to changes in home ownership and whether type of home ownership (resident owner, non-resident owner or non-resident corporate owner) is in any way related to recent structural change.

While the interrelationships that exist between home ownership and type of home ownership form an important component in the assessment of contemporary structural change, a neglected element in the analysis of the decision to repair has been the role of public policy, particularly

those policies created and administered by local governments. Whereas Federal and Municipal co-operation in the sponsoring of housing maintenance and neighbourhood improvement programmes has been well documented in Canada, the United States and Britain (Adamson, 1968; Bassett and Hauser, 1976; Bassett and Short, 1978; Bingham, 1975; Bish and Nourse, 1975; Crenna, 1973; Hammett, 1973; Hornsby, 1973), most studies have essentially been concerned with the response of the housing stock to massive injections of public capital.

Apart from critical re-examinations of previous urban renewal projects (Badcock and Urlich-Cloher, 1980; Fried, 1967; Robertson, 1973; Grier and Grier, 1980; Short, 1967), there has been relatively little evidence of the consequences of enforced public welfare policies, specifically, the affect of minimum property standards and housing codes on the existing stock. This forms the fifth specific research objective.

Objective 5: Analysis of Housing Code Enforcement

The modern concept of minimum property standards enforcement is a direct result of tenement reform efforts in mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain and the United States. Both the tenement house laws and the modern minimum property standards ordinances share certain basic purposes yet differ in others. The primary concern of each, however, is their commitment to the protection of public health and safety. In this sense, minimum property standards assume an ignorance on the part of the public as to its ability to 'know what is best' for it in terms of safe and sanitary living conditions. Since the end of World War II, however, it may be argued that structural rehabilitation and neighbourhood improvement has become the principal objective of minimum property standards enforcement throughout most North American cities

(Lehman, 1963-64). Apart from periodic campaigns in the wake of disaster such as fire and flood, concentrated property standards enforcement has been guided mainly by the goal of structural rehabilitation (Osgood and Zwerner, 1960).

The literature commonly makes a distinction between building codes and housing codes, the latter of which the current study is concerned. Whereas building codes apply to the construction of new dwelling units and share many of the same objectives as land use zoning, housing codes are employed as a means of conserving housing quality in older residential areas and act as inducements for stock rejuvenation and the elimination of blighted units from the active inventory (Burns and Mittelbach, 1970:166). Thus, they may be viewed as one of several tools for inner city revitalization.

Since housing codes are normally geared towards improving the sub-standard portion of the housing stock or that portion which is falling below standard, it is most likely that the code will affect low rent or low priced housing in inner city neighbourhoods. As they tend to apply more directly to low income sectors, which have few or no housing alternatives available and which cannot maintain regular schedules of maintenance and repair, housing codes are often viewed as unduly selective. Unlike building codes, where maintenance costs can be reduced through specific code requirements which increase structural durability and lengthen maintenance schedules, housing codes require that maintenance and repair be in the aggregate more frequent and in the short term more costly to the individual homeowner.

As a result, some have argued that, like zoning, housing codes should occasionally be revised and enforced according to the particular needs of the neighbourhood and the current state of the local economy. Ackerman (1971:1095) has stated that much of the nescience surrounding housing code enforcement may in fact be a result of the inability of local administrations to legitimize its existence:

> "In large measure the lethargy is itself a symptom of a more fundamental problem - most policy makers involved in housing code enforcement are themselves unsure whether code enforcement is a good thing. They are not convinced that strict enforcement of even an ideal code will really benefit tenants to whom it is intended to to protect".

Hartman et.al. (1974:91) have supported this view and are apparently convinced of the ineffectiveness of code enforcement even as a means of promoting inner city revitalization because:

> "...it has failed to deal with the dynamics of the low income housing market and the people served by this market",

while Kiefer (1980:62), in a modular examination of the interplay between housing codes and rent controls and their combined influence on housing deterioration, has stated that:

> "The theoretical results of this paper suggest that ... strictly enforced housing codes are high risk policies and should not be a high priority in the list of housing options. No doubt the intangibility of the social costs of conflict has contributed to the low standing accorded neighbourhood stabilization among housing policy goals, and the risks inherent in the available policy options have limited its achievement".

Since housing codes appear to fulfill a welfare function, that is, they attempt to ensure the optimization of societal goals pertaining to the supply of adequate shelter, it is only logical that the first principle of their design be that they reflect existing market

conditions. The 'market reality' faced by many of the low income households upon whom the housing code is enforced, however, is one of demand inelasticity. With few housing options available, property owners subjected to strict code enforcement will submit to one of two possible options: compliance or circumvention. If code standards are set too low, even though the economy is capable of affording and markets demand higher standards, then a greater level of compliance is likely to occur. The net effect, though, is to eliminate the apparent need for public sector regulation of structural condition. On the other hand, code standards set at levels higher than is attainable by both the economy and the local market beg circumvention. Although the perceived public mandate of monitoring structural condition would have been met, in this instance the housing stock would no doubt experience considerable disinvestment, perhaps abandonment, and the policy would invariably be considered regressive (Nash, 1959:107-128).

In light of the preceding discussion, the current study attempts to isolate those inner city dwellings which were in violation of the housing code as it was applied to the City of St. John's between 1980 and 1982. The study first determines the specific location of code violating units and examines their location relative to the entire housing stock. Secondly, the study then compares the location of code violating units with the location of those dwelling units which experienced structural maintenance and repair or deletion. Thirdly, the study will also examine the relationship between ownership change, structural change and housing code violations. The purpose of this exercise will be to establish the spatial relationship between units in violation of the housing code and those which experienced structural modification and ownership change.

The study will then be in a position to conclude whether structural change is a voluntary or an involuntary action and to what degree contemporary structural change in the inner city housing stock of St.John's is a direct result of an enforced public welfare policy.

NOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. Figures used by Mendelsohn were obtained from Residential Alterations and Repairs. United States Commerce Publication, C50-74 and Value of New Construction Put in Place. United States Comerce Publication, C30-74, both published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975.

2. City of St. John's. Department of Building and Development, Year End Report, 1983, St. John's, Newfoundland, April, 1984.

CHAPTER TWO

The maintenance and repair of existing residential dwellings constitutes a significant proportion of Canada's annual expenditure on housing. Between 1980 and 1982 alone, the total value of construction activity purchased[1] for the maintenance and repair of residential dwellings increased from $2.8 billion to $3.3 billion, a rise of 24.3%. During this period repair expenditures for both minor and major renovations and alterations performed to maintain the operating efficiency of the existing stock amounted to $9.6 billion, representing 28.3% of the total value of all new residential construction (Statistics Canada, Cat 64-201, Table 9).

Repair expenditures in the Province of Newfoundland between 1980 and 1982 totalled $172 million, only 1.8% of the total value of all residential repairs made nationally over the same period. The value of maintenance and repair activity assumes greater provincial significance, however, when the size of the Province's housing stock is compared to that of the nation. With 148,415 occupied private dwellings in 1981 (Census of Canada, Cat 93-937, Table 2), the Province of Newfoundland contained 1.8% of the total national inventory of 8,281,530 occupied private dwellings (Census of Canada, Cat 93-937, Table 1). However, between 1980 and 1982, maintenance and repair activity represented 28.1% of the total value of residential construction throughout the Province (Statistics Canada, Cat 64-201, Table 18).

While the financial importance of housing stock maintenance and repair is axiomatic at both the national and provincial level,

virtually nothing is known about the dynamics of structural reinvestment at the intra-urban level. Why this is so is not immediately clear. However, the lacuna doubtless results in large part from the way in which the performance of Canadian housing policy and the housing construction industry has traditionally been measured: both have been essentially concerned with the maintenance of a high volume of housing starts and completions. Apparently insignificant are those structural modifications and alterations within the existing stock at the intra-urban level. In light of this approach, housing stock maintenance and repair in Canada appears to be regarded as an obligatory capital expense inherited by the individual property owner at the time of purchase and one to be made periodically and at various levels of pecuniary intensity over the course of residency at a particular dwelling. Little importance is attached to the interrelationships that exist between the age of a dwelling, its location, the status of its owner, intervening market conditions and existing public policy as active agents in contemporary structural change. The fact that published intra-urban level data on maintenance and repair are non-existent lends support to this general statement.

What remains perplexing, and indeed alarming, is that throughout Canadian cities policies relating to the operation of the intra-urban housing stock continue to be formulated and enacted without precise knowledge of recent stock modifications. Moreover, as the long term planning of urban areas develops greater social sensitivity and wider public acceptance, the future of older residential neighbourhoods invariably rests upon the successful integration of coherent housing policies with responsible urban planning.

Nowhere does there exist a greater need for current information on the state of the housing stock than in the inner city. Due to both its age of construction and progressive inefficacy in the face of escalating energy costs and changing consumer space demands, the inner city housing stock of most metropolitan areas is in constant need of some form of regular maintenance and repair in order to ensure a stable supply of adequate accommodation and to meet the national, community and individual goal of providing 'decent, safe and sanitary' housing for all Canadians[2].

Whether these two objectives are being met, however, is largely problematic. If the inner city housing stock in aggregate fails to benefit from capital intensive reinvestment, obsolescence and deterioration will gradually render it less desirable to an increasing proportion of potential in-movers and, consequently, more susceptible to large scale disinvestment, abandonment, demolition and non-residential land use succession. The end result of what Wolpert and Zillman (1965:91-104) have aptly referred to as an "expanding contagion of dilapidation" would be to discourage future structural reinvestment and contribute to reductions in the supply of less expensive housing for low income families and for families first entering the housing market. Furthermore, the formation of uninformed inner city housing policies, grounded in the belief that the housing stock is not being improved and is in a state of decay, threaten the stability of inner city neighbourhoods and contribute deleteriously to the potential revitalization of the stock. Estimation of contemporary structural change within the inner city housing stock is therefore seen as a prerequisite for proper planning of the revitalization of older residential districts.

This Chapter reviews a very broad portion of that part of the housing literature which devotes itself to the analysis of some of the major problems and processes associated with contemporary structural change in inner cities of Canada, the United States and Britain. Its purpose is to develop a contextual framework for comprehensive understanding of contemporary inner city housing dynamics in St. John's by examining the unique interrelationships that exist between the changing physical environment and the changing human geography of modern day cities of the western world. Highlighted are those problems and processes which apply to the current study, the final Chapter of which will attempt to integrate them in a coherent manner with results and conclusions obtained throughout the investigation.

It must be borne in mind throughout this Chapter, however, that much of the research to be discussed has emanated from the United States and is therefore coloured by the inner city experience of that particular country. For example, while the issue of racial integration and market filtering has received considerable attention in the United States, it has not been as prominent in the case of Canada or Britain. Furthermore, studies of American central cities have described inner city revitalization and decline on a much more prodigious scale than that which has occurred in Canada. Nevertheless, governmental and institutional structures which exist in both countries share more common ground than they do in comparison with regulatory arrangements in European countries. In North America, the role of the private sector in urban housing markets is emphasized while government regulation and intervention is less pronounced than it is in Europe's case. The current study therefore draws parallels

between the American and Canadian inner city experience, but is quick to point out that a very real dearth of comparative research impinges upon a meticulous examination of contemporary inner city housing dynamics in Canada alone.

METROPOLITAN DECLINE

Urban change in the western world since World War II has been characterized by the process of counterurbanization: inter- and intra-metropolitan deconcentration of population and employment (Beale, 1975; Berry, 1975, 1976b; Bourne, 1978, 1980; Cox, 1978; Fuguitt, 1972; Goheen 1974; Gordon, 1979; Hall and Metcalf, 1978; Hansen, 1973; Kain, 1975; Lee, 1974; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976; Muller, 1976; Phillips and Brunn, 1978; Thompson, 1975; Vining and Strauss, 1977). The exodus from central cities to suburban communities, expecially during the 1950's and 1960's, was engineered in large part by Federal housing policies designed to encourage new housing construction and the development of increasingly efficient transportation networks (Muller, 1976; Sumka, 1978).

Current interpretations of the city in the western world have emphasized the problems of obsolescence and decline in a period of generally buoyant suburban and exurban expansion. The revitalization of older urban areas, particularly in the inner city, has become a matter of national concern, with Federal governments spending millions of dollars each year for revitalization subsidies (Frieden, 1964). Indeed, it is now argued that the 1980's will determine whether many of these areas will maintain a course of gradual decline, confirming

Lowry's (1980) thanatopsistic prediction of a 'dismal future' for inner cities, or whether inner cities are poised for a 'stunning comeback' (Peirce, 1978).

An extensive body of literature exists which concerns American inner cities in terms of their decline and the various methods employed to revitalize them. In the case of St. Louis, Missouri, Lowry (1980) has described how the central city became economically dependent on the Federal government for transfer payments where it would normally have been dependent to a much lesser degree given the continuation of a strong inner city tax base. He has argued that the erosion of St. Louis' inner city tax base was provoked by major changes in the demographic and economic structure of the metropolitan area. The population of the City of St. Louis itself declined 17% between 1960 and 1970 while the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as a whole, reflecting the movement of households to suburban locations as well as external in-migration, increased by 12.3% over the same period. Birth rates in the central city declined significantly as did employment levels. The number of retail, wholesale and manufacturing establishments declined and, as a result of net depopulation, there were more residential dwellings in the active inner city inventory than households to occupy them. Furthermore, a massive exodus of middle class whites from the inner city occurred, promoted in part by non-white invasion of traditionally white middle class neighbourhoods. Between 1960 and 1970, nearly 23,000 housing units were removed from the active

inventory. In 1971, the City Plan Commission reported that 69% of the City's dwellings were in need of some kind of structural repair, half were below minimum property standards and 29% were dilapidated (Leven, 1976).

In Buffalo, New York, Danforth (1970) has described similar conditions in its inner city area, adding further that lack of investor belief and incentives to invest in central city housing have contributed significantly to residential abandonment in otherwise decent neighbourhoods. The number of substandard units have also increased in cities such as Los Angeles, California where Stegman (1970) calculated that substandard units had increased from 18% to 34% of the total inner city housing stock between 1960 and 1965, and Baltimore, Maryland where Stegman (1972) and Harvey (1977) have reported on the increasing number of structurally deficient homes which have appeared there in recent years, due primarily to lack of both private and public sector reinvestment and the poor performance of local, State and Federal housing policies and programmes. Likewise, Sternlieb and Hughes (1980) have recently commented upon an increase in the number of vacant and substandard dwelling units in Newark, New Jersey, while Fuchs (1960) has provided earlier evidence on intra-urban variations in residential quality by comparing variations in house prices throughout several medium to large sized American cities. Hartshorn (1971:96), in his study of the relatively small city of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, found that although Cedar Rapids failed to share the same magnitude of central city decline as the larger cities of the northeast United States, it had in fact demonstrated decline in structural quality due to the overall aging of

the inner city housing stock, lack of private sector reinvestment and intra-urban migration of middle class households from the central city to the suburbs. He concluded that:

> "Residential quality decline in North American cities is most affected by expansion of low income (poverty) areas, taking the form of ghetto expansion in large cities, and by outward intra-urban migration on the part of virtually all socio-economic groups as their needs and incomes allow".

Although substantial evidence of metropolitan decline exists, analysts of urban spatial structure have thus far failed to develop a comprehensive theory of the counterurbanization process. Study of the process has yielded two schools of thought. The first has attempted to classify the process as successive, or a continuation of past trends which together have culminated into an accelerated spill-over of metropolitan population and revenue-generating functions into non-metropolitan areas. The second has argued that counterurbanization constitutes a 'clean break' with past trends, implying that the decentralization of population and employment opportunities is an issue in smaller cities and towns of the metropolitan hinterland just as it is in the largest metropolitan areas.

Chief among proponents of the 'clean break' theory are Alonso (1978), Berry (1976a), Sternlieb and Hughes (1975) and Vining and Strauss (1977). They have reasoned that a dispersal or deconcentration of population is a genuine characteristic of contemporary urban change, distinctly separate from the trends which produced large scale urbanization in the past. Kain (1975), and in particular Gordon (1979), have disagreed with their interpretation, maintaining that deconcentration of metropolitan areas can be likened to a wave theory

of deconcentration which occurs, or should occur, naturally as a city ages. Gordon (1979:281-290) has concluded that metropolitan maturity necessarily produces agglomeration diseconomies as industry and employment systematically shift to the metropolitan periphery. Once industrial plants begin to decentralize, the centres of the larger cities become starved of tax revenues and employment generators and begin to decline. Thompson (1975:188) also adheres to this explanation and has stated that:

> "We did not, for the most part, build great cities in this country: manufacturing firms agglomerated in tight industrial complexes and formed labour pools of half a million workers. Our great industrial transformation has left us with a large number of overgrown cities - a ramification not yet faced up to".

As Bourne (1980) has indicated, however, these two trains of thought, although simplistic in their generalizations, have generally ignored a complex array of interrelated changes. Bourne, who does not support either interpretation, has proposed that counterurbanization must be examined on the basis of five mutually inclusive hypotheses in or order that a common understanding of what has actually transpired in large metropolitan areas can be formed. This entails an examination of structural and technological change and the search for economic efficiency in capitalist markets; cultural predispositions and the amenities-disamenities dichotomy between rural and urban areas; the impact of governmental policies; systematic exploitation, power and conflict in capitalist society; and the issue of uncertainty and speculation in urban space economies. Concise understanding of these relationships, he has urged, may then foster greater theoretical concordance between urban diagnosticians.

The Physical Urban Environment

In terms of the physical urban environment, the inner city generally contains the most visible specimens of metropolitan decline the city has to offer, simply because of the relative age and high density of its housing. Its antigue character is in turn reflected in its lower cost relative to the newer and less congested housing of the suburbs. Sternlieb and Hughes (1980) have supported this statement as their study of house prices in all SMSA's of the United States revealed that owner occupied housing in central city areas was available at much lower cost than suburban housing between 1970 and 1976. Within both areas, however, a great decline in the number of new dwelling units valued less than $25,000 was found, due primarily to the inflated American dollar and the expansion of price shadows resulting from the physical renewal of lower valued inner city residential properties. New dwelling units constructed in American central cities between 1970 and 1976 had a median value of $43,000; $14,000 more than the median value of $29,000 established for all newly constructed dwellings throughout the remainder of the city. In view of the fact that only 4.3% of households in the entire city and 1.6% of those in the inner city earned more than $15,000 per year, and that the private market could only supply new or rehabilitated housing at rents which required an income of at least $15,000 per year (Sternlieb, 1972), the relative inelasticity of the housing stock, especially in the inner city, could supply housing only for those of financial solvency. The remainder had to fit into the housing market as they best could.

While some have argued that the evaporation of low income inner

city housing is simply a result of free market operations in the face of spiralling energy costs and changing consumer space demands, others have suggested that the recent reduction in the supply of low income housing has been a direct result of government policies and programmes aimed at curtailing the amount of newly constructed middle class housing in suburban locations. Therefore, when the middle class, by virtue of their inability to penetrate the tight middle class housing market, covet the same housing as the lower income sector, they force a gradual surge in house prices that eventually precludes low income household participation in the private housing market. The necessary result is to place a greater emphasis on the role of public housing for lower income households.

While Colenutt (1972) has argued that not enough middle class housing is being constructed in the United States to compensate for the increased demand for low income housing, he adds further that only a certain portion of the low income inner city housing stock has experienced revitalization with the rest being either structurally substandard or moving in that general direction. Supporting Colenutt's argument is a study conducted by Davis, Eastman and Hua (1974) on the shrinkage of the stock of low quality housing in central cities of the fifty largest American SMSA's. They determined that while the overall supply of central city housing in the United States has decreased in total, the structural condition of some components of the stock has in many cases been improved, with the implication being that the less affluent and less mobile portion of the inner city population become gradually priced out of the local housing market and are forced, as a result of their indigence, into increased living

densities, forgoing expenditures for even the most basic structural improvements and, in more and more cases, reliance upon federally subsidized public housing.

If lower income inner city households become priced out of the local housing market, and if replacement buyers are scarce, then residential abandonment may take place. Sternlieb and Burchell (1973) have defined residential abandonment as the condition in which dwellings are vacant of tenants, often coupled with the absence of an owner or landlord, either de jure or de facto. Abandonment appears to result from a process of disinvestment of private capital in central city areas. Contributing to the process of residential abandonment in Sternlieb and Burchell's study of Newark, New Jersey was that the presence of non-whites in white-owned dwellings usually meant that 'arm's length' operations were conducted, where professional rent collectors or agencies were commonly employed to collect rents. The impact of this was that the unattended property would tend to deteriorate beyond locally enforced standards of habitability and structural condition. Another important factor appeared to be the lack of a mortgage or a significant monetary interest in long term ownership by absentee landlords. Failure to obtain or apply such monies resulted in increased rates of abandonment, as individual tenants could vacate without threat of recourse, and general apathy in terms of structural maintenance and repair. In addition, prior tax arrearage or tax delinquency (the unpaid or overdue tax debts incurred by tenants and owners) and housing code circumvention also combined to increase rates of abandonment and were linked to such basic indices as poverty, high rates of welfare tenantry, non-resident multi-parcel ownership and a high degree of neighbourhood transiency.

The Human Social Environment

While the physical urban environment provides the most discernible forms of metropolitan decline, the human social environment is the one most readily associated with variations in ethnicity, social class and demographic structure. Homogeneous socio-economic communities depend to a large extent on communal ties and value systems, and studies of urban residential segregation have demonstrated that such communities often develop inner city enclaves where comrade networks flourish and where rents are kept affordable through socio-economic propinquity and cohesion (Butler and Barclay, 1967; Cressy, 1938; Duncan and Duncan, 1957; Ford, 1950; W. Smith, 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964). In spite of a large amount of research on the changing social topography of intra-urban space (Brown and Horton, 1970; Davis and Van Horne, 1975; Everitt, 1976; Foresta, 1975; Haynes, 1971; Hunter, 1974; Murdie, 1969; Simmons, 1968), only Hoover and Vernon (1959) and more recently Birch (1971) have attempted to incorporate the role of the human social environment into a holistic treatment of residential transition and neighbourhood evolution, although development of an all-inclusive theory of residential transition has yet to come to grips with transitional differences between cities in different countries (Goldberg and Mercer, 1980; Griffin and Ford, 1980; Mercer, 1979) and between cities in the same country (Gordon, 1981; W. Johnson, 1979; Lynch, 1981; Mercer, 1979; Solomon, 1980).

The impact of social class and ethnicity upon inner city residential environments has a sound, if somewhat one-sided foundation in the American literature. In terms of contemporary

urbanization in the United States, Lowry (1980:163) has stated that in the United States there are two separate Americas:

> "...a white society located principally in the suburbs, in smaller central cities and in the periphery of large cities, and a negro society largely concentrated within large central cities".

In 1975, central cities of major American metropolitan areas contained about 14 million blacks, 2.9 million Mexicans, 1.4 million Puerto Ricans and 1.3 million others of latin origin, altogether making up about one third of the total American population living in central city areas (Lowry, 1980:181). With the majority possessing poor job skills and substandard educational qualifications and restrained by colour and language barriers, the upward mobility of these groups has been effectively constrained. Lowry has suggested further that since, as a rule, blacks and latins are inexperienced in white North American urban traditions, the massive 'white flight' of white middle class households from inner city to suburban areas has largely been the result of America's inability to acculturate minority communities into urban ways of life. What remains is an inner city residential area composed of what Hudson (1980:406) has called a 'homogeneously low status population'.

No discussion of the human social environment of the American inner city is complete without mention of credit availability for home purchase and structural maintenance and repair. Dingemans' (1979) study of Sacramento, California has indicated that a strong

correlation exists between housing occupied by minority households and a lack of conventional credit sources, with credit allocation increasing in frequency and amount with distance from the centres of tracts with proportionately high numbers of minority households. Bradford (1979) has also indicated that a dual or segregated housing market is paralleled by a dual home financing market in Washington, D.C., where regular flows of mortgage credit have been traditionally more accessible to whites than blacks or other minority groups. He has also noted that, at least in the past, black buyers have often had to pay higher rates of interest on short term mortgages in order to purchase a home already inflated in price. Inflated house prices in inner city Washington were often found to be the result of a phenomenon known as 'block-busting' or 'panic peddling'. Bradford (1979:321) has described these methods of market manipulation as situations where:

> "...unscrupulous realtors try to convince whites that racial change is occurring. If this situation was perceived as being true, large scale white flight would then occur. The vacant housing, sold at considerably lower rates than their real value, was then resold to blacks and other groups at an average of 75% more than what they were sold for".

While housing in the American inner city has often been distinguished by marked variations in disinvestment activity, involving the combined impacts of private housing market corruption and an absence of sound governmental policy in the face of social inequities, this type of situation has not been as significant in the cases of Canada and Britain (Murdie, 1982). Higbie (1976) has noted that in 1970 there were 22.6 million blacks in the United States, slightly more than the entire population of Canada at the same time. Of the 22.6 million, it was found that 58% lived in central city areas where they averaged 20% of

the entire inner city population. Canada's situation has not been nearly the same, and is reflected by a paucity of comparative research. That which does exist has emphasized the autonomous nature of inner city ethnic communities in Canada and has underscored the relevance of Canada's purported 'mosaic' approach to maintaining cultural identity as opposed to the 'melting pot' approach encouraged in the United States (Donnelly, 1972; Lai, 1973; C. Smith, 1973).

In Britain, the experience of which can be compared favourably with that of Canada, Hall (1977) has assumed a somewhat controversial stance. Reasoning that since the East End of London has been repopulated and revitalized by successive waves of foreign immigration, Hall has claimed that the actual encouragement of foreign immigration into the declining inner cities of Britain should be adopted by governments, as such immigrant groups have in the past tended to upgrade blighted areas by simply occupying 'unwanted' housing and have systematically upgraded such housing as their tenures have increased. Opening the floodgates as such, however, would no doubt introduce stress in other parts of the housing market, such as negative price shadows in surrounding areas of higher quality housing (the 'expanding contagion of dilapidation') and variations in the rate of new housing construction. Thus, if demand for low income housing increases while supply remains constant, inflated house prices will occur and will thereafter be introduced at all levels of the housing market, ceteris paribus.

INNER CITY REVITALIZATION

While metropolitan decline in North America and Britain has been characterized by large scale population deconcentration and shifting economic activities, social scientists have in recent years witnessed a renewed interest in older residential neighbourhoods by the middle class. Middle class resettlement in the inner city, however, has received mixed views from urban analysts, due primarily to the social and economic costs affiliated with the displacement and relocation of incumbent households on the one hand (Aitkenhead, et.al., 1975; Badcock and Urlich-Cloher, 1980; Bagby, 1974; Gale, 1978; Gans, Kasarda and Molotch, 1982; Hartman, 1979; Hessel, 1973; Hodge, 1981; National Urban Coalition, 1978; Short, 1967; Sumka, 1979; Urban Institute, 1977) and the potential for inner city revitalization on the other (Brownstone Revival Committee, 1975; Lang, 1982; Lupsha, et.al., 1976; Stanforth and Stamm, 1974).

A mail survey administered by the Urban Land Institute and reported by Black (1975) found that 48% of American cities with a population of over 50,000 were experiencing some degree of private market, non-subsidized housing renovation in older, deteriorated areas. It was also found that the increased incidence of renovation activity was directly proportionate to the size of the city. Large cities were found to be experiencing structural improvement of the inner city housing stock to a greater extent than smaller cities, as 73% of cities with 500,000 or more population were experiencing structural improvement versus 32% in cities with populations between 50,000 and 100,000. What became apparent, however, was that cities with pre-existing, viable

inner city economies were more likely to be revitalized than cities without such economic strength. O'Loughlin and Munski (1979:68), in their study of housing rehabilitation in two inner city neighbourhoods of New Orleans, Louisiana, concluded that:

> "...rundown neighbourhoods close to central business districts became too valuable to remain as slums. Families looking for home locations convenient to downtown and freed from the need to consider child-related activities as a paramount consideration in location are moving to those former slums in increasing numbers. Cities with strong central cores in terms of employment and entertainment are most likely to experience central revival while cities with weak cores (such as Dallas, Cleveland and Newark) cannot compete with their suburbs for middle class residents".

As well, Goldfield (1980) has described the revitalization that has occurred in the Capitol Hill district of Washington, D.C., and has indicated that restoration of the entire neighbourhood is almost complete and that new households are overwhelmingly white (94%), affluent (75% above $25,000 per year incomes), single (29% of the total population) and older (nearly 50% in their early thirties). Similar change has also been noted in studies such as Cybriwsky's (1978) analysis of the Fairmont district of Philadelphia; Ley's (1981) discussion of revitalization in the inner city district of Kitsilano in Vancouver, British Columbia; Shrimpton and Sharpe's (1981a) analysis of the inner city of St. John's, Newfoundland; and in more recent studies of inner cities in Oakland, California (Chow, 1983), Knoxville, Tennessee (Harrison, 1983), Grand Rapids, Michigan (Johnson, 1983), and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (Phipps, 1984).

In a study of the twenty largest American cities, Lipton

(1977:144) found that in a number of them (Boston, Chicago, Detroit, New York, St. Louis and Washington) the proportion of middle and upper income households living in census tracts within two miles of the central business district had increased between 1960 and 1970. The five factors he acknowledged as being indicators of the likelihood of the more affluent making their homes in core areas were the level of administrative activity available (white collar jobs); manufacturing activity (indicating small concentrations of lower income residents); long commuting distances to suburban housing; low levels of low income in-migration to the inner city; and an absence of racially induced social tension. James (1977) also found evidence of revitalization activity at the national level during the period between 1970 and 1975. His analysis of population and housing trends revealed that median housing values and median gross rents increased faster in central cities than in suburban areas; the incidence of home ownership in central cities increased significantly in comparison with levels established in previous years; and median home improvement expenditures in central city areas also increased and exceeded suburban rates during the same period.

Back to the City?

Research conducted in American central cities has recently attempted to assess whether middle class reinvasion of inner city neighbourhoods is occurring at a significant level and to what extent this reinvasion is reflective of a 'return to the city' movement. Such studies have tended to be racially based, that is, neighbourhood revitalization has often been viewed as a process which results from the reinvasion of black and latin occupied neighbourhoods by the white

middle class. Although the return to the city movement has not yet appeared to be a wide-spread phenomenon in every city of the western world, as Black (1975) has demonstrated in the case of the United States, where large scale neighbourhood revitalization has been found to be most prevalent in cities of the south, north-central and far west regions, its potential to reinflate sagging housing submarkets through capital intensive reinvestment has nevertheless occupied a prominent place in the minds of most city officials (Sternlieb and Hughes, 1980:48) and Federal agencies (HUD, 1979:3). Indeed, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) position on this matter during President Carter's administration was clear:

> "Neighbourhood revitalization has clear benefits to cities where it is occurring. Middle and upper income households bring a much needed boost to the central city tax base. This private reinvestment offers a unique opportunity to encourage the development of neighbourhoods that are integrated both racially and economically, where low and moderate income residents can enjoy the benefits of the revitalization process".

Although it has been suggested that the rate and extent of the return to the city movement is related to the dual influences of new household formation and new housing starts, data collected by HUD indicates that reinvestment in the older inner city housing stock increases when the supply of new units to the existing stock is reduced (HUD, 1979:17). Therefore, at least in the case of the United States, marginal inner city dwelling units have tended to reappear as revitalized units as housing starts and completion rates fall. In addition, high interest rates on mortgages and loans for newly constructed housing have tended to fuel the return to the city movement since they effectively place newer housing out of the financial reach of a progressively larger proportion of middle class households.

For the Capital Hill district of Washington, D.C., Goldfield (1980:456) has indicated that white households currently account for 94% of the total neighbourhood population in what was once a predominantly ethnic inner city community composed of black and Spanish speaking households, and that:

> "The scenario seems to be that of young renters, who probably prefer city living, purchasing their first home in the district based on this preference plus the difficulty of finding an affordable home in the suburbs".

James (1980:149) has recognized the apparent trade-off households make when considering the high cost of suburban housing versus the relatively low cost of inner city accommodation, stating that:

> "It is much more apposite to view the revitalization of demand for homes in cities as the result of the changing housing needs and changing housing constraints on city residents".

While Spain (1980) has noted that there has been evidence of black to white succession in some central city neighbourhoods of American cities, she has also indicated that in spite of the high visibility of white renovators in previously black neighbourhoods, over 8 million whites moved out of American central cities between 1975 and 1978 while only 4.5 million moved into central cities, creating a net loss of approximately four million whites. While this loss was about equal to that which occurred between 1970 and 1973, the most interesting difference was that American central cities during the mid 1970's experienced a net loss of blacks as well, thereby continuing the trend towards large scale population loss in spite of growing signs of white middle class revitalization.

The continuous out-migration of both blacks and whites from

American central cities has appeared to be less pronounced only in light of the sheer visibility of white middle class reinvestment activity in neighbourhoods fraught with structural decay. While Spain has appeared to be more cautious in her assessment of middle class inner city revitalization and the future of the return to the city movement, others such as Hudson (1980:406), in his discussion of revitalization through succession, have reckoned that the middle class have once again flexed their 'middle class muscle' in an insidious attempt to hurdle the financial realities imposed by an inflated suburban housing market and increased energy and commuting costs.

On the other hand, others such as Elinor Bachrach, in her work for the United States Senate Banking Committee, have suggested that middle class inner city revitalization is nothing more than a matter of fashion. Washington, she has claimed "is a town of fads" (in Allan, 1978). Sternlieb and Ford (1979), however, have offered a more succinct prediction for the future of the return to the city movement. They state that cities will enjoy some measure of reduction in the numbers of out-migrants as the costs of suburbia become overwhelmingly high. This, they reason, will represent a great change in the locational expectations of middle class Americans who have traditionally desired a suburban home. Furthermore, although a highly selective in-migration of those suburbanites with relatively higher incomes will no doubt occur, they do not envisage a substantial middle class rebirth in inner city areas. Instead, certain areas will be revived through the in-migration of relatively young, well educated households with high disposable incomes who need not rely on the traditional infrastructure (for example, playgrounds, schools, day care) historically offered to family groups.

Although many studies have suggested that a return to the city movement is taking place, the matter remains controversial. In the United States, the Department of Housing and Urban Development reported in 1979 that the migration of the middle class to suburban and non-metropolitan locations had continued to erode the economic and social vitality of central city areas, with the older manufacturing centres of the northeast and midwest regions exemplifying the situation. Exacerbating the issue has been the recent trend towards growth in cities of the south and southwest (Sternlieb and Hughes, 1977) and, although some cities have attempted the annexation of non-metropolitan territory to extend their boundaries in the hope of capturing additional taxpayers (Lowry, 1980), the inability of cities to reduce their reliance on Federal transfer payments and other means of fiscal support.

In the United States, Nathan and Adams (1976) have recognized the need for Federal intervention in order to alleviate social and economic hardship conditions of central cities. They contend that it is the Federal government who must intervene in matters relating to residents of the inner city as the creation and implementation of a national inner city policy, working equitably and on a significant scale, depends upon Federal auspices for optimum results. Federal grant policies, which are indeed exemplary of new resources, may not be an effective instrument for abating central city hardship on any kind of basis given local government intervention. Allman (1978:48) has supported this claim, stating that:

> "A large portion of Federal money put into cities is utterly wasted, so far as solving inner city social, economic, and fiscal problems is concerned. As much as $20 billion of the $80 billion given to

> cities each year leaks into the suburbs. An enormous amount of it goes to people and neighbourhoods that don't need help at all".

Therefore, the simple injection of Federal dollars into inner city neighbourhoods often proves, as former President Johnson discovered, that "you can't solve problems by throwing money at them". Furthermore, as Sternlieb and Ford (1979) have indicated, the current flow of inter-governmental transfer payments to strengthen inner city revenues are approximately equal to those revenues raised from local sources. In many cases it has appeared that although Federal governments have at least attempted to meet their fiscal mandate, the mere injection of unguided dollars has produced negligible results. Ganz and O'Brien (1973) have maintained that disparities and inequities of the Federal and State tax system have effectively prevented cities from adequately sharing both Federal and State revenues. Indeed, the problem of tax equity exists at the local level as well. Although some American cities have increased local tax revenues through additions to their industrial, commercial and service sectors, it has not, for the most part, been translated into a system of distributional equity throughout the entire city. Disparities in tax distribution have continued to persist, weighing in favour of suburban and peripheral locations over central city areas.

In Britain's case, as in the American, one much needed resource is employment. Thrift (1979) has indicated that the relatively high rates of inner city unemployment have tended to reflect a concentration of particular groups of the population, both in terms of skill and age.

This has meant that what might seem as an inherently spatial variation is in fact a differential organization of skill and age reflected in a spatial location. Peach (1975), using the example of inner city immigrant households in Britain, has attempted to address the problem of inner city housing as it relates to the unemployment which occurs as a result of industrial relocation from inner city to suburban areas. He maintains that households affected by potential unemployment face a trade-off in terms of accommodation. As immigrant households depend to a large extent on communal ties and inhabit ethnic enclaves where comrade networks exist and where rents are affordable, they must rationalize whether they should maintain their residence in hopes of securing another form of employment, risk the expense of commuting to the suburbs or sever communal ties in favour of more expensive suburban housing that is closer to relocated employment.

The Role of Government and Institutions

In the case of the United States, the modicum of government involvement in the private housing market has appeared to spawn inadequacies in the private financing of inner city revitalization. While the current study does not wish to raise false expectations with regard to private institutional financing in St. John's, a discussion of the American experience is nevertheless deemed to be in order.

A basic generalization derived from the literature is that there appears to exist an empirical association between the physical and economic decline of inner city neighbourhoods and a lack of government financing. Sanders (1980) has maintained that this association may be part of a larger sequence of events. Claiming first that the largely unguided and mismanaged policies behind the U.S. Federal urban renewal

programme from 1949 to 1954, which basically resulted in 'negro removal' and slum clearance through the application of eminent domain (the legislatively controlled method of acquiring land for private reuse) and direct subsidy (the so-called 'write-down' on the cost of land), were poorly conceived; secondly, that the objectives of such programmes were carried out by local housing agencies with twenty year land use plans about which they knew or cared very little; and thirdly, that the legislative amendments to the renewal programme, which occurred in 1954 and which apparently did not embrace fully the issues as Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Weaver later did in 1967, resulted in a historical de-emphasis on inner city financing policies. Harvey (1977:137), in a Marxian evaluation, views the situation as a fixed attempt on the part of the capitalist market system to promote active consumption and production. He states that:

> "For a decade or more now, the American city has been promoted as a consumption artifact in the cause of promoting the consumerism which was fashioned as a response to the underconsumption of the 1930's. The contemporary history of residential differentiation in any city in the United States shows that communities are disrupted, populations moved (often against their will) and the whole structure of the city altered as the urbanization process, coordinated in its major outlines through the mediations of governmental and financial structures, is utilized as a vehicle to sustain an effective demand for product. An accelerating rate of 'planned obsolescence' in our cities appears as a necessary evil to feed the dynamics of capital accumulation and growth within the U.S. economy".

Guterbock (1980:431), although agreeing with Harvey in principle, has maintained that due to constraints implied by a world-wide petroleum crisis and a crisis in the productive capacity of American industry, peripheral expansion has reached its limits, reasoning that reinvestment

in the inner city is therefore both essential and logical. This may in part explain the existence of pockets or enclaves of reinvestment (for example, Goldfield, 1980; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979), however, he concludes that:

> "...the phenomenon of inner city revitalization appears as just one more mechanism for exploitation by the rich and the middle class of the poor".

Lyons (1975) has stated that mortgage financing and improvement loans in the United States, when allocated in the past to households in older urban areas, were often underwritten by the U.S. Federal government through Federal Housing Authority (FHA) or Veteran's Administration (VA) programmes. He reasons that, during the 1930's, the original policies of the FHA and financial insitution regulatory either directly prohibited FHA lending to poor minorities or other low income residents of older inner city neighbourhoods or discouraged direct lending in such areas by levying high interest rates on borrowed capital. This helped lead to a situation where such neighbourhoods were starved of credit. In response to civil rights and neighbourhood movements, the FHA radically reversed its policies, underwriting virtually any loan applied for by inner city households while the regulatory agencies generally made no effort to reverse existing lending practices. The result was that these neighbourhoods became inundated with FHA lending (which was often subject to fraud and abuse) which then led to the increased incidence of mortgage foreclosure and residential abandonment. Furthermore, since mortgage and loan investors in the secondary market were forced to charge high interest rates in order to pay the interest charged on lines of credit borrowed from the larger commercial banks, mortgages and loans underwritten by the FHA or VA were

in actuality seen to increase costs to the borrower when compared with conventional methods of financing (Bradford, 1979; Feins, 1977; Harvey, 1973). Bradford has summed up the situation by stating that:

> "...the overall impact of the government attempt to cure the mortgage deficiencies in older and racially changing neighbourhoods was to hook these patients on an overdose of FHA. The drug had been overprescribed and the patients were suffering from the ill-effects, many of which seem as bad as, or worse than, the original disease. The government had become the producer of the drug, the mortgage bankers had become the suppliers and the realtors had become the pushers. The Federal policies seem to have contributed to what might be called 'iatrogenic' neighbourhood diseases, as a result of the normal treatments prescribed by the housing market doctors".

The problems associated with inner city revitalization and government financing in Britain have appeared to differ only in kind from those of the United States. During the 1950's and 1960's, progress relied almost entirely upon slum clearance, not unlike that which occurred in both the United States and Canada. This procedure stemmed from the Housing Act of 1930 in which blocks of substandard residential land were acquired by local housing authorities and demolished perfunctorily. Clearance areas were located in the inner areas of many large cities and substandard housing was systematically replaced by four and five storey walk-up tenements, with the displaced population usually rehoused in Council housing estates on the outskirts of the city. The key factor, according to Davies (1980:259), was the time factor invovled up to the period of actual clearance:

> "From the time public health inspectors first 'referred' an area for future clearance to the actual date was a time lag of up to ten years. In between this period a neighbourhood could be further blighted by uncertainty, progressive decay and dereliction, thereby accentuating the features which made the clearance necessary in the first place".

As this method of revitalization grew into disfavour, the Housing Act of 1969 proposed that General Improvement Areas (GIA's), which were geared toward the physical preservation of inner city residential neighbourhoods, be introduced. The choice of potential GIA was to be such that neighbourhoods were not to be 'too good', or already undergoing spontaneous improvement, or 'too bad', where slum clearance was immenent. In addition to GIA's, Housing Action Areas (HAA's) were established in order to contend with the interaction of some of the unsavory physical and social conditions of inner city neighbourhoods to which the GIA's had been unable to respond. The salient feature of the HAA's was that they were renter-occupancy and small-area oriented. Once an area became sufficiently devoid of the housing stresses which occasioned the intervention of HAA's, the area could then be redefined as a GIA for long term purposes. The problem here, however, lies in the matter of equity: the choice of a few HAA's, defined by somewhat ambiguous terms, over other areas of similar condition meant that many households would not realize the benefits to be accrued by their neighbourhood's designation as a HAA.

Another of the provisions of the Housing Act of 1969 was for the distribution of improvement grants. These grants were discretionary in nature and related to large scale structural improvement. Hamnett (1973:255), however, indicates that these grants had to be met pound for pound by the potential improver. It was therefore reasonable to assume that they were restricted to the more affluent middle class resettler or the individual property developer. In the case of the City of London, though, he notes that the inner city residential environment:

> "...has witnessed a great deal of improvement in the privately rented and owner occupied sectors of the housing market as well as a great deal of conversion of privately rented property, be it for sale or rent".

Individuals who could not secure improvement grants were debilitated in their attempts to upgrade their homes by the presence of price shadows, or the excess of housing demand over supply in desirable residential areas resulting in a diffusion of higher prices into adjacent areas of limited, but potential, desirability. Consequently, the cost of maintaining occupancy in an inner city dwelling of poor structural condition in an area affected by price shadows resulted in eventual displacement. In retrospect, Hamnett (1973:260-261) viewed the success of improvement grants as such:

> "Given the large numbers of dwellings sold for owner occupation after conversion or improvement, the stock of privately rented property in London is clearly diminishing as a result of the operation of improvement grants. Whether this is for good or ill is a complex question and depends in large upon one's value stance. Without doubt the process can only be halted by the intensification of the purchase and improvement of such property by borough councils and housing associations".

While Hamnett was unsure of the impact of improvement grants in 1973 he was less in favour of them by 1980. Hamnett and Williams (1980:484) later found that previously rented properties with or without vacant possession became available in large quantities in inner city neighbourhoods and, because of their relatively low price and good location, were purchased for owner occupation. The process was also found to be selective as lower income households often found mortgage financing difficult to obtain. Furthermore, the process was, and continues to be, subject to manipulation by developers and estate agents. The authors concluded that, in a number of cases, government policies aimed specifically at assisting those in the poorest housing were actually the cause of significant household displacement.

In the Canadian context, urban renewal programmes have had a similarly long history, although the extent and degree to which such programmes have been implemented have been far less severe than those of the United States and Britain. The National Housing Act (NHA) of 1938 was established in the depression years when the Dominion Housing Act (DHA) of 1935 permitted the Economic Council of Canada to study and report on housing conditions across the country (Dominion Housing Act, 1935). The objectives of housing legislation during this period were to improve housing conditions and, as in the American case, to boost the economy of the country by creating greater employment opportunities (National Housing Act, 1938). The NHA of 1938 fostered the preparation and distribution of plans for low-cost housing but it was not until the Act of 1944, based on the Curtis Subcommittee Report to the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, that financial assistance was available to municipalities for acquiring and clearing land for low or moderate cost housing projects. In 1945 the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) was established and subsequently administered the NHA on behalf of the Federal government. In 1947 the CMHC was authorized to make mortgage loans to homeowners for construction and by 1954 the revised NHA introduced an additional section devoted to urban renewal.

A major stipulation in the amendment was that families who were displaced because of redevelopment projects had to be offered alternative accommodation at fair rates. Adamson (1968), however, has indicated that the rehousing requirement was not always adhered to. He found that only in cases where residents were forced to move because of public acquisition would alternative housing be found. If the displaced residents could not afford to raise the standard of their housing by

their own accord, they probably could not afford the costs of occupying and maintaining improved accommodation at acceptable densities as their eventual displacement could be determined by the application of housing codes which, by their design, included density standards. Furthermore, if improvement of an area through renewal generated increased property values in surrounding neighbourhoods, then marginal income households in surrounding neighbourhoods could be forced, by increased operating costs in the form of taxes, to move or to forego expenditures for maintenance of their properties (Adamson, 1968:237). External to the control of urban renewal legislation, many of the social, economic and administrative problems associated with large scale land redevelopment became increasingly apparent. Welfare problems and related spill-overs resulting from urban renewal and foisted upon residents of affected neighbourhoods were incapable of financial resolution under the legislative provisions of that time, and whatever problems did receive attention were usually post facto and resolved through ad hoc solutions.

In light of the ineffectiveness of early urban renewal policy, two new programmes were introduced as amendments to the revised NHA of 1973: the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programme (RRAP), both of which were designed to strengthen and improve existing residential neighbourhoods in much the same manner as Britain's GIA's and HAA's were intended to do. The NIP provided Federal contributions to the cost of planning, the improvement or construction of neighbourhood facilities and municipal intrastructure, the development of occupancy and maintenance by-laws and the acquistion and clearing of land for low income housing for social and recreational facilities (Crenna, 1973). RRAP loans were provided to

homeowners, originally in NIP areas only, for the rehabilitation of residential properties, a portion of the loan being forgivable, the amount depending on the income of the resident owner or the proprietor's agreement to initiate rent controls (Hornsby, 1973; McLemore, 1975).

As these programmes received greater public support and as their applications were expanded, a decreased emphasis on private institutional financing of inner city home purchase and improvement took place. In some cases, however, it has been found that middle income resettlers, unable to meet the maximum income stipulation for RRAP aid, were unable to obtain private institutional credit in spite of their creditworthiness (Shrimpton, 1981). Why this is so is not abundantly clear, however it doubtless points to conflicts of interest and, perhaps, clandestine development schemes in the wake of land speculation. In a recent study of the demand for private institutional credit in Metropolitan Toronto, Murdie (1982) has determined that the demand for credit that is not handled by private institutions is satisfied by smaller, more specialized credit lending firms and private non-institutional lending. He maintains that in spite of spatial variations in lending patterns throughout Metropolitan Toronto, there is no strong evidence of redlining or disinvestment activity. In central and northwest Toronto, for example, relatively low levels of institutional lending were found to be as much a reflection of purchaser preference as institutional discrimination with immigrants, largely of Italian and Portuguese origin, preferring to borrow through private sources rather than deal with large institutional lenders. While little comparative work on the spatial variation of credit allocation in Canadian cities has been done, that which has has indicated similar

trends towards non-institutional lending in older, less affluent parts of the city (Morrison, 1970; Pyun, 1980; Wolfe, et.al., 1980). Several explanations for this have been cited, including the presence of a relatively healthy inner city housing market in Canadian as opposed to American cities and strong links between members of the resale housing sector, including real estate agents, solicitors and mortgage lenders.

GENTRIFICATION, FILTERING AND INCUMBENT UPGRADING

While the return to the city movement has been a relatively recent phenomenon in North America, the process of gentrification was first observed and the term, in fact, coined in Britain by Glass (1963) in an attempt to describe the systematic return of the middle class 'gentry' to previously working class neighbourhoods of inner city London. Since then, the meaning of the expression has been diluted to represent several different sociological events pertaining to neighbourhood revitalization, most of which fail to pay heed to the culture-specific nature of its British origins (London, 1980). London's most serious reservation about the term gentrification, however, is that it tends to connote a large scale return to the city movement. Although it would seem that a reversal of past trends might indeed signal large scale shifts in middle class housing preferences, Spain (1980:389) has lent support to London's misgivings by stating that:

> "...one should not equate inner city revitalization with 'back to the city' because the latter term implies that whites are returning from the suburbs in large numbers".

While some authorities have viewed the process of middle class gentrification as an insignificant social event, since it appears in some cases to be confined to very few areas of the inner city where the predominant pattern is out-migration and disinvestment (Lipton, 1977; Sternlieb and Hughes, 1980; Sumka, 1979), others have claimed that gentrification is occurring on a much broader scale and is significant in terms of its social and economic impacts (Black, 1975; Bradley, 1978; Gale, 1976, 1978). Studies conducted in the United States have emphasized the two-sided nature of gentrification in that it appears to instigate residential displacement on the one hand yet provides much needed private investment capital to combat the ill effects of structural deterioration on the other. In light of this dichotomy, some have called for government control of gentrification in order to reduce social upheaval (Downs, 1970; Fried, 1973) while others have maintained that government control should simultaneously nurture its revitalization potential of providing an increased flow of taxable resources into a particular area (Lang, 1982) and improving the structural condition of an existing stock of older residential dwellings in the face of large scale stock depletions (Lupsha, et.al., 1976).

Whether the issue is gentrification or return to the city, however, is really immaterial: the point that must be considered is whether structural reinvestment in older inner city housing, occasioned by the return of middle class households, refutes the traditional theory of housing market filtering. According to one view of the housing market, filtering is the process by which various consumers are reallocated to different housing submarkets. Its theory rests on the

assumption that older housing units will be sold by middle class households as their values decline with age. As the middle class 'filter up' to newer housing at increased distances from the older stock, the housing abandoned by the middle class will then be inherited by households of the lower income sector in a manner that ensures not only better quality housing then that previously occupied but improved social welfare due to the chronological youth of various household services and related urban infrastructure.

Debate over the effectiveness of filtering as a mechanism to describe housing market turnover has been long and well detailed (Blumenfeld, 1954; Colean, 1953; Fisher and Fisher, 1954; Lowry, 1960; Meyerson, et.al., 1962; Ratcliff, 1945; Rodwin, 1950; W. Smith, 1963) and will not be reconsidered here. The point that is relevant to the current study is that the traditional concept of filtering has assumed that middle class housing consumption will favour new as opposed to older housing, since newer housing will necessarily command a higher value and price relative to the old as a result of high middle class demand for alleged structural and locational amenities. The impact of this shift in demand is that older inner city housing will then become devaluated and underpriced in relation to its actual structural quality or the real value of the property (Grigsby, 1963:95).

What happens when middle class housing demand is refocussed on the previously abandoned inner city housing stock is now clear to the eye but was, until recently, theoretically unaccounted for (Andrews, 1971; Birch, 1971; Bourne, 1967). While Grigsby (1963) and W. Smith (1963) have argued that in a free housing market the theoretical result of low income sector relocation to a newer area should be an absolute

improvement in housing condition and, thus, social welfare, critics of contemporary middle class resettlement in inner city neighbourhoods have argued against the existence of the so-called 'invisible hand' of political and economic force in pluralist markets, as necessarily implied by both Grigsgy and W. Smith, under the umbrella of social justice and spatial equality conferred by adherence to Marxist theory. A direct focus on inter-group power relationships and the uneven costs and benefits associated with middle class revitalization and reinvestment capital forms the basis of Marxian approaches to inner city revitalization and housing market analysis, with emphasis placed on the social injustices and spatial inequities caused by the apparently biased and misregulated operation of free housing markets (Güterbock, 1980) and the need for continuous capital circulation in built environments of the western world (Harvey, 1982).

Another question that arises from the direct observation of large scale structural maintenance and repair in inner city neighbourhoods is: to whom should structural improvement be attributed? The policy and planning implications of this are clear: neighbourhoods experiencing revitalization are not necessarily reflective of middle class gentrification. From a survey of revitalization activities in 150 neighbourhoods of the 30 largest American cities, Clay (1978) has identified, in addition to gentrification, one other form of neighbourhood revitalization. This he has termed incumbent upgrading. Neighbourhoods experiencing this type of revitalization have been found to be much larger than gentrified city blocks, they have tended to be located further away from the central business district than gentrified neighbourhoods, and they are usually comprised of predominantly

deteriorating yet structurally sound single family dwellings and inhabited by well-settled families and households. The main difference between the two forms is that gentrification is accomplished by middle class in-migrants while incumbent upgrading is determined to be the result of established homeowners who collectively attempt to revitalize their neighbourhoods, primarily through the existence of strong neighbourhood organization, assistance from community redevelopment programmes and interrelated forms of public financing (Clay, 1978:3).

The policy and planning implications of incumbent upgrading coacervate upon what Hirschman (1970) has called a strategy of 'voice' which gathers in response to technocratic policy and planning decisions of local governments and which are thought to contribute to neighbourhood decline and deterioration (Ley, 1974; Perlman, 1979; Rosenbloom, 1979). Previous research has demonstrated that inner city residents will adopt one of two possible strategies in response to perceived or actual undesirable changes in the local residential environment. One is to exit and relocate in neighbourhoods which closely approximate residential preference. This option has been found to be practiced almost exclusively by middle and upper income households (Dear, 1977; Dear and Long, 1978). The second is to resign to the reality imposed by the undesirable change and accept that such change is unavoidable and irreversible. Orbell and Uno (1972) and Dear (1977) have equated this response with predominantly low to moderate income households, both of whom lack the financial resources and political astuteness required to mount effective opposition, although in some cases vandalism or public mischief has been the resulting mode of behaviour used to express dissatisfaction with odious residential change (Cybriwsky, 1980; Shrimpton and Fuchs, 1978).

Incumbent upgrading, although accomplished by households who are, by definition, socio-economically inferior to households in gentrifying neighbourhoods, creates the conditions for establishing a voice of opposition to undesired change. Low to moderate income neighbourhoods perceived to be 'easy targets' for redevelopment by local administrations have been found to accumulate greater public sympathy in light of internally generated structural improvement and frequently gather the support of outsiders who may or may not be of the same socio-economic status (Lemon, 1978). This has been found to be particularly true in cases where incumbent upgrading has occurred in historic or heritage related residential environments with pre-existing external altruism and support (Sharpe, 1983).

HERITAGE CONSERVATION

In recent years urban analysts, planners and civic administrators have expressed new hope for inner city revival through the preservation and conservation of historic structures, sites and areas (Collins, 1980; Developers Discuss Historic Preservation, 1983; Huth, 1980; Lean, 1971; Madonna, 1980; J. Murphy, 1975; Randall, 1976; Starr, 1980), each of which have in some way related to a city's urban heritage. While there are many individual reasons for the advent of heritage conservation (Lewis, 1975), Ford (1979:211) has stated that the primary cause of the heritage conservation movement was a general public reaction in the late 1960's against the concrete and plastic modernity of urban environments coupled with a growing concern for aesthetics and a wariness towards massive, irreversible change. Studies conducted in various cities throughout the United States (Bernhard and Lachman, 1983; Brownstone

Revival Committee, 1974; Datel, 1978; Ford and Fusch, 1976; McCahill, 1967; McCue, 1972; Winters, 1977), Canada (Burton and Morley, 1979; Doucet, 1979; Knight, 1980; Moon, 1975; P. Murphy, 1980; Sharpe, 1983; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981b) and Britain (Ford, 1978; Lean, 1971; Randall, 1976) have demonstrated how public support of heritage conservation has been based largely upon the diversity, texture, depth and scale that older urban design has to offer structurally sterile environments. Heritage conservation activity, it is argued, has deserved much of the credit for altering people's views about central city housing and neighbourhoods and has contributed to major social and economic changes in older residential and commercial districts by making historical character an increasingly sought after appurtenance of inner city residency (Datel and Dingemans, 1980).

Federal governments have become increasingly involved in encouraging the conservation of inner city residential districts. In the United States, the establishment in 1966 of the National Historic Preservation Act spawned the National Register of Historic Places, which to date contains 1,900 historic districts and 19,000 individual buildings and sites. In addition, the Register provides protection for an estimated one million urban structures from adverse change due to federally funded or approved projects (Biddle, 1978:112). Although other Federal policies and programmes are not related directly to heritage conservation per se, they are nonetheless supportive of it (National Trust, 1974, 1976b), while owners of properties under Register are eligible for federally administered grants, loans and tax concessions (National Trust, 1976a). Local governments have also become involved in heritage conservation, and many have applied parts of their

Community Development Block Grants for various inner city projects (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 1979). Local administrations have also recognized the potential influence heritage conservation has upon inner city revitalization and have encouraged active private sector involvement in the financing of large scale block renovation (Developers Discuss Historic Preservation, 1983; Kaiser and Weiss, 1970; Madonna, 1980).

Canada, too, has recently witnessed a heritage revival, and critics of urban policy and planning have been vocal in their objections to what have appeared to be hostile redevelopment proposals involving the elimination of historic structures or entire districts (Benson and Sharpe, 1984; Faulkner, 1977; Sharpe, 1983; Sharpe and Shrimpton, 1983; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981b). Several researchers have underscored the relevance of heritage conservation to the interpretation of contemporary urban structure as well as recognizing heritage conservation's increasingly important role in policy formation. Tunbridge (1981:272) has called for an increased awareness among geographers of the heritage conservation movement, stating that:

> "Geographers might profitably investigate the impact of area conservation upon the image of the community, among residents or visitors, actual and potential. Within conservation areas functional change is an obvious research focus, particularly since geographers are well placed to evaluate the appropriateness of patterns of adaptive reuse".

Canada's investment in historic conservation has been substantial. In 1973, the Federal government supported an independent charitable foundation called Heritage Canada with a $12 million dollar endorsement to be deployed for the protection of both the natural and built environments of the country (Tunbridge, 1981:279). By the late 1970's,

Heritage Canada's attention had turned from the preservation of individual buildings, sites and structures towards area conservation in inner city locations involving the establishment of branch offices and the co-operation of public, private and voluntary sectors of individual communities (Heritage Canada Annual Report, 1978). A major difference between the modus operandi of Heritage Canada and that of the United States' National Trust (and Britain's National Trust and National Trust for Scotland, founded in 1895 and 1931 respectively) was that Heritage Canada began to purchase substandard residential properties, restore them and subsequently re-market them in hopes of recovering their initial costs and generating private market renovation in adjacent properties. The success of this method was immediately apparent in cities such as Winnipeg, Ottawa, Montreal and in particular St. John's (Galt, 1979), where Heritage Canada-sponsored renovation activity, and the early co-operation of both the provincial and municipal governments, appeared to place the city at the fore of Canada's urban heritage conservation movement.

While the heritage conservation movement in Canada has been applauded by both the public and private sector, there still exists some doubt as to whether its visible benefits outweigh less visible costs. It is of acute importance to understand that in spite of a renewed concern for 'cultural memory' 'antique texture', 'successful proxemics' and 'economic gain' (Lewis, 1975:7), much of the nescience surrounding heritage conservation in Canada has been due to a conflict between two socio-economic goals. On the one hand, heritage conservation has been viewed as a meghanism through which structural improvement may occur. Translated into inflated capital value tax assessments and improved

property values, heritage related structural improvement may not only strengthen local tax bases but also the potential return to the individual investor through future sale or rental of the property. Most of this investment is conceived in the private sector and is reflective of a large number of decisions regarding investment feasibility. Individual households base such decisions within their own frame of reference, however both market and policy conditions complete the cast of actors involved in the decision making process.

On the other hand, though, the inner city housing stock often serves as the primary residential locus of young families first entering the housing market and low income households, both of whom require decent housing at affordable prices. Limited pecuniary resources may, however, inhibit these residents from completing large scale structural improvements in the heritage vein in spite of their desire to do so. Neighbourhoods experiencing heritage induced revitalization may therefore force such households out of the local housing market if rents and operating costs are increased through a price shadow effect or if property maintenance and minimum property standards are enforced to the extent where housing codes are voluntarily circumvented, making legal action and eviction forthcoming.

Two important issues have stood out from the Canadian experience. First, there is clear evidence that heritage conservation activities have accentuated the gentrification process (Knight, 1979; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981b). Although the extent of conservation activity has thus far appeared to fluctuate according to the economic health of the city and its provincial jurisdiction (Brook, 1980; Nader, 1976), a major criticism of heritage-related improvement is that it has tended to

appeal more to a social elite composed of well educated professionals, philanthropists and artisans than the broader section of working class society, and Heritage Canada has thus far commented infrequently on the matter of social displacement caused by heritage-related gentrification (Tunbridge, 1981:274).

The second issue concerns the impact of area conservation policy on the stability of residential environments following its introduction. Several important questions require answers. Has area conservation been of benefit to incumbent residents as well as potential gentrifiers or has it served to enhance market speculation, unbridled profiteering and consumer opportunism? Furthermore, what sort of impact has area conservation had on public policies relating to the operation of the inner city housing stock (for example, housing code enforcement) and have these policies been more reflective of the possible short term sensationalism associated with the heritage conservation movement or the long term needs of the inner city as a whole? These issues will be developed and discussed in the following Chapter.

HOUSING, SPECULATION AND LAND USE CONTROL

By its very nature, housing is a unique consumer good. First, it is a durable good that is likely to be the single most expensive commodity a household will ever purchase. Secondly, its fixed nature implies that something more than mere shelter is provided. Porteous (1977:61-63) has stated that:

> "The home is more than just a house or apartment. It is a structure or area in which an emotional investment has been made by an individual or small group. At the emotional minimum, home is a place to rest between journeys".

Thus, housing serves a psychological function by satisfying three basic territorial needs of man. These include security (Rapoport, 1969); identity (Bachelard, 1969; Cappon, 1970; Cooper, 1974; Werthman, 1968) and stimulation (Ardrey, 1966). Thirdly, its immobility means that the home is related in space to equally immobile land use functions which permit regular social interaction. These may include other homes in the neighbourhood, places of employment or 'anything else' in the city (W. Smith, 1970:7). In this respect, households are anticipated to purchase or rent a home in an area that in some way maximizes access to all points of interest. While place of employment has tended to receive emphasis as the most important factor underlying residential location decisions (Kain, 1962; Lansing, 1964), economists have also developed models of consumer choice decisions based upon household income and budget constraints (Alonso, 1964; Evans, 1973; Kain and Quigley, 1972; Muth, 1961, 1964, 1969; Wingo, 1961), while others have investigated the tenure choice decisions of households vis a vis varying socio-economic conditions and residential environments (Boehm, 1982; Carliner, 1974; Cassidy, 1975; Doling, 1973; Maisel, 1966; Marcuse, 1971; Struyk and Marshall, 1974, 1975).

A fourth feature of housing is that, in spite of its durability, it requires periodic reinvestment in order to ensure structural longevity. A construction industry rule of thumb in Canada is that a home requires 1% of the original purchase price of the dwelling in annual maintenance and repair (Phipps, 1983:241). Whether the frequency of individual maintenance and repair adheres to this schedule is problematic and, indeed, doubtful. The amount and extent of reinvest-

ment each dwelling demands, however, is complicated by certain characteristics of the dwelling itself, including age of construction, the quality of materials used in initial construction and the amount reinvested by previous occupants (Kain and Quigley, 1970). Several authors, in observing housing market operations, have also developed empirical evidence that mode of tenure is an important variable influencing the rate of structural deterioration and the propensity to reinvest (Dildine and Massey, 1974; Eisenstadt, 1972; Galster, 1983; Grigsby, 1963; Margolis, 1981; Mayer, 1981; Mendelsohn, 1977; Mercer and Phillips, 1981; Morrison, 1978; Schafer, 1977; Sternlieb, 1966; Sternlieb and Burchell, 1973; Sweeney, 1974).

A fifth feature of housing is that it occupies a significant proportion of urban land. Early descriptive models of urban land use (Harris and Ullman, 1945; Hoyt, 1939; Park, et.al., 1925) attempted to illustrate how residential neighbourhoods differentiate in urban space. Likewise, internal variations in residential land use intensities and their impact on urban land values have also received attention (Hoyt, 1933, 1960; Knos, 1962; Muth, 1961) while economic models of residential land values have been developed (Ratcliff, 1949, 1957; Wendt, 1957), based in essence upon Wendt's (1957:229) description that the value of urban land results from a:

> "...discounting of future net income attributable to land by virtue of its location".

The point that is relevant to the present geographical study is that the expected revenues and expected costs of maintaining urban land in one particular functional state (i.e. residential) change with location and time (Wendt, 1961), although this has not always proved to

be the case (Forward, 1973). While it is beyond the scope of the current study to assess the impact of housing upon urban land values or, for that matter, the impact of land values upon structural condition, it is important to note that one of the main criticisms of older inner city housing is that although it occupies some of the most valuable land in a city it simultaneously fails to provide significant fiscal returns in proportion to the area of land it consumes, on both a per capita and an aggregative basis. The resulting point of view is that, in a vigorous non-residential developmental environment, inner city housing may act as an impediment to the expansion of the non-residential land use sector, particularly if the housing stock is, or is perceived to be, in a state of structural decline and the neighbourhood experiencing social instability. The premise here, of course, is that the value of inner city residential land is dependent upon its ability to compete with non-residential land uses for scarce inner city space, where the rate of return on keeping the land in one particular functional state is measured in fiscal terms. Of course, the infectious nature of land value expectations is likely to influence non-residential development plans, asking prices, and, occasionally, actual sales prices of properties that are strategically located (Andrews, 1971). In this sense, expectations on the part of owners and investors relative to the next most profitable use of the property introduces the element of speculation. The effect of speculation as it applies to those residential properties which are slated for non-residential redevelopment may be to introduce a shift from resident ownership to non-resident ownership; promote the out-migration of original neighbourhood households; instigate disinvestment in public facility

maintenance; and contribute to residential abandonment and large scale structural deterioration. The ability of non-residential land development to 'outbid' existing residential land for inner city space enhances a climate of uncertainty and seriously impinges upon the future of inner city neighbourhoods as stable residential environments. The value of inner city residential land is therefore seen to be a function of the demand for an alternative use of that land and is often held hostage by its inability to justify, in economic terms, the prolonged occupation of increasingly 'valuable' land.

While some have estimated that residential land use may amount to 50% of the developed areas of cities (Bartholomew, 1955; Bourne, 1973; Bourne and Doucet, 1973; Niedercorn and Hearle, 1964), the allocation of land for residential use varies over urban space. A simplistic example of this arrangement is drawn from the increasing volume of suburban land devoted to residential land use by local governments each year. Sewell (1984) has recently commented upon the continuous outward expansion of Metropolitan Toronto, pointing to the development of low density suburban housing and criticizing the speed at which local governments convert rural land to urban land. Unlike su[redacted]n residential development, however, the volume of land devoted to housing in the inner city generally decreases in proportion to that allocated for non-residential use, although proportions vary from city to city (Bourne, 1981; Mercer, 1979; Palm, 1982), and over time (Bourne, 1971; Clawson, 1968).

What remains important, however, is the interrelationship that exists between inner city land speculation and neighbourhood decline. To what extend speculation and structural disinvestment contribute to

the incremental loss of residential land is difficult to estimate, though it appears that a direct relationship exists between the two. Carey (1976) has stated that in the case of American cities, speculative land value windfalls have contributed significantly to the pricing of housing out of the reach of low income inner city residents while the anticipation of such windfalls have led land speculators to purchase pieces of land with the intent of holding on to them unused while they await the tide of development. Furthermore, the time lag that develops between the time of speculative purchase of a residential dwelling and the time of eventual land conversion may result in severe forms of structural deterioration and disinvestment which, in turn, may contribute to the deterioration of adjacent and surrounding units of comparatively good health (Bailey, 1959; Davis and Whinston, 1961). The 'sinking slums' (Wright, 1933) that occur as a result of the expansion of speculatively induced structural decay may gradually fail to meet minimum property standards and may soon after undergo demolition if enforced housing codes are circumvented and if replacement buyers are scarce (Chung, 1973; Sumichrast and Farquhar, 1967).

One method of reducing the negative externalities of rampant land speculation on inner city housing is to 'freeze' non-residential expansion through legislatively controlled zoning and urban land use policy. Urban analysts have generally agreed that zoning is designed to serve one of two possible functions. First, it is recognized that the use a piece of land is put to has an impact on occupants of neighbouring properties, that is, there is a 'neighbourhood effect' present in all forms of urban land use. Zoning has been a major tool by which local governments have insured that residents take into consideration the

impact of their land use on neighbours, particularly if the use of one piece of land is deemed a nuisance to the public well-being (Bailey, 1959). The other purpose served by zoning is fiscal; it is a device for insuring that new uses of land in a given community do not impose a public sector burden on established residents. Essentially, this implies that zoning is designed to ensure that a given activity generates at least enough tax revenues to cover the cost of providing it with public services (Crecine, Davis and Jackson, 1967) or, alternatively, that revenues will not be redistributed from existing residents to new residents through the public sector (Rowlson, 1963).

Zoning, as the term is used in the current study, refers not only to the specific use to which a particular piece of land may be put, but also to a host of restrictions varying from minimum lot size and occupancy densities to minimum floor area ratios and minimum property standards codes requiring the use of specific types of building materials, the installation of health and safety equipment and so on.

Little work has been done on the economics of zoning. In one study, Tideman (1969) has adopted the view that zoning is a device for preventing an individual's land use from having undesirable effects on other residents of a community, either directly or through the fiscal system. Given this approach, it is unnecessary to distinguish between neighbourhood-effect zoning and fiscal zoning. Tideman has examined a theoretical alternative to zoning whereby zoning laws would still be mandatory but potential land users would be allowed to offer side-payments to the community for the privilege of violating zoning or other land use by-laws. This mechanism, as in any other system where side payments are demanded for code or ethical violations, does improve

efficiency only if the board which oversees urban land usage know how significant a side payment to demand. To circumvent this problem, Tideman has suggested that a public referendum be held each time a development proposal is put forth. The potential developer must then offer to reimburse all affected residents, with reimbursements declining exponentially with distance from the proposed site. A vote is then taken and, if the referendum fails to carry by some specified majority, the potential developer may then either raise the side-payment offer or abandon the proposal altogether.

Tideman has also noted that a fiscal variant of the above programme is called for, whereby the potential developer may offer to pay all members of a community for any excess of increased local public service costs over tax receipts generated by the project. Since there appears to be no reason for distinguishing between this variety of side-payment and a tax, this appears to be a system where all members pay in taxes what they and the local government agree upon. The tax payment would then be dependent on public services received rather than on the location or state of the property (Orr, 1967).

Tideman's argument appears to be radical, yet sound. What appears in his thesis, however, is that such a proposal would function only in an environment of strict land use control by local governments in the continuous presence of non-residential expansion and development. The point that is central to the current study is that proposals for non-residential expansion into residential neighbourhoods which are submitted in an environment of poor to moderate economic health are viewed with more gratitude than disdain, even by supposedly conscientious local governments. In other words, non-residential

development control has appeared to be an issue only in robust economic environments where local administrators can afford to be more selective in their decisions. Cities in dire need of an economic 'fix', on the other hand, cannot afford to reject the short term lure of development capital on the basis of preordained zoning or other land use by-laws. Older neighbourhoods which have experienced or are experiencing gentrification and incumbent upgrading of the housing stock are particularly prone to ineffective land use control policies or policies which are surrepititiously amended by local governments prior to official public hearings and council vote. The impact is to intensify existing uncertainties and contribute to market speculation in fragile residential environments; structural maintenance and repair is curtailed and the process of metropolitan decline once again embarks on a path of disinvestment and deterioration.

NOTES: CHAPTER TWO

1. Construction activity is defined by Statistics Canada as "...the creation, renovation, repair and demolition of immobile structures (and) consists of the output of the construction industry plus the output of the construction labour forces in other industries". (Statistics Canada, Cat 64-201, pp. 6).

2. Government of Canada. National Housing Act, Consolidation of 1954 Act and Amendments. Ottawa: Queen's Printer (1967), pp. 36.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This Chapter consists of two sections. The first contains a discussion of the reasons for the selection of Census Tract 007 as the study area and why it is important to conduct housing research in this particular district. Three key words form the basis of this section: speculation, stability and uncertainty. The current study will attempt to describe the speculative environment in the inner city of St. John's prior to 1980 and establish the basic causes of large scale fluctuations in residential stability and uncertainty. This will then set the stage for examining the responsiveness of recent structural maintenance and repair activity in the housing stock.

It is important to understand the dichotomous nature of speculation in the current study. On the one hand, this Chapter will address how the stability of the inner city residential environment was bolstered by the creation of a Heritage Conservation Area and a Heritage By-law, both of which served to protect the residential environment from hostile non-residential development. It will also examine how these conditions combined to enhance the structural maintenance and repair of the housing stock through gentrification and incumbent upgrading.

On the other hand, the inner city residential environment has experienced the negative impacts of speculation through previous non-residential developments and proposals, imprecise and uncoordinated land use control legislation and the capricious approach

of local government to matters concerning land use and policy conflict. Moreover, the stability of the inner city residential environment has been eroded further by the recent violation of the Heritage By-law. City Council's apparent unwillingness to support the By-law in the face of non-residential land use speculation, fueled by the discovery of offshore hydrocarbon reserves, forms an important component of this section. The fact that such speculation has occurred in an inner city environment recognized as being in decline (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981b) lends support to the notion that strict non-residential development control in inner city residential environments will be abandoned if development presents itself in a depressed economic environment suddenly metamorphosed into one of speculative euphoria.

The second section of this Chapter considers a number of questions related to the research design. It builds upon the evidence presented in the first section and establishes the various data sources used in the current study. This section then concludes with an outline of the research methods employed and techniques used in data analysis.

STUDY AREA

The most essential requirement in any analysis of inner city structural change is the establishment of a study area that is spatially representative of the change process. This task becomes arduous when one considers the variability of means to delimit the inner city or core area from the surrounding zone of transition, particularly if housing in the transitional zone may have overt links

to housing in the core area. Thus, defining and delimiting the boundaries of the inner city is difficult in any case, and St. John's is no exception.

Several studies concerning boundary definition have concentrated on this problem. For instance, Glass (1948) has reasoned that neighbourhoods should be defined according to the special physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of their inhabitants. This simplistic definition was later expanded upon by both Keller (1968) and Lee (1968) to include such parameters as concentrations of buildings, land use and facilities and their accompanying impact on densities, dwelling conditions, the presence or absence of light, air and green spaces and aesthetic identity and social texture.

Areal delineation based upon physical homogeneity and ethnocentricity has received strong support from sociologists and urban anthropologists. However, in spite of the lost importance of the human element in boundary demarcation, it is often impractical to sacrifice relevant data sources in the name of humanism alone. Humanist-based boundary definitions have therefore tended to imply that research be geared towards the disaggregation of formal administrative boundaries, since they are invariably the product of historical and political factors rather than contemporary human ones. Clearly, at risk is the loss of temporally quantifiable data that might normally be accessible through various government sources. In the case of the current study it was of vital importance that contiguous sets of data be available over a sufficiently long period of time. The study area boundaries were therefore selected in order

that different types of data could be measured and compared in spatio-temporal continuity.

The inner city of St. John's, as defined in the current study, has adopted the boundaries of Census Tract 007 as defined by Statistics Canada (Figure 3.1). Unlike two previous studies of the inner city (Shrimpton, 1979; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a), the current study has excluded from analysis Census Tract 006, located immediately west of Tract 007. The decision to do so was based not so much on its disunity from the human or physical geography of Census Tract 007 but due mainly to the time factor involved in data collection and analysis, as the research methodology, discussed later in this Chapter, demanded manipulation of a considerable amount of data over a limited period of time. Nevertheless, a number of important reasons exist for differentiating between the two Tracts.

First, Tract 007 contains some of the oldest housing in the City as over 95% of all dwelling units were constructed prior to 1951 (Census Atlas of Newfoundland, 1971: xiv.1). This area also contains much of the City's last remaining examples of late Victorian and Edwardian architecture in various dwellings built immediately proceeding the last Great Fire of 1892. As well, the fact that Tract 007 contains the highest concentration of commercial and retail land use in the downtown area and has been the scene of several important land use conflicts lends support to its selection. It was also the primary Tract in which the Heritage Conservation Area was established in 1976. Most importantly, however, it was important that the current study provide a continuum of information in view of the fact that the most recent study of inner city housing dynamics, conducted by

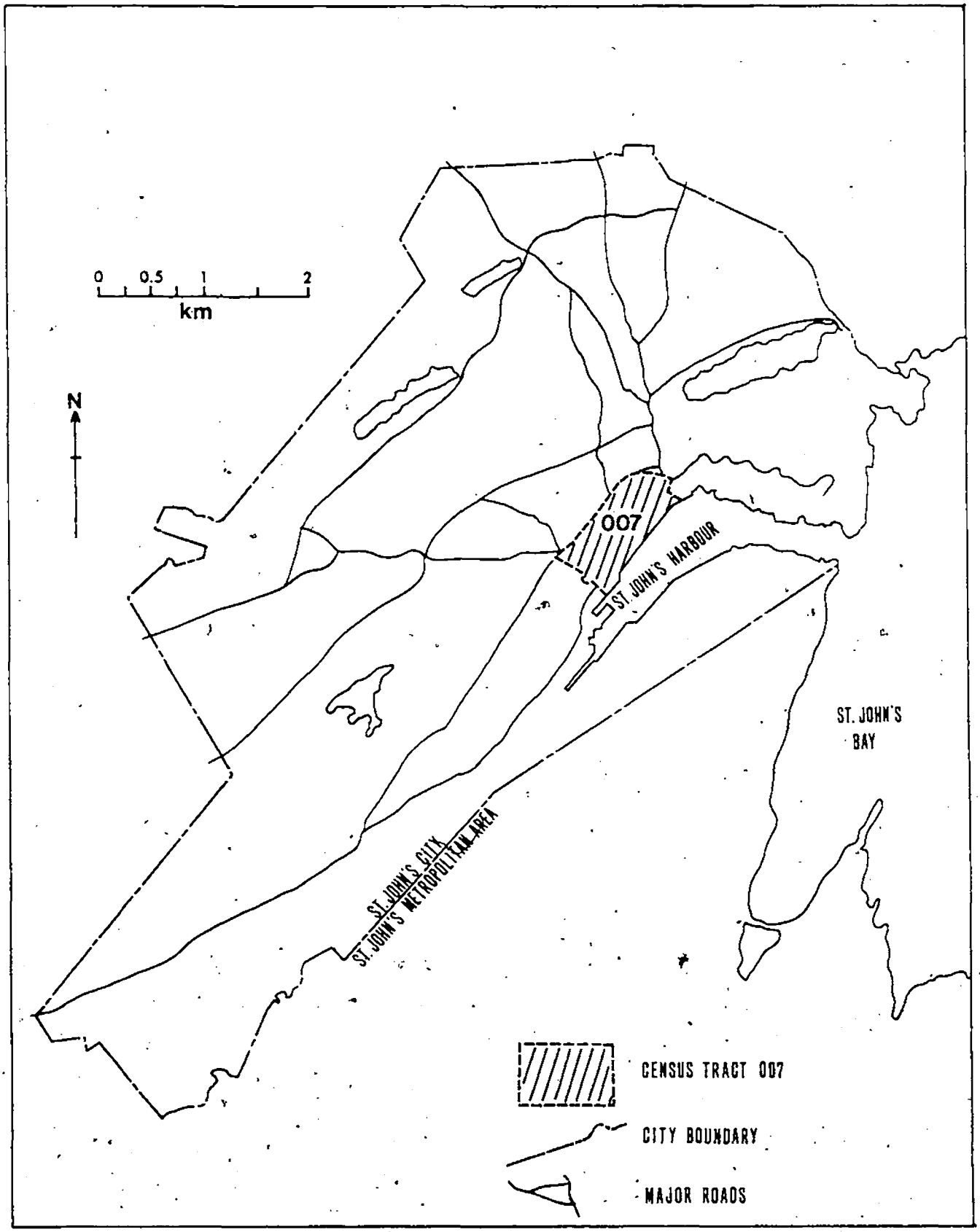


Figure3-1; The study area

Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a), was focussed on housing within Tract 007. Their seminal study exists as the most significant piece of empirical work done on the inner city housing stock to date and its incorporation into the current one is therefore requisite.

INNER CITY DECLINE IN ST. JOHN'S: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

Like the counterurbanization that has occurred in many of the large metropolitan areas of the northeast and midwest United States, the inner city of St. John's, too, has experienced large scale population loss and economic disinvestment. The alacrity with which the post-war housing construction industry was established, combined with the suburban relocation of major inner city commercial and retail establishments, formed the basis of a pull force which effectively drew both people and commerce away from the central city and into the suburban fringe[1].

Acting upon a series of five reports compiled by the 1942 Commission of Enquiry on Housing and Town Planning in St. John's[2], the St. John's Housing Corporation, established in 1944, acquired nearly 8,000 acres of suburban land to the north of the City, built 239 homes and 92 apartments and sold 250 serviced lots between 1944 and 1950 (Lewis and Shrimpton, 1984). Suburban housing construction was propelled by the 1949 Confederation of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador into the Government of Canada as the Federal housing agency, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (now the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation or CMHC), intervened and contributed significantly to the purchase of suburban land and the construction of

new dwellings. Shrimpton (1980: 205) has documented how post-war housing in St. John's has also benefited from the efforts of a local public housing agency, the St. John's Housing Authority, and, later, the federally administered NIP and RRAP programmes. Suburban expansion was particularly evident during the 1944 to 1961 period with the Churchill Park residential development to the north of the inner city accounting for 29% of the total land area of the City and 58% of all post-war housing constructed by 1961 (Shrimpton, 1980). The construction of three neighbourhood shopping centres in Churchill Square, and the later construction of several large suburban malls, expedited the process of rapid suburbanization and decentralization.

While it is beyond the scope of the current study to investigate the impact of suburban land development on the inner city per se, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge how post-war expansion of both the housing and commercial sectors contributed to its decline. In a recent paper, Shrimpton (1979) addressed the social and economic change that has occurred in the inner city by comparing selected Census Tract characteristics over time[3]. The results of this examination were striking. Using figures on population, age and sex, mobility, dwellings, families, households, labour force activity and income as indices of areal stability, Shrimpton concluded that, when compared with the St. John's CMA, the inner city had experienced large scale population loss; a gradual aging of its population; the formation of small, single parent households; losses in the absolute number of dwelling units and units of various type; lower educational achievement levels; lower net incomes, and a reduction in the number of employed persons. Clearly, during the early 1970's, the inner city of St. John's

was in a state of decline. In fact, in terms of population alone, the inner city of St. John's experienced population loss at a rate much greater than that of any other Canadian metropolitan area. Between 1961 and 1976, the inner city of St. John's experienced a population loss of 37.76%, the closest contender to this dubious distinction being Saint John, New Brunswick with a loss of 30.40% (Table 3.1).

In an effort to assess whether the trends initially perceived by Shrimpton had continued into the early 1980's, and whether they had been building over a longer period of time, an examination of data from the most recent 1981 Census, as well as three previous Censuses (1956, 1961, 1966), was conducted. Without question, it became apparent that many of the characteristics of decline that had been established for the 1971-76 period were reaffirmed for the period between 1976-81. Moreover, these patterns appear to have been rooted much earlier in the mid 1950's and early 1960's.

Household and Family Composition

Between the years 1956 and 1981, the inner city of St. John's[4] experienced a significant loss of population, from 18,257 individuals in 1956 to 8,492 in 1981: a loss of 53.5%. In fact, during no censal period did the population increase (Table 3.2). This runs contrary to the St.John's CMA which experienced a population increase of 78.5% over the same period, from 77,991 in 1956 to 154,820 in 1981.

Declines in inner city population growth have no doubt been reflective of an overall decline in the total fertility rate. Recent data indicate that the total fertility rate for the CMA has declined progressively since 1971.(Table 3.3). Females between the ages of 15-49 produced 2.825 children each in 1971, 2.130 in 1976 and 1.775 in

Table 3.1 Population Change (%) in Canadian Metropolitan Inner Cities, 1961-1971.

CITY	1961-71[1]	1971-76[2]	1961-76[1]
Calgary	1.16	-9.89	-8.84
Moncton	4.39	-5.95	-1.83
Halifax	-12.19	-11.87	-26.34
Hamilton	0.70	-11.57	-10.95
Kitchener	17.69	-12.81	3.20
London	-15.14	-16.01	-28.73
Montreal	-6.36	-11.54	-17.24
Oshawa	8.87	-6.13	2.14
Ottawa	-17.61	-13.33	-28.59
Quebec	-10.11	-13.52	-22.26
Regina	-13.29	-14.23	-25.63
Saint John	-13.23	-19.78	-30.40
St. Catharines-Niagara	1.48	-10.52	-9.19
ST. JOHN'S	-17.80	-24.40	-37.76
Saskatoon	-16.12	-7.35	-22.29
Sudbury	-8.87	-15.61	-23.09
Toronto	5.10	-11.01	-6.47
Windsor	0.71	-13.50	-12.88
Winnipeg	-16.09	-13.56	-27.47
Thunder Bay	n.c.	-7.60	n.c.
Victoria	n.c.	-3.23	n.c.

1. Figures derived from Census of Canada: Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, 1961, 1971, 1976.

2. From The Canadian Inner City, 1971-76: A Statistical Handbook. Policy Development Division, CMHC, 1979.

Source of Table: Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981b), pp. 96.

1981[5]. While age-specific fertility data was unavailable for the inner city, it is argued that the total fertility rate there would be much lower than figures established for the CMA, largely because of its proportionately older population, recent declines in the average number of persons and children per family and overall reductions in the number of children aged 0-14 in each family.

Table 3.2 Population Change in the St. John's Census Metropolitan Area and Inner City, 1956-1981.

UNIT	POPULATION					
	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
CMA	77,991	90,838	101,161	131,815	143,390	154,820
INNER CITY	18,257	17,862	16,102	14,699	11,117	8,492

UNIT	PERCENT CHANGE				
	1956-61	1961-66	1966-71	1971-76	1976-81
CMA	16.5	11.4	30.3	8.8	8.0
INNER CITY	-2.2	-9.8	-8.7	-24.4	-23.6

Figures derived from Statistics Canada Census of Canada, selected years.

Examination of age cohort data has revealed that children aged 0-14 represented 20.3% of the entire inner city population in 1981 while in 1956 they represented 31.5% of the total population . Further examination has indicated that subsequent older cohorts experienced relative increases in proportions. For example, the 45-64 year old age

Table 3.3 Total Fertility Rate (TF) for Women Aged 15-49, St. John's Census Metropolitan Area, 1971-1981.

AGE GROUP	1971		1976		1981	
	POPULATION	BIRTHS	POPULATION	BIRTHS	POPULATION	BIRTHS
15-19	7,465	401	7,780	413	8,185	261
20-24	6,750	1,010	7;750	935	8,375	785
25-29	5,025	873	6,510	931	7,465	981
30-34	3,690	408	5,090	377	6,635	471
35-39	3,355	191	3,755	99	5,185	113
40-44	3,220	56	3,335	29	3,795	18
45-49	3,005	3	3,240	1	3,330	1
TFR	2.825		2.130		1.775	

Population Figures derived from Statistics Canada. Census of Canada, Cat 92-715, vol. 2, pt. 2, Bulletin 1.2-3, Table II, 1971; Cat 92-823, Bulletin 2.4, Table 14, 1976; Cat 93-913, vol. 2, Table 7, 1981. See note 5 for further details.

Table 3.4 Percentage Distribution of Inner City Population by Age Group (Male and Female), St. John's, 1956-1981.

POPULATION BY AGE GROUP	PERCENT OF POPULATION					
	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
0-14	31.5	32.0	82.2	80.0	26.2	20.3
15-24	17.0	18.9	21.3	23.5	23.4	22.5
25-44	26.4	23.0	19.3	19.1	20.9	25.4
45-64	16.9	18.0	18.8	19.0	19.6	20.6
65%	8.1	8.0	7.7	8.5	10.0	11.0

Figures derived from Statistics Canada. Census of Canada, selected years.

group represented 20.6% of the inner city population in 1981 whereas the same cohort represented only 16.9% of the population in 1956. Similarly, the 65 years and over age group represented 11% of the inner city population in 1981 and 8.1% in 1956 (Table 3.4).

One of the more significant trends to consider has been the formation of smaller private households and reductions in census family size within the inner city[6]. Previous studies of the return to the city movement and neighbourhood gentrification have emphasized the fact that the majority of recently arrived households and families in inner city neighbourhoods have tended to be more compact in size and largely childless in comparison with households and families in suburban residential locations (Goldfield, 1980; Harrison, 1983; Ley, 1981; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a). The impact of reduced household and family size, reflected in part by decreased rates of fertility, on the changing functional character of inner city neighbourhoods is highly suggestive, yet past research has indicated that a very strong relationship exists between reduced household and family size and an increased propensity to purchase and renovate older inner city dwellings (Sternlieb and Ford, 1979). The most important question, however, is whether these households and families are recent arrivals or whether they are incumbent residents who no longer have children living at home.

In 1981, the inner city population of St. John's averaged 3.24 persons per household yet in 1956 the average was 5.0 persons. In terms of individual household size, the number of single person households in the inner city increased by 80.0% between the years 1971 and 1981 while the number of 2-3 person households and 4-5 person

households decreased by 7.8% and 28.9% respectively over the same period.

The trend towards smaller households in the inner city has been parallelled by similar trends in family size. Between 1971 and 1981 inner city families decreased by 36.3% while the average number of persons per family declined from 4.1 to 3.5 over the same ten year period. The number of lone-parent families increased from 21.2% of all inner city families with children in 1976 to 26.5% in 1981 while the average number of children per family decreased from 2.2 in 1971 to 1.8 in 1981. Although figures are not yet available for 1981, there is no apparent reason to suggest that the proportion of unemployed lone-parent families has decreased from the 1976 level of 85.8%. This figure is compared with a level of 59.2% in the entire CMA. While inner city families without children have not increased in recent years, the proportion of families with children aged 0-5 years and 6-14 years declined by 67.1% and 59.9% respectively between 1971 and 1981.

In addition to these data, the marital status of individuals also appears to have changed markedly since 1956. Married individuals accounted for 55.2% of the core area population fifteen years of age or over in 1956 while by 1981 they had declined to 47.0%. The number of single persons increased from 36.3% of the total inner city population aged fifteen years and over in 1956 to 41.7% in 1981 while the number of divorced persons climbed an incredible 1,435.7% over the same period. In 1981, divorced individuals numbered 215 or 3.2% of the total inner city population aged fifteen or over whereas in 1956 the Census counted 14 individuals or barely 0.1% of the eligible population.

Tenure, Income and the Housing Stock

The picture presented thus far has been one of population diminution; reductions in both the number and size of households and families; the formation of nucleated, single person and single parent households; and a gradual aging of the remaining inner city population. The obvious question, then, is what sort of impact has this had on the housing stock? In terms of absolute numbers, the inner city housing stock of St. John's in 1981 contained only 72.8% of its 1956 volume of 3,535 dwellings, with stock losses averaging approximately 6.0% every five years. In comparison, the CMA has experienced healthy stock additions which have averaged 24.3% every five years since 1956 and, as of 1981, had increased its inventory of residential dwellings by 92.8% of the 1956 volume. Of course, it is essential to note that a significant part of the CMA housing stock increase is directly attributable to extensions of the CMA boundary. Here, the census should be consulted regarding these extensions and the incremental increase in captured dwellings. In spite of such boundary changes, however, a healthy suburban construction industry has generally prevailed in St. John's with recent activity concentrated in the adjacent towns of Mount Pearl and Wedgewood Park; the White Hills, Bally Haly and Quidi Vidi subdivisions in the eastern portion of the City; and the Mundy Pond and Blackmarsh neighbourhoods of the City's west end.

While the inner city in 1981 contained just 5.9% of the total inventory of residential dwellings in the CMA, the most important figures in light of significant stock deletions have been in terms of occupancy type. First of all, the importance of the inner city housing

stock as the City's primary source of low cost rental housing has been well established (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a). This fact is supported by examining levels of employment income[7] for both males and females aged fifteen or over as the inner city in 1976 averaged just 73.4% of the average employment income established for the CMA. Similarly, inner city household and family incomes[8] averaged 76.0% and 72.8% respectively of CMA income figures. Dependence on low cost accommodation is also reflected by levels of unemployment. While the Province of Newfoundland has traditionally experienced high levels of unemployment in relation to the rest of Canada, the spatial variability of joblessness is also seen to be as variable in urban space as it is at the inter-provincial level. Unemployed males formed 14.7% of the inner city male population aged fifteen or over in 1976 while the same group measured 9.8% in the CMA. Inner city females aged fifteen or over also experienced relatively higher rates of unemployment as they accounted for 12.0% of the eligible female population in 1976 versus 10.4% throughout the CMA.

The availability of low cost rental accommodation has been a characteristic feature of the inner city housing stock for quite some time. At its vertex in 1971, the proportion of inner city dwellings devoted to renter occupancy measured 49.7% of the total stock while renter occupancy in the CMA, also at its peak in 1971, amounted to 33.7%. While inter-censal variations in the proportion of dwellings allotted to renter occupancy have not occurred significantly in the CMA, the proportion of rental dwellings in the inner city had by 1981 been diminished by 32.3% of the 1971 volume.

It is now clear that the remaining stock of inner city dwellings have been moving, and are apparently continuing to move, in the direction of owner occupancy. Whether this is an indication of a return to the city movement, renter buy-out or the physical elimination of rental units is unknown. Although the Census does in fact provide mobility figures, these are on a broad time scale and reveal little about internal mobility over the short run, in spite of the notion that short run fluctuations or reversals in socio-economic patterns and trends are critical in view of ongoing housing policy and planning developments. Furthermore, the occupancy status of recent in-migrant and non-migrant households and families is not provided by the Census. The accuracy of any statement based on Census data that may infer return to the city is, therefore contentious because of the manner in which data are interpreted. Also, because of recent changes in the Census definition of apartments and duplexes[9], no concise information on the type of housing submarket affected by social and economic change is available. In short, there is very little substantive Census evidence upon which to establish a concise assessment of recent structural change activity. What does emerge, however, is the idea that any structural maintenance and repair that may have occurred recently would likely have been detrimentally influenced in the aggregate by the uncertainty generated by large scale demographic change over time. Studies of the structural deterioration that has resulted in many of the major metropolitan areas of the northeast and midwest United States because of population loss and economic disinvestment lend support to this statement (Danforth, 1970; Harvey,

1977; Lowry, 1980; Stegman, 1970, 1972; Sternlieb and Burchell, 1973; Sternlieb and Hughes, 1980). Analysis of recent structural change must therefore progress beyond merely suggestive Census data and into the realm of micro-scale events at the Municipal level.

HERITAGE CONSERVATION: EMBRYONIC DEVELOPMENTS AND ETIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

It is now important to view recent social and economic change in the inner city of St. John's in the context of conditions which existed prior to 1980. In September, 1974, a major policy modification in the use and allocation of property funds was announced by Heritage Canada. The new policy recognized the need for resolute support and stimulation of heritage conservation areas in Canadian cities and a significant portion of Heritage Canada's property funds were allocated towards that end.

In January, 1975, the Board of Heritage Canada convened in St. John's at the invitation of the Newfoundland Historic Trust, at which time the Trust proposed that a section of the inner city be considered eligible for funding by Heritage Canada under the arrangements of its new policy.

The Trust's proposal was accepted in principle by Heritage Canada based on a number of conditions, the first being a feasibility study, the cost of which was to be shared by the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador and Heritage Canada. If the study indicated that the concept of a heritage conservation area was expedient, Heritage Canada would then sanction its establishment. The Trust, however, had to first

prove that there was adequate local support from both public and private sectors. Other prerequisites were that the area chosen be placed under a protective by-law by the municipality, that the provincial government pass convenant legislation on the area and that a foundation be created to operate the programme as suggested by the recommendations expressed in the St. John's Heritage Conservation Area Study.

In June, 1976, the St. John's Heritage Foundation was formally registered. Its Board consisted of members of the St. John's business community, financial institutions and private citizenry. The Heritage Conservation Area Study, which was started in September, 1975, was published and distributed by December, 1976 and by February, 1977 the Foundation was awaiting approval for necessary funding from both Heritage Canada and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The City of St. John's, meanwhile, had agreed to prepare a protective by-law establishing the boundaries of the Heritage Conservation Area and to sell to the Foundation a commercial property on the major downtown thoroughfare, valued at $130,000, for $1 as its contribution to the Foundation's enterprise.

On acceptance of the Heritage Conservation Area Study, the provincial government agreed to provide $100,000 per year for the general administrative, public relations and capital costs of the Foundation. In light of municipal and provincial cooperation, Heritage Canada responded with a $500,000 fund to be deployed for the purchase and rehabilitation of designated dwellings within the Heritage Conservation Area. The title to the rehabilitated dwellings was to rest with Heritage Canada and all monies recovered from the sale or rental of

properties were to be reapplied to concurrent projects under the auspices of the Foundation.

Finally, in June, 1977, the City's protective by-law and the convenant legislation required of the Province were proclaimed. The regulations of the by-law, referred to as the Heritage By-law of the City of St. John's, were and continue to be administered by the City on the recommendation of a standing committee of City Council known as the Heritage Advisory Board. The Board continues to meet on a weekly basis to review applications for building permits on properties in the sixty-five acre Heritage Conservation Area and on designated properties outside the Area's boundaries.

The initial impact of the Heritage Conservation Area concept, the protective By-law and the efforts of the Foundation became immediately apparent. With little non-residential development pressure on the inner city at the end of 1979, the creation of the Heritage Conservation Area was essentially looked upon as a relatively inexpensive yet viable means of introducing stability to the downtown residential environment. For a $130,000 sacrifice the City of St. John's could possibly begin to recoup previous tax revenues lost through large scale social and economic disinvestment. The return of a vigorous commercial sector, and the resulting flood of consumer-generated tax dollars, was anticipated as one of the benefits to be accrued through renewed public sector confidence in the inner city residential environment. Similarly, for $100,000 per year for five years, the Province could possibly witness not only a revitalized local economy, and the tax benefits to be derived, but also the physical resurrection of the core environment in a manner befitting the symbolic

grandeur of the provincial capital. As well, the modus operandi of the Foundation in acquiring and renovating both residential and commercial properties was becoming recognized locally and nationally (Galt, 1979). Between 1977 and 1981, 19 single unit dwellings were purchased, renovated and sold by the Foundation. Cost recoveries increased from a low of 75.6% in 1978 to 99.3% in 1981 while mean sales times were reduced from 7.6 months to 0 months over the same period (Table 3.5). Local sentiment and support of the heritage concept appeared encouraging, evidenced by increased demand for renovated units and signs of private maintenance and repair in areas both inside and outside the Heritage Conservation Area boundaries.

Positive structural externalities generated by the Foundation's work took the form of selective gentrification and incumbent upgrading in neighbouring residential units. Early prognosis of these processes was verified in an enumerative study conducted by Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a). Results of the study demonstrated that although population loss and economic disinvestment continued to plague the inner city, there were recent and significant alterations in the type of household moving into the area. The most recently arrived households in 1980 were dominated by single person (30.3%), lone parent (16.7%) and non-family (12.6%) types. Together they accounted for nearly 60% of the 1980 arrivals - nearly 25% more than such households which took up residence in the district in 1976 or earlier. Only 30% of the newest households took the form of a family grouping, and slightly less than one half of these were traditional families with children, in spite of the fact that nearly three quarters of the heads of these newly arrived households were of child-rearing age. Furthermore, 52% of the 1980

Table 3.5 Summary of Renovation Activity of the St. John's Heritage Foundation, 1978-1981.

	n.	Purchase Cost $	Purchase Cost %	Renovation and other cost $	Renovation and other cost %	Total Cost $	Total Cost %	Sales Price $	Sales Price %
1978/79	9	9,775	(17.5)	45,971	(82.5)	55,746	(100)	42,167	(75.6)
1980	5	9,332	(18.6)	40,930	(81.4)	80,262	(100)	44,810	(89.2)
1981	5	11,887	(17.5)	56,170	(82.5)	68,057	(100)	67,600	(99.3)

Completed in:	Mean Time to Sell	Number
1978	7.6 months[1]	5
1979	8.6 months[2]	8
1980	8.0 months[3]	3
1981	0.0 months	3 (of 5)

1. Actual lags were: 1, 9, 4, 12, 12 months.
2. Actual lags were 11, 7, 7, 10, 4, 7, 10, 13 months.
3. Actual lags were 6, 3, 10 months.

Source of Table: Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a), pp. 7.

arrivals had completed all or part of a university or post-secondary education, compared with 40% of the heads of households arriving between 1977 and 1980, and only 21% of those resident in the area prior to 1977.

Concomitant with this recent social change was a growing sense of pride attached to the fact that St.John's had something unique in Canadian cities - an area conservation policy, where preservation of the most vital elements of the historic inner city townscape was not occurring in a vacuum but, rather, in the context of an area of considerable residential importance. The validity of this statement is confirmed by the fact that the outer half of the Heritage Conservation Area was covered by NIP areas, where the CMHC was sponsoring, and funding, the rehabilitation of neighbourhood infrastructure in order to help stabilize the residential environment.

It was therefore clear at the time that St. John's was breaking new ground in heritage conservation activity in Canada and, in spite of continuously moderate non-residential development pressure on the down-town core and the rapid growth of the metropolitan area, it seemed all but certain that the City would continue to be an inspiration to those subscribing to the principles of area conservation elsewhere. This momentum, however, was soon to falter.

The discovery in late December, 1979 of the Hibernia oil field on Newfoundland's Grand Bank had an immediate and substantial onshore impact on the St. John's region. Virtually overnight, the non-residential development environment of the City changed from one of moderate stability to one of high speculative interest (Shrimpton, 1981). Although St. John's had been the centre for offshore

exploration activity since 1966, the actual discovery of hydrocarbon reserves in commercial quantities immediately triggered a concatenation of local expectations as to the economic windfalls of oil developments and it set in train various responses[10].

The emergence of a new non-residential 'development psychology' has had major, and in some cases regrettable, impacts on both the St. John's CMA and the City. When the Heritage By-law was passed, St. John's had no city planner and no planning staff, the department having been closed some three years previous. Neither did the City have a plan - only an antiquated Zoning By-law so obliterated with spot amendments that the document was nearly double its original volume (Sharpe, 1983). The fact that the Heritage By-law was adopted in an inarticulate policy environment lent credence to the assumption that haphazard policy making reflected a perfunctorily ad hoc and laissez-faire approach to land use decisions by City Council in general. As later became increasingly clear, no apparent effort had been made to integrate the Heritage and Zoning By-laws so that the requirements of the former were synchronous with the impotent control elements of the latter. By the time of the Hibernia discovery, however, a planning office had been re-established and staffed. Unfortunately, no new development control legislation had yet been enacted, although preliminary work on re-writing the Zoning By-law and creating a Municipal Plan to give it coherence was well in hand. Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981b: 107) have stated that integrated policy measures were imperative to the future of inner city housing because if not:

> "...individual projects and programmes will continue to be in conflict. Residential renovation will be undermined by uncoordinated policy and traffic flows and by continued peripheral construction of low income dwellings. (Downtown) retailing will suffer from the need of heavy traffic to use it to get to the (new) Harbour Arterial and by unlimited mall development on the urban fringe, and an overall climate of decay and uncertainty will deter further investment and encourage disinvestment".

It was clear, then, that prior to Hibernia there was an understanding in the minds of many individuals that:

(1) The residential environment of the inner city of St. John's was to be stabilized and protected from hostile residential and non-residential development, and

(2) In both the residential and non-residential sector of the Heritage Conservation Area, any new developments were required to conform to the overall scale and appearance of the historic streetscape.

These two beliefs were critical to the revitalization of the inner city residential environment. Without them, it is argued that structural maintenance and repair of the housing stock would have been minimal. The early success of the heritage conservation movement was therefore seen as a reversal of past trends towards uncontrolled non-residential land use encroachment perpetrated by three Council-endorsed large scale developments, each of which promised to help revitalize the inner city but failed miserably in their attempts to do so.

Non-Residential Development in the Absence of Policy: Example One

The earliest of the three has become known locally as Atlantic Place. In 1967, one year following the initial surge of offshore exploration activity, City Council was convinced by and accepted a

proposal from a local developer to construct a major retail and office complex, crowned by an eleven storey hotel, in the heart of downtown. This was to be called Atlantic Place and the cost of the contract was set at $15 million. The fact that the developer was from a prominent St. John's family did not appear to hinder a number of concessions granted by Council. At its own expense, the City of St. John's constructed a 728-space parking garage on a property adjacent to the Atlantic Place site at a cost of $8 million, $2 million more than the developer's original estimate. In spite of the fact that existing by-laws required parking space for 900 vehicles (based upon the proposed extent of the development), the developer was given permission to construct space for only 105. These two major concessions dispensed with, construction of Atlantic Place proceeded and the building was completed by 1972.

It must be stated that this particular development did not occur within the context of any sort of plan. Although the Montreal-based firm of Sunderland, Preston, Simard and Associates had one year earlier presented a twenty year land use plan for the City, known as Plan 91, at the request of City Council, its objectives were criticized locally by opponents such as the People's Planning Programme (PPP) as being too closely related to the 'aimless sterility' of redevelopment programmes adopted in the cities of Halifax, Nova Scotia and Fredericton and Moncton, New Brunswick. The City Council of that particular time was not overly impressed by the arguments made by Plan 91 opponents. The public hearings Chairman, currently the Mayor of the City of St. John's, stated then what has come to be a familiar rebuttal during recent years[11]:

> "The (opponents) may have been passionate, but they obviously didn't represent everyone. Overwhelmingly the involvement was on the part of people who were not born here, and in some cases have only been here a year or so. It's very flattering to listen to their comments about how they love St. John's, how they've finally found Shangri-La, or whatever it is. But traditionally Newfoundlanders have been satisfied to elect their officials and let them take care of it - and if they don't take care of it, toss them out at the polls. And perhaps, in essence, this is what democracy is".

Moreover, the Mayor at the time was given to statements such as the following in reference to critics of Plan 91[12]:

> "I don't think we should be too deeply concerned with drifters and dreamers who whistle in on a wave of prayer and will likely move out in the same way",

while expressing his opinion of transportation and related infrastructural impact studies, such as that produced by the engineering firm of DeLeuw, Cather and Company, as nothing but:

> "...dry, detailed engineering data".

The entrenched parochialism exhibited by local governments in St. John's, however, has often failed to achieve its protectionist intentions. While Plan 91 failed to be officially adopted, the Atlantic Place developer's contractual agreement to build a hotel has to this date been unfulfilled. In 1978, understandably perturbed by the developer's failure to comply with the agreement, City Council threatened to sue for breach of contract. In November of the same year, however, on the acknowledged strength of the old guard vote, Council agreed to a revised pact with the developer, giving him $2 million in tax concessions until 1989 and relieving him of the immediate responsibility of constructing the hotel. Instead, an option

was granted to either begin construction of the hotel or an office tower by July 1, 1986. In the final analysis, Council's unwillingness to exercise responsible control over the development led to the enhancement of uncertainty in a manner that could only impinge upon the successful rehabilitation of the residential environment.

Example Two:

The second development inspired by promises of inner city revitalization has never actually materialized. In the late 1950's a massive urban renewal scheme, not unlike the clearance and removal approach discussed by Robertson (1973) in the case of Victoria, British Columbia for example, occurred on a 2.1 hectare site located close to the western margin of Census Tract 007. Formerly a densely populated working class neighbourhood, many of the residents were forced to relocate at considerable distances from their territorial core. Not until 1974 was a developer found for the vacant property when a $75 million development plan, submitted by the Trizec Corporation, was quickly accepted by Council. The development called for the construction of two office towers of twenty-eight and twenty-one storeys each and a sixteen storey hotel, all atop a seven storey base, the first phase of which was to be completed by 1977. By 1976, however, Trizec had informed the City that it was declining to proceed with construction, even though they had purchased the land from the City, largely because the provincial government had defaulted on a supposed agreement to rent a considerable portion of their new office space.

In the meantime, the City had completed the Harbour Arterial, a major four-lane expressway linking the St. John's Harbour with the Trans-Canada Highway, at a cost of $52 million in anticipation of

facilitating the transportation needs of Trizec and other spin-off developments. Annoyed by the perniciousness of the developer, City Council decided to sue Trizec for breach of contract. However, in August, 1979, an agreement was reached whereby Trizec sold the vacant property back to the City for the original purchase price. As of this writing it is still vacant - nearly twenty-five years after the original neighbourhood was levelled.

Example Three:

The third development, although like the Trizec site located outside the current study area of Census Tract 007, is nevertheless important to consider in terms of new precedents set in urban redevelopment in the City. In November, 1980, City Council gave approval in principle to the Lavalin development firm for a site plan calling for the construction of five buildings. The first phase of development was to include the construction of a twelve storey office building containing 180,000 square feet of space. Council then arranged an agreement that permitted Lavalin to develop the remainder of the site over a period of ten years - if demand warranted it. Nearly 100 dwellings were demolished in the late 1970's to accommodate the new development in spite of the fact that the site was located within the West End NIP Area and that many of the homes had received RRAP funding for maintenance and repair. In addition, a street, which had been upgraded and its sidewalks replaced with NIP funds, was also part of the package sold to the developer. Stock deletions have continued to occur as late as the summer of 1984 which saw 20 more dwelling units undergo demolition.

As in the case of the Trizec site, City Council's pursuit of commercial development resulted in the demolition of numerous dwellings, even though there was no guarantee that the entire project would ever be completed. Furthermore, the encroachment of commercial land use into a NIP area pointed to inconsistencies in the stated objectives of the programme itself while the utter waste of public dollars in demolished homes and the upgraded street was virtually inexcusable. Also like the Trizec site, it too has yet to be developed.

The fact that the City has thus far been unable to develop these sites cannot be blamed entirely on developer mendacity or misrepresentation. In the absence of a plan and some form of developmental policy framework to give it coherence, it is indeed remarkable that large scale speculative ventures such as those exhibited by firms like Trizec and Lavalin have appeared in the first place. In spite of the potential revitalization of the onshore economy as a result of petroleum-related activities, non-residential speculation without an overall planning context has appeared to be financially more suicidal than generative. Once this fact has emerged and has been made clear to developers, proposed developments are then forfeited and short term penalties accepted for errors made in risk judgement. The inner city, meanwhile, fails to gain a new tenant while the shadow of uncertainty spreads further into what remains of the existing residential inventory.

While previous non-residential development and unguided Council decision making has done little to foster stability in the inner city as a whole, the heritage conservation movement was viewed as a panacea

simply because it reduced City Council's temptation to abandon the control of hostile non-residential development. Since Council had appeared in the past to sacrifice responsible long term civic management for the short term lure of commercial capital, the general opinion at the end of 1979 was such that the inner city residential environment would be revitalized and investment confidence restored to the district as a whole.

Inner City Development in The Presence of Policy: A Case of Legislative Contempt

There is one further development, the history of which requires some elaboration. Sharpe (1983) has written perspicuously about the importance of this development and its pending impact on the inner city residential environment. As the current study has adopted the view that structural maintenance and repair is in part a responsive process, the effect of this development on recent changes to the supply of the existing housing stock must be emphasized.

In early November, 1979, immediately preceding the announcement of Hibernia, rumours began to circulate around the City that plans were afoot to build a twelve storey office tower on the corner of Water and Prescott Streets, in the centre of the Heritage Conservation Area. The site was also partly within the East End NIP Area. While the St. John's Historic Trust was unable to obtain any concrete facts, opposition began to form quickly. The significance of the threat posed by this development was immediately apparent, and the Editor of the St. John's Evening Telegram wrote on November 17, 1979[13]:

> On account of what has been achieved in the Heritage Conservation Area, the downtown is going to be a viable district with lots of business opportunities (and) pressure is beginning to build in certain areas to blunt the horns of the conservation thrust as constituted by the City's very new Heritage By-law".

Addressing himself specifically to the proposal for the new building, known as TD Place or, locally, as the 'Duffett' building after its developer - the former Chairman of the Finance Committee of the St. John's Heritage Foundation no less, the Editor said:

> "It took a long time to get such a law on the books and before it is emasculated or diminished in its restraints, serious thought should be given. For we are on our last chance now to keep this relatively small portion of an ancient city".

It appeared that the development psychology engendered by the Hibernia discovery was such that St. John's in some way lacked the office space required to meet the deluge of oil company demand. It is important, however, to recognize that there was no shortage of office space per se. By 1981, there was a 300,000 square foot surplus of office space in the City. This represented 12.5% of the total vacant CMA inventory of 2.4 million square feet[14]. The speculative response by the developers of TD Place to offshore-related windfalls, therefore, was once again seen to be of a high risk nature.

Amidst growing pressure from some elements of the local business community to revise the stipulations of the Heritage By-law and to reduce the stringency of its intent, the City scheduled two public briefing sessions: the first to allow for discussion of the proposed development and the second to evaluate the Heritage By-law and downtown development in general. The fact that the City organized these meetings

gave rise to the very real possibility that even they did not consider seriously nor were they overly eager to support the Heritage By-law and the efforts of the Foundation in preserving and stabilizing the residential environment. Private individuals and public agencies who had invested heavily in structural maintenance and repair under the assumption that the residential environment was to be protected from hostile non-residential developments regarded serious consideration, let alone approval, of the proposal a matter of legislative contempt.

The proposal was opposed by the City Planning Office and City Staff (through the Development Committee); the Historic Resources Division of the provincial government; Parks Canada; the St. John's Board of Trade; the Downtown Development Corporation; the Architect's Association; the Newfoundland and St. John's Historic Trusts and two public groups, the East End Residents Association and Citizens for Responsible Planning.

In spite of severe opposition and a number of private lawsuits in what appeared to be a ready-made case against the developer, City Council approved construction of the building. Although the structure now stands two storeys less than its proposed height, it was and continues to be a cause celebre in the planning of the City. It is difficult to know to what degree the approval of the building reflected a laissez-faire attitude on the part of City Council and to what degree they were influenced by the developer's claims of job creation, tax revenues and the need to provide office space for oil companies. It is clear, however, that this development has typified many of the new uncertainties introduced into the inner city as a result petroleum-enhanced speculation. The impact this has had on what remains of the

rapidly evaporating inner city housing stock must at this point be regarded as detrimental.

The fact that TD Place was built had a pathogenetic effect on the St. John's Heritage Foundation. On November 18, 1982, a meeting of the Foundation's Board of Directors was called, the business of which was to give a summary of the financial position of the Foundation and to proceed with the liquidation of all assets. Although its memorandum and articles of association remain under register, this meeting was to be the Foundation's last. Coincidentally, and after their five year commitments had elapsed, Heritage Canada and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador withdrew all support, effectively divesting the heritage movement in St. John's of financial legitimacy. All that remains today is the grossly violated Heritage By-law, the Heritage Conservation Area and the City's Heritage Advisory Board[15]. Due to their drastically weakened position, and in light of recent challenges by non-residential developers, it is now reasonably safe to assume that these remnants of the heritage conservation movement are in danger of extinction as well.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of the first section of this Chapter was to establish the study area and to address the uncertainty that existed in the highly speculative inner city residential environment prior to 1980. Based on the evidence presented in the first section, the second section will now examine the formation of a research methodology and answer several questions posed during the course of discussion.

Two Preliminary Assumptions

To reiterate, the current study is concerned to measure the magnitude, type and spatial extent of recent structural change in the inner city housing stock between 1980 and 1982. It is assumed that one or a combination of two events have occurred:

(1) structural reinvestment: occasioned by the development of: the Heritage Conservation Area and the Heritage By-law; a community-based ideology in favour of heritage conservation and development control; changing consumer space demands; and residential tastes or preferences of suburban households and families. Structural reinvestment is reflected by the structural maintenance and repair of certain components of the residential inventory and points to two issues - gentrification and incumbent upgrading.

(2) structural disinvestment: brought about by a sense of futility resulting from the uncertain future of housing in the inner city. Structural disinvestment is reflected by violations of minimum property standards and the failure of property owners to comply with written and verbal orders of compliance.

The extent and degree to which each has occurred is unknown. However, it is hoped that the reader is now sufficiently aware of the inner city context in St. John's to be able to appreciate the discussion of an investigative research method which follows.

DATA SOURCES: MERITS AND LIMITATIONS

The basic problem faced was that of obtaining representative data for all forms of structural change. The current study assumes, however, that all structural modifications made during the established temporal period were done so under the authorization of the City of St. John's. The current study fails to recognize unauthorized structural modifications and submits that modifications made in the absence of authorization were insignificant.

Building Repair and Demolition Permits

How, then, is structural change measured? Very simply, changes made to the supply state of a dwelling must be registered with the City. This includes maintenance and repair, additions, conversions and sub-divisions, new construction or demolition. In St. John's, when a property owner wishes to in some way alter the physical appearance of a dwelling, a repair or demolition permit must be obtained from the Department of Building and Development in the form of a building permit (see Exhibit A, Appendix A). Whereas new construction requires a scale plan to be submitted along with an application, repair and demolition permits do not require any sort of plan nor do they require a formal application.

Structural repair and demolition permits contain the following information: a file number (used by the City for reference purposes); the name and address of the applicant; the name and address of the builder or contractor; the location of building, repair or demolition activity (by street name and number); a written description of the type of work to be performed and a dollar-value estimate of the work when completed (including estimates of labour costs if private contractors are employed). New construction must receive authorization from City Council while any type of structural modification made within the Heritage Conservation Area must be reviewed by the Heritage Advisory Board prior to commencement. A fee is levied for each permit and is based upon the estimated cost of work to be performed. As of this writing, the fee structure for repair permits is $8 for the first $500 worth of repairs and $4 for each additional $500 while new construction requires $16 for the first $3000 and $8 extra on each additional $1000 to be spent. Neither the estimated value of the work nor the permit fee are used for any sort of tax-related purpose. To be quite frank, the Department of Building and Development does little with their copy of the repair permit other than produce aggregate yearly statements on the total value of repair construction. On the other hand, though, new construction activity (commercial, institutional and large scale residential) is monitored quite closely as are zoning appeals and Heritage Advisory Board recommendations.

Minimum Property Standards Files

While positive structural changes fall under the general rubric of construction activity and are the responsibility of the Chief Building Inspector, negative structural changes, such as those implied through

convictions, closure orders and demolitions, are handled by the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector and are listed under the general heading of minimum property standards inspections. A yearly report of minimum property standards inspections is produced, containing information on the total number of inspections performed; the number of written orders issued for compliance; the number of cases referred to the City Solicitor for legal action; the number of convictions, pending court appearances and sentences and the number of cases either resolved, ordered closed or demolished. Although some of this information is made public, much of it is not. For example, the location of dwellings convicted, closed or demolished are usually provided in the yearly report. However, the number and location of written orders of compliance and the types of code infraction are not, and these are important considerations.

Given the temporal context of the current study, it was necessary to examine whether certain property owners allowed their dwellings to lapse into a state of disrepair in spite of whether they eventually complied with, or circumvented, minimum property standards, although the importance of eventual compliance or circumvention is indisputable. Dwellings which fell into this category were therefore representative of structural disinvestment. To obtain information on such dwellings, the author was granted permission to inspect minimum property standards files applying to dwellings located in Tract 007. These files were quite detailed and consisted of the following types of information: the date of the letter issued by the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector to the offending party notifying them of substandard

structural and/or property conditions; the address of the violating dwelling (by street name and number); a listing of each individual code violation and code subsection and a detailed description of the maintenance or repair required in each case and, if the letter was eventually complied with, the date of compliance. If remedial action had not been taken by the property owner or if the property owner had repeatedly failed to acknowledge verbal orders upon return visits by the inspector, then the file also contained information on whether the case was still open, referred for legal action or if the dwelling was deemed unfit for human habitation and ordered closed or demolished. Although these files did in fact contain more discreet types of information, such as the name of the offending party and personal communications with the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector, the author failed to utilize in light of standard research ethics. It was noted, however, whether the offending party was a resident owner, an absentee private landlord or an absentee corporate landlord. Thus, the current study could then determine whether code violations applied primarily to owner occupied or renter occupied dwelling units and whether resident owners, private absentee landlords or corporate landlords were responsible for dwellings deemed to be substandard.

Tax Assessment Rolls

In the same respect, the current study is also concerned to investigate the extent to which positive structural change was the responsibility of similar types of ownership and because of this examined municipal tax assessment rolls for the dwellings located in Tract 007 between 1980 and 1982. Since the Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a)

study used assessment roll data in their examination of ownership and occupancy change, records of ownership and occupancy were already in existence. The current study was therefore required to establish ownership in 1982, and an examination of the 1982 assessment was conducted.

Under normal conditions, municipal tax assessment rolls provide a very important source for housing studies. McCann (1975), for example, used assessment roll data in his study of neighbourhood transition in Edmonton, Alberta by examining variations in assessed property values over time. In the case of St. John's, however, two types of assessment have been employed and, unfortunately, conflict with the established temporal period. Prior to 1981, the form of tax assessment used by the City was rental value, that is, the assessed tax per dwelling was derived as a percentage of the rental value of that particular dwelling. In St. John's a figure of approximately 30% of the rental value of the property was charged annually to the property owner and paid in the form of municipal tax. Although individual rents are normally reflective of the capital value of a dwelling and its location relative to other components of the stock, this system of tax assessment was rather outdated and employed a somewhat arbitrary method of deriving the so-called rental value of a property, particularly in cases of owner occupancy. Newer dwelling units were assessed at a rate of $1.10 per square foot of floor space while the floor space assessment rate on older units declined exponentially, although the definition of 'older' was usually left to the discretion of the individual property inspector. One of the inevitable results of this method were artificially low levels of tax revenues obtained from older rental properties and

inflated returns from newer ones. In 1981, the last time a reassessment was taken (reassessments in St. John's are cyclical and are conducted every five years), the City changed its system from a rental value to a capital value tax assessment. Compared with the rental value method, capital value assessments are based upon the quality value of both the dwelling and the property. Also somewhat arbitarily defined, its justification is nevertheless a significant improvement on the previous system as assessments are now based upon a more definitive set of criteria which attempt to provide a more subjective assessment of both the dwelling and the property (see Exhibit B, Appendix A). The problem this has created for the current study, however, is that both forms are incompatible: the differences inherent in a rental value assessment could not possibly be accounted for by the capital value assessment. Thus, although the comparison of tax assessments per se would have provided a reasonably good indication of fiscal assessment variations in relation to both structural and property quality, this method was necessarily eliminated from the current investigation.

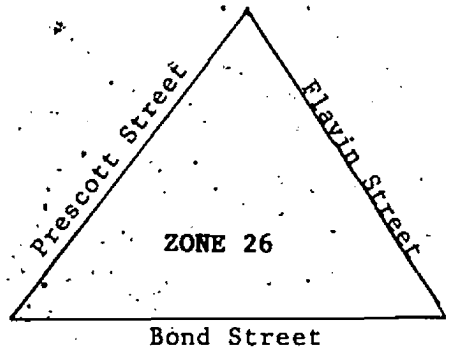
In spite of the incompatibility of fiscally-based data, assessment rolls were nevertheless compared in order to obtain information on changes in property ownership. In view of recent structural change, it was necessary to establish whether stock maintenance and repair was being conducted by recently arrived property owners or by incumbent property owners. Furthermore, if structural maintenance and repair was occurring in response to recently arrived property owners, the current study was concerned to assess whether these were resident owners, absentee landlords or absentee corporate landlords. If structural

maintenance and repair was being performed by these types of recently arrived property owners, the current study would then be in a position to argue in favour of gentrification and, perhaps, return to the city. Another implication, of course, concerns the vigour of the heritage conservation movement in St. John's and to what extent structural reinvestment by recently arrived property owners was a function of heritage-related objectives. Similarly, if maintenance and repair was being performed by incumbent property owners, the investigation was required to examine whether changes in ownership type was in any way connected with reinvestment by indigenous residents. Based upon this evidence, the current study would then be capable of supporting a process of incumbent upgrading of the housing stock in addition to the process of gentrification. An absence of both processes, however, would tend to support trends toward structural disinvestment and inner city decline.

DATA MANIPULATION

The current study examines structural change in Census Tract 007 on a small scale, block-by-block basis. This approach allows the investigation to consolidate residential dwellings in similar locations and facilitates in the explanation and mapping of data. In all, 55 'zones' were established, 39 of which were residential. The remaining 16 zones contained no residential dwellings and consisted of commercial and retail establishments, wharfage and warehousing and street islands. Residential dwellings were assigned to a particular zone on a block face basis, that is, the street and number of each dwelling in Tract 007 was recorded and assigned a zone based upon its place on the block face.

In order to illustrate the zone procedure, and to assist in the interpretation of data and discussion in the chapters which follow, a much simplified example of the forthcoming analysis is outlined below. Take, for instance, Zone 26, one of the smaller zones in the study area (for contextual reference, see Figure 4.1). Zone 26 is bordered by three streets: Prescott Street to the northwest, Flavin Street to the southeast and Bond Street to the south[16]. Its geometric shape is triangular and resembles the following:



In total, there were 8 residential dwellings on the Prescott Street block face, 0 on Flavin Street and 3 on Bond Street, thus making 11 the total number of dwelling units in this particular zone. The first step in the research procedure was to determine what type of ownership existed for each dwelling unit in 1980. Three types of ownership were isolated for the entire study area: resident owner (owner occupant), non-resident owner (absentee private landlord) and non-resident corporate owner (absentee corporate landlord)[17]. This information was obtained from assessment roll data for 1980 and was filed, along with all subsequent data, in a COBOL data file. In the above example, the following information is given for the frequency of ownership types in 1980:

Example 3.1 Frequency of Ownership Type by Street, Zone 26, 1980.

	Resident Owner	Non-Resident Owner	Non-Resident Corporate Owner
Prescott Street	5	3	0
Flavin Street	0	0	0
Bond Street	3	0	0

Therefore, of the 11 dwellings, in Zone 26 as of 1980, 72.7% were owner occupied and 27.3% renter occupied and owned by non-resident, private landlords.

After type of ownership in 1980 was established for all residential units in each particular zone, the second step was to determine if there was any change in ownership by 1982. This was done to assess the degree of ownership change over the study period and how this might later relate to data on structural maintenance and repair and minimum property standards violations. Using the example of Zone 26, the following information is given for the frequency of ownership type in 1982 and is listed in brackets beneath ownership type frequencies established for 1980:

Example 3.2 Frequency of Ownership Type by Street, Zone 26, 1980-1982.

	Resident Owner	Non-Resident Owner	Non-Resident Corporate Owner
Prescott Street	5 (3)	3 (4)	0 (1)
Flavin Street	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Bond Street	3 (1)	0 (2)	0 (0)

Thus, in Zone 26 in 1982, 36.4% of all residential dwelling units were owner occupied, 54.5% were renter occupied and owned by

non-resident private landlords and 9.1% were owned by non-resident corporate landlords, in this case a real estate firm. The general trend in ownership type in this particular zone over the two year period, then, was in favour of non-resident ownership and renter occupancy, particularly on Bond Street which experienced ownership change in 2 of its 3 1980 owner occupied dwellings.

At this point the reader will note that ownership change between 1980 and 1982 concerns only one possible transaction. In other words, the data to be discussed are that of a particular type of property ownership in 1980 and the corresponding type of ownership in 1982. Unfortunately, the current study was unable to secure data concerning inter-temporal ownership transactions between 1980 and 1981 and between 1981 and 1982. However, although ownership change between these periods warrants examination in its own right, expecially in view of the portentially negative structural chnages associated with the transient nature of low income inner city housing, it is nevertheless possible to justify our examination on the basis of assessing emerging aggregate trends in property ownership as opposed to the examination of individualized transactions. Also, it is firmly suggested that the selected temporal period is significantly brief to minimize the potential impacts of inter-temporal ownership transactions on the supply state of the existing stock.

Once changes in ownership types were established for the entire study area, the next procedure was to determine if any structural change had occurred over the 1980 to 1982 period and what estimated dollar value this change represented. Three types of structural change were identified: no change, maintenance and repair and demolition. These

data were extracted from building repair and demolition permits issued by the Department of Building and Development between 1980 and 1982 and were also applied on a zonal basis. Using the example of Zone 26, the following information is given regarding structural change between 1980 and 1982; estimated value figures are listed in brackets beside each frequency figure:

Example 3.3 Frequency and Estimated Value of Structural Change By Type, Zone 26, 1980 - 1982.

	No Change	Building	Repair	Demolition
Prescott Street	6	0	2 ($2000)	0
Flavin Street	0	0	0	0
Bond Street	1	0	2 ($5000)	0

Therefore, 63.6% of all dwelling units in Zone 26 experienced no structural change while 36.4% experienced maintenance and repair valued at $7000.

The obvious question at this point is what relationship, if any, exists between type of ownership and recent structural change? On the one hand, the literature would lead one to expect that the bulk of contemporary reinvestment activity in the inner city housing stock will largely be the result of recently arrived resident owners in the form of gentrification and incumbent upgrading by long-standing resident owners. However, very few studies have attempted to relate structural change to non-resident private or non-resident corporate ownership. Using the example of Zone 26, the current study compares ownership type data for recently arrived owners and incumbent owners with frequencies and estimated values of structural change data:

Example 3.4 Frequency and Estimated Value of Structural Change by Ownership Type, Recently Arrived and Incumbent Owners, Zone 26, 1980 - 1982.

	No Change	Building	Repair	Demolition
Recently Arrived Resident Owner	0	0	0	0
Incumbent Resident Owner	3	0	1 ($750)	0
Recently Arrived Non-Resident Owner	2	0	3 ($6250)	0
Incumbent Non-Resident Owner	1	0	0	0
Recently Arrived Non-Resident Corporate Owner	1	0	0	0
Incumbent Non-Resident Corporate Owner	0	0	0	0

What appears interesting about this particular zone is that structural change between 1980 and 1982 was performed mainly by recently arrived non-resident owners on renter occupied dwellings. Together they accounted for 89.3% of the estimated value of all maintenance and repair activity over the two year period while incumbent resident owners accounted for 10.7% of the estimated value of maintenance and repair throughout the zone. Thus, although there were no recently arrived resident owners in this particular example, ownership turnover that did occur resulted in the maintenance and repair of three renter occupied dwellings while only one incumbent resident owner performed repairs on his or her dwelling.

Once structural change by ownership type was assessed for all dwelling units in Tract 007, the next procedure was to determine if

structural change was a voluntary or an involuntary action brought about by the dwelling's violation of some section of the housing code. To address this, the current study examined data from minimum property standards files and determined the number of code-violating dwellings per individual zone. A list was then made of the types of code violations incurred by each dwelling and a subjective definition assigned to each according to the magnitude of violations and the type of maintenance and repair required to bring the dwelling up to standard.

It was also important to determine the responsiveness of property owners to letters from the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector informing them of certain structural inadequacies. It is argued that if a dwelling unit incurred a certain number of code violations, and if confidence and stability was being returned to the inner city residential environment, then letters from the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector would be compiled with in a short period of time. If, on the other hand, a feeling of futility existed on the part of property owners as to the feasibility of structural reinvestment, then long delays in compliance and code circumvention might possibly occur. While there is a temptation to over-generalize about these relationships, the possibility of them occurring, given the scale at and the context in which the current study was conducted, defies serious reservation.

Using the example of Zone 26, 3 of the 11 dwellings were deemed to be below code standard between 1980 and 1982. These particular dwellings were located on Prescott Street and ownership changed hands in two of the three cases: one from a resident owner to a non-resident corporate owner and another from a non-resident owner to another

non-resident owner. The third occurred in a dwelling owner by the occupant. Only 1 of the 3 dwellings was registered as having applied for and received a repair permit from the Department of Building and Development. Examine the following:

Example 3.5 Minimum Property Standards Violations, Zone 26, 1980-1982.

Date Owner Notified	Address	Repairs Required	Violations	Total Violations	File Status
Jan. 6, 1982	A1 Prescott	maj. int/ext	SJMH x 7 LSC x 1 NBC x 1 SJLH x 1	10	Open
Oct. 21, 1981	A2 Prescott	maj. int/ext	SJMH x 7 SJLH x 1	8	Open
Oct. 28, 1981	A3 Prescott	min. int/ext	SJMH x 7 LSC x 1 NBC x 2	6	Open

where: maj. int/ext refers to major interior and exterior repairs required.
min. int/ext refers to minor interior and exterior repairs required.
SJMH refers to the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law and the number of subsections violated by the dwelling.
LSC refers to the Life Safety Code of Canada and the number of subsections violated by the dwelling.
NBC refers to the National Building Code of Canada and the number of subsections violated by the dwelling.
SJLH refers to the St. John's Lodging House By-law and the number of subsections violated by the dwelling.
Open refers to the fact that the file has yet to be closed and violations yet to be rectified.

The above example reveals three things. First, although the file for A3 Prescott Street has indicated that it is still open, the new owner has apparently complied, or started to comply, with required structural repairs as evidenced by data from repair permits. Secondly, A1 Prescott Street and A2 Prescott Street have apparently circumvented enforced minimum property standards. As of December 31, 1982, the end of the study period, they had yet to complete repairs as required by the

City and had delayed activity 359 and 436 days respectively. Thirdly, as outlined in Appendix B, three codes have predominated: the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law, the Life Safety Code of Canada and the National Building Code of Canada. Briefly, the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law covers both interior and exterior structural components, from exterior cladding, painting, roofing, windows and doors to interior stairways, ceilings and floors; the Life Safety Code of Canada is administered for fire and health-related purposes, such as the installation of smoke detectors, the removal of antiquated heating facilities and the repair of chimneys and ducts; and the National Building Code of Canada is essentially applied to ensure that row-house type dwellings with shared walls construct party or fire walls between them, that fire escapes and entrances are kept in good repair and that potential public nuisances are kept to a minimum. Thus, in this case, violations appear to have been quite extensive.

The fact that 2 of the 3 dwellings were deemed to be in need of major interior and exterior structural repairs, and that both had circumvented orders to carry out these repairs, points to a peculiar dichotomy in this particular zone, and one that appears regularly throughout this investigation. On the one hand, structural maintenance and repair of the housing stock has occurred in certain units, albeit on a small scale throughout the zone (36.4%). Whether this is indicative of a basic need for structural maintenance and repair on a response to inner city residential stability and reinvestment feasibility is unclear. In one case, however, maintenance and repair was conducted involuntarily and, in the two cases with open files, if indeed maintenance and repair occurred before forced closure, maintenance and

repair would also necessarily be an involuntary action.

One point, however, remains clear: in spite of the fact that some structural reinvestment has occurred in Zone 26 between 1980 and 1982, it appears to have been offset by the disinvestment displayed by owners of properties in the immediate zone. Although highly suggestive at this point, it appears that neither gentrification or incumbent upgrading has occurred to any great extent in this particular zone. Voluntary structural reinvestment has therefore been minimal while involuntary structural reinvestment has tended to preponderate. More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that 63.6% of all dwellings in Zone 26 experienced no structural change. Thus, apprehension and uncertainty as to the feasibility of reinvestment may have been important considerations in the property owner's decision not to modify.

Zone 26 has been used as an example of data manipulation only and is by no means strictly analagous to the remaining residential zones in Tract 007. The next Chapter will begin to examine the entire research area and discuss the data in an analytical framework.

A Note on Techniques and Level of Analysis

Before considering the results of this thesis, it is important to comment first on the techniques used to compile, manipulate and present the various data and, second, to discuss the level of analysis employed over the course of the investigation.

To begin, a COBOL file programme was written in order to contend with the storage, manipulation and retrieval problems associated with large data sets. The procedure division of the programme was structured in such a way that ownership transactions between 1980 and 1982 could be isolated and examined either by individual address, a particular zone, a

group of zones or the entire study area. A number was assigned to each zone not only to retrieve specific data from the COBOL file but also to facilitate the merging of data with the GIMMS cartographic system. This will be discussed momentarily.

Altogether, ten different types of ownership transactions were examined for each of the 39 residential zones in the study area. These were:

(1) No ownership transactions

(2) Resident Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982) (R - R)

(3) Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982) (R - C)

(4) Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Owner (1982) (R - N)

(5) Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982) (C - R)

(6) Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982) (C - C)

(7) Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1980)to New Non-Resident Owner (1982) (C - N)

(8) Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982) (N - R)

(9) Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982) (N - C)

(10) Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Owner (1982) (N - N)

As defined in the current study, a resident owner refers to an owner occupant or the owner of a dwelling who is also its primary tenant. A non-resident owner, on the other hand, refers to a private citizen whose mailing address (for taxation purposes) is different from

that of the dwelling under examination. Thus, he is an absentee landlord and the occupancy status of the dwelling is rental tenure. A non-resident corporate owner refers to the ownership of a particular dwelling by a collective group of individuals or a single individual in the form of a corporation. This includes real estate and investment firms, holding companies, development agencies and other forms of private enterprise. As in the case of the non-resident owner, dwellings owned by non-resident corporate owners are of the rental type and the owners are considered to be absentee.

In addition to the descriptive text to follow, there are several maps illustrating the spatial pattern of ownership transactions between 1980 and 1982. These maps were produced using the GIMMS cartographic system[18]. GIMMS is a very flexible system that allows the user to plot data on the basis of digitized polygons. Briefly, a polygon file is created which contains specific x,y coordinates (digitized at various intervals from a selected base map) of individual polygons. In this thesis, polygons are otherwise known as zones. Data files are created and edited and individual variables assigned to appropriate zones: commands are then issued and maps are produced. One of the internal features of GIMMS is that zones (polygons) are automatically numerated during the digitizing procedure. The current study has therefore assigned each zone in the study area a number based upon the GIMMS numeration and employs these numbers on a consistent basis. Zone numbers are to be interpreted as nothing more than the order in which polygons were digitized.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the assignment of zone numbers and should be consulted throughout the remainder of this investigation..

Additionally, a transparent overlay has been inserted in the rear jacket of this thesis and may prove to be a more flexible identification device. Individual zone numbers were omitted from GIMMS maps due to the visual conflict that would doubtless occur between individual digits and the various types of shading patterns used to describe levels of data. Data intervals were internally calculated by GIMMS and defaulted to five intervals and, of course, maps can be compared with the various data tables should precise figures be required.

Probably the most contentious issue confronting the thesis at this point concerns the most appropriate level of analysis at which to conduct the investigation. Two methods must be discussed and evaluated: zonal disaggregation or zonal aggregation, with the primary concern here being a derivation of the most legitimate spatial expression of the data to be discussed in forthcoming chapters. Clearly, with 39 residential zones to consider, and with each zone containing a different number of dwellings and possessing its own unique pre-1980 development history, it is erroneous to assume that each residential zone will carry equal weight in a strictly comparative analysis. The fact that a complete zonal disaggregation has never before been conducted forces hypothesis testing to be an essentially interpretive and suggestive exercise. In this sense, complete zonal disaggregation -unless otherwise justified- should be avoided if alternative levels of analysis can be practically introduced and are amenable to hypothesis testing. In the current study, however, there are several impediments to the introduction of zonal aggregation as a means of solving the level of analysis problem. While it is recognized that there are inherent hypothesis-related difficulties with the disaggregation method, zonal aggregation, save perhaps, for the

extent of the Heritage Conservation Area boundaries; fails likewise to lend itself to immediate hypothesis testing. Barriers to this method's employment shall be discussed momentarily.

First, though, the current study has so far made it very clear that preliminary (pre-1980) data are non-existent. Thus, this thesis is an essentially exploratory investigation of structural change in a data-poor context. In response to the absence of numeric data, the current study has alternatively placed considerable emphasis on the context of pre-1980 events in the inner city of St. John's as active, and passive, components of an overall inner city 'environment' of which housing, in particular, is a vital element. As a result, there exists in this thesis a very strong contextual and interpretive element. In other words, the reader must be willing to accept as objective evidence the socio-economic decline of the inner city and non-residential development in a highly speculative urban land market as prima facie conditions of interpretation. Of course, we not only begin constructing preliminary hypotheses based on the context of events in the case of St. John's but, also, upon what might be implicitly expected via the examination of contemporary developments in inner city housing dynamics in other cities of the western world (as discussed in Chapter Two).

As stated above, choice of the disaggregate or aggregate method essentially condenses to the one which offers the most appropriate spatial expression of hypothetically testable data. However, since there are no preliminary data from which to formulate strictly empirical hypotheses, there are no a priori grounds for selection of one over the other, assuming that the objective partitioning of discrete urban space is dependent upon some sort of numeric (i.e. deterministic) legitimacy.

Admittedly, use of such quantitative argument, however, remains heuristic irrespectively of its apparent logic and, hence, potentially objectionable.

While data-based problems associated with hypothesis testing exist in either case, there appear to be, however, a greater and more significant number of impediments to the adoption of the zonal aggregation method. First, because there are basically no hypothetically acceptable reasons, other than the boundary of the Heritage Conservation Area, to aggregate zones beyond the city block level, by doing so the current study would necessarily predispose itself to measure structural change in terms of essentially randomly constructed spatial units. As opposed to this, the city block, instead, is nominated as the most neutral and historically identifiable unit of analysis as its finite boundaries effectively eliminate the analytical apprehension caused by subjective zonal aggregation. Most importantly, perhaps, zonal disaggregation reduces the potential for data bias as might possibly be anticipated if zones were casually aggregated into larger spatial units. The reader must also be reminded that while one might expect structural change to exhibit spatial concentration within the Heritage Conservation Area, the current investigation is not obliged to analyse the Heritage Conservation Area per se. Secondly, the physical size of the study area lends itself to relatively facile and practical disaggregation. This allows the current study to be an internally more descriptive and, thus, a potentially more meaningful analysis. If the study area was much larger, say, composed of several Census Tracts, then zonal aggregation would arguably be the more appropriate of the two levels of analysis. Thirdly, zonal disaggregation creates the necessarily small-scale

conditions for future studies of residential and non-residential land use change in the inner city of St.John's. To aggregate city blocks into larger spatial units would, effectively, undermine the basic character of the inner city itself: it is not a homogeneous entity nor should it be treated as such. Instead, it is a relatively small yet historically and contemporarily significant remnant of urban development not only in Canada but in all of North America. Recognition of this significance, and the fact that the supply of inner city housing has for quite some time been in decline, leads one to adopt a more spatially sensitive approach to housing stock modification. On the other hand, though, spatial sensitivity via the disaggregate approach demands a loss of the spatial simplicity resulting from aggregative analysis. As a result, hypothesis testing remains a somewhat suggestive exercise. However, as discussed above, such testing would necessarily be suggestive in either case.

One therefore arrives at the following dilemma: either adopt the zonal aggregation approach at the expense of non-biased and contextually objective spatial explanation or promote the disaggregation method at some loss of spatial simplicity. Here, following the need to describe structural change on the basis of its most appropriate spatial representation -yet maintaining that spatial simplicity (i.e. zonal aggregation) necessarily compromises the fundamental character of the inner city- the current study has elected the second alternative. Selection of the zonal disaggregation method; however, carries with it some important qualitative considerations. These individual considerations will be discussed within the context of the analytical chapters which follow.

NOTES; CHAPTER THREE

1. One of the earliest references to the push-pull dichotomy and how it serves to promote decline on the one hand and growth on the other is found in Colby, C.C. (1933), Centrifugal and Centripital Forces in Urban Geography. Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 23:1-20.

2. The five reports were: First Interim Report: City Architect; Building Regulations, etc., November 1942; Second Interim Report: King's Bridge Road Junction, February 1943: Third Interim Report: General Review of Housing Conditions; Outline of Proposals for Remedies, June 1943; Fourth Interim Report: Temporary Regulations to Secure the Width of Future Streets, etc., n.d., and Fifth Interim Report: Detailed Proposals and Provisional Estimates for Suburban Extension and Housing, January 1944, all the King's Printer, St. John's.

   Refer to Lewis and Shrimpton (1984) for a comprehensive analysis of these reports.

3. Census Tracts used by Shrimpton (1979) were 006 and 007.

4. Census Tracts 006 and 007.

5. Unpublished data collected from hospital morbidity files. Compiled by the Department of Health, Vital Statistics Division, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Data supplied by: Meana, L. (1984), Spatio-Temporal Patterns and Trends of Age-Specific Fertility Rates for Newfoundland Women from 1971 to 1981: Changing Age Patterns of Childbearing Among Newfoundland Women. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

6. A private household refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada. The number of private households equals the number of occupied private dwellings. Family persons refers to household members who belong to a census family. A census family refers to a husband and wife (with or without children who have never married, regardless of age), or a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more children who have never married, regardless of age, living in the same dwelling. For census purposes, persons living in a common law type of arrangement are considered as now married, regardless of their legal marital status. (Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, Cat 95-968, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1983, pp. XIV-XV).

7. Employment income refers to total income received by persons fifteen years of age or over during the year prior to the Census as wages and salaries, net income from non-farm self-employment

and/or net farm income. (Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, Cat 95-968, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1983, pp. XXIII).

8. The total income of a census family or household is the sum of the total incomes of the members of that family or household. Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, Cat 95-968, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1983, pp. XXII).

9. Failure of Statistics Canada to provide standardized submarket definitions has been greeted with some consternation. Although the 1981 Census now provides more detailed submarket data it is impossible to compare it with data from previous censuses. Definitional changes to apartments and duplexes have resulted in inflated figures for single detached and single attached dwellings and deflated figures for apartments. For example, according to the 1981 Census, the number of apartments in the inner city of St. John's declined to 451 from the 1976 total of 1,145 while the number of single attached and single detached units increased by 13.3% and 59.5% respectively. The major difference is that the 1981 Census definition of an apartment has been divided into those greater than five storeys and those less than five storeys. Apartments which in 1981 were less than five storeys in height, were amalgamated with the 1976 Census definition of a duplex. For example, a basement apartment separated from the rest of a single family dwelling and containing a different household or family would in 1976 have been considered a duplex. In 1981, however, it is defined as an apartment less than five storeys. For more information consult: Statistics Canada. 1976 Census of Canada, Cat 95-818, volume 6, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1978, pp. VIII; and Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, Cat E-559, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1983, pp. IX.

10. A compilation of papers presented in Planning for Petroleum: A Technical Conference on Offshore Petroleum Impacts. City Hall, St. John's, September 1981 should be consulted regarding potential offshore impacts associated with offshore hydrocarbon development.

11. Quoted in Cameron (1972:46).

12. Quoted in Cameron (1972:45-46).

13. Quoted from Sharpe (1983:6).

14. Refer to the paper by Ellis, D.G. (1981), Oil and Real Estate: The Future of Land Development in St. John's. Planning for Petroleum: A Technical Conference on Offshore Petroleum Impacts. City Hall, St. John's, September 1981.

15. At the time of this writing, City Council has been entertaining a second major development proposal for a 110 unit, seven and twelve storey condominium development on the old Holloway School site, located in the northwest corner of the Heritage Conservation Area just east of the confluence of Longs Hill and Harvey Road. Thirty-five apartment units have already been purchased, with prices ranging from $68,000 to $240,000. The projected cost of the development is estimated to be between $13 and $14 million. The City's Deputy Mayor and a prominent Councillor have voiced strong objection to the proposal on the grounds that it is in clear violation of the Heritage By-law, while citizen opposition has begun to ferment. The Mayor and remaining members of Council, however, are 'reluctantly in favour' of the development as it promises to provide employment for 250 over 18 months and would therefore be of benefit to all the City's residents. Indeed, the Mayor himself has purchased the first two units. Refer to the St. John's Evening Telegram. April 19, 1984, pp. 4.

16. Subsequent analysis will not employ the use of street names. Street names have been used here only to illustrate to the reader the zone procedure and how data are amalgamated and examined in all residential zones throughout the study area.

17. 'Corporate' ownership refers to the ownership of a particular dwelling by a united or collective body of individuals in the form of a corporation. This includes real estate and investment firms, holding companies, development agencies and private enterprise. It also includes the City of St. John's, the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and the St. John's Heritage Foundation.

18. The GIMMS cartographic system is a product of GIMMS Ltd., Copyright 1983, 30 Kein Street, Edinburgh, Scotland. The system was developed by T.C. Wangh and J. McCalden of the University of Edinburgh with consultation from Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario and Statistics Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR

OWNERSHIP CHANGE

In this Chapter an attempt is made to assess how recent structural change in the inner city housing stock of St. John's is related to the amount and spatial characteristics of ownership change. Specifically, it is concerned with a description and analysis of ownership transactions within the existing inventory of dwellings to determine the extent to which the pattern of such transactions coincides with those which might be anticipated under three preliminary scenarios. These scenarios are derived from the probable responses to the events discussed in Chapter Three and are as follows:

(1) Stability

Low levels of ownership transactions of all types would lend support to the notion of inner city stability. Structural change involving the maintenance and repair of existing dwellings by incumbent owners may become apparent in some areas of the downtown, but blocks characterized by low levels of ownership change would most likely be characterized by little or no structural change. The incidence of some demolition may have occurred, but only on a small scale. Dwellings in violation of minimum property standards would be upgraded gradually to meet the requirements of the Department of Building and Development and this would be accomplished on an even basis by all ownership types.

(2) Decline

Ownership transactions involving the loss of resident owners through replacement by non-resident and non-resident corporate owners would support the idea of inner city decline and structural disinvestment. Corporate buy-out of both resident and non-resident owned dwellings would become apparent. Limited structural reinvestment and increased demolition would be expected to appear, particularly in those blocks with higher levels of non-resident and non-resident corporate ownership. A positive relationship would develop between non-resident and non-resident corporate ownership and failure to execute punctually structural repairs in response to notification of violations of minimum property standards.

(3) Revitalization

Ownership transactions involving the replacement of non-resident and non-resident corporate owners by resident owners would tend to support the notion of revitalization. Structural reinvestment would be expected to occur in those blocks where such transactions were dominant. The average number of days which pass prior to compliance with notification of a violation of minimum property standards would be low. Revitalized blocks would also be characterized by relatively fewer dwellings with code violations and demolitions. Dwellings owned by non-resident and non-resident corporate owners would be more likely to experience reinvestment under this particular scenario than under scenario (1) and, in particular, (2).

The Assumptive Context

Scenario (1) states that few ownership transactions will have occurred and that neither structural reinvestment or disinvestment activity will have transpired to any great extent. In other words, it implies that the short term response of the property owner to conditions of uncertainty has been to 'wait and see', with the issue clearly being one of reinvestment risk. The problem here, however, lies in establishing whether the first scenario has in fact occurred and if it is significant throughout the entire study area.

It has been suggested that internal variations in ownership type patterns will have resulted from the fact that of the recent in-migrant households to Census Tract 007; those who arrived between 1976 and 1980 tended to congregate inside the Heritage Conservation Area (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a). This necessarily implies that the Heritage Conservation Area, and its protective By-law, eliminated the risk associated with structural reinvestment in the absence of an area-wide housing policy and encouraged the purchase of dwellings by newly arrived resident owners.

While the trend prior to 1980 was apparently one of small scale gentrification, particularly within the Heritage Conservation Area, and incumbent upgrading of the surrounding stock, scenario (1) maintains that the recency of both Hibernia-induced land speculation and hostile non-residential land use encroachment effectively pacified the gentrification process and whatever trends toward incumbent upgrading of the stock had been burgeoning.

Scenarios (2) and (3) may be regarded as polar opposites. Scenario (2) implies that the advent of Hibernia and the 'develop at all cost' attitude of Council as revealed by the TD Place, Trizec and Lavalin developments, sealed the immediate fate of inner city housing in St. John's and capped a long history of irresponsible Council decision making initially in the absence, and later the presence, of housing policy and legislation. Under this scenario, ownership transactions will have moved steadily towards absentee ownership by both non-resident and non-resident corporate landlords and dwellings to the low cost rental market. While the current study is not concerned to examine variations in submarket costs, the most obvious feature of this scenario would be a reduction in the number of new resident owners purchasing homes within the study area and the concomitant exiguity of structural maintenance and repair activity. Accompanying the lack of structural reinvestment would be a significant number of dwellings in violation of minimum property standards followed by lengthy periods of non-compliance. In some cases, letters of notification may have been ignored completely and, if major interior and exterior repairs were required, the dwelling demolished if replacement buyers were scarce.

If scenario (2) is validated, it would suggest that the optimism portrayed in the Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a) study was inappropriate. Of course, both authors were cognizant of the fact that the youth of the heritage conservation movement meant that City Council's apparent short term endorsement of its objectives had to first pass the test of time. Scenario (3) is predicated on the basis that the movement towards gentrification would have continued to advance into the early 1980's in

spite of the adverse decisions of City Council, and the speculative euphoria of Hibernia, during the latter part of the 1970's. This response may be attributed to two things.

First, as Felt and House (1980) have indicated, one of the peculiarities of Newfoundland culture in general is an overriding sense of faith in market supremacy within the free enterprise system. Speculative land purchase and legislative contravention are therefore viewed, perhaps, as necessary evils in the pursuit of free market optimality. Similarly, the creation of land use control policy has often been regarded as an impediment to market capitalization and, as such, has appeared to place impertinent restrictions on what is normally considered 'fair game'. This argument therefore implies a sort of fatalism on the part of the indigenous population as to the impacts of abrupt and uncogitated change. The response in the case of gentrification, of course, would be that property owners would simply continue doing what they had already begun to do: reinvest in inner city housing.

Secondly, there existed in the late 1970's a veritable rumour mill which spun distorted reports of large scale inner city land purchases by out-of-town investors and corporations and wealthy St. John's families (Felt and House, 1980; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a). While most of these rumours were never substantiated, and although proxy and third party purchase may in fact have occurred, one of the obvious impacts of unrefuted rumour would have been to convince potential gentrifiers to purchase an inner city dwelling for either long term residency or short term profit on a quick resale. An opportunity to capitalize on a

perceived residential trend, then, may have temporarily blinded new resident owners to the realities imposed by non-residential land use encroachment. Some inner city residents have recently admitted to a false sense of security and were convinced, even after construction had begun, that TD Place would never materialize, while others have indicated their intention to relocate in response to what they have considered to be adverse environmental change (Benson and Sharpe, 1984).

Ownership Change in the Inner City, 1980 - 1982

(1) No Ownership Transactions

Between 1980 and 1982, dwellings with no change in ownership accounted for 67.97% of the total number of dwellings in the entire study area. Therefore, one third of all dwellings experienced some form of ownership change. It is impossible to compare these figures with levels in previous years as data do not exist, however, the fact that ownership changed in one of every three dwellings nevertheless appears to be an important fact to consider.

The least stable zone in terms of property ownership over the course of the study period was zone 44 (Table 4.1) which experienced ownership change in 61.9% of its 21 dwellings. Conversely, zones such as 15 and 17, containing just 1 and 6 dwellings respectively, experienced no ownership change in their housing stocks over the two year period. In many respects these two zones are atypical of the study areas in terms of the small number of dwellings contained in each, and this must be borne in mind throughout the remainder of this investigation. Both zones are characterized by a significant amount of commercial, retail and institutional land use, particularly Zone 15

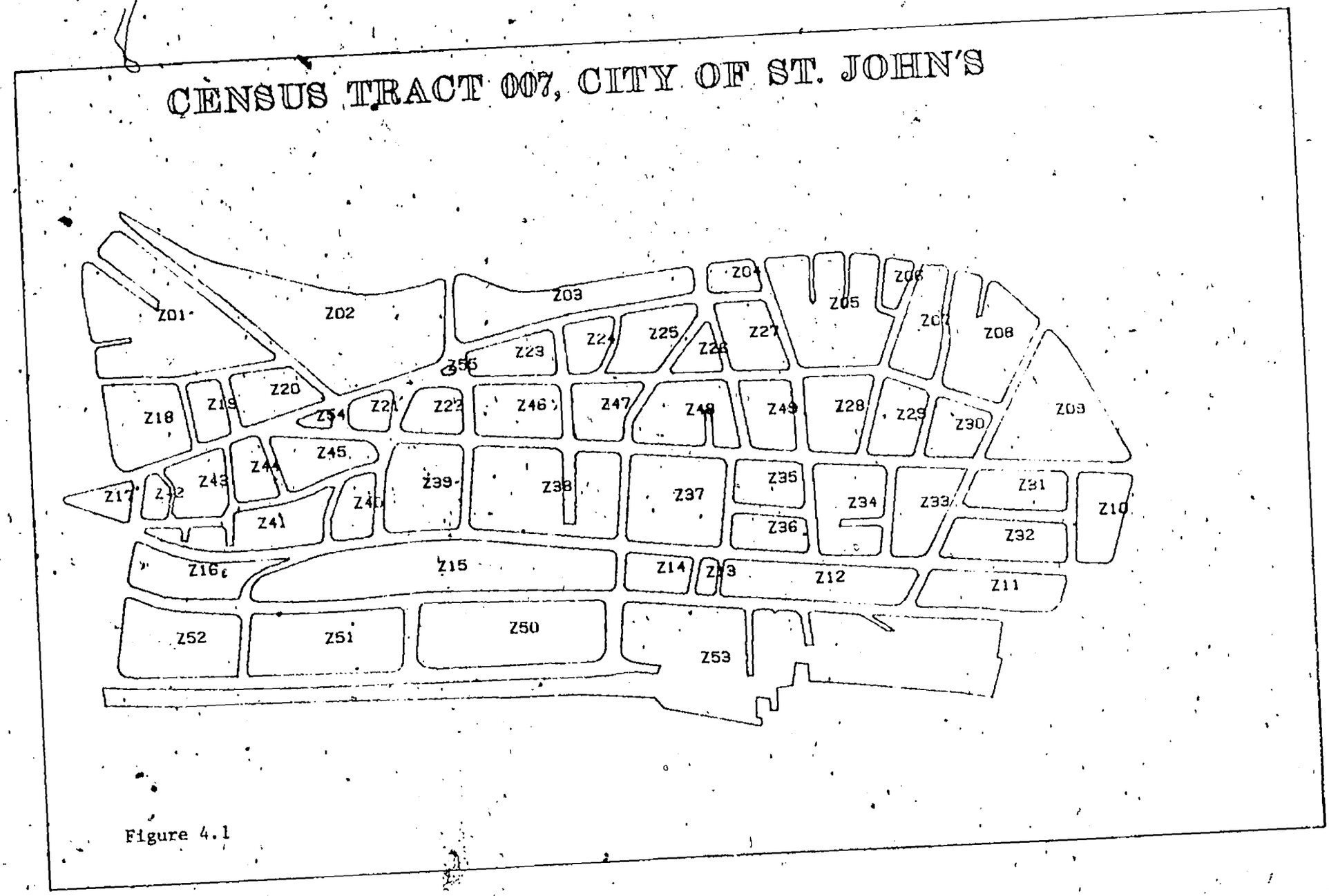


Figure 4.1

Table 4.1 OWNERSHIP TRANSACTIONS BY TYPE OF OWNERSHIP, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

R - R Resident Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982)
R - C Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982)
R - N Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Owner (1982)
C - R Non Resident Corporate Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982)
C - C Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982)
C - N Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Owner (1982)
N - R Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Resident Owner (1982)
N - C Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Corporate Owner (1982)
N - N Non-Resident Owner (1980) to New Non-Resident Owner (1982)

Zone	Dwellings	No Ownership Change as a Percentage of Total Dwellings Per Zone	Ownership Transactions by Type of Ownership as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes								
			R - R	R - C	R - N	C - R	C - C	C - N	N - R	N - C	N - N
1	116	67.2	13.89	8.33	11.11	2.78	2.78	0	16.67	11.11	33.33
2	15	53.3	57.14	0	0	0	0	0	14.29	14.29	14.29
3	11	81.8	50.00	0	0	0	0	50.00	0	0	0
4	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
5	22	68.2	20.00	0	20.00	0	0	0	40.00	0	20.00
6	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
7	35	77.1	22.22	22.22	22.22	11.11	0	0	11.11	11.11	0
8	30	76.7	50.00	0	0	16.67	0	0	16.67	16.67	0
9	42	69.0	33.33	8.33	0	16.67	8.73	8.73	16.67	0	16.67
10	17	76.5	66.67	0	0	0	0	0	33.33	0	0
11	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
12	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
13	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
14	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
15	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
17	6	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	16	75.0	33.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	66.67	0
19	21	71.4	0	0	0	0	0	16.67	50.00	0	33.33
20	31	58.1	16.67	8.33	0	0	0	0	8.33	41.67	25.00
21	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
22	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
23	30	73.3	25.00	0	0	0	0	0	37.50	0	37.50
24	11	72.7	33.33	0	33.33	0	0	0	0	0	33.33
25	25	64.0	9.09	0	0	9.09	27.27	0	9.09	18.18	27.27
26	11	45.4	0	16.67	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	33.33
27	17	70.6	40.00	0	0	20.00	0	0	20.00	0	20.00
28	31	64.5	30.00	0	0	20.00	10.00	0	10.00	0	30.00
29	29	82.8	75.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25.00
30	24	79.2	40.00	0	20.00	0	0	0	20.00	0	20.00
31	34	76.5	50.00	0	12.50	0	0	0	12.50	0	25.50
32	29	70.0	33.33	0	11.11	11.11	0	0	11.11	0	33.33
33	33	57.6	14.29	21.43	7.44	14.29	0	0	0	21.43	21.43
34	38	63.2	23.08	0	27.69	0	7.69	0	0	46.15	15.38
35	20	70.0	16.67	0	0	0	0	0	33.33	16.67	33.33
36	16	68.7	40.00	0	0	0	0	0	20.00	0	40.00
37	40	55.0	23.53	0	11.76	5.88	17.65	0	11.76	17.65	11.76
38	43	74.4	25.00	16.67	16.67	0	0	0	8.33	0	33.33
39	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
40	2	50.0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	20	65.0	44.44	0	0	22.22	11.11	22.22	0	0	0
42	8	75.0	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.00	0
43	15	53.3	28.57	28.57	0	0	0	0	28.57	14.29	0
44	21	36.1	16.67	8.33	8.33	0	8.33	8.33	0	16.67	41.67
45	23	73.9	16.67	0	16.67	16.67	0	0	0	16.67	33.33
46	35	60.0	13.33	0	13.33	6.67	13.33	13.33	20.00	6.67	13.33
47	33	66.7	16.67	8.88	16.67	0	0	25.00	16.67	16.67	0
48	34	73.5	33.33	0	11.11	33.33	0	11.11	11.11	0	0
49	10	80.0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
51	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
52	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
53	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
54	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
55	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
Total	996	67.9%	25.64	5.45	18.97	6.41	4.49	3.85	13.78	11.22	20.83

which is bordered by the two major inner city thoroughfares: Water Street to the south and Duckworth Street to the north. In spite of the relatively small number of residential dwellings in these zones, it is interesting to note their spatial proximity to the high level of ownership transition that occurred in zone 44. While zone 44 was characterized by a relatively high level of ownership transition, due mainly to the forthcoming construction of a privately owned apartment block, levels of ownership change in adjacent zones, zone 43 and zone 45, containing 15 and 23 dwellings respectively, were close to that established for the entire study area (32.03%). The only other zone demonstrating a comparatively high level of ownership transition was zone 26 which experienced ownership change in 45.2% of its 11 dwellings. However, its physical separation from zone 44 is apparent from Figure 4.2. Like zone 44 though, it too was surrounded by zones in which levels of ownership transition approximated the level established for the study area. Zones in which few ownership changes were evident were zones 3, 29 and 49 which experienced no ownership change in 81.8%, 82.8% and 80.0% of their respective dwellings. Apart from zones 29 and 49, all of the above mentioned zones were located within the Heritage Conservation Area.

(2) R - R Ownership Transactions

Examination of Figure 4.4 reveals the spatial variability of R - R-type ownership transactions in dwellings as a percentage of the

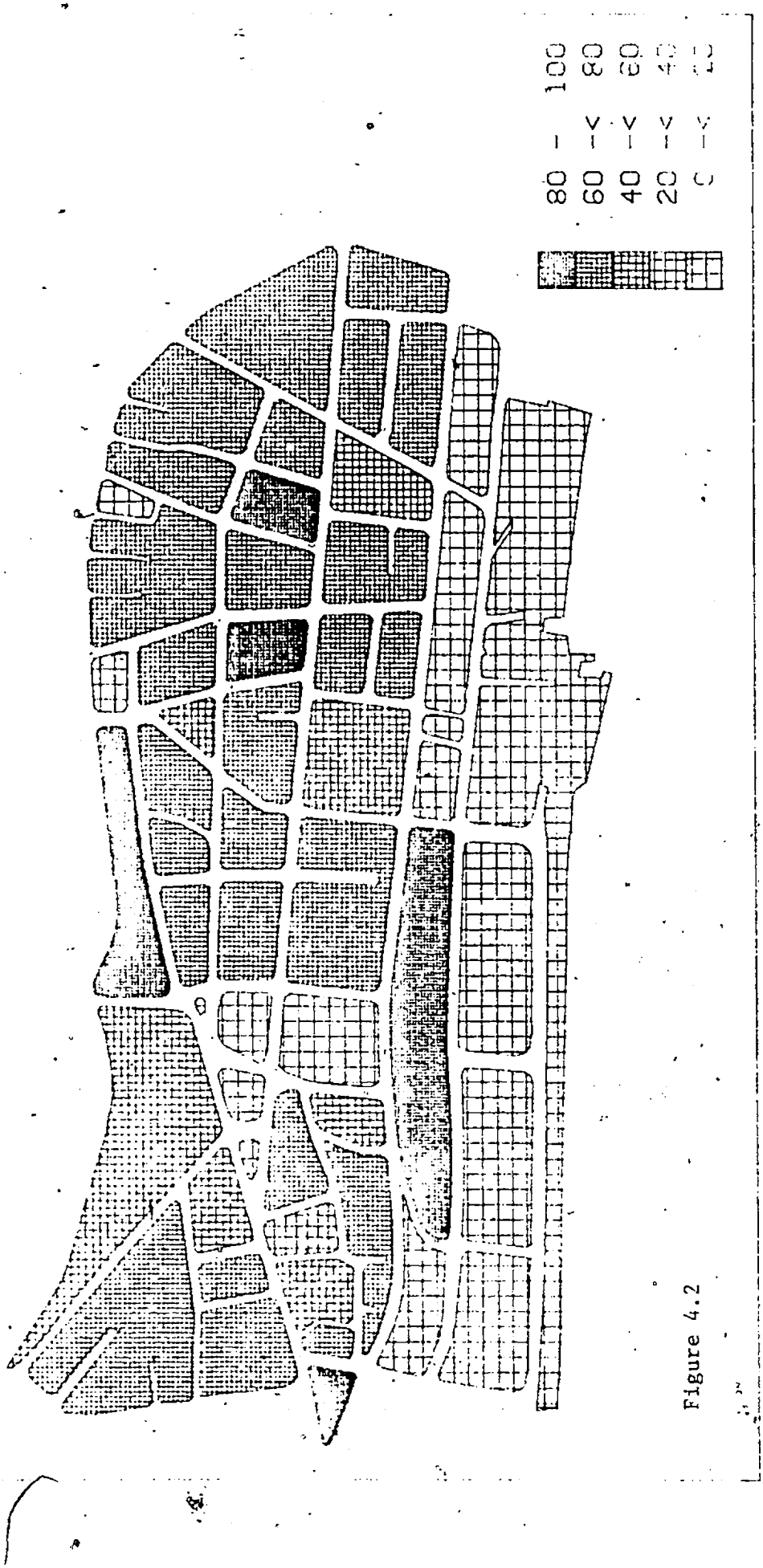


Figure 4.2

total number of ownership transactions per zone while Figure 4.3 illustrates the frequency distribution of the mean percentage values of R - R transactions for all 39 residential zones. Figure 4.3 indicates that the distribution of mean percentage values is generally positively skewed, however, comparison with other data on ownership change reveals that levels of R - R-type transactions tended to be more homogeneous throughout the study area.

Figure 4.3 Frequency Distribution of R - R Ownership Transactions as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval (%)	Number of Observation	
0	5	XXXXX
10	4	XXXX
20	9	XXXXXXXXX
30	9	XXXXXXXXX
40	4	XXXX
50	4	XXXX
60	1	X
70	1	X
80	1	X
90	0	
100	1	X
Mean	29.776	
Median	25.000	
Skewness (Pearsonian)	.657	

Several relationships emerge from these data. First, three zones are characterized by high levels of R-R-type transactions: 10, 29 and 49. It will be recalled that each of these zones experienced relatively little ownership change overall. While that which did occur was small in comparison with the average of 32.03% in all dwellings within the study area (23.5%, 17.2% and 20.0% respectively), it was primarily of the R - R-type. In the immediate vicinity of these three zones were

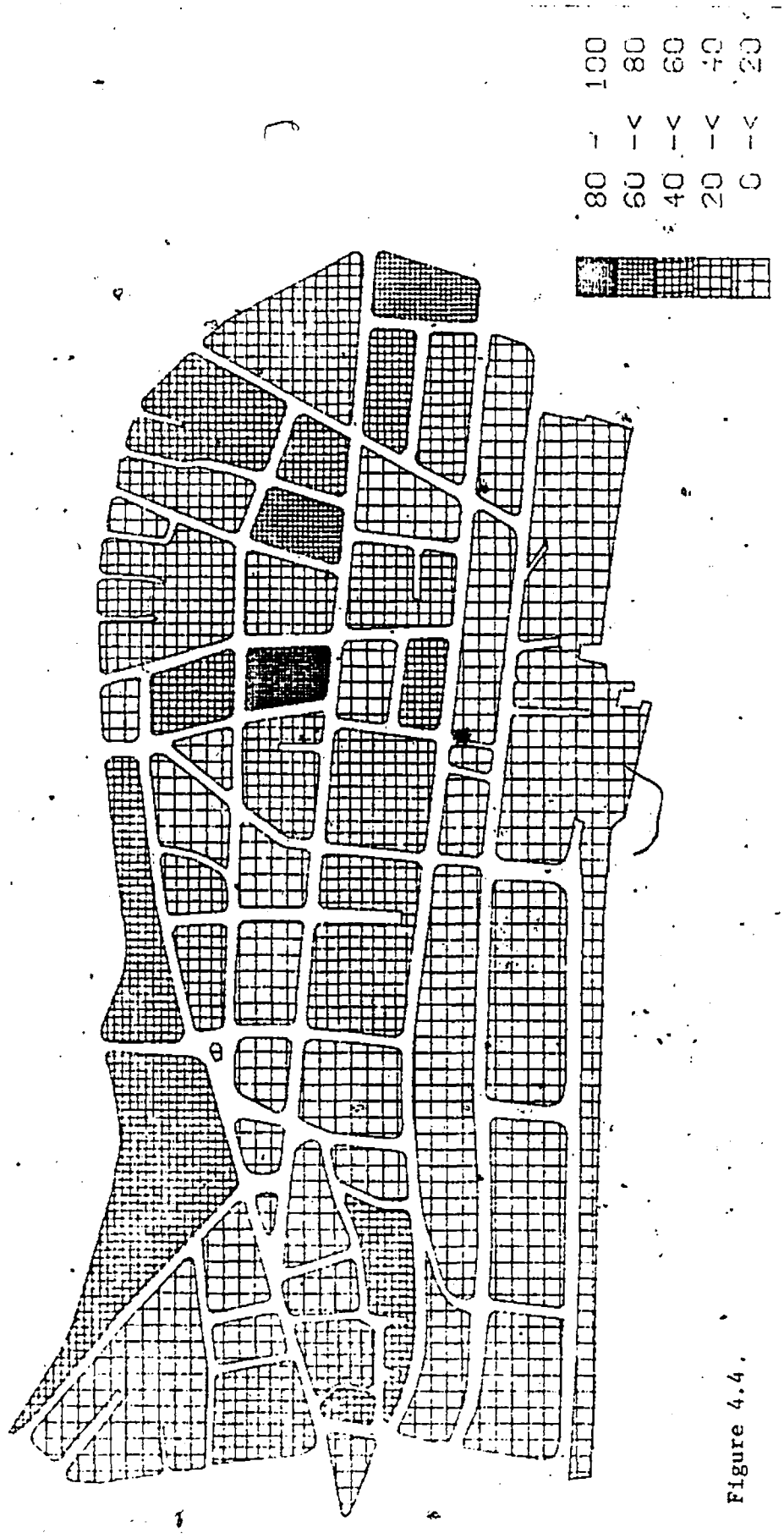


Figure 4.4.

found a fairly wide variation of R - R-type transactions ranging from 0-19.9% of all ownership transactions in zones 26, 33 and 35; 20-29.9% in zones 5, 7, 9, 28, 34, 37 and 48 and 40-59.9% in zones 8, 27 and 30.

Secondly, zones with low levels of R - R ownership transactions appeared to form clusters. One such cluster is represented by zone 1, which contained the greatest number of dwellings in the study area, 116, and zone 17, 18, 19, 20, 43, 44 and 45, all in the western portion of the study area. While it is perhaps, unrealistic to suggest that potential new resident owners might avoid purchasing housing in zones perceived to be deleteriously influenced by negative externalities, it is nevertheless significant to note that the Trizec and Lavalin sites are located just west of these zones.

Another cluster of low level R - R-type transactions was found in the geographic centre of the study area. It was in this particular cluster that the St. John's Heritage Foundation was active in purchasing, renovating and re-marketing certain dwellings, specifically in zones 38, 46, 47 and 48. One of the more obvious assumptions, therefore, was that low levels of R - R-type transactions would be one of the results of Foundation activity, indicating neighbourhood rejuventation via incumbent upgrading and a reduced tendency to move out of the area.

The third cluster of low level R - R-type transactions was found in the eastern portion of the study area and is represented by a corridor of zones, namely, zones 5, 7, 9, 28 and 33-35. Like the first cluster mentioned, this cluster is also located outside the boundary of the Heritage Conservation Area. It is important to note that this

cluster of zones is affected the least, in spatial terms, by the negative externalities associated with non-residential land use encroachment. Located to the immediate north of zones 5 and 7 is a large public park (Bannerman Park), the Provincial Archives building and the Lieutenant Governor's residence, all of which serve as stabilizing factors. Zone 9 also faces the Lieutenant Governor's residence and, in part, the recently reconstructed Hotel Newfoundland. Unlike the highly unstable commercial and administrative non-residential land usage of zones 15, 50, 51 and 52, for example, zones 11, 12, 14 and 53, surrounding this third cluster, are characterized by largely industrial, yet relatively stable, land usage.

(3) R - C Ownership Transactions

Ownership transactions whereby properties occupied by resident owners in 1980 had been sold to non-resident corporate owners by 1982 were dominant in five zones: 7, 26, 33, 38 and 43 (Table 4.1). Of these zones, numbers 7, 33 and 43 demonstrated the most pronounced incidence of this type of ownership transaction, accounting for 22.22%, 21.43% and 28.57% of all the ownership transactions throughout each respective zone. Zones 26 and 38, although slightly less prominent in terms of R - C-type transactions, nevertheless experienced this type of ownership transaction in 16.67% of all dwellings experiencing some form of ownership change. Zone 38, located in the heart of the Heritage Conservation Area, is particularly conspicuous by its comparatively high level of R-C-type transactions. While it has already been noted, albeit without the support of empirical data, that speculative corporate

purchases have no doubt occurred, it is impossible to relate the significance of R - C-type transactions here to those prior to 1980. Nevertheless, there now appears to be some reasonable evidence supporting the corporate purchase theory. The spatial variation of R - C-type transactions is illustrated in Figure 4.6 while Figure 4.5 demonstrates that the percentage frequency values of this type of transaction were disproportionately distributed throughout all 39 residential zones.

It is important to note that zones 7 and 33 are located outside the Heritage Conservation Area while zone 43 is situated just within its western margin. The significance of the R - C transaction in these zones will later become apparent during discussion of structural change and minimum property standards violations.

Figure 4.5 Frequency Distribution of R - C Ownership Transactions as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval (%)	Number of Observations	
0	29	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXX
4	0	
8	5	XXXXX
12	0	
16	2	XX
20	1	X
24	1	X
28	1	X

Mean	3.789
Median	0
Skewness (Pearsonian)	1.521

(4) R - N Ownership Transactions

In dwellings with ownership transactions from resident owners in 1980 to new non-resident owners in 1982, six zones appeared to experience more transactions of this type than any of the others (Figure 4.7). R - N shifts accounted for 16.6% of all ownership transactions in the housing stocks of zones 38, 45 and 47. Twenty percent of the ownership transactions in zone 30 were of the R - N type while zone 7 and zone 26 experienced R - N transactions in 22.22% and 50% of the dwellings which underwent ownership change. Throughout the remainder of the study area, though, the purchase of owner occupied dwellings by non-resident owners did not appear to be significant. In only four zones was there any apparent relationship between higher levels of R - N transactions and higher levels of R - C transactions, both involving absentee purchases. This occurred in zones 7, 26, 38 and 47, the last three of which were located within the Heritage Conservation Area.

On the whole, ownership transactions of this type amounted to only 8.97% of all ownership transactions throughout the overall study area. Nevertheless, the level of R - N ownership transactions was slightly higher throughout the study area than the level established for ownership transactions of the R - G variety, raising some initial speculation as to the reasons why resident owners were selling out to non-resident owners. It appears significant that zones 38, 45 and 47 are centralized zones, that is, they are situated in the geographic core of Tract 007 where pre-1980 heritage conservation activity was highly visible. Zone 38, in particular, is characterized by a strong concentration of heritage-related stock modification and contains, and

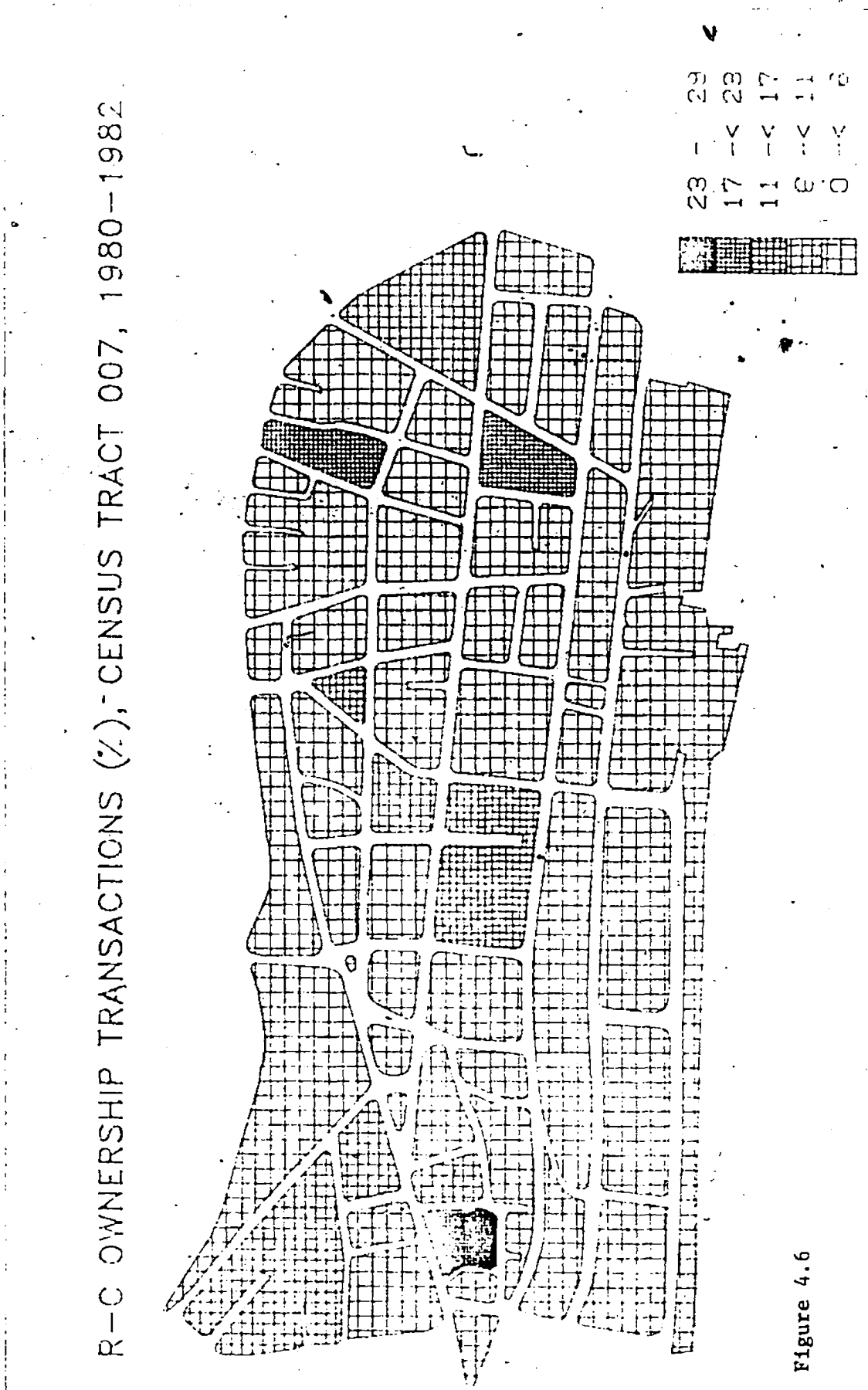


Figure 4.6

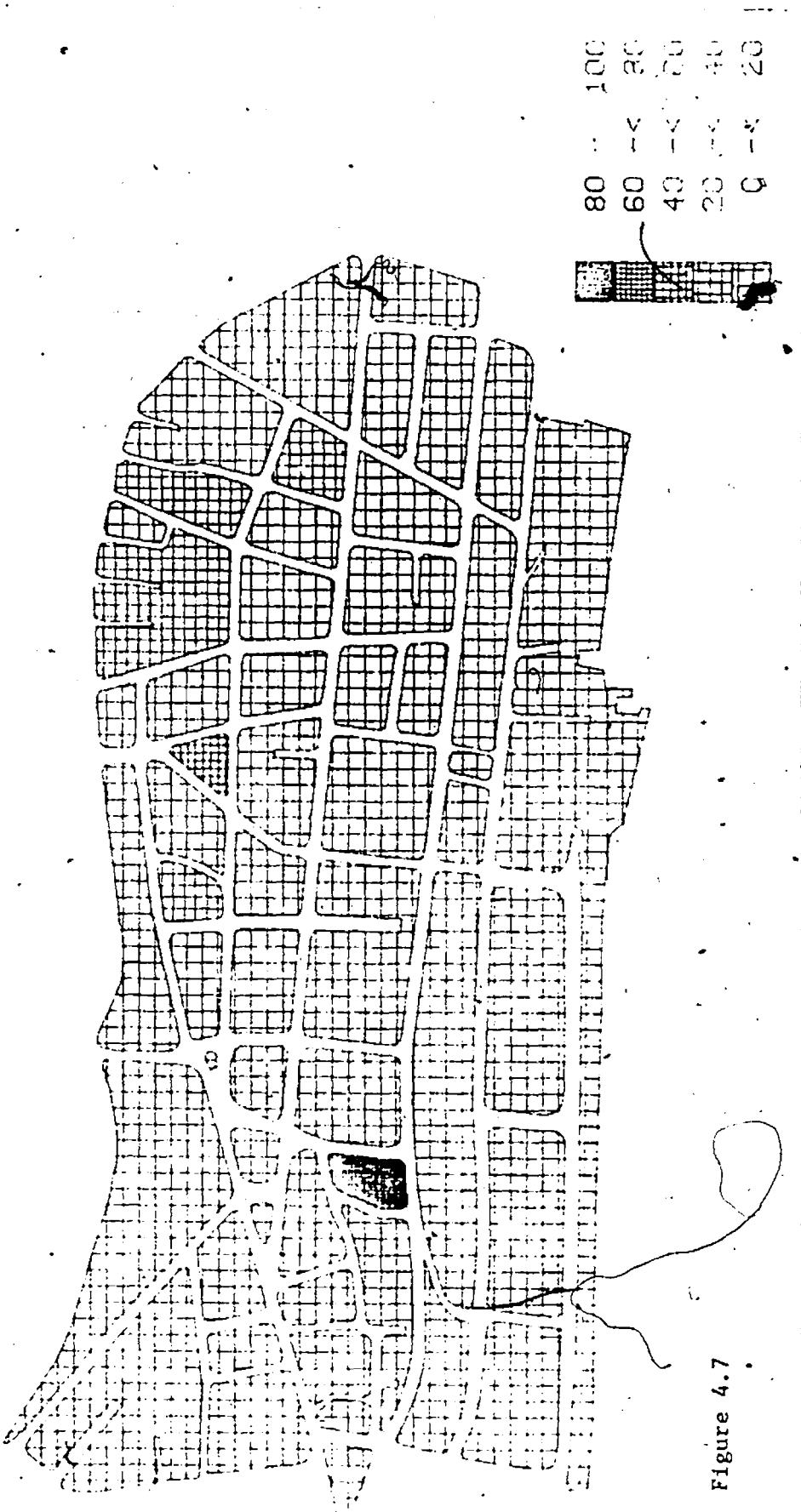


Figure 4.7

is surrounded by, non-residential land uses that might be called conducive to the culture and artistry associated with heritage consciousness (see Taylor and Konrad, 1980). For example, the Lonshoremen's Protection Union (LSPU) Hall, a major public and entertainment facilty, and several institutional (churches, banks, law firms) and commercial (restaurants, shops, pubs) establishments, tend to reflect on a purely abstract level the fashionable nature of functional extravagance. Although highly suggestive, it is argued that land uses of this type tend to coexist with an equally stylish residential element in a mutually supportive locational arrangement. While there are no satisfactory reasons to suspect that owner occupants would respond negatively to such locational arrangements, there nevertheless appears to be an observable tendency, particularly in the households who are by and large financially and practically incapable of immediate home ownership. As a result, a reasonably lucrative rental housing market is fostered with its financial rewards capitalized on by landlords well-acquainted with contemporary residential trends and changing consumer space demands.

(5) C - R Ownership Transactions

One of the bases of assumption (3) was that if gentrification and the return to the city movement has occurred, it would be supported by the purchase of non-resident, corporate owned properties by new resident owners. This was predicated on the theoretical assumption that resident owners would be more likely to reinvest in their property than non-resident owners would (Dildine and Massey, 1974; Grigsby, 1963;

Sternlieb, 1966) and from the more recent practical experience of Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a) in the case of St. John's. They determined that resident owners in Census Tract 007 possessed a much more optimistic attitude towards their neighbourhood than did renter occupants and that this view would necessarily imply that they would be more committed to structural reinvestment. While the relationship is largely suggestive, it is nevertheless important to note how C - R-type transactions fared.

From Table 4.1 and Figure 4.8, it becomes apparent that C - R transactions were spatially significant in only four of the thirty-nine zones. In zone 48, the centre of the study area, C - R transactions accounted for 33.3% of all ownership transactions. Although due mainly to the sale of properties owned by the St. John's Heritage Foundation, C-R-type transactions nevertheless proved to be equal to the percentage of R - R-type transactions in the same zone. Adjacent to zone 48 were two zones also exhibiting higher levels of C - R transactions, 27 and 28, neither of which experienced ownership transactions of the R - C or R - N-type. It should be indicated, though, that the generally mixed land use of zone 27 is not as apparent in the case of zone 28. This of course raises some interesting debate regarding the future status of zone 27 as an area of primarily owner occupied dwellings. Indeed, Table 4.1 indicates that the shift to owner occupancy in zone 27 far outweighs non-resident and non-resident corporate ownership trends. However, given the degree of non-residential land use here, this is a development which one cannot fully account for unless actual sales prices and non-residential expansion plans are obtainable. Dwellings in zone 41, located in the western portion of the study area, experienced C - R

C-R OWNERSHIP TRANSACTIONS (%), CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

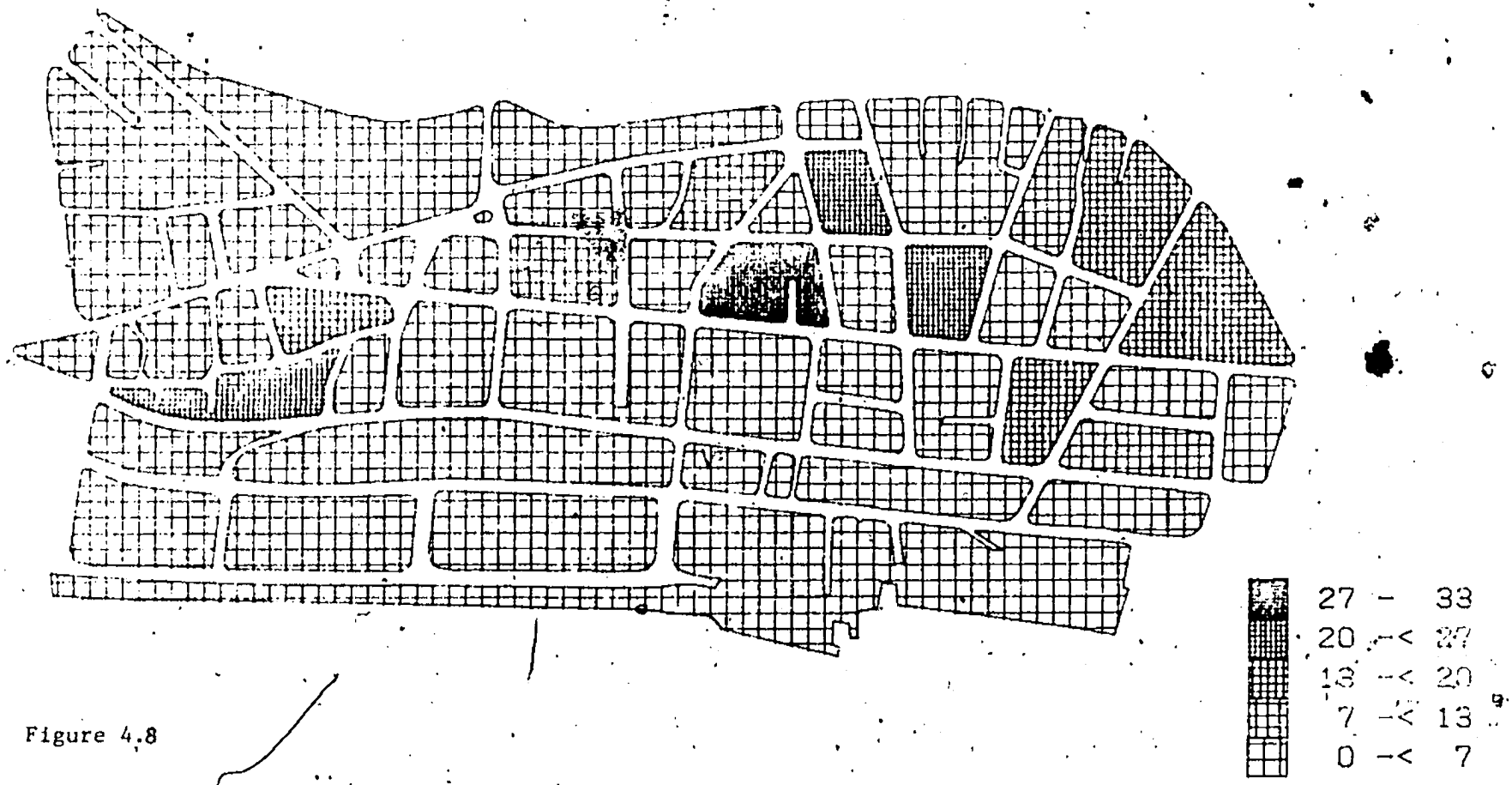


Figure 4.8

transactions in four of eighteen cases of ownership transaction (22.2%). The remaining zones of the study area experienced few or no transactions of this type and are reflected spatially in Figure 4.8.

(6) C - C Ownership Transactions

The frequency distribution of C - C-type ownership transactions, like transactions of the C-R-type, was also characterized by a strongly positive skew (Figure 4.9). Table 4.1 indicates that this type of transaction accounted for just 4.49% of all ownership transactions throughout the study area.

Figure 4.9 Frequency Distribution of C - C Ownership Transactions as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval (%)	Number of Observations	
0	30	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX
4	1	X
8	3	XXX
12	3	XXX
16	1	X
20	0	
24	0	
28	1	X

Mean 2.741
Median 0
Skewness (Pearsonian) 1.354

Concentrating for the moment on zone 25 and zone 37, Figure 4.10 demonstrates that C - C-type transactions were most dominant in these zones. Zone 25 experienced C - C transactions in 27.3% of all cases with the same type of transaction accounting for 17.6% of all transactions in Zone 37. While later discussion will demonstrate the significance of C - C transactions as they relate to the maintenance and

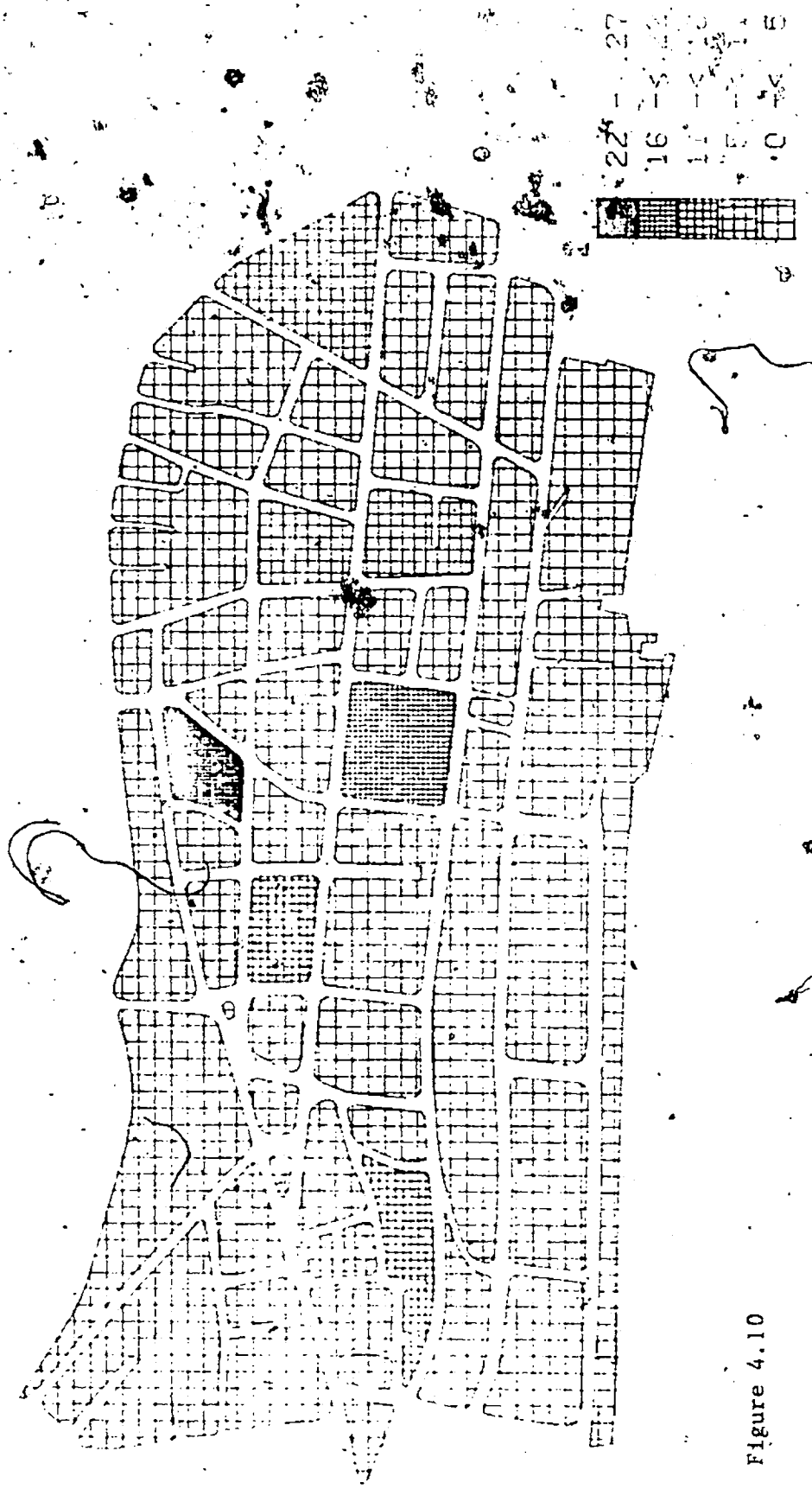


Figure 4.10

repair of dwellings in zone 25, C - C-type transactions in zone 37 were found to be significant in terms of their impact on demolitions, the amount reinvested in the stock and the average number of days to comply with code violations. It is difficult at this point to assess the impact of ownership transactions from one non-resident corporate owner to another, however, the reasons for doing so are slightly clearer and will be discussed in the next Chapter.

(7) C - N Ownership Transactions

Least apparent of all ownership transactions was the sale of a non-resident corporate owned dwelling in 1980 to a private absentee landlord by 1982. Throughout the study area, the C - N transaction accounted for only 3.85% of all registered ownership transactions. If a high level of C - N transactions had occurred, one would have then tended to anticipate that the housing stock of the inner city might have been moving in the direction of rental accommodation and, perhaps, rental housing of the low cost type.

In spite of the apparent insignificance of C - N transactions overall, six zones in which such transactions appeared to be important were isolated. Three of these zones formed a cluster in the centre of the study area: zone 46, zone 47 and zone 48 (Figure 4.11). It is recalled that these particular zones were the scene of extensive Foundation activity prior to 1980 and as such were the impeti for much of the renovation activity that occurred in the inner city. The transaction of ownership in these zones from a non-resident corporate owner (in these cases, principally, the St. John's Heritage Foundation) to a non-resident owner raises an important question: why were there

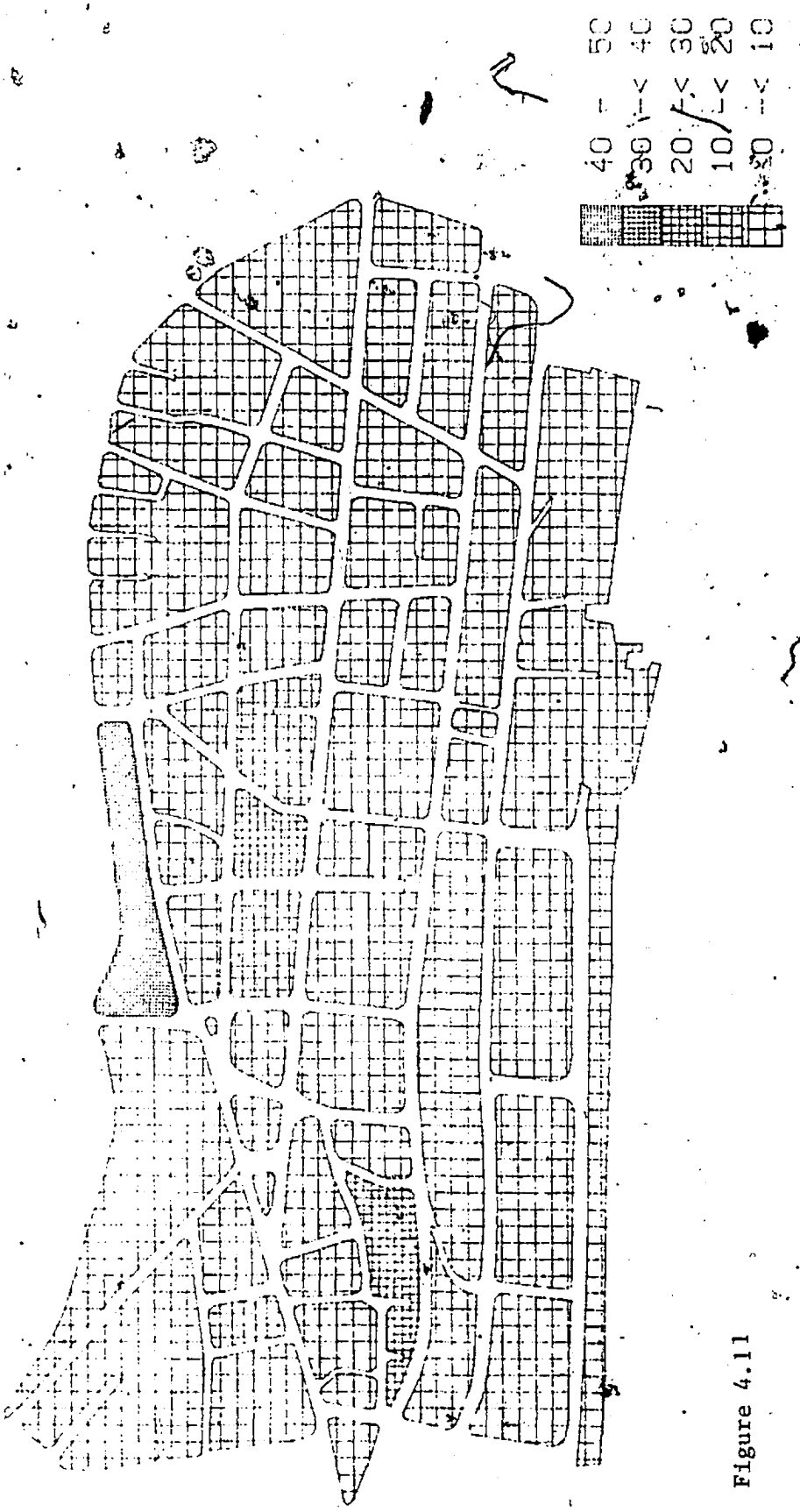


Figure 4.11

(8) N - R Ownership Transactions

Ownership transactions involving the sale of a non-resident owned property in 1980 to a new resident owner in 1982 accounted for 13.78% of all ownership transactions. N - R-type transactions demonstrated a positively skewed distribution and inter-zonal variations in the percentage frequency of this type of transaction were evident (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12 Frequency Distribution of N - R Ownership Transactions as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval (%)	Number of Observations	
0	15	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
5	0	
10	8	XXXXXXXX
15	6	XXXXXX
20	4	XXXX
25	0	
30	1	X
35	2	XX
40	2	XX
45	0	
50	1	X
Mean	12.232	
Median	11.110	
Skewness (Pearsonian)	.255	

more C - N-type transactions within these zones than transactions of the C - R variety? Given that these zones were the locus of pre-1980 heritage-related reinvestment activity, one would tend to expect that resident owners would have been more involved in property transactions with non-resident corporate owners than non-resident owners on the basis of the existing literature on gentrification and return to the city. In spite of their modest significance throughout the study area, C - N-type transactions have not appeared to conform to the classic definition of gentrification or return to the city. Instead, C - N-type transactions point to a different type of inner city reinvestment in which the non-resident owner is more prominent in dwelling purchases than the owner occupant. This, of course, assumes that the local housing market had been saturated by owner occupants prior to absentee owner interest, and this has definitely not been the case in the inner city of St. John's. However, given that these C - N transactions occurred after the Heritage By-law had been transgressed, one answer to this question would be that resident owner confidence in the inner city housing market had been diminished and its demand superseded by the rental sector. A more obvious answer, perhaps, is that the dwellings sold were intended for the rental market only. To the author's knowledge, only one dwelling in zone 48 was marketed for rental occupancy by the St. John's Heritage Foundation. To determine whether this was the case for the remaining dwellings in the cluster would require an investigation into real estate files, which was beyond the objectives and capabilities of the current study.

Examination of the spatial variation of N - R-type transactions (Figure 4.13) indicates the spatial variability of this type of transaction. Zones with 30% or more N - R-type transactions were zones 5, 10, 19, 23 and 35. Each of these zones experienced virtually no ownership transactions involving the purchase of properties in 1982 by non-resident and non-resident corporate owners, while R - R-type transactions were significant in all instances except in the case of zone 19 (Table 4.1).

Figure 4.13 demonstrates that in each case of dominant N - R-type transaction there was an immediate buffer zone in which N - R transactions were slightly less apparent. For example, zone 5 is buffered by zone 27, zone 19 by 43; zone 23 by 46 and zone 35 by 36. Thus, the immediate inter-zonal transition to resident ownership from non-resident ownership is 'softened' by a zone in which N - R transactions were also apparent but of a less intensive nature.

Of particular concern is the relationship between N - R-type transactions and assumption (3). Here, it was anticipated that gentrification and return to the city would be characterized in part by a high level of N - R transactions. Data presented in Table 4.1, however, indicate that N - R transactions were conducted in just 1.4 out of every 10 cases of ownership change. The fact that 39.5% of all 39 residential zones did not experience N - R-type transactions implies that such transactions were not significant on an area-wide basis.

(9) . N - C Ownership Transactions

The non-resident corporate buy-out of previously non-resident owned dwellings accounted for 11.22% of all ownership transactions in the study area, with 43.6% of all 39 residential zones experiencing ownership change of this type. In essence, the transition of renter

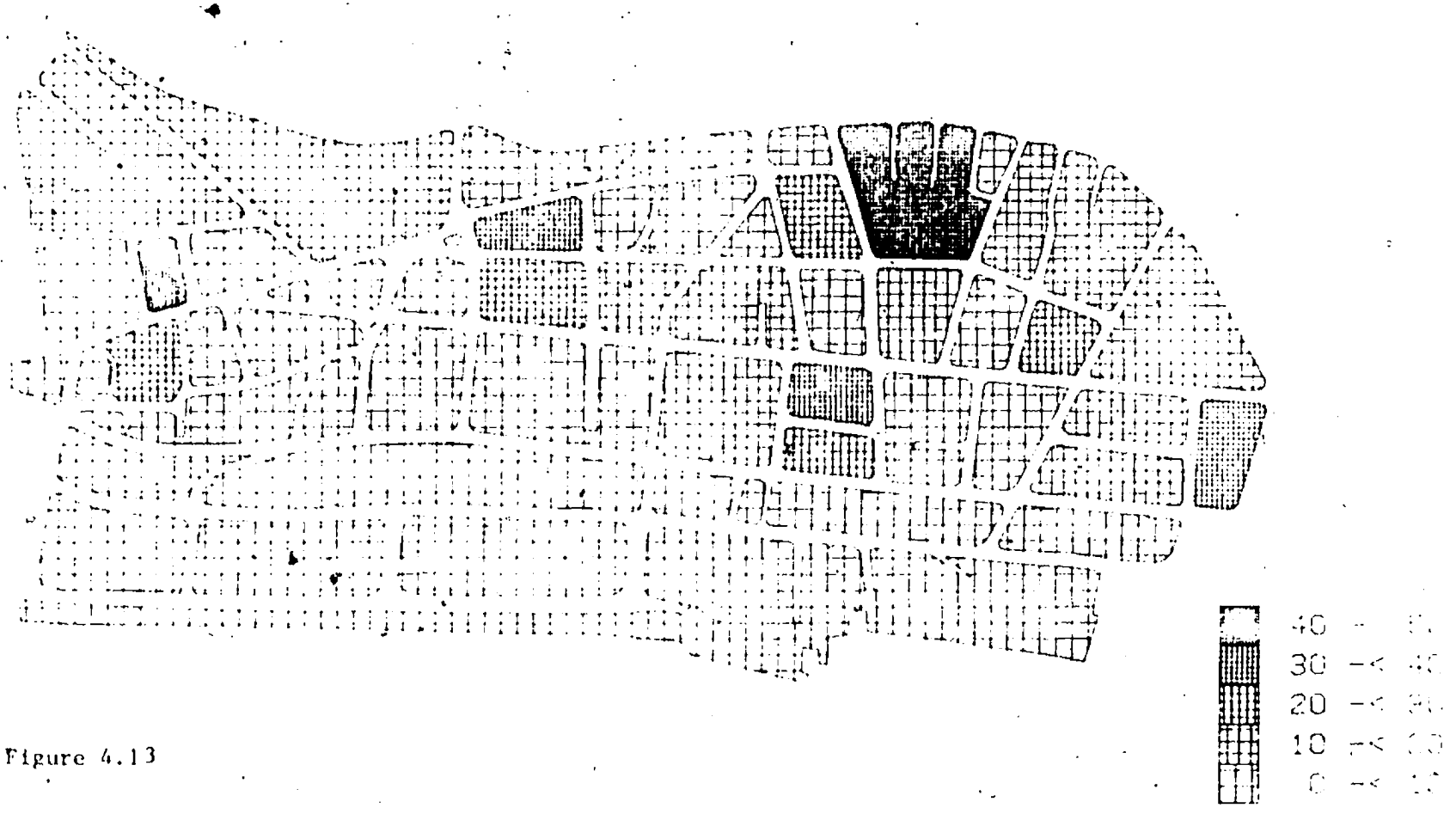


Figure 4.13

occupied dwellings from private to non-resident corporate owners tends to suggest that such housing is purchased to either increase corporate rental portfolios or for long term redevelopment purposes. Under assumption (2), one could equate large scale property purchases of this type with inner city decline and structural disinvestment. The basic, yet purely suggestive, premise is that non-resident corporate owners will purchase properties in blocks, find temporary tenants to occupy the dwellings yet fail to reinvest in the structures in a manner that would ensure their place in the active inventory over the long term. As a result, it could be anticipated that these dwellings will fail to pass inspection, notices from the Department of Building and Development will be ignored and demolition will eventually become necessary.

However, data presented in Table 4.1 indicate that just five zones experienced any discernible level of N - C transactions, none of which can be explained with any certitude. First, zones 18, 20 and 42, clustered in the western portion of the study area (Figure 4.14), are in relatively close proximity to the vacant land once owned by the Trizec Corporation. Whether speculative purchase carried over from the Trizec proposal, indicating a large scale redevelopment, has had any bearing on this relationship is highly suggestive, yet appears to be less so given the sequential history of speculative inner city land purchases discussed in Chapter Three.

Zone 20 is without doubt the most interesting of the N - C transactions. In this particular zone, N - C-type transactions accounted for 41.67% of all ownership transactions, the highest

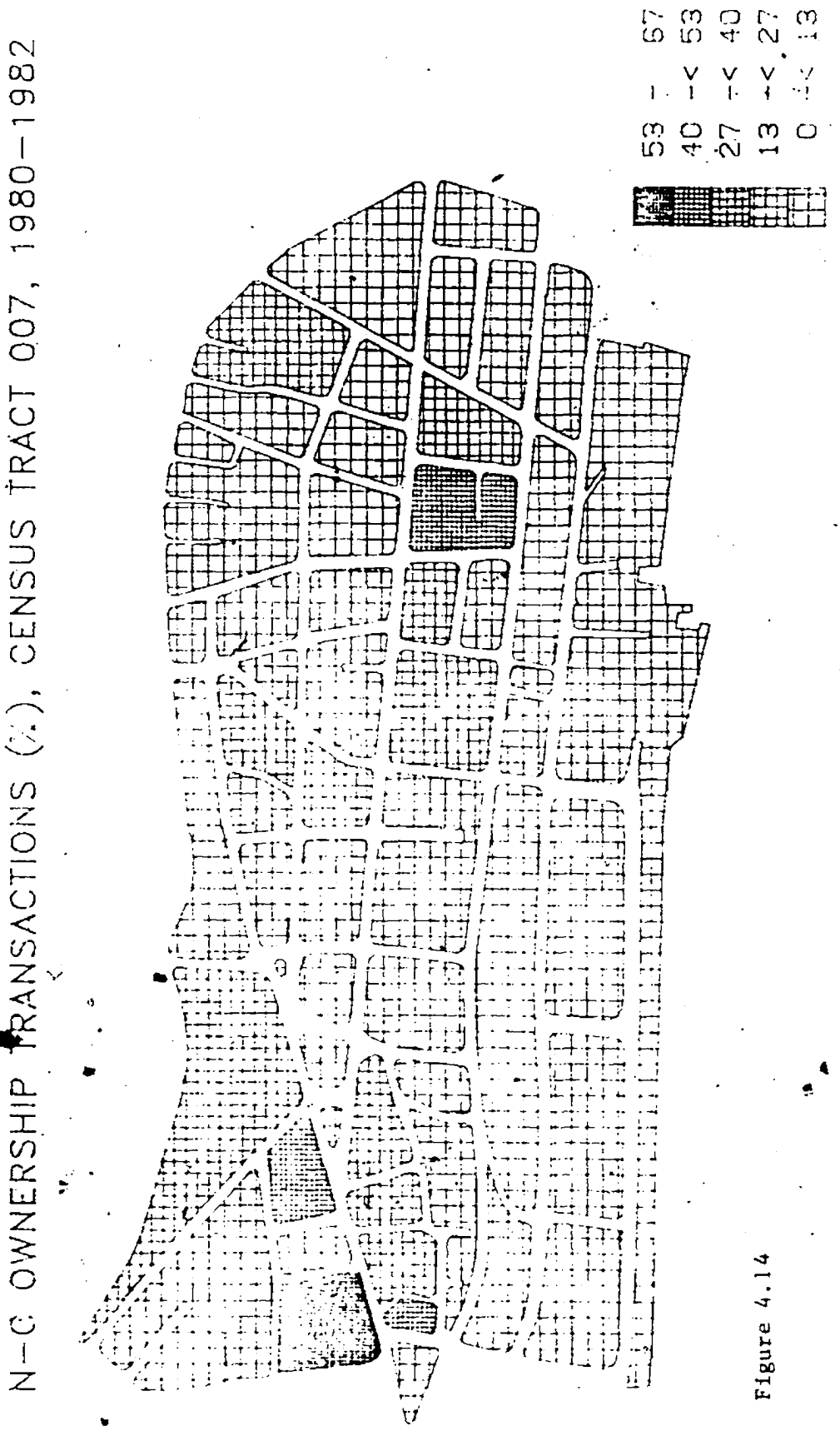


Figure 4.14

proportion of any type of ownership transaction in the zone. The most important feature of this zone, however, is its spatial relationship to zone 2, the large zone located to the east of zone 20. While zone 2 contains only 15 dwellings, these are located on the eastern face of the block. The remainder of the zone is devoted primarily to institutional land use, specifically, a church and a derelict school. Referring to Note 15 of Chapter Three, the reader will become aware that the derelict school is known as the Holloway School and, as of this writing, it is three quarters demolished. It is therefore with the aid of hindsight that the author suggests that high levels of N - C-type transactions in zone 20, even as early as the end of 1982, may have been a harbinger of the large scale development proposed for the Holloway School site. The transparently pragmatic reason for N - C-type transactions in this zone would be for non-resident corporate owners to capitalize on the increased land values that would (or should) result from the development's completion. Only time, however, will validate this opinion.

Secondly, zones 33 and 34, located in the less volatile (in terms of land use competition) southwest portion of the study area, also experienced high levels of N - C-type transactions. Unlike the zones of the preceding discussion, however, there appears to exist no apparent relationship between these zones and speculative development activity in their immediate vicinity. Nevertheless, the current study will, in the next Chapter, examine the impact of N - C-type transactions on stock maintenance and repair activity and assess to what extent minimum property standards violations and demolitions were related to this type of ownership change.

(10) N - N Ownership Transactions

Ownership transactions involving the sale of a property from one non-resident owner to another accounted for 20.83% of all ownership transactions throughout the study area. As such, N - N-type transactions were second only to R - R-type transactions as the most common form of ownership transition experienced over the course of the study period. Examination of Figure 4.15 indicates that a very uneven distribution of N - N-type transactions as a percentage of the total of all zonal transactions existed throughout the study area, with there being a large concentration of zones with no N - N transactions and a similarly large number of zones with N - N transactions in excess of 30% of all zonal transactions.

Figure 4.15 Frequency Distribution of N - N Ownership Transactions as a Percentage of Total Ownership Changes Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval(%)	Number of Observations	
0	14	XXXXXXXXXXXXX
5	0	
10	1	X
15	4	XXXX
20	4	XXXX
25	4	XXXX
30	1	X
35	8	XXXXXXXX
40	3	XXX
Mean	17.204	
Median	20.000	
Skewness (Pearsonian)	-.566	

From the data presented in Table 4.1, and plotted in Figure 4.16, it is noted that N - N-type transactions were clustered in certain sections of the study area. In the western portion, zones 1, 19, 44 and 45 experienced high levels of N - N-type transactions while similarly high levels of N - N transactions were found in the cluster of zones 23, 24, 26 and 38 and in zones 28, 35 and 36 with zone 11 slightly divorced in space from this last cluster. As in the case of N - R-type transactions, zones of more intensive N - N transition were buffered by zones with slightly less intensive ownership change of the same type.

In view of the relative significance of N - N-type transactions throughout the study area, the question of why this is so must be posed. One theory is that N - N-type transactions have occurred as a result of market fluctuation. On the one hand, if it is assumed that inner city revitalization continued to occur between 1980 and 1982, an overheated housing market would have existed and this might have been reflected by an increase in asking prices and rents for inner city homes. N - N-type transactions therefore imply that a 'better quality' set of landlords would have replaced landlords (or, more derogatorily, 'slumlords') of inferior capacity. A concomitant of this process would be an increase in structural maintenance and repair activity and rapid compliance in cases of minimum property standards violation. On the other hand, a sagging housing submarket might evoke an opposing reaction whereby inferior landlords would have replaced landlords who were more compliant with the maximum operating efficiency of the rental stock. If this type of transaction occurred, then part of the rental stock would have doubless experienced disinvestment, although inheritance of a structurally sound dwelling would in most cases not result in immediate

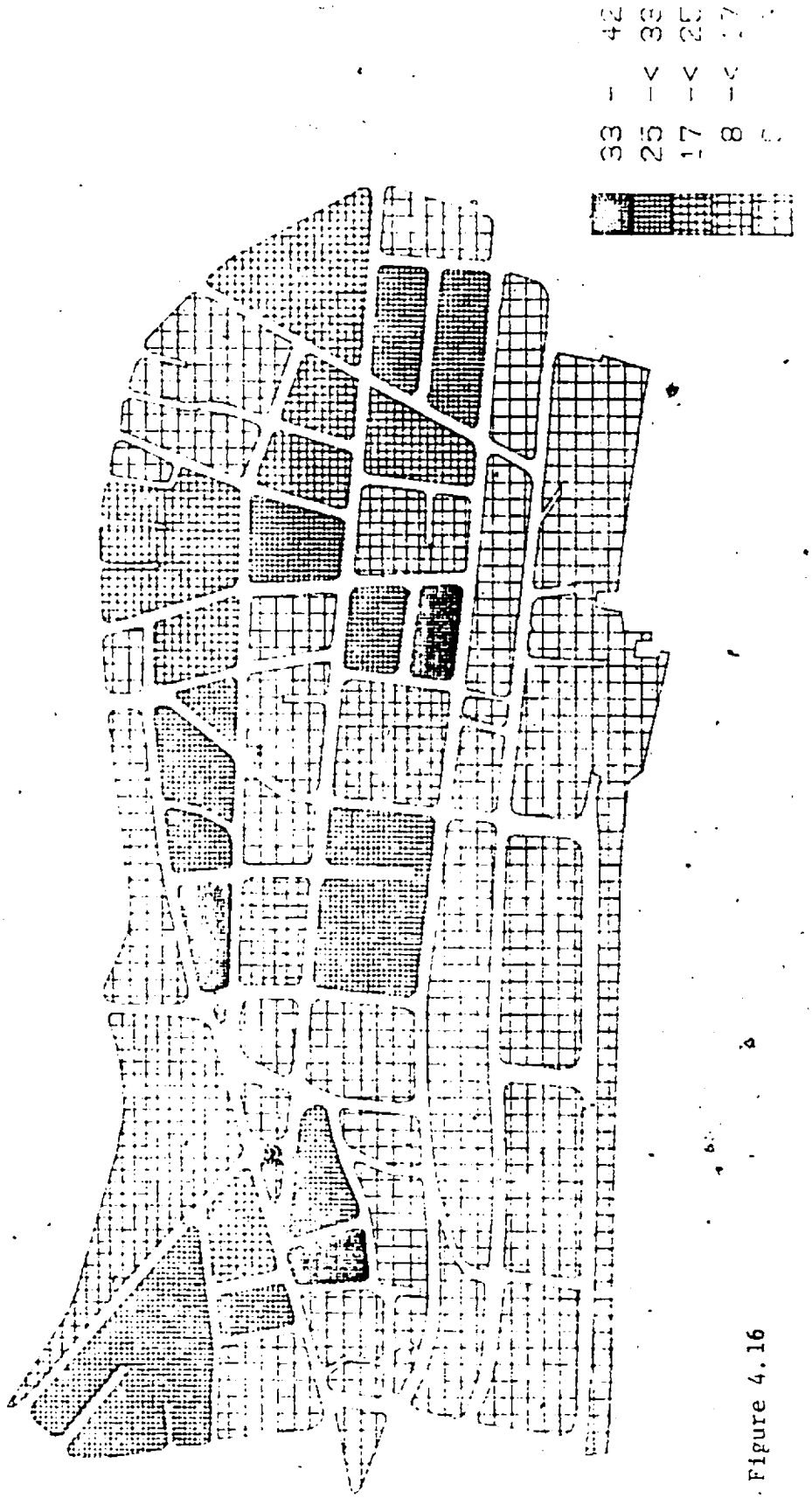


Figure 4.16

capital reinvestment of any great significance.

A second possible explanation for the high level of N - N-type transactions is the purchase of properties through third party or proxy owners by non-resident corporate owners. While both Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a) and Felt and House (1980) have alluded to this possibility, substantive data that would support this explanation are unobtainable. Any mention of this type of activity is therefore based more on rumourous hearsay than on actual fact.

Summary

This Chapter has been concerned to examine ownership change in the housing stock of Census Tract 007 between 1980 and 1982. Specific conclusions are that dwellings experiencing no change in ownership amounted to 67.97% of the total number of dwellings in the study area. In cases where ownership transactions had taken place, R - R-type transactions accounted for 25.64% of all ownership changes while the incidence of N - N-type transactions was measured at 20.83%.

The combined total of all transactions resulting in resident owners as of 1982 amounted to 45.83% of all ownership transactions. Transactions resulting in non-resident corporate and non-resident ownership as of 1982 measured 21.16% and 33.65% of all respective ownership transactions.

While dwellings experiencing ownership change have been characterized by a movement towards resident ownership in general, the text of this Chapter has pointed to internal variations of specific types of transactions. In particular, transactions of the C - N and N - C-types were given focus.

It should be indicated that the preceding analysis of ownership change in the inner city housing stock has been exploratory and, as such, contains several generalizations and assumptions that appear without immediate substantive context. However, given the fact that previous research on ownership change is non-existent, this Chapter has attempted to identify and speculate about the more prominent trends in contemporary ownership transactions in order to provide a basis for understanding data discussed in the following Chapter, the purpose of

which is to evaluate recent structural change. In addition, future research on inner city housing dynamics may find the examination of ownership change between 1980 and 1982 to be beneficial as a basis for comparing the level of various types of ownership transactions through time.

Chapter Five will now merge our understanding of recent ownership change with an assessment of structural maintenance and repair activity and minimum property standards violations.

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURAL CHANGE

The objective of this Chapter is to examine the response of the housing stock to conditions of speculation and uncertainty by describing recent structural change. Three types of structural change have been isolated and will be examined in the following sequence.

No Change

Many dwellings experienced no reinvestment of any sort. While it is tempting to assume that these dwellings were representative of disinvestment activity, it cannot be stated with any certainty that this was the case. The only possible way such a thesis could be supported would be if a complete survey of inner city residents was conducted to determine whether individual decisions not to reinvest during this period were made in response to the impracticality of reinvestment. Clearly, certain property owners may have considered it superfluous to maintain their dwellings on an annual basis in spite of the construction industry's dictum that a dwelling requires 1% of its original purchase price in annual maintenance to keep it from falling below its original level of quality. Others, no doubt, may have reinvested heavily prior to 1980 and, if this was the case, are unaccounted for by this study. The fact that 70.58% of all dwellings in the study area did not experience reinvestment must be viewed in light of the assumption that uncertainty has had a significant impact on individual reinvestment decisions. While the physical removal of

certain components of the housing stock is obviously reflective not only of structural obsolescence but also of financial disinvestment, the only practical means of suggesting that disinvestment has occurred (in addition to violations of minimum property standards) is to submit that dwellings that have not experienced structural reinvestment are reflective of the property owner's sceptical view of reinvestment feasibility.

Maintenance and Repair

Between 1980 and 1982, 26.51% of all dwellings in the study area underwent some degree of structural maintenance and repair. However, interzonal variations in such activity were nonetheless apparent with zones 2, 20, 40 and 43 undergoing more maintenance and repair activity per total dwellings than others (Figure 5.1). A number of different types of property owners undertook to perform maintenance and repair and, presumably, for a number of different reasons.

Maintenance and repair may, in the first instance, be viewed as a response to what property owners may have considered to be a stable housing market. In other words, property owners would have perceived the housing market to be sufficiently healthy to warrant structural reinvestment. It is most likely that a continuation of the heritage conservation movement and the existence of heritage legislation would have been responsible for this type of response.

A second and perhaps more realistic view is that maintenance and repair was conducted as a matter of course. In this case, one would expect incumbent upgrading of the stock to be more apparent than repairs made by new property owners. This can be verified by examining the estimated value of repair activity under the premise that new property owners would tend to spend comparatively more on

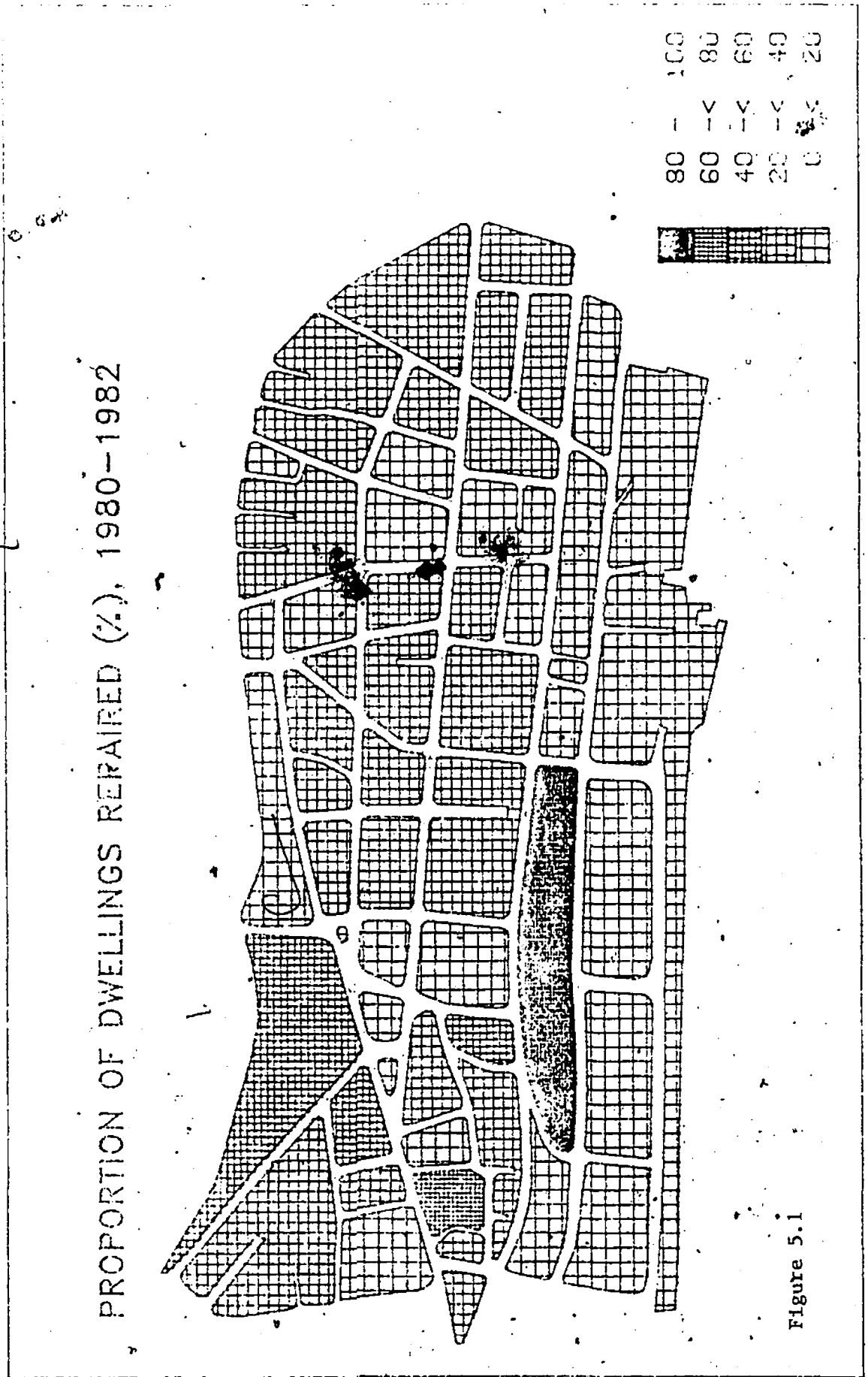


Figure 5.1

maintenance and repair than incumbent owners would. This assertion is based on the notion that incumbent owners would have been making essentially cosmetic modifications to enhance the quality of a number of larger modifications executed earlier. New property owners, on the other hand, may have purchased a dwelling requiring substantial structural modifications to rejuvenate aged or obsolete interior (and exterior) structural components.

Thirdly, maintenance and repair may have been an involuntary action brought about by a dwelling's violation of minimum property standards. This postulate can be verified by examining repair permits issued specifically to property owners whose dwellings were in violation of various housing codes. The length of time which elapsed after the issuing of the notification can be calculated as can the estimated value of all maintenance and repair activity spent in response to enforced standards of structural quality.

Demolition

Although demolition accounted for just 2.91% of all structural change, it was nevertheless more apparent in certain zones than in others. Dwellings eliminated from the housing stock are seen to reflect certain types of ownership, specifically, non-resident ownership. One of the peculiarities of demolition activity is that zones with higher levels of demolition activity did not necessarily have a proportionately greater number of code violations per substandard dwelling nor a greater proportion of dwellings in violation of minimum property standards. However, zones in which demolitions were more evident did in fact experience relatively less reinvestment in terms of both the percentage of dwellings repaired and

the estimated value of maintenance and repair acitivity. These relationships will be discussed more extensively in the text which follows.

NO STRUCTURAL CHANGE

Dwellings failing to experience structural reinvestment accounted for 70.58% of all dwellings in the study area. Excluding zones 15, 17, 40, and 42, those which had a very small number of dwellings in each, the percentage of dwellings in each zone that failed to benefit from maintenance and repair ranged from a high of 87.1% of all dwellings in zone 28 to a low of 40.0% in zone 43 (Table 5.1).

Zones in which structural change was least apparent demonstrated no particular trends towards certain types of property ownership. In fact, the five zones with the largest proportion of unmodified dwellings also had low levels of ownership change. Ownership change that occurred in zones 3, 18, 28, 34 and 49 was, recall, primarily of the R - R and N - C-type. In zones 18 and 34, for example, N - C-type transactions accounted for 66.67% and 46.15% of all respective ownership transactions while R - R-type transactions occurring in zones 28, 34 and 49 measured 30.0%, 23.08% and 100%. As well, zones which did not experience high levels of structural change failed to demonstrate a particular clustering in their spatial distribution. Such zones were distributed more or less evenly throughout the study area.

Zones in which structural change was more apparent were zones 2, 20, 37, 43, and 44 (Table 5.1). These zones were also found to experience high levels of ownership transactions in comparison with

Table 5.1

STRUCTURAL CHANGE AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLINGS PER ZONE, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	No Change	Maintenance and Repair	Demolition
1	116	73.3	23.3	3.4
2	15	46.7	53.3	0
3	11	81.8	18.2	0
4	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
5	22	68.2	27.3	4.5
6	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
7	35	74.3	22.9	2.9
8	30	70.0	30.0	0
9	42	76.2	23.8	0
10	17	70.6	29.4	0
11	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
12	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
13	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
14	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
15	1	0	100	0
16	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
17	6	66.7	33.3	0
18	16	81.2	18.8	0
19	21	71.4	28.6	0
20	31	48.4	48.4	3.2
21	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
22	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
23	30	80.0	20.0	0
24	11	72.7	27.3	0
25	25	64.0	36.0	0
26	11	63.6	36.4	0
27	17	82.3	17.6	0
28	31	87.1	12.9	0
29	29	86.2	13.8	0
30	24	70.8	29.2	0
31	34	76.5	23.5	0
32	29	79.3	20.7	0
33	33	60.6	27.3	12.1
34	38	86.8	10.5	2.6
35	20	70.0	30.0	0
36	16	81.3	18.8	0
37	40	55.0	22.5	22.5
38	43	60.5	37.2	2.3
39	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
40	2	50.0	50.0	0
41	20	65.0	35.0	0
42	8	75.0	25.0	0
43	15	40.0	60.0	0
44	21	57.1	19.0	23.8
45	23	65.2	34.8	0
46	35	74.3	25.7	0
47	33	63.6	33.3	3.1
48	34	73.5	23.5	2.9
49	10	80.0	20.0	0
50	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
51	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
52	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
53	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
54	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
55	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL ----------	----------
Total	996	70.58	26.51	2.91

other zones in the study area (Table 4.1), indicating that property ownership in these zones was less stable than in others. Ownership change that did occur in these zones was primarily of the N - C-type, although some R - R and N - N-type transactions did in fact occur. The clear feature of these zones is that zones 2, 20, 43 and 44 form a large part of the western portion of the study area while zone 37 is centrally located. With the exception of zone 37, then, the most active zones in terms of structural change were spatially divorced from the heart of the Heritage Conservation Area (zones 37, 38, 46, 47 and 48) where the greatest incidence of structural reinvestment was expected to occur, although they were nevertheless within its bounds. As will soon be seen, maintenance and repair in these zones was performed by different types of property owners, with zones 2 and 44 characterized by reinvestment resulting from R - R-type transactions and zones 20 and 43 by ownership transactions of variable type.

MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

Dwellings experiencing reinvestment in the form of structural maintenance and repair amounted to 26.51%, nearly one third of all dwellings in the study area (Table 5.1). Since the current study has used building permits to arrive at this figure, it is an apparently significant one because the probability of minor repairs having been conducted in the absence of official authorization is admittedly high. It is important at this point, however, to examine the type of ownership responsible for such reinvestment and to determine how significant this reinvestment was in terms of its actual dollar

value. This was accomplished by determining the type of ownership that existed for each dwelling as of 1980 and whether there had been any change in ownership by 1982. Examination of repair permits would then reveal who the property owner was and the estimated value of reinvestment activity.

Incumbent Upgrading

Without question, and of critical significance, the maintenance and repair of the inner city housing stock between 1980 and 1982 was performed primarily by incumbent, as opposed to new, property owners. Incumbent owners were identified as such regardless of ownership type. Examination of table 5.2 details that incumbent upgrading of the housing stock amounted to 76.14% of the total number of dwellings repaired in the study area and, in some zones (3, 10, 15, 17 and 49), accounted for all reinvestment activity. In only three zones, 28, 40 and 44, was incumbent upgrading not in evidence. It is not surprising, therefore, to note that each of these three zones experienced a higher level of ownership change than the study area as a whole (Table 4.1).

The spatial significance of incumbent upgrading as a force behind structural reinvestment is clearly shown by examining Figure 5.2, which illustrates the spatial pattern of incumbent upgrading as a proportion of all maintenance and repair activity performed in each zone. The heavily shaded cluster of zones in the eastern portion of the study area (9, [illegible] and 30), the combination of zones 48 and 49 in the centre and zone 3 in the north appear to lend some support to Clay's (1978) theoretical definition of incumbent upgrading. Recall that Clay stated that such activity should occur at slightly greater distances from the central business district (represented by zones 50,

Table 5.2

STRUCTURAL MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR BY INCUMBENT OWNERS, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	Number Dwellings Repaired	Number Dwellings Repaired as a Percentage of Total Dwellings Per Zone	Number Dwellings Repaired by Incumbent Owners (All Types)	Number Dwellings Repaired by Incumbent Owners as a Percentage of Number Dwellings Repaired	Total Estimated Value of Incumbent Upgrading (Dollars)	Total Estimated Value of Incumbent Upgrading as a Percentage of Total Estimated Value of All Repairs
1	116	27	23.28	11	40.74	28440	43.49
2	15	8	53.33	3	37.50	4200	22.95
3	11	2	18.18	2	100.00	2800	100.00
4	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
5	22	6	27.27	3	50.00	1480	30.96
6	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
7	35	8	22.86	4	50.00	2200	17.89
8	30	9	30.00	6	66.67	4500	42.25
9	42	10	23.81	8	80.00	17450	94.58
10	17	5	29.41	5	100.00	2000	100.00
11	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
12	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
13	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
14	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
15	1	1	100.00	1	100.00	800	100.00
16	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
17	6	2	33.33	2	100.00	1200	100.00
18	16	3	18.75	2	66.67	7000	94.59
19	21	6	28.57	4	66.67	4700	48.45
20	31	15	48.39	10	66.67	17530	50.84
21	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
22	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
23	30	6	26.09	3	50.00	5100	32.69
24	11	3	27.27	1	33.33	300	2.26
25	25	9	36.00	3	33.33	3250	17.52
26	11	4	36.36	1	25.00	750	10.71
27	17	3	17.65	2	66.67	4600	90.20
28	31	4	12.90	0	0	0	0
29	29	4	13.79	2	50.00	4000	72.73
30	24	7	29.17	6	85.71	5900	92.19
31	34	8	23.53	6	75.00	5950	44.24
32	29	6	20.69	4	66.67	2400	38.71
33	33	9	27.27	4	44.44	2400	21.82
34	38	4	10.53	3	75.00	5500	88.71
35	20	6	30.00	2	33.33	425	27.27
36	16	3	18.75	2	66.67	2300	92.00
37	40	9	22.50	4	44.44	2050	5.92
38	42	16	38.09	10	62.50	15200	62.42
39	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
40	2	1	50.00	0	0	0	0
41	20	7	35.00	3	14.28	3500	6.20
42	8	2	25.00	1	50.00	11665	92.10
43	15	9	60.00	2	22.22	3325	23.88
44	21	4	19.08	0	0	0	0
45	23	8	34.78	7	87.50	18000	97.30
46	35	9	25.71	4	44.44	4000	14.90
47	33	11	33.33	8	72.73	17930	76.14
48	34	8	23.53	7	87.50	56400	100
49	10	2	20.00	2	100	1100	100
50	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
51	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
52	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
53	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
54	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
55	----------	----------	----------	NON-RESIDENTIAL	----------	----------	----------
Total	996	264	26.51	201	76.14	270645	45.22

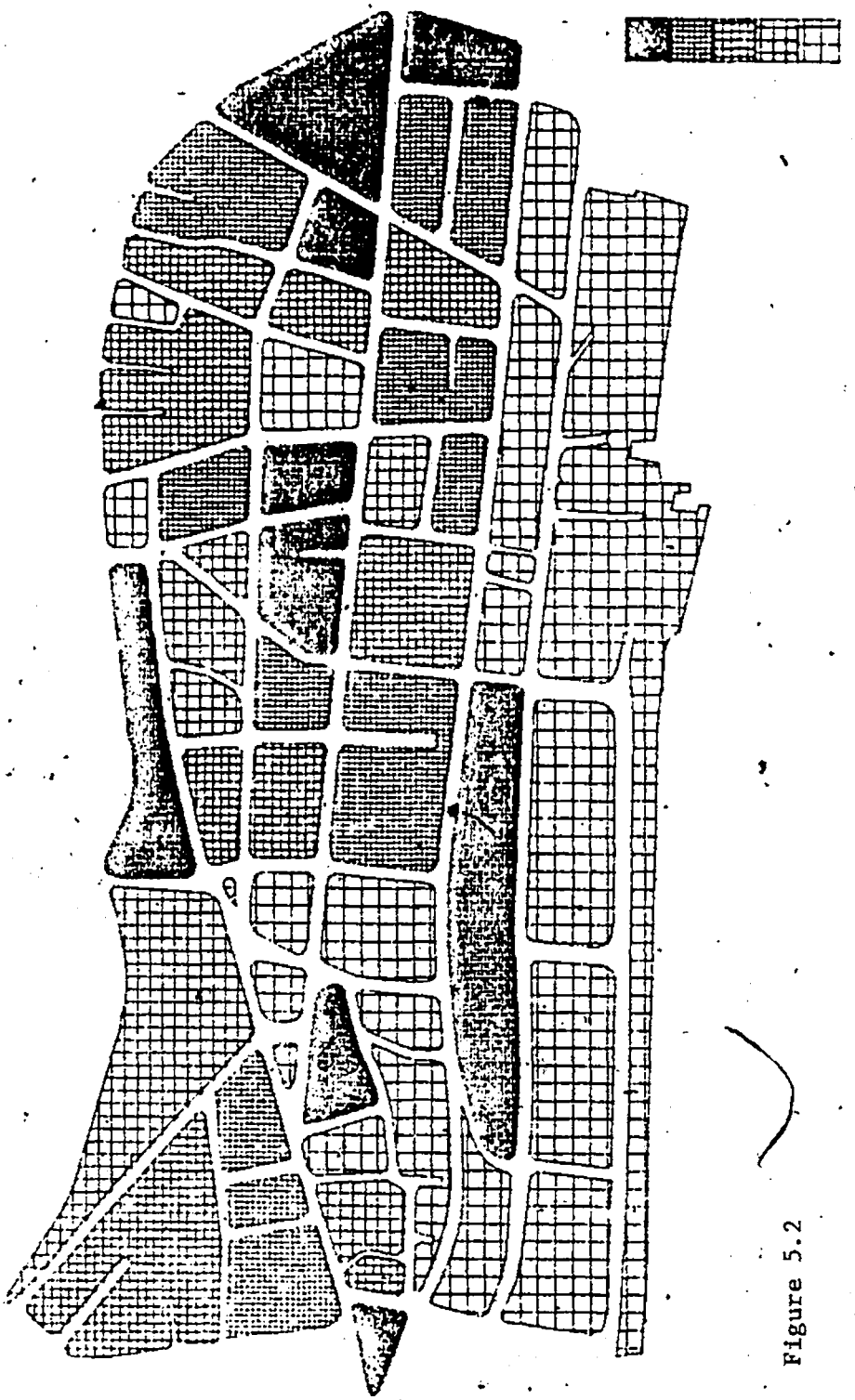


Figure 5.2

51 and 52) and in blocks where ownership transactions are less apparent. The last criterion appears to have been fulfilled in these cases and is supported by examining comparative levels of ownership change in these zones with other zones in the study area (Table 4.1). Whether a 'voice of opinion' existed and was considerably responsible for generating positive stock modifications is problematic and points to possible future research. However, the formation of the politically astute East End Residents Association was undoubtedly of great benefit to neighbourhood revitalization in the case of zones 9, 10 and 30. Seven of the twenty-two dwellings renovated and re-marketed by the St. John's Heritage Foundation were located in zone 48, and this 'seeding' of the housing stock may have provided the impetus required for incumbent upgrading there, although the existence of protective legislation must also be considered as a strong reason for reinvestment activity.

While the spatial impact of dwellings repaired by incumbent owners as a proportion of all dwellings repaired is apparent, the value of incumbent upgrading was slightly less than half (45.22%) the value of all maintenance and repair activity throughout the study area. The number of zones in which the value of incumbent upgrading was between 80% and 100% of the total amount reinvested in the housing stock was nevertheless quite high (35.9% of all zones). The spatial pattern of zones in which the value of incumbent upgrading was within these limits (Figure 5.3) indicates that they were, for the most part, surrounded by zones in which incumbent upgrading also played a lesser, but nevertheless important, role in positive structural change. For example, zones 8 and 31 abutted zones 9, 10 and 30 in one cluster,

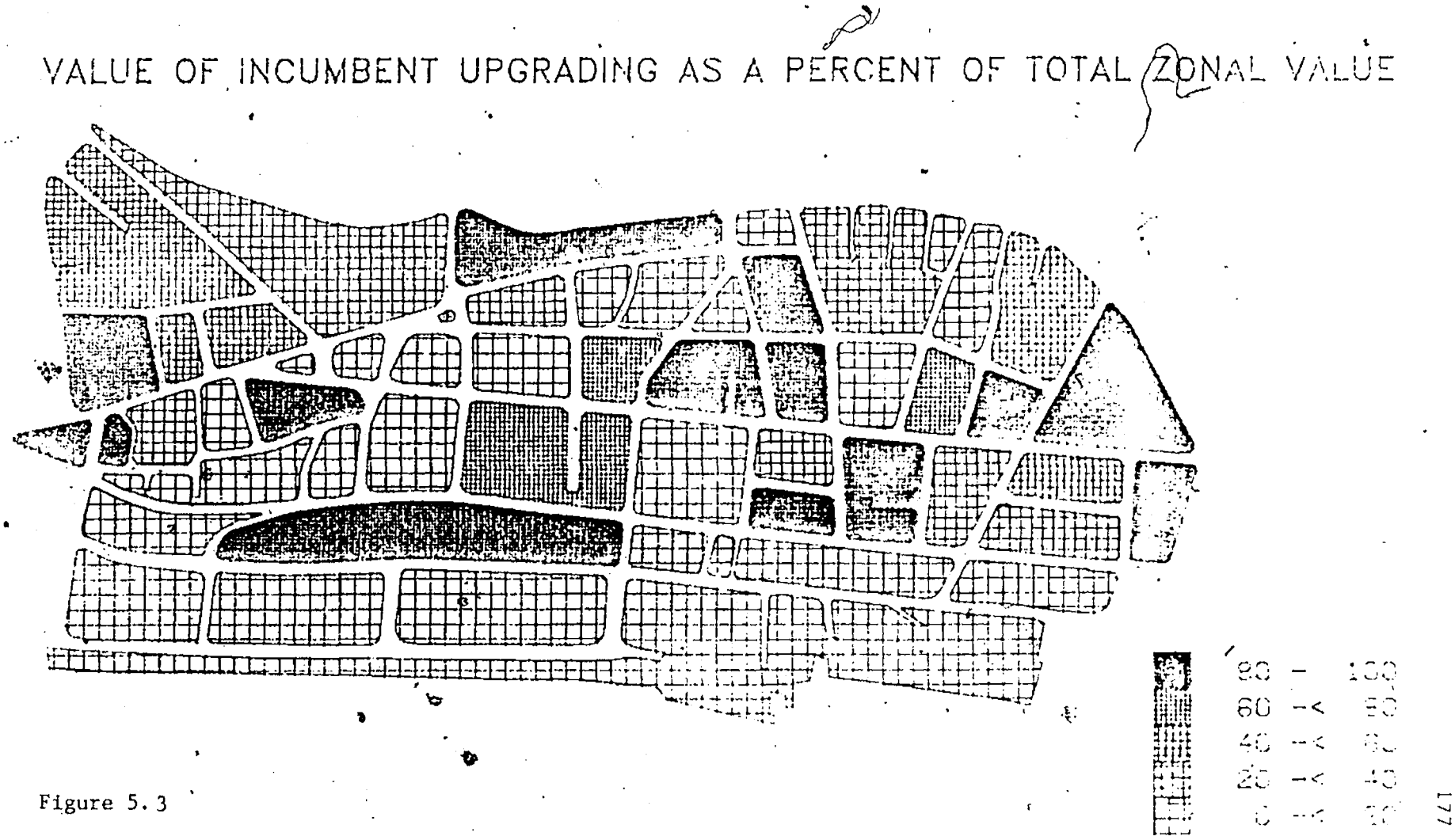


Figure 5.3

zones 27, 38 and 47 were adjacent to zones 48 and 49 in another while zones 1, 19 and 20 were grouped around zones 17, 18 and 42 in the western portion of the study area.

The frequency distribution of the zone-specific value of incumbent upgrading is generally U-shaped (Figure 5.4). Thus, when measured in terms of its relative dollar value, incumbent upgrading was seen to be either a very important or a very unimportant source of reinvestment, the degree of importance depending on the amount spent on repairs in each zone examined.

Figure 5.4 Frequency Distribution of the Estimated Value of Incumbent Upgrading as a Percentage of the Total Estimated Value of All Repairs Per Zone, All Residential Zones (n = 39).

Middle of Interval (%)	Number of Observations	
0	4	XXXX
10	4	XXXX
20	5	XXXXX
30	3	XXX
40	4	XXXX
50	2	XX
60	1	X
70	1	X
80	1	X
90	7	XXXXXXX
100	7	XXXXXXX
Mean	52.716	
Median	44.240	
Skewness (Pearsonian)	.682	

In dollar terms, the value of incumbent upgrading was highest in zone 48 where $56,000 was spent by incumbent property owners; 10.6% of the total value of all maintenance and repair performed throughout the study area. Figure 5.5 illustrates graphically the comparatively high gross value of maintenance and repair in this particular zone

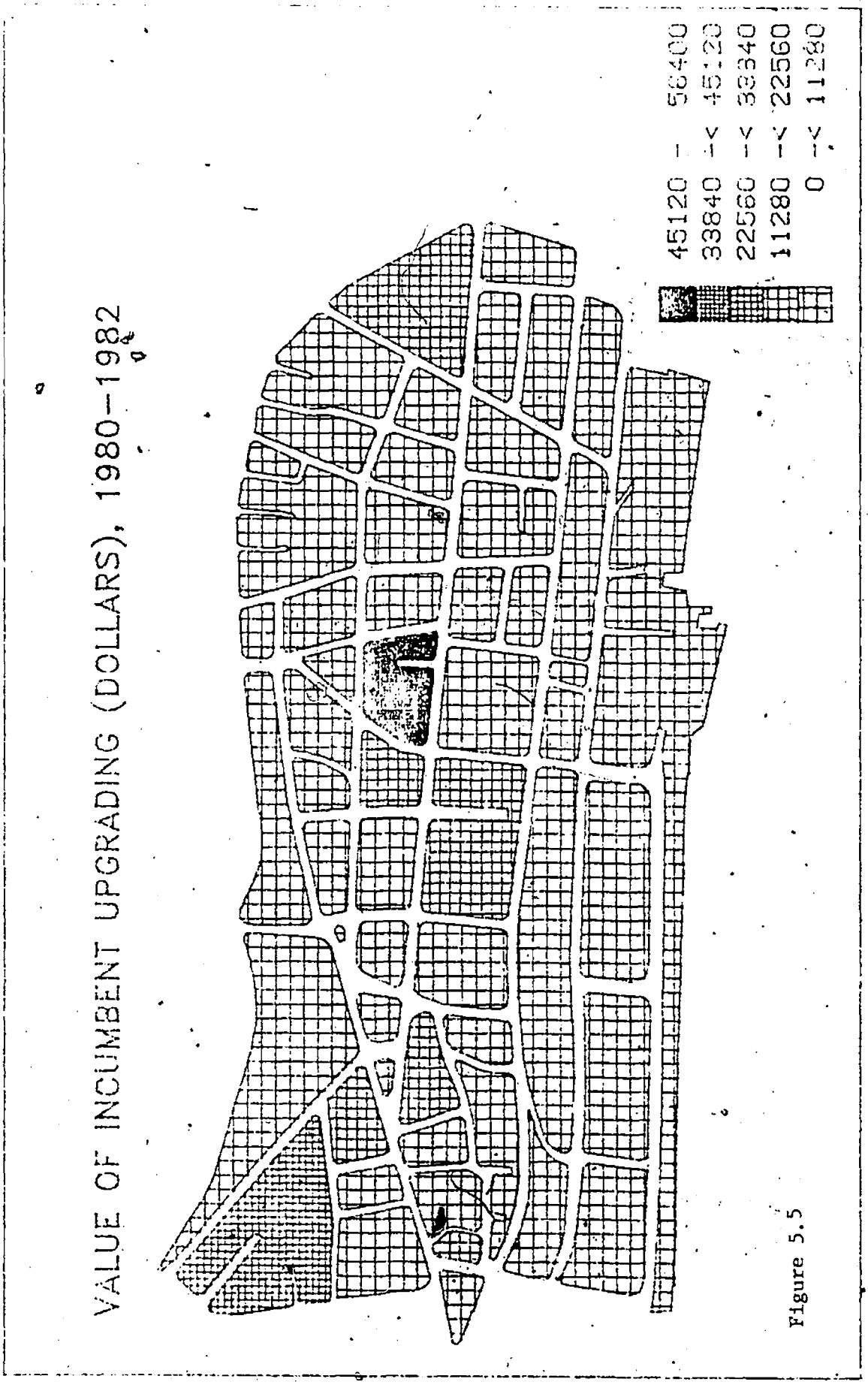


Figure 5.5

with the remaining zones of the study area. Maintenance and repair in zone 48 amounted to 100% of the total value of all repair activity performed. Zone 1, in which just 23.28% of the total number of dwellings experienced maintenance and repair, was the second most prominent zone in terms of gross reinvestment. However, the amount spent by incumbent property owners there was on average less than the amount spent by incumbent owners throughout the study area (Table 5.2). In zones 9, 20, 38, 45 and 47, though, where the amount spent on maintenance and repair by incumbent owners was between $11,280 and $22,560, incumbent upgrading accounted for a major portion of the total value of structural reinvestment in each case (Table 5.2). Thus, in spite of the fact that certain zones in aggregate experienced relatively more incumbent upgrading (in terms of total dollar value), the financial impact of incumbent upgrading was often seen to be dependent upon the total number of dwellings upgraded in each zone and the amount spent on maintenance and repair in each particular case. Nevertheless, the fact that almost fifty cents out of every dollar spent on structural improvement came from an incumbent owner must be given recognition in light of the uncertain environment in which such reinvestment took place.

It is difficult to assign any significance to either the value or the spatial extent of incumbent upgrading because of the lack of previous research in this particular area. Nonetheless, based upon what is known about the inner city housing stock, incumbent upgrading might have been expected to be the most prominent type of structural reinvestment activity, at least prior to 1976. With the advent of the heritage conservation movement, the impact of incumbent upgrading may

have been diminished somewhat by the reinvestment performed by new property owners, although this is a highly speculative postulate. To examine this issue between 1980 and 1982, the current study now moves to a discussion of the impact of changes in property ownership on levels of structural maintenance and repair.

Maintenance and Repair Resulting from Ownership Transactions

Using data extracted from tax assessment rolls and repair permits, it was possible to determine whether maintenance and repair was conducted by new as opposed to incumbent property owners. The method used to describe the data was to determine the number of dwellings repaired as a result of a particular type of ownership transaction and present this figure as a percentage of the total number of dwellings repaired in each zone. Thus, the impact of particular types of ownership transactions on the supply state of the housing stock was described by the accompaniment of structural maintenance and repair. These data are listed in Table 5.3.

Similarly, the magnitude of maintenance and repair activity that occurred as a result of changes in property ownership was also examined, and the results of this analysis are found in Table 5.4. Data presented in Table 5.4 are percentage figures of the estimated value of maintenance and repair activity that occurred as a result of particular ownership transactions. These figures were computed by comparing the value of maintenance and repair made in conjunction with specific types of ownership change with the total value of maintenance and repair performed throughout each zone.

Table 5.3

STRUCTURAL MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR BY OWNERSHIP TRANSACTION,
CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	Number Dwellings Repaired	Percentage Repaired as a Result of Recent Ownership Transaction								
			R - R	R - C	R - N	C - R	C - C	C - N	N - R	N - C	N - N
1	116	27	11.1	3.7	7.4	0	0	0	14.8	3.7	18.5
2	15	8	37.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	12.5
3	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
5	22	6	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	0	0
6	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
7	35	8	12.5	12.5	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	30	9	11.1	0	0	11.1	0	0	11.1	0	0
9	42	10	10.0	10.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	17	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
12	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
13	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
14	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
17	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0
19	21	6	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	16.7	0	0
20	31	15	6.7	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	20.0	0
21	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
22	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
23	30	6	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	0	0
24	11	3	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	33.3
25	25	9	0	0	0	11.1	11.1	0	0	22.2	22.2
26	11	4	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	25.0
27	17	3	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	31	4	50.0	0	0	25.0	25.0	0	0	0	0
29	29	4	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25.0
30	24	7	14.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	34	8	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	29	6	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	33	9	0	0	0	11.1	0	0	0	22.2	22.2
34	38	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25.0
35	20	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.7	16.7	33.3
36	19	3	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	40	9	33.3	0	11.1	11.1	0	0	0	0	0
38	42	16	18.7	6.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5
39	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
40	2	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	20	7	28.6	0	0	28.6	0	0	0	0	0
42	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0
43	15	9	22.2	22.2	0	0	0	0	22.2	11.1	0
44	21	4	50.0	25.0	0	0	25.0	0	0	0	0
45	23	8	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	35	9	0	0	11.1	11.1	0	0	22.2	0	11.1
47	33	11	0	0	18.2	0	0	0	9.1	0	0
48	32	8	0	0	0	12.5	0	0	0	0	0
49	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
51	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
52	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
53	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
54	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
55	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
Total	996	264	12.88	2.65	4.92	3.41	1.14	0.38	3.79	4.92	6.06

Table 5.4

ESTIMATED VALUE OF STRUCTURAL MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR BY OWNERSHIP TRANSACTION, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	Number Dwellings Repaired	Estimated Value of Maintenance and Repair Resulting From Recent Ownership Transaction as a Percentage of the Total Estimated Value of Maintenance and Repair Per Zone								
			R - R	R - C	R - N	C - R	C - C	C - N	N - R	N - C	N - N
1	116	27	9.48	12.23	19.73	0	0	0	19.12	.15	4.05
2	15	3	59.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.56	10.93
3	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
5	22	6	6.28	0	0	0	0	0	62.76	0	0
6	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
7	35	8	4.06	.81	77.24	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	30	9	1.41	0	0	23.47	0	0	32.86	0	0
9	42	10	2.71	2.71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	17	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
12	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
13	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
14	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
17	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.40	0	0
19	21	6	0	0	0	0	0	25.77	25.77	0	0
20	31	15	1.45	0	0	0	0	0	1.30	37.70	0
21	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
22	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
23	30	6	3.20	0	0	0	0	0	64.10	0	0
24	11	3	0	0	32.63	0	0	0	0	0	45.11
25	25	9	0	0	0	5.39	35.04	0	0	21.56	39.89
26	11	4	0	0	71.43	0	0	0	0	0	17.86
27	17	3	9.80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	31	4	39.47	0	0	52.63	78.95	0	0	0	0
29	29	4	9.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18.18
30	24	7	7.81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	34	8	55.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	29	6	48.39	0	12.90	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	33	9	0	0	0	45.45	0	0	0	14.54	18.18
34	38	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.29	0
35	20	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	60.61	0	12.12
36	16	3	8.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	40	9	17.60	0	43.29	72.15	0	0	0	0	0
38	42	16	12.94	4.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	20.53
40	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
41	2	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	20	7	5.31	0	0	88.50	0	0	0	0	0
42	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	15	9	5.03	40.93	0	0	0	0	28.72	1.44	0
44	21	4	15.67	32.13	0	0	52.21	0	0	0	0
45	23	8	2.70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	35	9	0	0	40.97	.93	0	0	40.97	0	2.23
47	33	11	0	0	11.89	0	0	0	11.89	0	0
48	34	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
51	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
52	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
53	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
54	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
55	NON-RESIDENTIAL										
Total	996	264	8.462	3.893	8.604	14.326	3.308	.418	6.583	3.041	4.515

(1) R - R Ownership Transactions

As indicated in Chapter Four, R - R-type ownership transactions accounted for 25.64% of all ownership transactions in Tract 007 between 1980 and 1982. This represented the most clearly discernible type of ownership change over the period of investigation and three zones in particular experienced comparatively high levels of this type of transaction: 10, 29 and 49 (Figure 4.4). On the other hand, low levels of R - R-type transactions were found to occur in three clusters, one of which was represented by zones 1, 17, 18, 19, 20, 43, 44 and 45 and another by zones 5, 7, 9, 28, 33, 34 and 35. A third cluster of zones with low levels of R - R-type transactions was found in the centre of the study area and was composed of zones 38, 46, 47 and 48.

Based on a knowledge of gentrification, one might have expected R - R-type transactions to be accompanied by structural reinvestment in the form of maintenance and repair. If this were the case, then zones 10, 29 and 49 should exhibit a greater degree of structural improvement than zones in which low levels of R - R-type transactions were apparent.

As indicated by data in Table 5.3, however, this expectation was false. Zones 10 and 49 demonstrated no structural reinvestment after R - R-type transactions while zone 29 experienced reinvestment of this type in only one of four cases. Structural maintenance and repair occuring after R - R-type transactions was more apparent in zones 28 and 44, where 50% of the reinvestment which took place were in dwellings sold by a resident owner to a new resident owner.

Throughout the study area, R - R-type transactions were

followed by maintenance expenditures in 12.88% of the cases; the highest value for any of the transaction types. However, comparatively high levels of R - R-type transactions did not necessarily guarantee immediate structural reinvestment. Instead, structural reinvestment was accomplished more often by incumbent owners, although not in all cases.

Throughout the study area, the value of reinvestment through repair after an R - R transaction was measured at 8.46% of the total value of all such activity (Table 5.4). Considerably less than the figure of 45.22% established for incumbent upgrading, the value of reinvestment resulting from R - R-type transactions was also less than that established for R - N (8.60%) and C - R-type (14.33%) transactions. Therefore, strictly in terms of magnitude, R - R-type transactions brought relatively little added value to the inner city housing stock as roughly eight and one half cents of every dollar spent on structural improvement was attributable to this type of transaction.

There are several possible explanations for this apparently low figure. As indicated earlier in this Chapter, new resident owners may have purchased a home that did not require immediate large scale reinvestment of any sort. Another possible explanation is that new owners may have been delaying improvements until they had accumulated the necessary capital or until the residential environment changed to a more positive one, while a fourth explanation is that large scale repairs were being executed incrementally. Clearly, the current study lacks the support of research into these particular areas, and until this is accomplished, can only surmise as to the possible explanations of some of the more contentious data.

(2) R - C Ownership Transactions

Ownership transactions involving the sale of dwellings from a resident owner to a non-resident corporate owner resulted in little structural maintenance and repair. Throughout the study area, 2.65% of all R - C ownership transactions led to structural improvement while only 15.4% of the residential zones contained dwellings that were upgraded as a result of this type of transaction (Table 5.3).

The value of maintenance and repair conducted in these cases appeared to be relatively insignificant, amounting to only 3.89% of the total value of all such activity. In zone 43, however, the percentage value of R - C-type maintenance and repair rose to 40.93% of the total zonal value. This represents the largest proportion spent on structural improvement in that zone (Table 5.4) for all ownership change types and incumbent upgrading.

(3) R - N Ownership Transactions

The sale of an owner-occupied dwelling to an absentee private landlord resulted in structural maintenance and repair in 4.92% of all dwellings in the study area (Table 5.3). Structural reinvestment of this type occurred in eight zones: 1, 7, 24, 26, 37, 40, 46 and 47, the last six of which form the core of the Heritage Conservation Area. While the overall impact of R - N-type transactions on maintenance and repair conducted was inconspicuous, they represented the third most important source of reinvestment capital. Of the total value of all repairs made over the course of the investigation (Table 5.4), 8.60% of the zones in which R - N-type transactions were apparent also appeared to generate comparatively high levels of N - N-type

reinvestment, however incumbent upgrading and repairs resulting from R - R and R - C-type transactions were not always a concomitant of this type of reinvestment. In zones 24 and 26, for example, R - N-type transactions resulted in the highest value of repairs performed in these zones while incumbent upgrading accounted for just 2.26% and 17.52% of the respective total values of repair activity.

The incidence of R - N-type structural improvement in certain zones within the Heritage Conservation Area is noteworthy. Examination of Table 5.4 reveals that in the above mentioned zones, the repair value in dwellings upgraded as a result of ownership change were for the most part reflective of the R - N transaction. This indicates that non-resident property owners (also in N - N-type transactions) appeared to be more willing to purchase and reinvest in these zones than other types of property owners were. It is more than mere coincidence, then, that each of these zones experienced R - N-type transactions in excess of the average established for the study area.

(4) C - R Ownership Transactions

In terms of repair value, the second most important type of ownership transaction was the C - R-type, where non-resident corporate owners sold properties to new resident owners. Although this type of transaction affected only 3.41% of all dwellings that experienced reinvestment, C - R-type ownership transactions accounted for 14.33% of the total value of maintenance and repair performed throughout the study area: one third of the total value represented by incumbent upgrading.

Structural maintenance and repair following upon C - R-type transactions was most apparent in zones 8, 28, 33, 37 and 41. Incumbent upgrading in these zones was negligible. Only zones 37 and 41 were located within the Heritage Conservation Area while zones 8, 28 and 33 formed a cluster in the eastern portion of the study area. While the St. John's Heritage Foundation was active in zones 37 and 41, thereby making it attractive to potential resident owners, it is difficult to explain why the repair value associated with C - R-type transactions was so apparent in zones 8, 28 and 33 (Table 5.4). However, by comparing the repair values of C - R-type transactions with repair values of R - R-type transactions, the reader will note that R - R-type transactions in zones 8, 28 and 33 were not accompanied by high values of maintenance and repair. Among other reasons, this suggests that such dwellings did not require immediate structural repair. The fact that new resident owners in previously non-resident corporate owned dwellings reinvested substantially suggests that dwellings purchased from absentee corporate landlords may have required a considerable amount of maintenance in order to improve their operating efficiency or, perhaps, to bring them up to standard. This argument could be supported by examining minimum property standards violations and, in the case of zones 8 and 33, 75.12% and 64.54% of the respective total value of repair activity in each zone was made in order to bring substandard dwellings up to code Table 5.6). Thus, maintenance and repair in these zones was conducted primarily by new owners in response to structural deterioration. Such a response would tend to suggest gentrification. However, the urban origins of individual property owners would have to be determined

before concluding that such a process was in evidence.

While the value of maintenance and repair activity is seen to be influenced by the need to comply with enforced housing codes, discussion of minimum property standards was slightly premature. However, their impact on the value of structural reinvestment will be examined momentarily.

(5) C - C Ownership Transactions

The transfer of ownership from one non-resident corporate owner to another was apparent in only three zones: 25, 28 and 44. Not surprisingly, then, dwellings repaired as a result of C - C-type transactions accounted for just 1.14% of the total number of ownership transactions in the study area and affected only three dwellings. In each case, though, large scale maintenance and repair was conducted in which the combined value of such activity amounted to 3.31% of the total value of all reinvestment performed throughout the study area.

In zones 28 and 44, dwellings subject to C - C-type ownership transactions accounted for 78.95% and 52.21% of the total value of repair activity in each respective zone, the largest proportion of any type of ownership change. Incumbent upgrading in these zones was non-existent, although stock reinvestment resulting from R - R and C - R-type transactions was apparent.

(6) C - N Ownership Transactions

Least important of all ownership transactions was the C - N transaction, in terms of both the number of dwellings repaired (1.14% of the total number of dwellings repaired throughout the study area) and, more particularly, the value of structural maintenance and repair

executed by new non-resident owners (.42% of the total value of maintenance and repair activity throughout the study area). Only in zone 19 was there found any evidence of a C - N-type transaction, and this transaction accounted for 25.77% of the total value of maintenance and repair conducted in a zone in which the primary mode of structural reinvestment was through incumbent upgrading (Figure 5.6).

(7) N - R Ownership Transactions

Dwellings in which ownership changed from a non-resident owner to a resident owner accounted for 3.79% of the total number of dwellings repaired. Zones in which this type of reinvestment was apparent were essentially restricted to the western portion of the study area, specifically, zones 1, 3, 18, 19, 23, 43 and 46, with the remaining zone, 35, located in the centre of the study area Figure 5.7).

The maintenance and repair of dwellings in these zones represented 6.58% of the total value of all maintenance and repair performed throughout the study area (Table 5.4). In zones 5, 23, 35 and 46, N - R-type transactions generated more repair value than any other type of ownership transaction (including incumbent upgrading). Zones characterized by comparatively high levels of repair value were also found to experience virtually no ownership transactions involving the sale of dwellings by non-resident corporate owners to owners of all types (Table 5.4).

One of the more interesting relationships to emerge, however, was that zones characterized by substantial levels of repair value

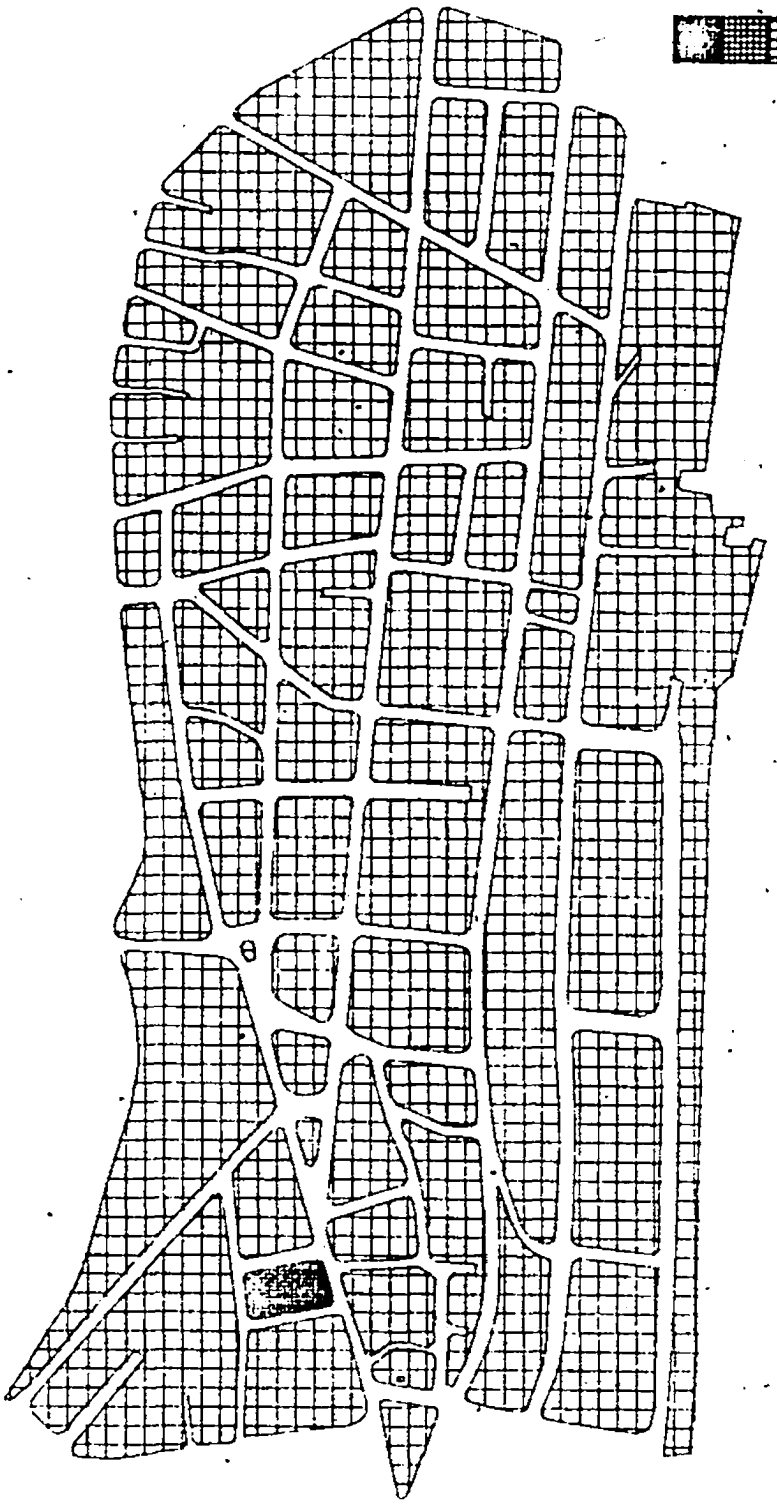


Figure 5.6

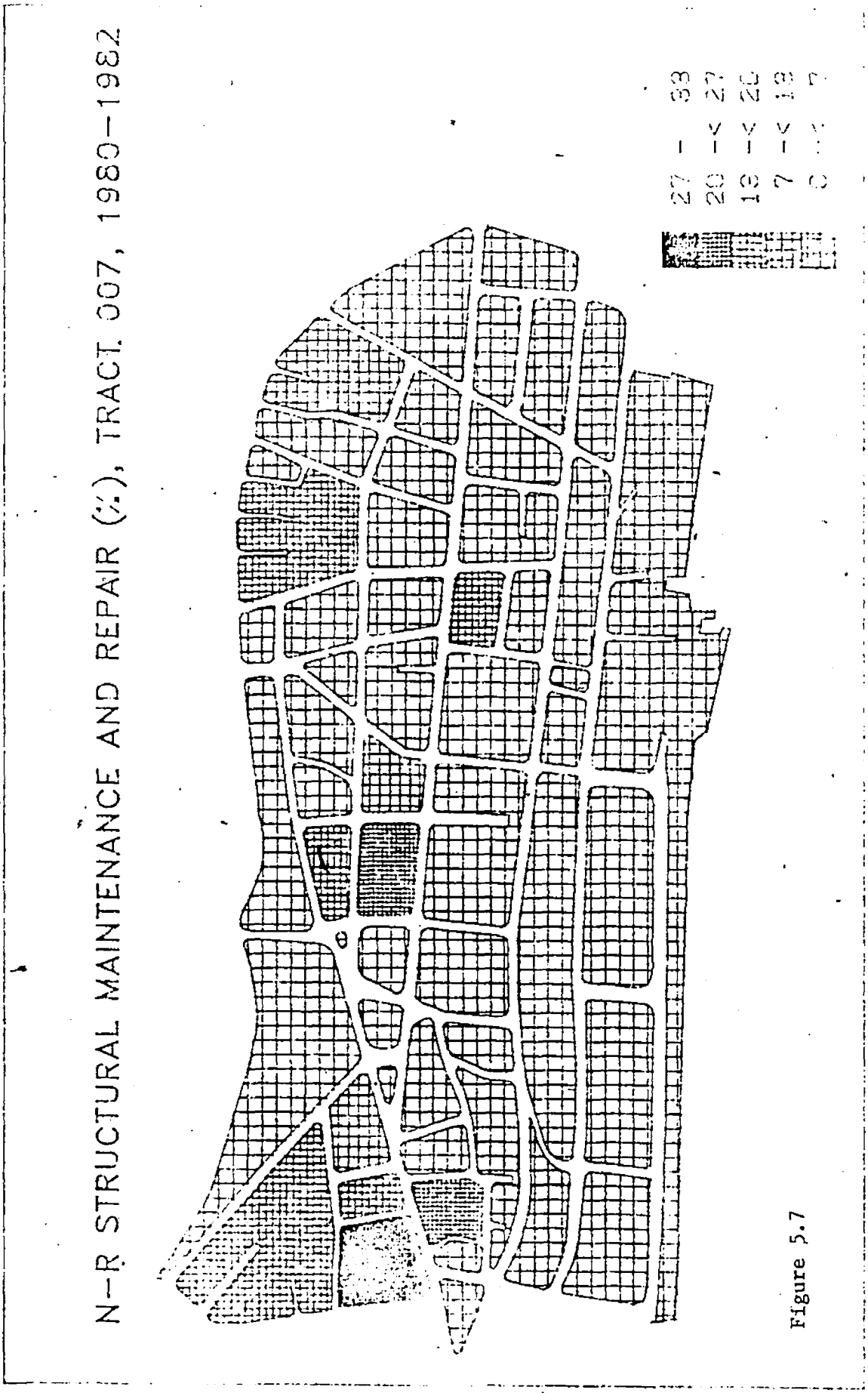


Figure 5.7

resulting from N - R transactions also experienced a considerable number of demolitions. Comparing Table 5.4 with Table 5.5, the value of maintenance and repair as a percentage of the total value of maintenance and repair in zones 1 and 5 was 19.12% and 62.76% respectively. However, in zone 1, 3.4% of the total stock was physically removed while 4.5% of the stock was eliminated from zone 5. Similarly, 3.1% of the stock was demolished in zone 47 while maintenance and repair as a result of N - R-type transactions measured 11.89% of the repair value in that particular zone.

(8) N - C Ownership Transactions

Maintenance and repair activities following N - C ownership transactions were specific to eight zones and amounted to 4.92% of the total number of dwellings repaired throughout the study area Table 5.3). The corporate purchase of previously non-resident owned dwellings was found to be most visible in the western portion of the study area in zones 2, 20, 42 and 43. Figure 5.8 illustrates the spatial pattern of structural maintenance and repair in zones in which N - C-type transactions were responsible for such repairs.

Table 5.4 indicates that N - C-type transactions generated 3.04% of the total value of repairs made throughout Tract 007, slightly less than the value or repairs generated by R - C and C - C-type transactions. The generally low repair value of structural reinvestment brought about in dwellings previously owned by non-resident owners may point to a reluctance on the part of corporate owners to upgrade their newly acquired dwellings. Considering the fact that 11.22% of all ownership transactions between 1980 and 1982

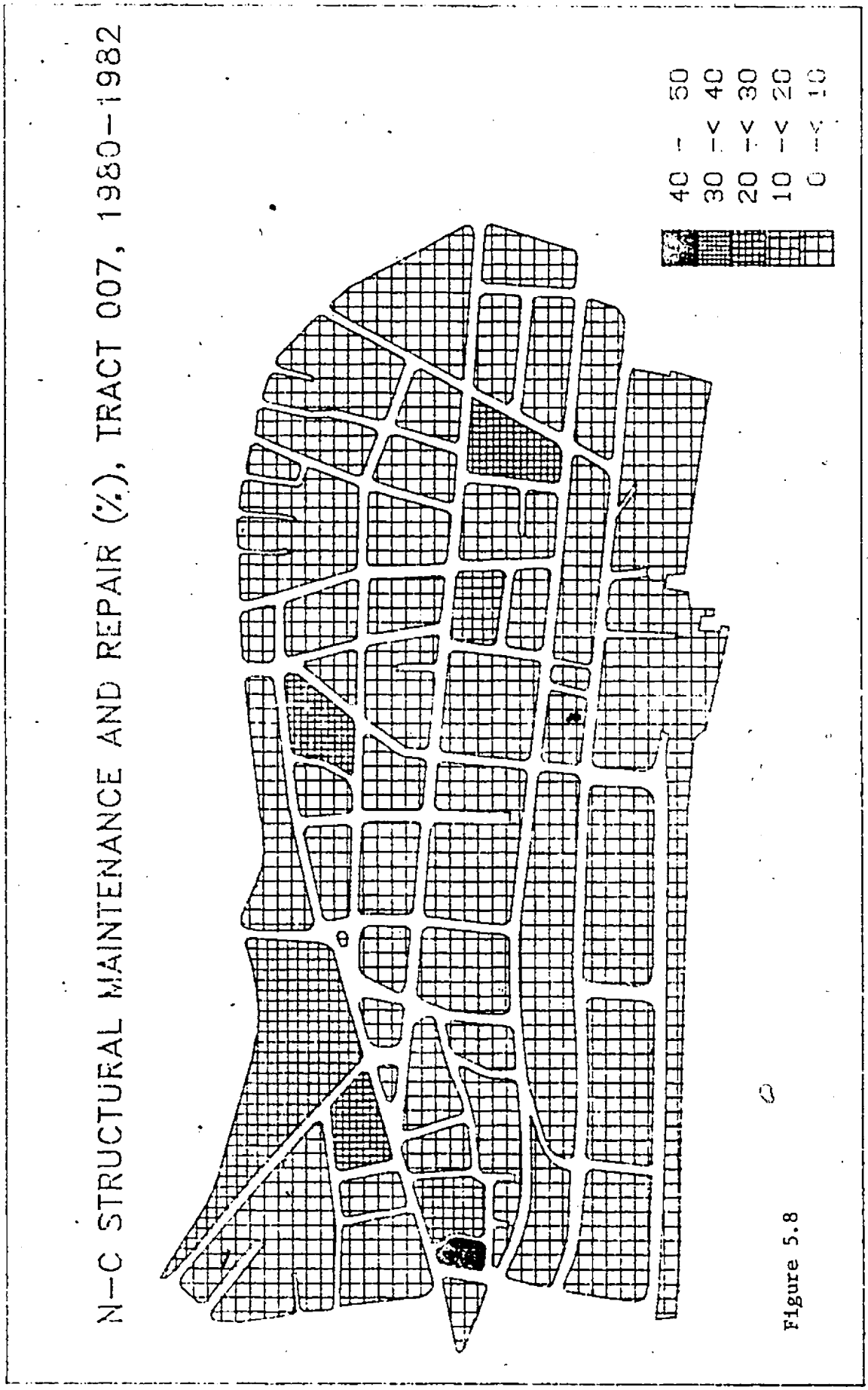


Figure 5.8

were of the N - C-type (Table 4.1), one might have expected there to be a greater amount of maintenance and repair than that which occurred. Indeed, Table 5.5 reveals that non-resident corporate owners inherited from non-resident owners 10.71% of the total number dwellings demolished in the study area. The fact that one out of every ten dwellings demolished were done as a result of an N - C transaction leads to speculation about the intent of corporate owners to maintain their properties to minimum standards of acceptability. This issue will be treated briefly.

(9) N - N Ownership Transaction

Although maintenance and repair executed in the aftermath of N - N-type transactions amounted to 6.06% of the total number of dwellings in which reinvestment occurred, the value of maintenance and repair measured only 4.52% of the total amount spent on structural improvement throughout the study area. This abnormality is illustrated by examining Figure 5.9, which describes structural maintenance and repair resulting from N - N-type transactions, and Figure 5.10, which plots the actual value of the repairs that occurred. For example, although zone 1 experienced a relatively high level of structural reinvestment from N - N transactions on a dwelling by dwelling basis, this frequency was not translated into higher levels of repair value overall. The reverse is seen to have occurred in the case of zone 38, where although structural reinvestment by N - N-type transactions was less frequent, its value was in fact of greater magnitude.

Nevertheless, zones with higher levels of structural

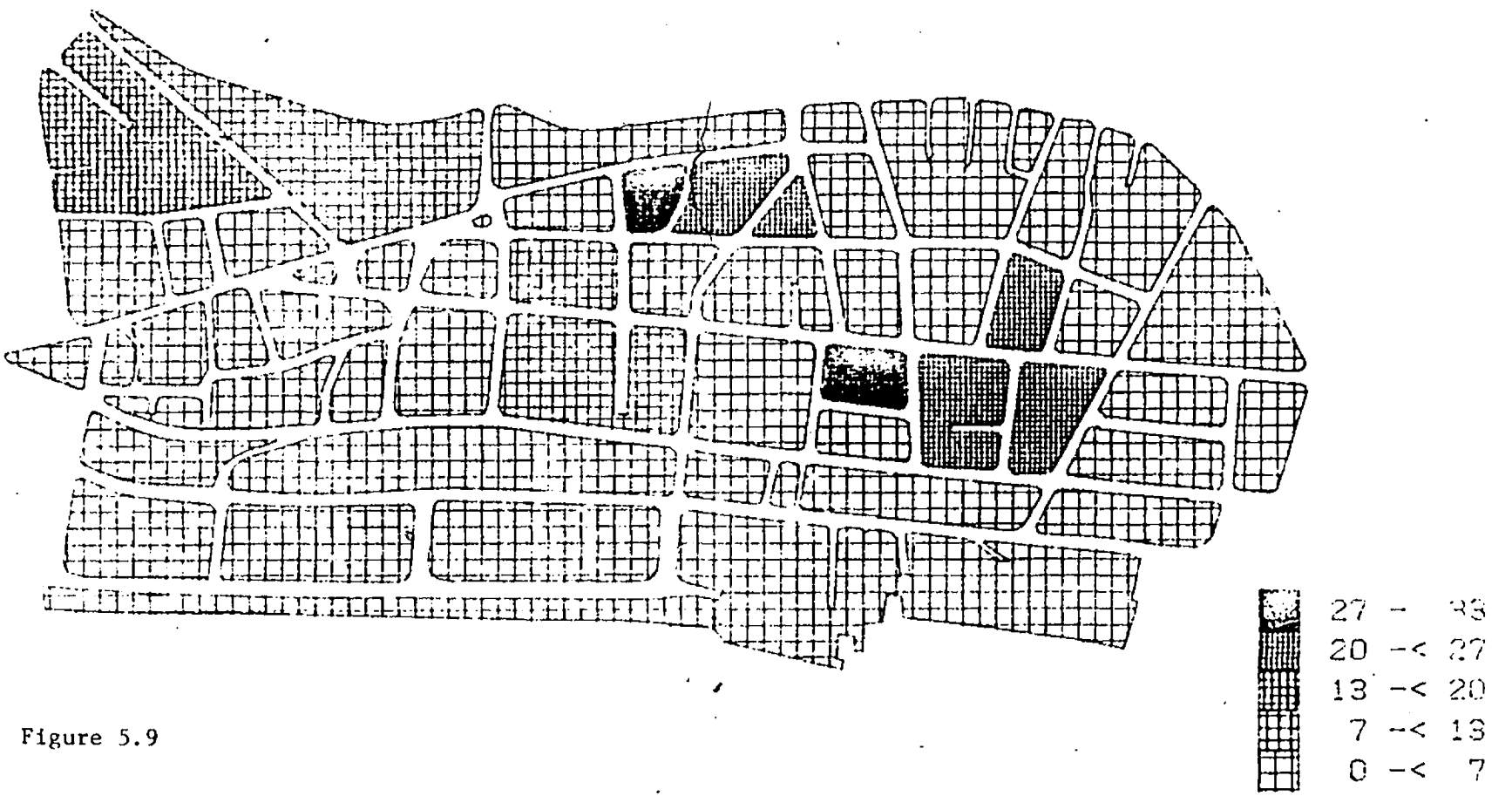


Figure 5.9

reinvestment resulting from N → N-type transactions demonstrated centrality in their distribution, particularly in the cases of zones 24, 25 and 38 (Figure 5.10). In zone 38, the St. John's Heritage Foundation had renovated two dwellings prior to 1980 while subsequent private renovation in adjacent dwellings established the north face of the block as one of the more exemplary inner city blocks in terms of its exhibition of heritage character.

The transfer of ownership from one non-resident to another, and the structural improvement occasioned by this transfer, suggests that certain zones of the inner city were in greater concordance with the demand for rental accommodation than others. Dwellings located in the Heritage Conservation Area and upgraded by absentee owners may have been geared towards the higher cost rental market while zones outside the Area may have been renovated with the low to middle cost market in mind. Proof of this suggestion would require an examination of changes in rents over time. This was beyond the immediate scope of the current study but nevertheless points to an area in which future research is required. Similarly, rent differentials may have been reflected by the actual sale price of dwellings both inside and outside the boundaries of the Heritage Conservation Area and, if this was the case, one would expect that maintenance and repair would have been included in asking prices.

The use of small scale zones in the disaggregation of urban areas is a convenient way of isolating homogeneous areas and for describing the dynamics of the housing stock on a detailed basis. One of the problems of this type of approach, however, is that it tends to treat zones as individual units rather than components of a larger

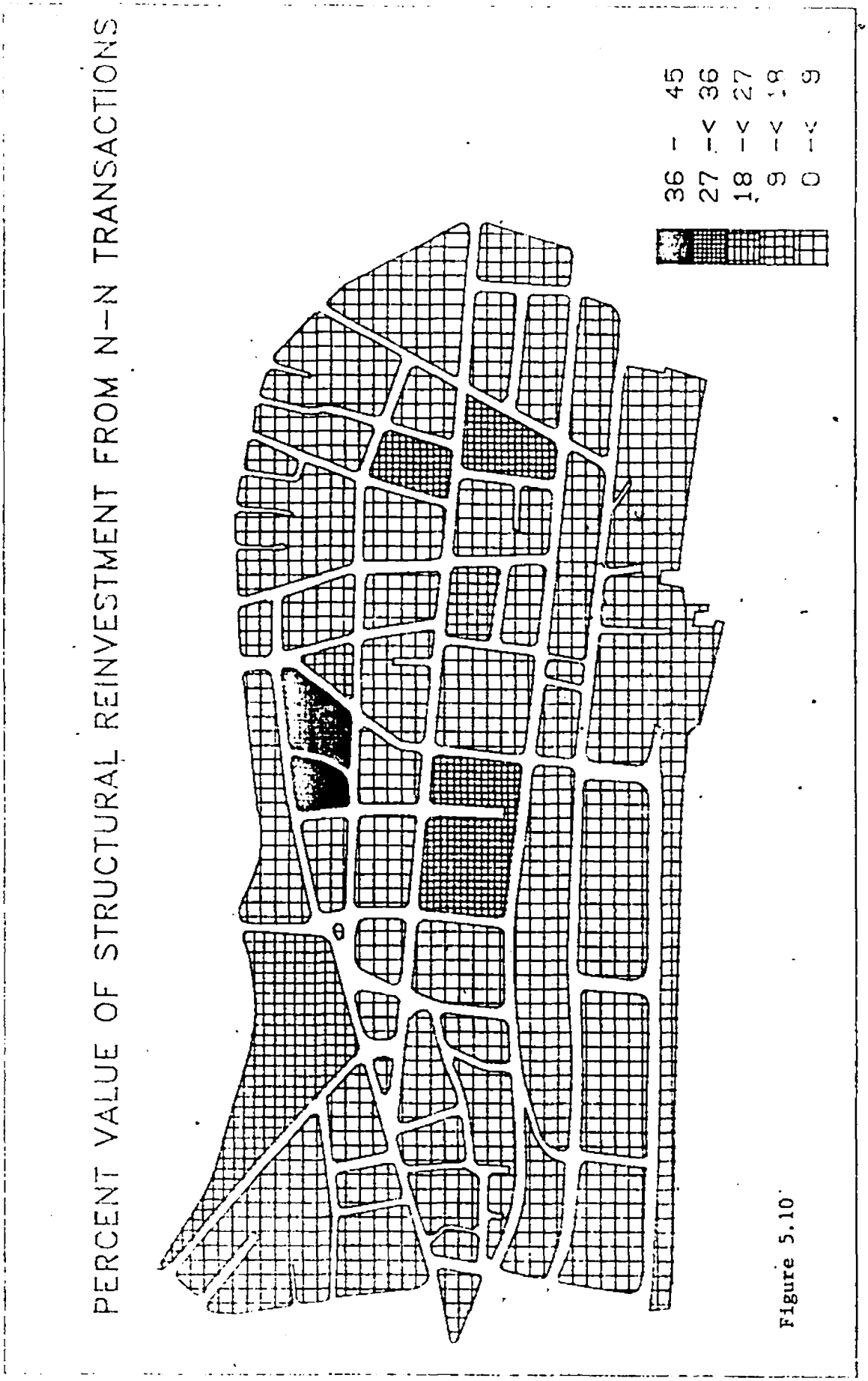


Figure 5.10

group. The so-called neighbourhood affect, which in essence is the impact that a particular use of land has or will have upon neighbouring land use, must be considered as a vehicle by which change is transported from one zone to the next. It is important at this point, therefore, to examine the incidence of stock deletion and attempt to determine its impact on the inner city housing stock as a whole.

DEMOLITION

In total, 2.81% of the inner city housng stock was removed from the active inventory between 1980 and 1982 (Table 5.5). Although in some cases demolition is the only means of contending with an extremely substandard dwelling, reasons for doing so in other cases are often less apparent. Analysis of the type of ownership involved in demolition, however, indicates that the elimination of dwellings is linked to certain types of ownership that occur as a result of particular types of property transactions.

Data presented in Table 5.5 show that demolition occurred in eleven (28.2%) of the residential zones in the study area. It ranged from a high of 23.8% of the total stock of dwellings in zone 44 to a low of 2.3% in zone 38. The spatial distribution of zones in which demolition was most intensive (Figure 5.11) indicates that all three portions of the study area were represented by a nucleus of demolition activity: zone 44 in the west, zone 37 in the centre and zone 33 in the east.

Understandably, demolition did not occur as a result of R - R,

Table 5.5

STRUCTURAL DEMOLITION AND OWNERSHIP TRANSACTIONS, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	Dwellings Demolished	Dwellings Demolished as a Percentage of Total Dwellings Per Zone	Percentage of Dwellings Demolished by Ownership Type Prior to and at the Time of Demoliton								
				R - R	R - C	R - N	C - R	C - C	C - N	N - R	N - C	N - N
1	116	4	3.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
2	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
5	22	1	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
6	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
7	35	1	2.9	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
12	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
13	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
14	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
17	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	31	1	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
21	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
22	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
23	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	33	4	12.1	0	75.0	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	38	1	2.6	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	40	9	22.5	11.1	0	11.1	0	44.4	0	0	11.1	22.2
38	43	1	2.3	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
39	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
40	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44	21	5	23.8	0	0	0	0	20.0	20.0	0	20.0	40.0
45	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	33	1	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
48	34	1	2.9	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
51	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
52	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
53	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
54	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
55	NON-RESIDENTIAL											
Total	996	28	2.81	0	14.29	14.29	0	21.43	3.57	0	10.71	35.71

+ partial demolition

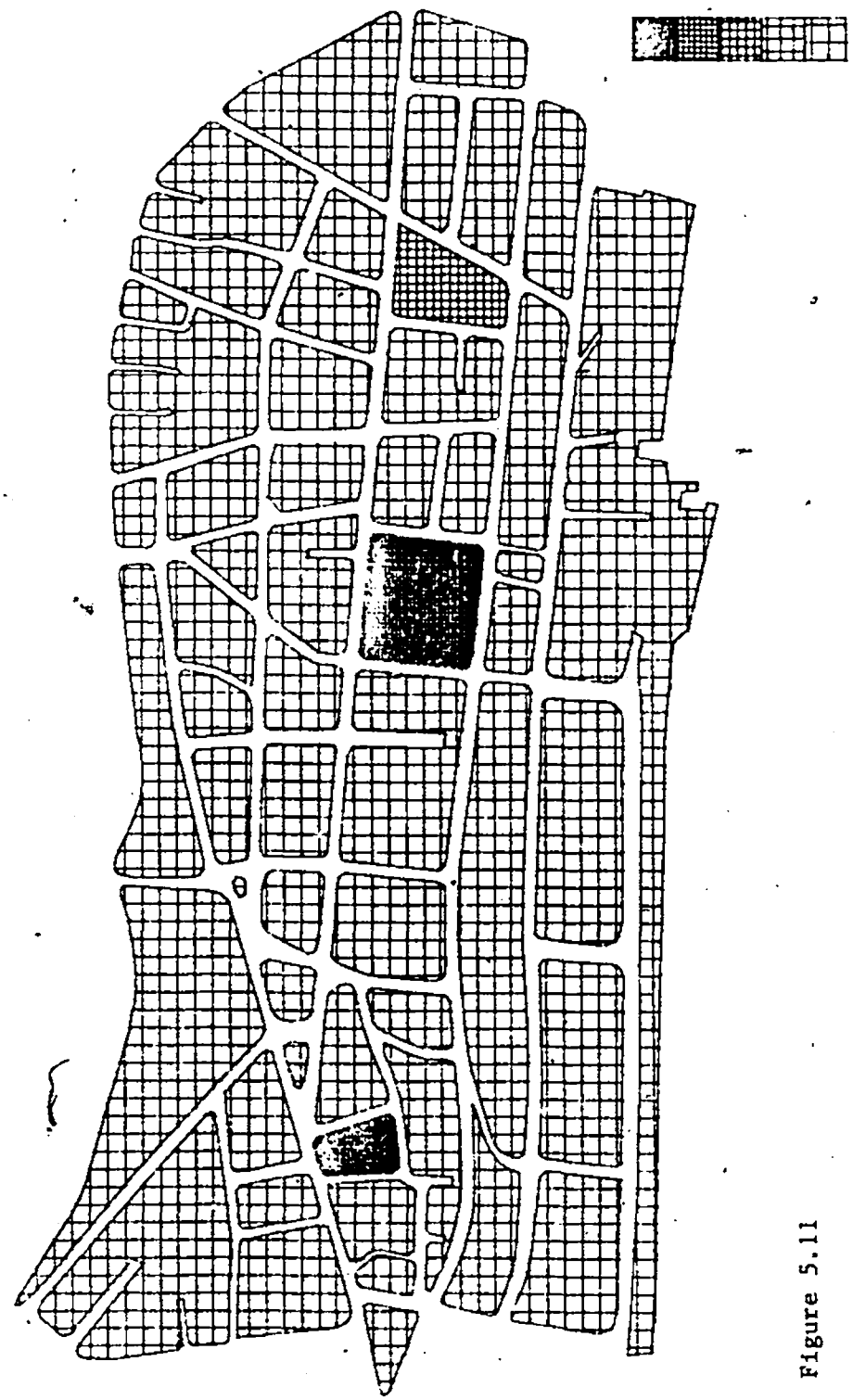


Figure 5.11

C - R or N - R ownership transactions, although in one case (zone 37) a dwelling that had changed ownership in a R - R transaction was originally listed as having been deleted completely. It was later determined that only an unsafe portion of the rear section of the structure had been removed, and this has been indicated in Table 5.5. The bulk of demolition activity occurred subsequent to transactions involving the sale of dwellings to non-resident owners. Demolition of non-resident owned dwellings accounted for 53.57% of the total number of demolitions while transactions involving the sale of property to non-resident corporate owners resulted 46.42% of all demolitions. Transactions of the N - N-type accounted for the largest proportion of all demolitions (35.71%). The transaction of ownership from a non-resident owner to a non-resident corporate owner accounted for 10.71% of the total number of demolitions performed while C - C-type transactions were responsible for 21.43% of the deleted stock. Owner occupants also had a hand in demolition as the sale of their properties to non-resident and non-resident corporate owners in each case resulted in the eventual removal of 14.29% of the demolished stock. The short period of time over which this investigation was conducted indicates that owner occupied dwellings had to have been in extremely poor condition in order for demolition to occur so quickly, although corporate buy-out of resident owned dwellings in reasonable condition may indeed have occurred.

One of the more important aspects of demolition is that five of the eleven zones in which demolition occurred were in the Heritage Conservation Area (zones 37, 38, 44, 47 adn 48), altogether accounting for 60.7% of all demolished dwellings. Demolition was seen to be

particularly apparent in zone 37 where nine dwellings were removed in order to provide parking space for employees of TD Place and in zone 44 where five dwellings were eliminated to allow a new residential development to begin construction. It will be recalled that both zone 37 and zone 44 experienced virtually no incumbent upgrading between 1980 and 1982 and absolutely no reinvestment from the sale of non-resident and non-resident corporate owned properties to new owners of all types (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). Furthermore, the proportion of dwellings that did in fact experience maintenance and repair was seen to be much lower in these zones than the average established for the entire study area (Table 5.1). The link between demolition and disinvestment was also apparent in the cases of zones 7, 34 and 48. These three zones experienced below average levels of maintenance and repair and limited reinvestment from new property owners. In the remaining zones (5, 20, 33, 38, 47 and 48), demolition was seen to occur amidst active incumbent upgrading of the surrounding stock, although these zones were also characterized by relatively low levels of reinvestment by new property owners of all types.

Throughout the study area, then, demolition appeared to be concentrated in zones where the basic pattern of activity was non-investment while other zones remained free of stock deletions and experienced more intensive forms of reinvestment by both incumbent and new property owners. It is dificult to establish reasons for demolition without specific knowledge of why the dwellings were eliminated and what replacement functions were planned for the vacant land. In the case of zone 44, the replacement function happened to be a residential complex. However, no construction permits could be

found for new buildings in zones 33 and 37, and personal observation of the vacant sites has supported the contention that no replacement has taken place.

MINIMUM PROPERTY STANDARDS

There were two objectives behind the examination of minimum property standards files. First, it seemed desirable to determine the location of structural disinvestment in relation to reinvestment. This was deemed necessary by the observable phenomenon of maintenance and repair occurring in close proximity to structural deterioration. Although some zones were found to be experiencing more maintenance and repair activity than others, observation suggests that, in some cases, maintenance and repair was being offset by significant structural disinvestment. If this proved to be true then the net benefit of reinvestment activity on the inner city housing stock would be diminished.

The second objective was to determine the extent to which maintenance and repair was a voluntary or an involuntary process. Here, too, the primary concern was in establishing whether structural reinvestment was premeditated as opposed to postmeditated. This was important because voluntary maintenance and repair might suggest that the majority of dwellings were being upgraded with a reason other than necessity in mind, specifically, inner city revitalization. Although violations of minimum property standards may have been pending in some of these cases, this argument is not considered here because it is impossible to verify through municipal records. Involuntary

maintenance and repair, however, would suggest a reluctance on the part of some property owners to maintain their dwellings to minimum standards of operating efficiency. This reluctance can be interpreted as either a conscious decision not to reinvest in light of the individual property owner's perception of investment feasibility in an uncertain urban environment or an outright absence of maintenance capital. Lack of financial resources to comply with notification of code infractions could perhaps indicate that minimum property standards were applied too stringently in low income zones. Indeed, the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector informed the author that the City is no longer prepared to 'go easy' on inner city housing simply because of its predominantly low income tenantry (Appendix B), implying that they did in the past. However, as outlined in Appendix B, several recent changes in the operating procedures of the Minimum Property Standards Inspection Division have taken place and have resulted in a more rigorous enforcement of local by-laws and codes.

Examination of minimum property standards files produced four indices of structural disinvestment (Table 5.6). In the first, the number of code violating dwellings as a percentage of the total number of dwellings per zone was calculated. The resulting figures provided on a zone by zone basis, an exact measure of the proportion of substandard dwellings in each zone. Results of the investigation indicate that the proportion of substandard dwellings in each zone ranged from 0% in zones 15, 18, 27, 36 and 40 to 50% in zone 49, with a third of the zones falling between 20% and 40%. Throughout the study area, almost one fifth (17.49%) of all dwellings were below standard.

Table 5.6

MINIMUM PROPERTY STANDARDS VIOLATIONS, CODE COMPLIANCE AND ESTIMATED VALUE OF VIOLATION REPAIRS, CENSUS TRACT 007, 1980-1982

Zone	Dwellings	Number of Code Violating Dwellings as a Percentage of the Total Number of Dwellings Per Zone	Total Violations	Average Number of Code Violations Per Code Violating Dwelling	Average Number of Days to Comply With Notification (Files Closed Only)	Estimated Value of Violation Repairs as a Percentage of Total Estimated Value of Repairs Per Zone
1	116	12.93	98	6.5	417.75	77.69
2	15	20.00	18	4.5	311.00	58.74
3	11	9.09	1	1.0	n.d.	28.57
4				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
5	22	4.54	n.d.	n.d.	71.00	n.d.
6				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
7	35	31.43	29	2.6	236.75	87.80
8	30	6.67	9	4.5	n.d.	75.12
9	42	21.43	30	3.3	198.67	n.d.
10	17	5.88	5	5.0	189.00	n.d.
11				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
12				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
13				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
14				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
15	1	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
16				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
17	6	33.33	17	8.5	n.d.	n.d.
18	16	0.00	0	0.0	0.00	0.00
19	21	9.52	17	8.5	751.00	10.31
20	31	3.22	9	9.0	n.d.	n.d.
21				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
22				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
23	30	3.33	5	5.0	n.d.	3.20
24	11	27.27	2	.7	231.00	52.64
25	25	16.00	45	11.2	440.00	72.77
26	11	27.27	24	8.0	102.00	17.86
27	17	0.00	0	0.0	0.00	0.00
28	31	16.13	27	5.4	231.00	13.16
29	29	13.79	33	8.2	n.d.	81.82
30	24	8.33	6	3.0	386.00	3.12
31	34	29.41	47	4.7	398.00	72.49
32	29	3.45	16	16.0	n.d.	n.d.
33	33	27.27	51	6.4	229.20	64.54
34	38	15.79	34	5.7	452.67	32.26
35	20	10.00	7	3.5	304.50	n.d.
36	16	0.00	0	0.0	0.00	0.00
37	40	12.50	25	5.0	404.40	n.d.
38	43	23.26	43	4.3	349.67	21.15
39				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
40	2	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
41	20	20.00	22	5.5	169.50	2.65
42	8	37.50	23	7.7	522.67	107.90
43	15	6.67	14	7.0	750.00	28.72
44	21	33.33	66	9.4	437.17	n.d.
45	23	13.04	21	7.3	659.00	2.70
46	35	34.29	63	5.2	262.00	11.17
47	33	39.39	79	6.6	684.25	55.12
48	34	17.65	40	6.7	597.00	97.52
49	10	50.00	22	4.4	109.33	9.09
50				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
51				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
52				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
53				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
54				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
55				NON-RESIDENTIAL		
Total	996	17.49	956	5.66	361.94	39.39

Zones with comparatively high levels of substandard dwellings did not appear to demonstrate a particular pattern in their distribution as all portions of the study area appear to be represented equally (Figure 5.12). Thus, no particular portion of the study area appears to have had a monopoly on disinvestment of this type. However, comparison of data in Table 5.1 with that in 5.6 indicate that zones with high proportions of substandard dwellings (7, 31, 33, 42, 44, 47 and 48) also experienced demolition and below average levels of structural maintenance and repair.

The second index of structural disinvestment was the average number of code violations incurred by each code violating dwelling. The list and explanations of the various codes and by-laws enforced by the City being too detailed for the text of the thesis, a description of the recurrent violations of codes and by-laws by subsection can be found in Appendix B.

On average, each substandard dwelling in the study area incurred 5.66 violations of housing codes and by-laws (Table 5.6). The importance of this figure is meaningless, though, unless one has a knowledge of the specific types of violations involved in most cases (Appendix B). In general, zones with higher average numbers of violations per substandard dwelling also contained a greater proportion of substandard dwellings. This was due in large part to the fact that "complaint inspections", which accounted for approximately 90% of all inspections in the study area, revealed more structural deficiencies than regular inspections conducted on a block-by-block basis. Whereas property owners were forewarned of

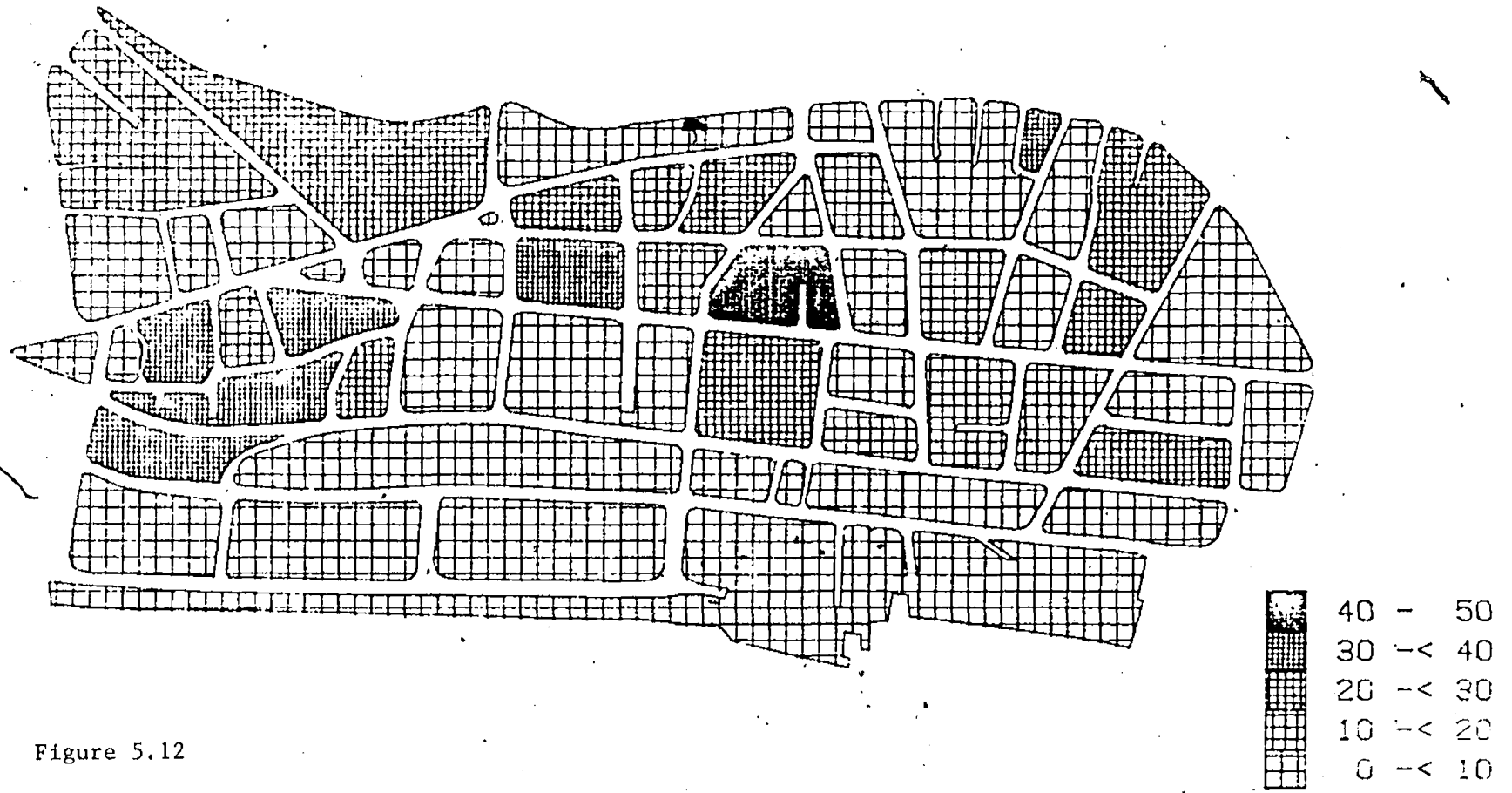


Figure 5.12

block-by-block inspections, inspections made by complaint referral were done so unannounced if the property owner had failed to respond to earlier notification.

While the data presented in Appendix B are very general in terms of the particular types of violations incurred, the ones which repeated themselves most often were sections 12(1)(a) (roofs); 13 (exterior walls); 14 (foundations and supports); 17 (exterior doors and windows) and 20 (interior walls and ceilings) of the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law; section 11.6.3.2.1 (detection and alarm) of the Life Safety Code of Canada; section 9.10.11.2 (party walls and fire barriers) of the National Building Code of Canada and section 2.6.1 (heating, ventilating and air conditioning) of the National Fire Code of Canada. These required that major interior and exterior repairs be executed in order to bring the dwellings up to standard. However, in other cases, something as relatively insignificant as section 19 (stairs, balconies and porches) or section 13 (exterior paint) of the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law demanded only minor exterior repairs.

In order to assess whether property owners acted quickly to rectify structural deficiencies, the current study calculated the number of days that elapsed between the time of notification and the completion of repairs. This was done only for those dwellings whose files were opened and closed between 1980 and 1982. The number of days taken to complete repairs was determined by establishing the date on which the file was opened and the date on which it was closed.

For the eighty-seven files examined, the average time-lag between notification of code violations and completion of the necessary repair was 361.94 days; roughly one year. Whether this figure is significant is unknown. However, in light of preliminary assumptions, it would seem that if stock revitalization was occurring on a large scale then there might have existed greater encouragement for property owners to complete repairs in a shorter period of time, although elapsed completion times were often reflective of the magnitude of repairs required. Zones in which the average number of days taken to complete repairs was greater than the overall average (1, 19, 25, 30, 31, 34, 37, 42-45, 47 and 48) in general experienced a greater average number of violation per substandard dwelling and contained a much larger proportion of code violating dwellings than the figure established for the entire study area (Table 5.6). Once again, however, the spatial distribution of zones with greater elapsed times was fairly even throughout the study area (Figure 5.13), although owners of substandard dwellings in the western portion appeared to take slightly longer to complete repairs than owners elsewhere. Why this was so appears to be related to the incidence of demolition, particularly in zones 1, 44, 47 and 48. In spite of demolition activity, incumbent upgrading in these zones appeared to be robust and its value, in most cases, greater than that established for the study area.

Lastly, the current study analyzed the total value of repairs made in response to violations and presented this as a percentage of

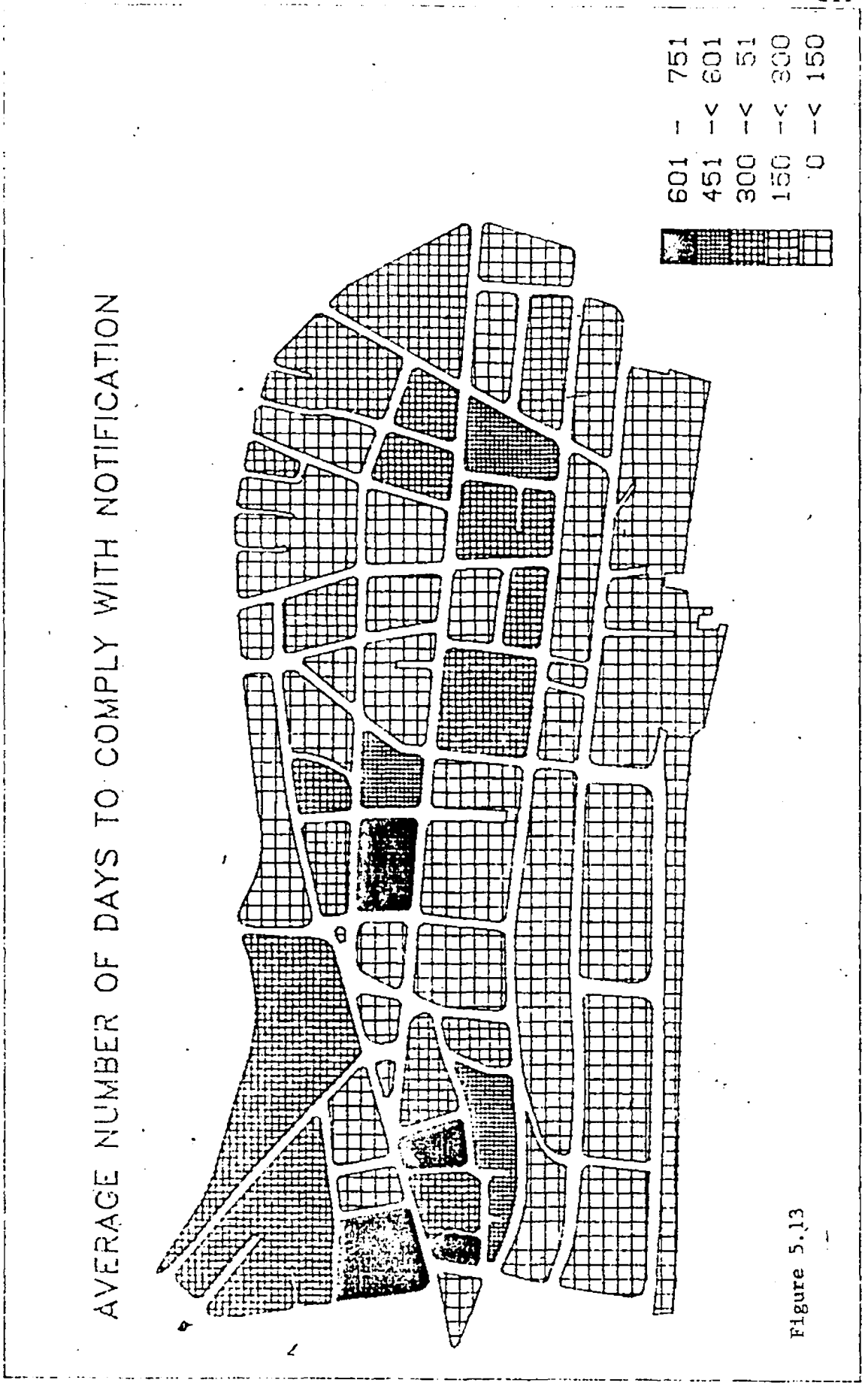


Figure 5.13

the total value of all maintenance and repair activity. This was accomplished by transposing estimated values of maintenance and repair from repair permits onto those dwellings that were listed in minimum property standards files as having been below standard, the primary objective of which was to determine how significant violation-induced repairs were in relation to the total amount reinvested in the stock.

Throughout the study area, the value of repairs made in response to code violations accounted for 39.39% of the total amount reinvested in the stock. Therefore, of the total amount spent on maintenance and repair, 60% was spent on dwellings that were structurally sound. Referring to data in Table 5.6 and Figure 5.14, a wide variation in the amount reinvested in each zone in response to code violations was apparent.

In zone 1, for example, repairs made in response to code violations accounted for 77.69% of the total amount reinvested in the standing stock. Violation-induced reinvestment was also a significant part of the total amount reinvested in zones 7, 8, 25, 29, 42, and 48. These zones were characterized by few property transactions while the amount reinvested in their dwellings as a result of incumbent upgrading was relatively high. Their spatial distribution, however, failed to suggest that zones in which the majority of the total amount reinvested was devoted to improving the substandard portion of the stock were more distinctive than others. Generally, these zones were distributed evenly throughout the study area and demonstrated no apparent tendency to cluster in certain areas (Figure 5.14).

Some of the expectations of this analysis were that zones which experienced proportionately high levels of reinvestment in the

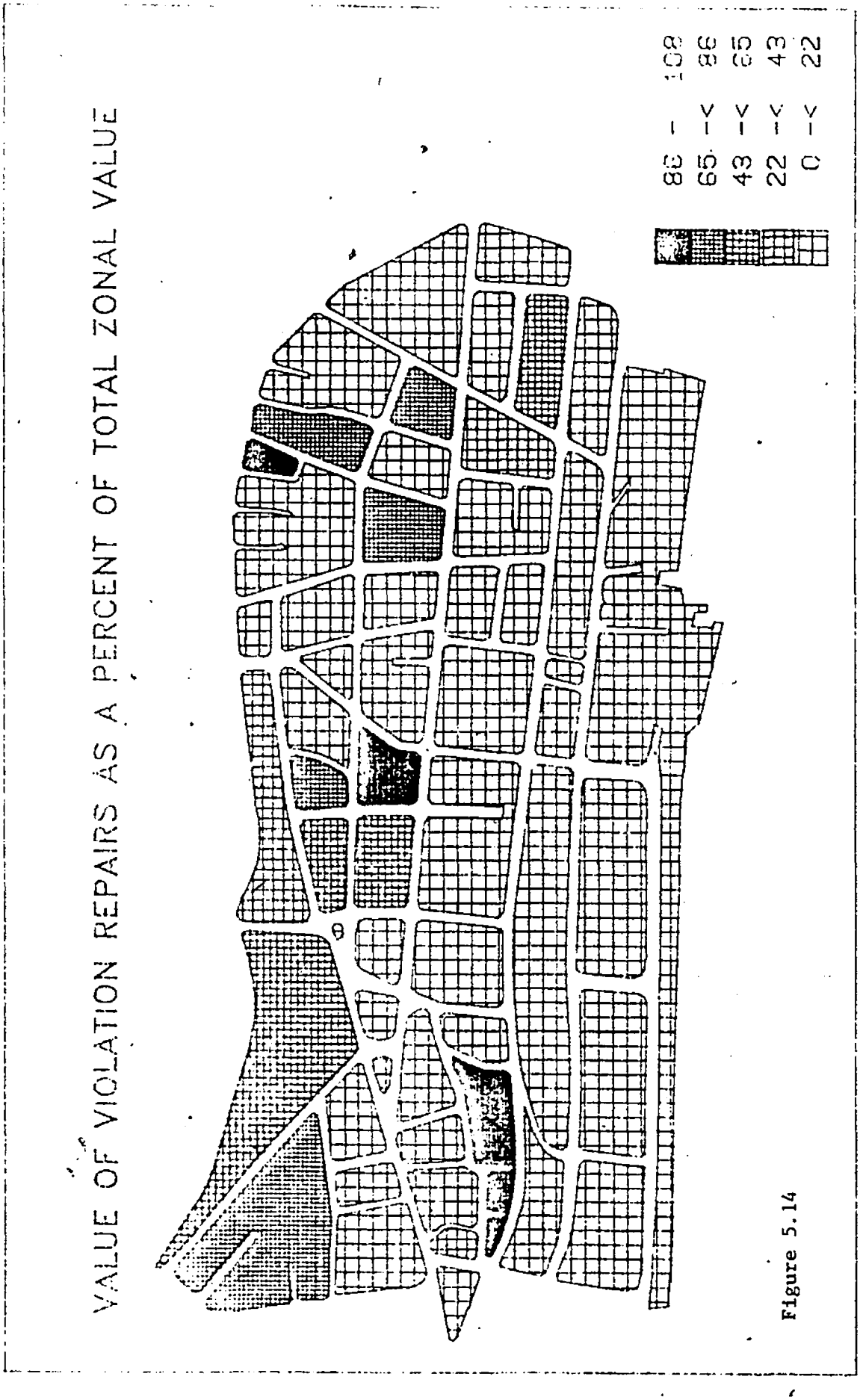


Figure 5.14

substandard stock would also be characterized by a greater proportion of substandard dwellings, a larger number of code violations per substandard dwelling and, on average, longer periods of time between notification and repair completion. Examination of data in Table 5.6, though, indicates that some of these expectations were not fulfilled. In zone 38, for example, 23.25% of the standing stock was declared substandard, a level greater than the combined average of all residential zones. On average, though, there were 4.3 code violations for every code violation dwelling, less than the average of 5.6 for the study area. These repairs took, on average, 349.67 days to be completed from the date of notification, also less than the average number of days taken throughout the study area (361.94). The amount reinvested in substandard dwellings accounted for just 21.15% of the total amount reinvested in the zone's active inventory, less than the average of 39.39% established for the study area. In this case, although there were more substandard dwellings in the zone, the severity of code violations (in terms of numbers) was not as apparent as in some of the other zones in the study area, and this was reflected by the shorter amount of time taken to complete repairs and the lower amount reinvested in each case.

On the other hand, zone 1, the housing stock of which was only 12.93% substandard, experienced 6.5 code violations per substandard dwelling. On average, these dwellings took 417.75 days to be brought up to standard. Of the total amount reinvested in the stock, 77.69% was devoted to improving the substandard component, a figure much greater than the average of 39.39% established for all residential zones in the study area. Therefore, although substandard dwellings

were proportionately less in number, the amount required to bring them up to standard was high in comparison with the amount reinvested in the remainder of the stock. This was reflected by the greater average number of code violations per substandard dwelling and the amount of time required to complete repairs.

In summary, data on the value of violation-induced repairs as a percentage of the total amount reinvested in each zone indicate that, in certain zones, the substandard portion of the standing stock was often the principal beneficiary of reinvestment capital, although the amount reinvested was not always proportionate to the number of substandard dwellings in each zone. Whether the value of reinvestment in response to code violations is significant or not depends to a large extent on the way in which the data are interpreted. Zones in which the value of maintenance and repair devoted to improving the substandard portion of the stock was either very high (1, 7, 8, 25, 29, 42 and 48) or very low (19, 23, 28, 31, 41, 45 and 49) suggest that such activity was spatially variable and significant only in terms of the comparative amounts reinvested in each case. However, the number of substandard dwellings, as well as the severity of code violations, must be taken into consideration in each zone being examined.

Summary

The objective of this Chapter has been to examine the response of the housing stock to conditions of speculation and uncertainty by describing recent structural change. Three types of structural change were examined.

First, dwellings which failed to experience structural reinvestment were examined under the general rubric of no structural change. Zones in which the proportion of unmodified dwellings was high tended to be characterized by low levels of ownership change and these zones were distributed evenly throughout the study area. In total, unmodified dwellings accounted for 70.58% of the total housing stock between 1980 and 1982.

Secondly, dwellings which experienced reinvestment through structural maintenance and repair accounted for 26.51% of all dwellings in the study area. Without question, maintenance and repair was performed primarily by incumbent as opposed to newly arrived property owners. In total, the value of incumbent upgrading amounted to slightly less than one half (45.22%) of the total value of all maintenance and repair performed.

Maintenance and repair executed following C - R-type transactions accounted for the largest proportion of repair value of any ownership transaction. Although this type of property transaction affected only 3.41% of the revitalized stock, C - R-type transactions accounted for 14.33% of the total value of maintenance and repair performed by new property owners. The second most significant type of ownership transactions, in terms of repair value, involved the sale of resident owned dwellings to new non-resident owners. The value of structural reinvestment following R - N-type ownership transactions accounted for 8.60% of the total amount reinvested in the stock. Thirdly, maintenance and repair performed following R - R-type transactions, although accounting for the greatest proportion of maintenance and repair performed

following an ownership transaction, accounted for 8.46% of the total repair value. Thus, although R - R-type ownership transactions were not responsible for the largest portion of repair value by new property owners, property transactions involving the purchase of dwellings from non-resident (N - R) and non-resident corporate (C - R) owners by new resident owners, plus R - R-type transactions, accounted for the majority of reinvestment value by all new property owners (29.73%). Much less apparent was the value of repairs which followed new non-resident (R - N, C - N and N - N) and new non-resident corporate (R - C, C - C and N - C) ownership as each accounted for 13.45% and 10.24% respectively of the total value of maintenance and repair conducted by new property owners.

Thirdly, the current study examined structural change in terms of the physical removal of dwellings from the active inventory. In total, 2.81% of the inner city housing stock was eliminated between 1980 and 1982. Data in Table 5.5 indicate that demolition occurred in 28.2% of the total number of residential zones, ranging from a high of 23.8% of the stock in zone 44 to a low of 2.3% in zone 38.

In the final section of this Chapter, an attempt was made to distinguish between dwellings improved voluntarily and those upgraded involuntarily. This attempt occasioned the use of minimum property standards files. The main results of this investigation indicated that, throughout the study area, almost one fifth (17.49%) of all dwellings were below minimum standards. Secondly, on average, each substandard dwelling experienced 5.66 violations of the housing codes and by-laws enforced by the City of St. John's.

It was determined that zones characterized by a high average number of violations per substandard dwelling also contained a greater portion of substandard dwellings and experienced significant demolition and below average levels of structural improvement. Thirdly, the current study calculated the number of days that elapsed between notification of structural deficiencies and the completion of mandatory repairs. It was found that an average of 361.94 days elapsed before notifications were complied with in dwellings judged to be substandard. Also, zones in which the average number of days taken to comply with letters of notification was high experienced, in general, a greater average number of violations per substandard dwelling and contained a much greater proportion of code violating dwellings than the figure established for the entire study area. Fourthly, the total value of mandatory repairs was determined and presented as a percentage of the total value of all maintenance and repair activity. Throughout the study area, it was found that repairs made in response to code violations accounted for 39.39% of the total amount reinvested in the stock. Thus, sixty percent of the total amount reinvested in the housing stock was directed at dwellings whose structural condition was above standard.

The final Chapter of the current study will now attempt to integrate the results of Chapter Five with those of Chapter Four. An overview of the data is provided as is a summary of the present orientation of the inner city housing stock. Concluding the next Chapter will be a discussion of possible directions for future research.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter provides an overview of the results of the current study. An assessment of the present orientation of the inner city housing stock is then formulated as is an outline of possible directions for future research.

Before proceding with the main objectives of this Chapter, however, it is necessary to address an annoying quandary facing these conclusions. It is not a problem that results from the research methodology or the data per se. Rather, the temporal context of the current study has necessarily excluded any examination of a much longer process of structural change. In other words, it must be considered that, in addition to the structural change that occurred between 1980 and 1982, structural change also occurred between 1978 and 1980, 1976 and 1978 and so on. The problem that arises from the absence of empirically-based analyses of housing stock modifications during these earlier periods is that conclusions drawn from the current study must proceed from generalized assumptions based on descriptions of similar events prior to 1980. While Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981a) established the foundations of the current study by describing the evolution of the inner city housing stock between 1976 and 1980, this study did not address specifically the issue of structural change in all components of the stock nor, for that matter, did it examine the interrelationships between structural change,

ownership transactions and minimum property standards. As an exploratory thesis, in terms of both methodology and data sources, it is therefore difficult to extract relative meaning from the results of the current investigation as they apply to an empirical sequence of contemporary inner city housing dynamics. For example, if 26.51% of the total housing stock experienced maintenance and repair, amounting to $598,507 in total reinvestment value between 1980 and 1982 (Tables 5.1, 5.2), can it be stated with any certainty that these figures are significant (or insignificant) in terms of their reflection of inner city revitalization? Similarly, is it possible to determine whether "no structural change", representing 70.58% of the total number of dwellings in the study area (Table 5.1), is a sound indicator of apprehension on the part of homeowners as to the feasibility of reinvestment? Or is it simply a periodicity in a regular fluctuation of structural change activity? To answer these questions, a restatement of preliminary assumptions is required.

Ownership Change

In Chapter Five we began to examine how recent structural change may have been influenced by transactions in property ownership. This postulate led to the formation of three scenarios of what certain types of ownership change would tend to reflect in terms of structural change.

First, it was expected that no ownership change would be indicative of inner city residential stability. It was assumed that zones characterized by stability would also be characterized by relatively low levels of structural maintenance and repair as well as

demolition activity. Although some maintenance and repair was anticipated, it was assumed that the bulk of structural reinvestment would have been conducted by incumbent as opposed to newly arrived households and that the magnitude of incumbent upgrading would be marked by a lower dollar value relative to the value of maintenance and repair performed in zones characterized by dynamic ownership change.

Secondly, it was assumed that zones characterized by the transaction of property ownership to any individual or collective body other than a resident owner would reflect, in part, a tendency towards inner city residential decline. This scenario, of course, was contingent upon the supposition that resident owners would be more likely to reinvest in their dwellings than would non-resident or non-resident corporate owners. An obvious delusion of this scenario, and in contrast to the (generalized) literature on home improvements and mode of tenure (Grigsby, 1963; Sternlieb, 1966; Dildine and Massey, 1974), is that ownership transactions involving the purchase of dwellings by non-resident owners will necessarily result in structural disinvestment and, thus, neighbourhood decline. This scenario eliminates completely the potential for revitalization occurring through non-resident purchase of lower quality dwellings. While the American literature has been generally supportive of the absentee ownership-disinvestment relationship (for example, Schafer, 1977; Sternlieb, 1966; Sternlieb and Burchell, 1973), more recent work has pointed to the importance of large scale, non-resident involvement in inner city structural improvement subsequent to an initial surge of resident owner reinvestment, particularly in cases involving the

rejuvenation of heritage-related neighbourhoods and districts (for example, Datel and Dingemans, 1980; Developers Discuss Historic Preservation, 1983; Ford, 1979; Ford and Fusch, 1976; Madonna, 1980). However, as Chapter Three has outlined, given the tumultuous history of inner city housing in St. John's, including the development of uncoordinated land use legislation and City Council's apparent unwillingness to support the concept of development control, the period between 1980 and 1982 was essentially viewed as one with extremely unclear potential for new resident owner reinvestment let alone reinvestment by new non-resident owners. Although the heritage conservative movement in St. John's was initiated, in large part, by a non-resident collective (the St. John's Heritage Foundation), there is no additional evidence to suggest that other non-resident groups or individuals were active in the early stages of heritage-related revitalization.

In spite of the uncertainty that prevailed during the 1980 to 1982 period, property transactions involving the purchase of dwellings by new resident owners were viewed as an indicator of private sector confidence in the inner city housing market. Therefore, based upon expectations derived from the literature on gentrification (Bradley, 1978; Chow, 1981; Hamnett, 1973; Harrison, 1983; Lang, 1982; Lipton, 1977; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979; Peirce, 1978; Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981a), the third scenario was that an influx of new resident owners would be indicative of a trend towards inner city revitalization. While incumbent upgrading might also be observed in zones characterized by relatively high levels of new resident ownership, the magnitude of incumbent upgrading, in terms of dollar value, would be

less than that observed in dwellings repaired by new resident owners. Additionally, if new non-resident ownership was also apparent in such zones, we might also have expected there to be a concomitant inoculation of reinvestment capital from non-resident sources.

With these three scenarios in mind, several things emerge from the data presented and discussed in Chapter Four. In terms of residential stability, it was noted that 67.97% of the 996 dwellings located in the study area experienced no change in ownership (Table 4.1). The pattern of zones characterized by such stability were seen to be distributed rather evenly throughout the study area, although zones in the eastern portion of the Tract appeared to exhibit slightly greater stability than those of the central and western sections (Figure 4.2). It must once again be emphasized that the eastern portion of the study area was least affected by non-residential land use encroachment and proposals such as those in evidence in both central and western districts.

Given that property ownership changed hands in roughly three of every ten dwellings in the study area, the appropriate question is what types of ownership transaction were most apparent? More specifically, who were the major buyers and who were the principal sellers?

From the data presented in Table 4.1, it is observed that R - R-type transactions accounted for 25.64% of the total number of ownership transactions conducted over the course of the investigation, 4.81% greater than the proportion of N - N-type transactions, the second most prominent type of transaction. Following these were N - R- and N - C-type transactions, accounting for 13.78% and 11.22%

of all respective transactions, while the remaining types of transactions were distributed between 0% and 9% of the total.

While each type of transaction reflects a particular tendency of property ownership to be passed from one type of owner to another, it is dangerous to hazard specific reasons for each type of transaction due to the multiplicity of intervening factors in each case. In aggregate, however, it is interesting to note that private non-resident owners were the most active sellers in the inner city housing market. In total, N - R, N - C and N - N-type transactions accounted for 45.83% of all property sales while resident owners (R - R, R - C and R - N) and non-resident corporate owners (C - R, C - C and C - N) accounted for 40.06% and 14.75% of the total volume sold.

In terms of purchases, though, the difference between resident and non-resident ownership was much more distinctive. The majority of property transactions involved the purchase of dwellings by resident owners in R - R, C - R and N - R transactions. Although resident owners were responsible for the sale of 40.06% of all dwellings sold, they were purchasers in 45.83% of all cases. Much lower in volume was the purchase of homes by non-resident owners in R - N, C - N and N - N-type transactions. Ownership transfers of this type accounted for 33.65% of all property purchases. Conspicuous by its presence in the purchasing process were transactions involving the purchase of dwellings by non-resident corporate owners. Transactions of this type (R - C, C - C and N - C) accounted for 21.16% of all property transactions. This figure is compared with the minimal involvement of non-resident corporate owners in property sales. Thus, although non-resident owners were more active in the sale of properties, they

were not as involved in property purchases as resident owners were. Indeed, if any trend can be gleaned from these figures, it appears that both resident and non-resident corporate owners were more willing to enter the inner city housing market between 1980 and 1982 than were private non-resident owners. Of course, this general statement must be tempered by an examination of individual ownership transactions in Table 4.1.

Although the preceding overview gives no direct information about structural change per se, the implications of ownership change are clear. In Chapter Three, the current study reviewed the importance of the private rental housing market to the interests of the generally lower income families and households of the inner city. It was indicated that continuous erosion of the rental stock would have serious implications for low income housing. Indeed, Shrimpton and Sharpe (1981b) provided earlier warning of this possibility. Unfortunately, the results of this investigation into ownership change fail to suggest that the evaporation of low income rental housing has been arrested. Instead, the period between 1980 and 1982 appears to have been marked by a continuation of past trends, that is, towards owner occupancy. Although private non-resident and non-resident corporate purchases are themselves significant insofar as they suggest renter tenure, it is impossible to determine from this investigation whether rental accommodation is high, medium or low income oriented. However, given a knowledge of recent structural change following certain types of ownership transactions, it is then possible to state that there exists a reasonably good correlation between structural reinvestment, particularly of the large scale variety, and localized

increases in rental values (Bagby, 1974; Gale, 1978; Hartman, 1979; Hessel, 1973; Sumka, 1979). Thus, although the rental stock experiences reinvestment, subsequent rent escalations effectively preclude low income families and households from competing for increasingly scarce, affordable accommodation.

Structural Change

The purpose of Chapter Five was to examine the response of the inner city housing stock of St. John's to conditions of uncertainty by describing recent structural change. Three types of change were isolated and assessed.

First, dwellings which failed to experience structural improvement were examined under the rubric of no structural change. Zones in which the proportion of unmodified dwellings was high tended to be characterized by low levels of ownership change and these zones were distributed evenly throughout the study area. By far the most prevalent type of structural change unmodified dwellings accounted for 70.58% of the total housing stock between 1980 and 1982 (Table 5.1).

Secondly, dwellings which experienced reinvestment in the form of structural maintenance and repair represented 26.51% of 996 dwellings under examination. Without question, maintenance and repair was performed primarily by incumbent as opposed to newly arrived property owners. The data in Table 5.2 indicated that incumbent upgrading amounted to 76.14% of the total number of dwellings repaired while the number of dwellings in which incumbent upgrading occurred amounted to one fifth (20.18%) of the 996 dwellings in the study area. In total, its repair value amounted to $270,645 over the two year

period, representing slightly less than one half (45.22%) of the total value of all maintenance and repair performed. Thus, of the total number of dwellings repaired, the value of incumbent upgrading accounted for approximately fifty cents of each dollar spent on maintenance and repair.

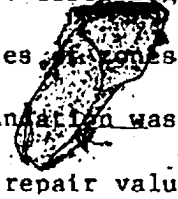
The spatial distribution of dwellings repaired by incumbent property owners underscores their importance as a principal force behind inner city structural improvement (Figure 5.2). While its spatial impact is undisputed, the value of incumbent upgrading appears to have been greatest in three distinct clusters in the eastern, central and western portions of the study area. Generally, the nucleus of each cluster consisted of one to three zones where the value of incumbent upgrading was greatest. These zones then tended to be surrounded by zones in which the value of incumbent upgrading was less conspicuous (Figure 5.3). However, like the stability reflected by low levels of ownership change in the eastern portion of the study area, here, too, one can detect a slight spatial imbalance in incumbent upgrading activity in favour of the eastern portion of the Tract.

Using data extracted from tax assessment rolls and repair permits, it was then possible to examine the maintenance and repair conducted by various newly arrived as well as incumbent property owners (Table 5.3). The estimated value of structural maintenance and repair by various types of ownership transactions has been completed in Table 5.4.

Maintenance and repair performed following R - R-type ownership transactions was most discernible, this type of structural change

having occurred in 12.88% of the total number of dwellings maintained or repaired. However, one of the expectations raised from the literature concerning gentrification was unfulfilled. Specifically, knowledge of the literature led one to expect that zones characterized by high levels of R - R-type transactions might also be characterized by concomitantly high levels of maintenance and repair value. As indicated by data in Table 5.3, though, this expectation was false. Furthermore, the value of maintenance and repair resulting from R - R-type transactions was not only much less than that of incumbent upgrading but also less than that resulting from R - N and C - R-type transactions. Thus, although statistically untested, it was concluded that the value of R - R-type transactions did not fulfill preliminary expectations concerning the expected value of repair activity.

In terms of repair value, the most important type of ownership transaction was the C - R type, where non-resident corporate owners sold properties to new non-resident owners. Although this type of property transaction affected only 3.41% of the revitalized stock, C - R-type transactions accounted for 14.33% of the total value of maintenance and repair performed by new property owners. Among other reasons, it was concluded that dwellings sold by non-resident corporate owners to new resident owners not only required but were also deserving of large scale structural reinvestment. Indeed, in the cases of zones 37 and 41, the presence of the St. John's Heritage Foundation was deemed an important factor contributing to high levels of repair value following C - R ownership transactions.



Interestingly, reinvestment confidence by non-resident owners appeared to be significant in the case of R - N-type ownership

transactions. While the overall impact of R - N-type transactions on the incidence of maintenance and repair was inconspicuous, such transactions represented the second most important source of reinvestment capital. The incidence of structural improvement following R - N-type transactions in certain zones within the Heritage Conservation Area was noteworthy. Examination of Table 5.4 revealed that in zones 24 and 26, the repair value in dwellings upgraded following ownership change were, for the most part, reflective of the R - N transaction. Thus, it was concluded that dwellings sold by resident owners to non-resident owners, like those involved in C - R transactions, were also in need of large scale maintenance and repair. However, based upon our knowledge of the literature, the tenants to which these refurbished rental dwellings were geared would most likely have been those of the medium to high income sector. Of course, a more precise knowledge of the rental market and the individuals it serves is required before this statement can be indubitably accepted.

In summary then, although R - R-type ownership transactions were not responsible for the largest portion of repair value by new property owners, property transactions involving the purchase of dwellings from non-resident (N - R) and non-resident corporate (C - R) owners by new resident owners, plus R - R-type transactions, in total accounted for the bulk of reinvestment by all new property owners (29.73%). Much less apparent was the value of repairs which followed new non-resident (R - N, C - N and N - N) and new non-resident corporate (R - C, C - C and N - C) ownership as each accounted for 13.54% and 10.24% respectively of the total value of maintenance and repair conducted by new property owners. Whether dwellings purchased

by new resident owners were in greater need of structural reinvestment than dwellings purchased by non-resident and non-resident corporate owners is essentially problematic. However, new resident owners, regardless of the preceeding type of ownership, accounted for nearly one third of the total amount spent on structural maintenance and repair. New non-resident and non-resident corporate owners, on the other hand, are seen to have reinvested modestly.

Thirdly, the current study examined structural change in terms of the physical removal of dwellings from the active inventory. In total, 2.81% of the inner city housing stock was eliminated between 1980 and 1982 (Table 5.5). Data presented in Table 5.5 reveal that demolition occurred in 28.2% of the total number of residential zones in the study area, ranging from a high of 23.8% of the total stock of dwellings in zone 44 to a low of 2.3% in zone 38. The spatial distribution of zones in which demolition was most intensive (Figure 5.11) indicates that all three portions of the study area contained a nucleus of demolition activity surrounded by one to three zones in which demolition was less intensive.

In the central portion of the study area, however, demolition activity was slightly more pronounced. Of the eleven zones in which demolition occurred, five were located within the boundaries of the Heritage Conservation Area, altogether accounting for 60.7% of all demolitions. Two zones in particular, zones 37 and 44, were found to have experienced demolition more extensively than any other zone. It was noted that virtually no incumbent upgrading had occurred in these zones between 1980 and 1982 and that absolutely no reinvestment had resulted from the sale of private non-resident and non-resident

corporate owned properties to new owners of all types (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). The demolition-disinvestment link was also apparent in the cases of zones 7, 34 and 48. Here, each zone experienced below average levels of maintenance and repair and limited reinvestment from new resident owners. Although incumbent upgrading had occurred to some extent in the remaining zones (5, 20, 33, 38, 47 and 48), these zones were marked by an absence of structural reinvestment by new property owners of all types. Thus, throughout the study area, demolition appeared to be concentrated in zones where the basic pattern of activity was non-investment.

Not surprisingly, the majority of demolition occurred subsequent to property transactions involving the sale of dwellings to both private non-resident and non-resident corporate owners. Demolition of private non-resident owned dwellings represented 53.57% of the total number of demolitions while property transactions involving the sale of property to non-resident corporate owners resulted in 46.42% of all stock deletions. Ownership transactions of the N - N type accounted for the largest proportion of demolitions (35.71%) while transactions of ownership from one non-resident corporate owner to another accounted for 21.43% of all removals.

Minimum Property Standards

In an attempt to distinguish between dwellings improved voluntarily and those upgraded involuntarily, the current study examined the impact of minimum property standards enforcement, an almost universally employed public welfare policy. The main feature of minimum property standards, or housing codes, is that they assume

an ignorance on the part of the general public as to 'what is best' for it in terms of safe and sanitary accommodation. Although justified on the basis of its minimization of potential public (and private) sector burdens, critics of urban welfare policy have claimed that minimum property standards now act more as a vehicle for structural revitalization than a policy enforced in the interests of positive discrimination (Lehman, 1963-64; Osgood and Zwerner, 1960). Thus, some have argues that housing codes are often enforced zealously and fail to reflect reasonably the state of both local economies and housing markets (Ackerman, 1971; Hartman, et.al., 1974; Kiefer, 1980). So, in the context of the current study, what can be concluded about minimum property standards enforcement and the maximum operating efficiency of the housing stock?

To answer this question one must remain considerate of the inner city housing stock as a locus of low income rental accommodation. Although tenants themselves do not assume direct responsibility for mandatory maintenance and repair, the cost of completing such repairs may in future lead to increases in rents. If the landlord fails to enact the necessary repairs, the dwelling in question may be ordered closed until such repairs are eventually completed (Appendix B). Additionally, as an alternative, the dwelling may be offered for sale at which point changes in property ownership may result in the reclassification of tenure mode. In any event, the low income tenant is faced with a housing problem that he/she had and has no immediate control over.

A restatement of the main findings of the minimum property standards analysis resurrects the notion of indices of structural

disinvestment. First, the number of code violating dwellings as a percentage of the total number of dwellings per zone was calculated. Throughout the study area, almost one fifth (17.49%) of all dwellings were below minimum standards of acceptibility. Although it is difficult to extract relative meaning from this figure, it is recalled that one quarter (26.51%) of the dwellings under examination experienced structural maintenance and repair. Thus, the number of substandard dwellings and the number of dwellings maintained or repaired were found to be quite similar. Also, in spite of the observation that zones with comparatively high proportions of substandard dwellings did not demonstrate a particular pattern in their spatial distribution, comparison of data in Table 5.1 with that of Table 5.6 indicate that zones with high proportions of substandard dwellings (7, 31, 33, 42, 44, 47 and 48) also experienced significant demolition and below average levels of structural maintenance and repair.

Secondly, the current study examined the average number of code violations incurred by each code violating dwelling. On average, each substandard dwelling in the study area experienced 5.66 violations of the housing codes and by-laws enforced by the City of St. John's (Table 5.6). Most importantly, it was found that zones with higher average numbers of violations per substandard dwelling also contained a greater portion of substandard dwellings. Thus, although the average number of code violations themselves are little more than a statistic, it is the context in which this particular index exists that lends relevance to its inclusion.

The same can also be said of the third index of disinvestment. In an attempt to establish a time component, the current study calculated the number of days that elapsed between the time of notification of structural deficiencies and the completion of necessary repairs. Of the eighty-seven files examined, an average of 361.94 days elapsed before repairs were completed in dwellings judged to be substandard. Thus, roughly one year transpired before mandatory repairs were completed. Zones in which the average number of days taken to complete repairs were greater than the overall average (1, 19, 25, 30, 31, 34, 37, 42-45, 47, 48) experienced, in general, a greater average number of violations per substandard dwelling and contained a much larger proportion of code violating dwellings than the figure established for the entire study area (Table 5.6). In the western portion of the study area, particularly in zones 1, 44, 47 and 48, property owners took longer to complete repairs than owners elsewhere (Figure 5.13). Coincidentally, these zones also experienced comparatively greater levels of demolition activity.

Fourthly, the current study determined the total value of mandatory repairs and presented this as a percentage of the total value of all maintenance and repair activity. It was found that throughout the study area, repairs made in response to code violations accounted for 39.39% of the total amount reinvested in the stock. Therefore, of the total amount spent on maintenance and repair, sixty percent was directed towards dwellings that were already deemed structurally sound. It was concluded that in certain zones (1, 7, 8, 25, 29, 42 and 48), the substandard portion of the stock was often the principal beneficiary of reinvestment capital while in other zones

(19, 23, 28, 31, 41, 45 and 49) the substandard component either demanded or simply received considerably less capital reinvestment.

A sobering thought which relates back to the issue of over-enforcement of codes and by-laws concerns the number of minimum property standards files found to be open, that is still active, as of May, 1984. According to these files, of the fifty-five notifications issued in 1982, 50.91% have not yet been complied with. Although there were more notifications issued in 1981 (67), 29.85% of them are considered open and, most surprisingly, of the thirty-six notifications issued in 1980, 13.89% have remained active for at least two and one half years following their issuance. While it is facile to attribute these figures to inconsistency on the part of the Minimum Property Standards Division or to prolonged market transactions (Appendix B), one can not overlook the fact that a considerable portion of both old and newly substandard dwellings have remained in the active inventory. Thus, although the majority of the substandard stock was repaired in due time, there remained and continues to remain a very clear element of structural disinvestment activity, thereby reducing the overall impact of inner city revitalization through structural improvement of the surrounding stock.

The Present Position

Given the preceeding summary, it is necessary to formulate an opinion of the present orientation of the inner city housing stock. This task is made difficult in light of the large volume of sometimes tenuous evidence at our disposal. One must therefore maintain a sense of caution when reviewing what appear to be conclusive data as such

evidence may, on a disaggregated basis, suggest a contrasting view. Nevertheless, the current study has revealed several important things.

First, on the one hand, 26.51% of the housing stock in Tract 007 experienced some form of structural reinvestment between 1980 and 1982. On the other hand, 70.58% of the stock experienced no structural change while 2.91% of the stock was physically removed. Of the dwellings that did experience reinvestment, 70.58% were upgraded by incumbent owners. The value of incumbent upgrading as a percent of the total value of all maintenance and repair activity measured 45.22%, nearly half of the total amount reinvested in the stock. The value of maintenance and repair following ownership transactions was seen to vary according to the particular type of transaction involved. Transactions involving the purchase of residential properties by resident owners from non-resident corporate owners accounted for 14.33% of the total value of repair activity. Ownership transactions involving the replacement of resident owned dwellings by non-resident owners resulted in 8.60% of the total value of maintenance and repair activity while transactions from resident owners to new resident owners brought with them 8.46% of the total value of structural reinvestment.

Throughout the study area, though, 39.39% of the total value of maintenance and repair was involuntary, or mandatory, and made necessary by the violation of minimum property standards. Dwellings in violation of codes and by-laws enforced by the City of St. John's amounted to 17.49% of all inner city dwellings and, on average, each violating dwelling incurred 5.66 violations and took 361.94 days, or roughly one year, to comply with letters of notification.

In view of the data contained herein, the current study contends that although there has been evidence of some reinvestment activity in the form of structural improvement, that which has occurred has been sporadic and spatially variable. Most importantly, recent structural change does not appear to support a process of large scale gentrification or a substantial return to the city movement. Rather, incumbent upgrading of the stock has been more apparent than stock improvements made by recent in-movers. While structural disinvestment has shown signs of arrest, it has not been transformed into large scale, area-wide reinvestment activity. The fact that a considerable portion of the substandard stock remains as such lends support to this statement.

Being neither in decline or under revitalization, then, the inner city housing stock of St. John's as of 1982 has assumed a state of quiescence. Speculation as to its immediate future unfortunately appears to be as irresolute as the policy environment in which it exists.

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Appendix A

ST. JOHN'S MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
BUILDING DEPARTMENT
PERMIT

R 6112

DATE _____

PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED TO:

APPLICANT CONTRACTOR

ADDRESS ADDRESS

TO

LOCATION

PERMIT FEE $

SIGNED _____ BUILDING INSPECTOR

IMPORTANT ALL WORK MUST BE CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS AND BY LAWS OF THE CITY OF ST. JOHN'S AND ALL ORDERS OF THE BUILDING INSPECTOR MADE OR ISSUED BY VIRTUE OF SUCH LAWS AND BY LAWS MUST BE OBSERVED PERMIT IS RENEWABLE ON APPLICATION TO THE BUILDING INSPECTOR

PERMIT VOID UNLESS VALIDATED BY CASHIER STAMP

REMARKS

DATE AMT. PAID

OWNER'S COPY

Exhibit A

Appendix A

CITY OF ST. JOHN'S — RESIDENTIAL ASSESSMENT RECORD

ROLL NO _____ WARD _____

OWNER _____ OCCUPIER _____

ADDRESS _____ LESSOR _____

GROUND RENT _____ NO _____

TENANTS | SERVICES | RENT | AREA

OCCUPANCY
- ☐ SINGLE FAMILY
- ☐ 2 - 3 "
- ☐ 4 - 7 "

DATE BUILT _____
REMODELED _____
COMMENTS _____

STORIES
- ☐ 1 STORY
- ☐ 1½ "
- ☐ 2 "
- ☐ 3 "
- ☐ SPLIT LEVEL

ROOMS		BATHS	BEDRMS.
1	6	1	1
2	7	1½	2
3	8	2	3
4	9	2½	4
5	10	3	5

MODEL: 1 ☐ 1A ☐ 2 ☐ 2A ☐ 3 ☐ 3A ☐ ECONOMY ☐

DETACHED ☐ SEMI DETACHED ☐ ROW ☐ NUMBER OF UNITS ☐

PERIMETER

RATIO	GROUND AREA ÷ PERIMETER
SECTION A	
SECTION B	

		GROUND	LIVING
SEC A SIZE	AREA		
SEC B SIZE	AREA		

MEASURED BY _____ DATE _____

LAND VALUATION

SERVICES	YES + NO −	% TO BE DEDUCTED LAND	% TO BE DEDUCTED BUILDINGS
SEWERS			
SEPTIC TANKS			
STREET LIGHTS			
CURB & GUTTER			
PAVEMENT			
SIDEWALK			

VALUE AT UNIT RATE
BASIC RATE/UNIT _____ X FRONTAGE OR ACRES _____ = $ _____
MULTIPLIED BY DEPTH FACTOR OF _____ = $ _____

ADD FACTORS INCREASING VALUE:
EXCESS FRONTAGE = $ .....
CORNER INFLUENCE = $ .....
OTHER = $ .....
TOTAL TO ADD = $ _____
SUB TOTAL $ _____

DEDUCT FACTORS DECREASING VALUE:
SHAPE _____ % = $ _____
3' BELOW TO 8' ABOVE STREET GRADE _____ % = $ _____
8' BELOW TO 15' ABOVE STREET GRADE _____ % = $ _____
OTHER _____ % = $ _____
TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTORS = $ _____
TOTAL TO DEDUCT = $ _____ = $ _____
TOTAL LAND VALUE = $ _____

ADDRESS _____

ASSESSMENT HISTORY

	19	19	19	19
LAND				
BUILDING				
TOTAL				

SALES INFORMATION

DATE	SALE PRICE	REMARKS

COURT DECISIONS

DATE	LAND	BUILDING	TOTAL	REMARKS

Exhibit B

Appendix A

BASE BUILDING COST/SQ.FT. LIVING AREA	SEC. A		SEC. B	
Alternate Adjustments	+	−	+	−
EXCAVATION				
BASEMENT FLOOR OR SLAB ON GROUND				
BSMT. OR FDN. WALLS INCL. FTGS.				
EXTERIOR WALLS				
WINDOWS				
INT. PARTITIONS AND FINISH				
FLOOR CONSTRUCTION				
FLOOR FINISH				
CEILING				
ROOF				
HEATING AND A.R. CONDITIONING				
ELECT. LIGHTING				
ADJUSTMENT TOTALS				
NET ADJUSTMENTS				
ADJUSTED BASE COST				
RATIO MULTIPLIER				
ADJUSTED COST/SQ.FT.				

BUILDING DESCRIPTION

EXCAVATION	BASEMENT	4" FTG.	1' FTG.	GR. SLAB
BASEMENT FLOOR OR SLAB ON GROUND	BASEMENT ___" CONC.	CRAWL & GRAVEL	CRAWL & ___" CONC.	SLAB ___" CONC.
BSMT. OR FDN. WALLS INCL. FTGS.	11 COURSE	10 COURSE	4" FTG.	WOOD OR CONC. POSTS
EXTERIOR WALLS	WD. SIDING	ALUM. SDG.	BRICK VNR.	STUCCO FR.
WINDOWS	WOOD	ALUMINUM	STORMS	SCREENS
INT. PARTITIONS AND FINISH	DRYWALL	PLASTER	SOFTWOOD	BAS. STAIR
FLOOR CONSTRUCTION	2"x12" JOISTS & SUBFLOOR	2"x10" JSTS & SUBFLOOR	2"x8" JOISTS & SUBFLOOR	SUBFLOOR & SLEEPERS
FLOOR FINISH	HARDWOOD ___" THICK	LINOLEUM OR ASP. TILE	VINYL OR RUBBER TILE	CARPET
CEILING	DRYWALL & INSULATION	PLASTER & INSULATION	NO INSULATION	PLASTER
ROOF	GABLE / HIP / FLAT	ROOF COVER: ASPHALT / BUILT UP / FELT		
HEATING AND A.R. CONDITIONING	HOT AIR	HOT WATER	ELECTRIC	SPACE HEATER
ELECT. LIGHTING	B. X.	ROMEX	CONDUIT	KNOB & TUBE

OTHER BUILDING FEATURES

PLUMBING
STANDARD COMPLEMENT

SEWERAGE
STANDARD COMPLEMENT

BUILT-INS
STANDARD COMPLEMENT

FIREPLACE ☐
CHIMNEY INSIDE ☐ OUTSIDE ☐

ATTIC

DORMER

BREEZEWAY & PORCH

OTHERS
BASEMENT APARTMENT

TOTAL OTHER BUILDING FEATURES

GARAGE ☐ ATTACHED ☐ BUILT-IN ☐ DETACHED ☐ BASEMENT

TOTAL GARAGE

RATIO SEC. A _____ MULTIPLIER _____ SEC. A AREA _____ @ COST/SQ.FT. _____
RATIO SEC. B _____ MULTIPLIER _____ SEC. B AREA _____ @ COST/SQ.FT. _____

ADJUSTED BUILDING COST

DEPRECIATION

	% TO DEDUCT
ACTUAL AGE ___ YRS	
CONDITION — INTERIOR	
−EXCELLENT	
−GOOD	
−NORMAL	
−CHEAP	
CONDITION — EXTERIOR	
−EXCELLENT	
−GOOD	
−NORMAL	
−CHEAP	
MODERNIZATION DEDUCT ___ YEARS	
TOTAL YRS. TO ADD OR DEDUCT	
EFFECTIVE AGE	
FUNCTIONAL OBSOLESCENCE	
−POOR EXTERIOR DESIGN	
−OTHER FACTORS	
ECONOMIC OBSOLESCENCE	
−LACK OF SERVICE	
−LOCATION	
−MUTUAL DRIVE	
−LANE ENTRANCE	
−PROXIMITY OF NUISANCE	
−TRAFFIC NUISANCE	
−OTHER FACTORS.	
TOTAL DEPRECIATION MAXIMUM 60 %	

SUMMARY

ADJUSTED BUILDING COSTS _____
OTHER BUILDING FEATURES _____
GARAGE (ATTACHED, BUILT-IN, OR BASEMENT) _____
SUBTOTAL _____
TIME — LOCATION MODIFIER CITY _____ DATE _____ MODIFIER _____
CURRENT REPLACEMENT COST _____
DEDUCT ACCRUED DEPRECIATION (__%) _____
NET VALUE OF RESIDENCE _____
ADD DETACHED GARAGE _____ C.R.N. _____ LESS DEP. EST. ___% CRNLD _____
ADD LAND IMPROVEMENTS _____ C.R.N. _____ LESS DEP. EST. ___% RCNLD _____
TOTAL VALUE OF RESIDENCE AND IMPROVEMENTS _____
ADD LAND VALUE _____
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE _____

REMARKS

INSPECTED BY: _____ DATE: _____ CALCULATED BY: _____ DATE: _____ REVIEWED BY: _____ DATE: _____

Exhibit B

APPENDIX B

An explanation of the operating procedures of the Minimum Property Standards Department is in order. In the City of St. John's, building and housing codes are enforced by the City's Minimum Property Standards Division under the supervision of the Department of Building and Development. The Department of Building and Development is authorized under Section 58 of the City of St. John's Act to enter any building for the purpose of inspection as defined by Section 402 of the Act. Section 402 also outlines the conditions for establishing building inspectors and defines the powers entrusted in the Department.

The Minimum Property Standards Division enforces a number of building and housing codes as defined by various by-laws relating to both new construction and property maintenance. Pursuant to the powers vested in it under Section 403B of the City of St. John's Act, the St. John's Municipal Council on October 31, 1973 passed the St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law, in which standards and regulations were prescribed for the occupancy and maintenance of residential properties throughout the City. The property inspection unit also enforces the National Building Code of Canada, the National Fire Code of Canada and, as of 1981, the Life Safety Code of Canada. In terms of service standards, the City of St. John's Plumbing By-law and the City of St. John's Electrical By-law adhere to the standards defined by the Canadian Plumbing Code and the Canadian Electrical Code respectively. Occupancy standards in multi-family and lodging homes are controlled by the St. John's Lodging House By-law and non-structurally related standards are enforced, usually as a result

of complaint, by the Noise, Parking of Vehicles, Dog and Articles and Things By-laws.

The number of inspectors employed by the Minimum Property Standards Department has increased substantially since 1978 when there were ten. By 1980 there were fifteen active inspectors and by 1984 the number had grown to twenty-four. According to the 1981 Census, approximately 43,500 occupied private dwellings in the St. John's Census Metropolitan Area fall under their auspices, of which 2.29% were in the study area, Census Tract 007.

There are basically two operating procedures. The first is to investigate a potentially substandard property on the basis of a complaint. According to the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector, Mr. P.J. Ford, eighty to ninety percent of all housing code violations in St. John's are reported as a result of this type of investigation. Section 58 of the City of St. John's Act gives the inspector right of entry into any dwelling to investigate the object of a complaint between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m.. Upon inspection, however, the inspector may notice that several structural deficiencies exist in addition to the one being investigated. If these are deemed to be in violation of a particular subsection of a code or by-law, they are recorded on the inspector's report and taken back to the Department where a letter of notification is written and delivered to the owner. In cases where the property owner cannot be determined after reasonable enquiry on behalf of the City, a notice is

posted on the offending property under the assumption that the owner's identity will emerge upon visitation. This sort of procedure usually occurs in cases of abandonment and severe structural deterioration. After being notified of structural or property deficiencies, the property owner is then obligated to respond in writing within fifteen days indicating intention to comply with notification. Under Section 393 of the City of St. John's Act, the necessary maintenance and repair must commence execution within one month's time of notification. If remedial action is not undertaken by the property owner, a fine not exceeding five dollars per day for every day during which a notification order has not been complied with is levied. In cases where inclement weather precludes exterior repair, a period of grace is granted to the property owner under an agreement with the Department that the required repairs be executed immediately following the period of inclemency. If the dwelling is immediately unfit for human habitation, however, the Department may then exercise discretion and demand that temporary repairs be executed at once. In cases where ownership of the violating property is in transition, the new owner assumes full responsibility for executing repairs as required. It is an ethical procedure, however, for real estate agents to inform potential buyers of outstanding structural violations and the need to comply with orders of notification.

Unlike the randomness of complaint-type investigations, the second type of investigation procedure is to conduct property inspections on a block-by-block basis. Using the power entrusted in them by Section 58 of the Act, property inspectors may enter a dwelling for the purpose of inspection following the prior issuance of

a letter notifying the property owner that an inspection of the property will be conducted on a given date. The property owner, or owner designate, is expected to be present on that date to permit entry. If not, the inspector makes note of the absence and a second letter is delivered to the property owner. As in the case of a complaint, continuous evasion will eventually result in the matter being referred for legal action, whereby the City Solicitor intervenes and the case transferred from the Department to the courts. Seasonal variability, of course, is also taken into consideration.

Block-by-block inspections are simple to identify: although the current study is constrained by research ethics, examination of minimum property standards files reveals the adjacency of code violating dwellings in a particular zone. For example, in zones 30 and 31 it was not uncommon to find a string of violating dwellings with similar structural deficiencies: exterior cladding and painting and the installation of smoke detectors and gyproc walls (party walls) predominated in these cases.

In personal communication with the Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector, the author noted that the Department of Building and Development no longer 'goes easy' on the older inner city housing stock. Their rationale is logical: since a considerable portion of the stock is of the row house variety, where at least one wall is common between two dwellings, the threat posed by one substandard dwelling on the health and safety of occupants of adjacent dwellings must be minimized. Adoption of the Life Safety Code of Canada in 1981, for example, has meant that all residential dwellings must be equipped with smoke detecting devices. Block-by-block enforcement of

this particular requirement may make apparent additional structural deficiencies which will eventually require rectification.

The accumulation of various codes and by-laws pertaining to the operating efficiency of the housing stock have been translated into structural modifications and, thus, capital reinvestment over time. In view of the fact that 17.49% of the total housing stock of the study area was in violation of some form of minimum property standards between 1980 and 1982, future research might therefore find profitable a more extensive temporal examination of the accumulation of minimum property standards codes and by-laws and their resulting impact on structural change.

DESCRIPTION OF RECURRENT VIOLATIONS OF CODES AND BY-LAWS

St. John's Maintenance Housing By-law: (SJMH)

Section	General Application
11(1)(b)	Walks, driveways and steps
12(1)(a)	Roofs
12(1)(b)	Roof drainage
13	Exterior walls
14	Foundation walls and supports
15	Structural soundness
17	Exterior doors and windows
19	Stairs, balconies and porches
20	Interior walls and ceilings
21	Floors
22	Fireplaces, fuel burning equipment and chimneys
28	Lighting and ventilation

City of St. John's Lodging House By-law: (SJLH)

Section	General Application
4	Overoccupance, structurally unsound, no valid permit to operate
15	Fire prevention, control and safety
19	Exits and exit requirements
36	Structural soundness

Life Safety Code of Canada: (LSC)

Section	General Application
5-1.2.4	Impaired exits
5-2.1.2	Means of egress, hardware for doors
5-2.9.2.1	Protection of openings
11-3.24	Exits
11-3.33	Detection and alarm devices
11-3.3.5.1	Protection from hazards
11-6.3.2.1	Detection and alarm

Canadian Electrical Code: (CEC)

Section	General Application
36	High voltage installation

National Building Code of Canada: (NBC)

Section	General Application
3.4.3	Width and height of exits
3.4.5.1.2(2)	Fire separations on exit doors
3.4.6	Exit signs
3.4.8.14	Fire escapes
9.5.2	Room/space dimension requirements
9.9.4	Means of egress
9.10.9.15	Fire protection
9.10.11.2	Construction of party walls and fire barriers

National Fire Code of Canada: (NFC)

Section	General Application
4.2.9	Rooms for combustible storage
4.3.3	Support, foundations and anchorage for indoor storage of combustibles
4.3.14	Vents for indoor storage
2.6.1	Heating, ventilating and air conditioning

CENSUS TRACT 007, CITY OF ST. JOHN'S

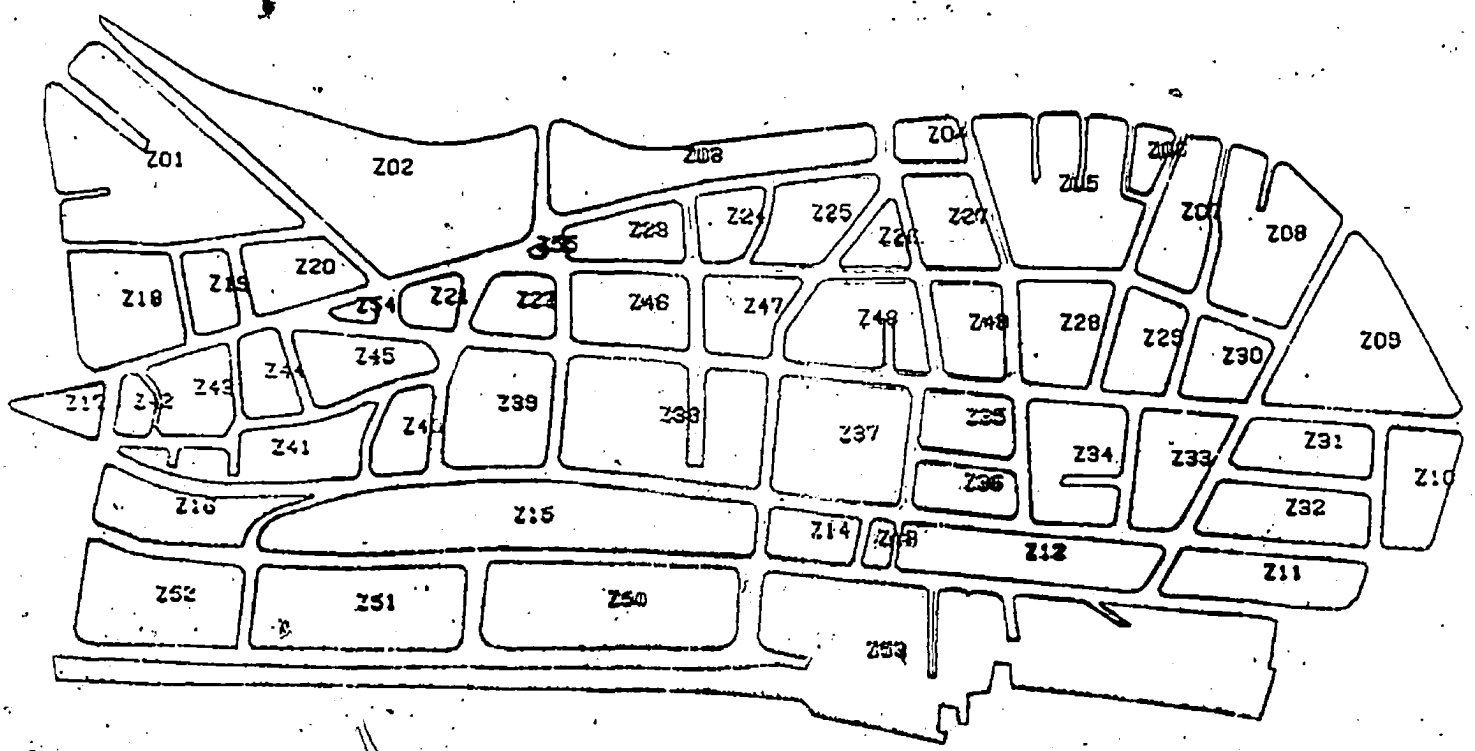

Figure 4.1