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Exploring Resident Experiences of Displacement in a Neighbourhood Undergoing Gentrification and Mega-Project Development: A Montréal Case Study

Amy Twigge-Molecey
INRS- Centre urbanisation culture société
amy_twigge-molecey@ucs.inrs.ca

Abstract:

The recent proliferation of new-build gentrification has led researchers to emphasize the need to explore the effects of indirect displacement on incumbent residents (Davidson & Lees 2004). This paper develops a four-tiered indirect displacement typology sub-dividing the concept into: cultural displacement, social displacement, political displacement and exclusionary displacement. This framework is operationalized in a case study of Saint-Henri, a gentrifying neighbourhood in Montréal (Québec, Canada), to assess whether it is useful in understanding the meanings of displacement in the lives of incumbent residents. This paper also adds substantive knowledge on the experience of direct displacement through key informant interviews with residents whose housing is slated for expropriation due to the redevelopment of a major piece of transportation infrastructure. The case study reveals that in Saint-Henri, social, cultural and exclusionary displacement are all relevant to understanding residents' experiences in the face of gentrification and mega-project development. There was not however, evidence of political displacement in Saint-Henri. For example, there were no indications of explicit conflicts between incumbent residents and incoming gentrifiers in trying to shape the future dimensions of place, as has been found elsewhere (see Davidson 2008). The key informant interviews exploring the threat of direct displacement highlight complex emotional landscapes in the face of such changes, which are particularly acute for long-term elderly residents and serial displacees.

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

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"Yes, but Notre-Dame at this point, I find that it is no longer made of stores for the people of Saint-Henri. When I came back, it had become shops, small terraces, little cafés, I go into a little café and go sit down with someone I know, drink a coffee, and it costs $17 for a coffee and a hot chocolate! It's like, look, excuse me, but with the salary that I make, raising two children, my rent, my electricity and everything, I cannot afford it. For me it is no longer boutiques or shops for me. It's like we said earlier, for the Lachine Canal. (...) It's that the poor have been squeezed out to make room for the rich. Sorry, but ..." *[translation] 44 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*

Cities are increasingly moving towards mega-projects which combine a plethora of activities including recreation, culture, shopping and mixed-income housing, based in large part on the idea of adaptive reuse, in order to re-imagine and re-appropriate large parts of urban areas that have been rendered obsolete by deindustrialization (Hall, 2002). In Montréal (Québec, Canada) the McGill University Health Centre mega-hospital will be built by 2015 on the former Glen Yard (a redundant rail yard) and will likely create increased demand for housing in the adjacent neighbourhoods as its employees seek to live closer to work, accelerating gentrification already underway in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood. The combination of these factors is likely to produce displacement in both direct and indirect forms. Direct displacement refers to instances where residents are pushed out of their housing due to wider neighbourhood changes, such as gentrification or expropriations for mega-projects. Unlike the classic forms of gentrification through renovation of the existing stock, new-build housing development on disused land within a neighbourhood does not cause direct displacement per se. However, there may be other indirect effects (i.e. second order effects) of wider neighbourhood changes. Such 'indirect displacement' effects might include increasing rents as the neighbourhood becomes more desirable, or socio-cultural displacement as more affluent incomers take over neighbourhood apparatuses (Davidson & Lees, 2004). Rose (2004) argues that very little is known about lived experiences of social mix in the context of new-build gentrification, where middle-class settlement happens suddenly and in an 'in your face' manner (D. Rose, 2004).

During the early phases of the research, a plan to redevelop a major elevated urban expressway interchange abutting the neighbourhood was announced, necessitating the expropriation of some 100 households. My research strategy needed to evolve to take account of the impacts of this newly-arrived "elephant in the room" on Saint-Henri residents, and since I presumed that the usual methodological difficulties associated with finding displacees would not apply since they could be located before they moved out, I decided to add a component examining direct displacement due to expropriation. The confluence of these different processes including mega-hospital development, redevelopment of a major piece of transportation infrastructure, significant new-build gentrification along the Lachine Canal—designated a recreational corridor in 1997—and continued traditional gentrification, created optimal circumstances for investigating a variety of types of displacement (direct and indirect forms) in a former working-class neighbourhood in Montréal, adding a Canadian case study to these recent empirical investigations of indirect displacement.

This paper will explore low and modest income renters' experiences of displacement (in both direct and indirect forms) in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood of Montréal that is simultaneously undergoing both traditional and new-build forms of gentrification and mega-project development. It does so by developing an indirect displacement typology that sub-divides second order effects into four constituent types: social, cultural, political and exclusionary displacement; and it tests this framework empirically to assess whether it is a useful way to characterize resident experiences of indirect displacement effects in this type of urban context.

The research questions underlying this work were the following: what are the meanings of displacement from the perspective of long-term residents living in rental housing in this working-class Montréal neighbourhood which is simultaneously experiencing a variety of processes likely to generate displacement (i.e. traditional gentrification, new-build gentrification, mega-hospital development and redevelopment of a major piece of transportation infrastructure)? How do these residents experience displacement? In what ways is it significant to their lives?

1. Gentrification, new-build gentrification and the multiple dimensions of displacement:

Traditionally, gentrification involves physical, economic, social and cultural processes, and the 'invasion' of previously working-class neighbourhoods by middle or upper-income groups, and the subsequent direct displacement of many of the original residents (Hamnett, 2000). While much scholarly attention has focused on the causes of gentrification, its effects on specific neighbourhoods and the consequences for existing residents remain relatively unexplored, due in part to the difficulty of measuring displacement and in locating displacees (Slater et al., 2004; Van Weesep, 1994).

More recently, gentrification is taking increasingly diverse forms such as new-build gentrification (which will either take place as infill development or as the creation of entire neighbourhoods on brownfield sites). In these cases, developers and municipal governments alike argue that displacement will not occur, as these developments create new additional housing units rather than rehabilitating existing housing as was the case with traditional gentrification. However, Davidson and Lees (2004, 2010) argue that 'new-build gentrification' involves middle-class resettlement of the inner city, the creation of a gentrified landscape and the indirect displacement of lower-income residents in the adjacent communities. Thus, in trying to develop an holistic and integrated understanding of displacement we can think about the experience of indirect displacement as being about not be able to gain access or belonging any more in a neighbourhood whereas the experience of direct displacement is more visceral because it takes away 'home' itself within that neighbourhood.

Renewed scholarly interest in the concept of indirect displacement - first articulated in Chernoff's (1980) work exploring 'social displacement' in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Atlanta - is due in large part to the widespread proliferation of new-build developments in inner-city neighbourhoods. Martin (2007) has argued for a need for conceptual refinement of Chernoff's concept of 'social displacement' because as it was defined it can refer to cultural, social or political displacement experienced by incumbent residents. Another early attempt to explore indirect displacement was Marcuse's (1986) concept of exclusionary displacement, which occurs when a household is not able to move into a given dwelling because competition from more affluent households has pushed the cost of housing within the neighbourhood beyond what they are able to pay.

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Recent empirical investigations have validated the concept of 'exclusionary displacement' and revealed that as gentrification processes accelerate, they privilege more affluent households and prevent former incumbent residents from returning from suburban areas (Millard-Ball, 2002; Teixeira, 2007). Mazer and Rankin (2011) use Marcuse's (1986) concept of 'displacement pressure' to explore the social dislocation of incumbent residents in a gentrifying Toronto neighbourhood, South Parkdale, despite their continued residence there (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). Martin (2007) developed the concept of political displacement and found long-term residents in Atlanta's gentrifying neighbourhoods actively mobilized against it, while nonetheless expressing concerns that they would lose both power and belonging in their neighbourhoods (L. Martin, 2007). In the most comprehensive treatment of indirect displacement to date, Davidson (2008) sub-divides the concept into a three-fold classification: 'indirect economic displacement', which draws upon Marcuse (1986) in order to further tease out the externalities that gentrifying reinvestment of capital can generate; 'community displacement', which builds on the research of Chernoff (1980) and Martin (2007) to explore the shifting dynamics of power and how gentrifiers are often central to re-imaginings of place; and last, 'neighbourhood resource displacement', which involves the changing orientation of neighbourhood services to serve more affluent incomers and how such changes are experienced by incumbent residents. Empirical research in the Brentford neighbourhood along the River Thames in London revealed that all three processes were underway: indirect economic displacement and community displacement were operating simultaneously and reinforcing one another and large-scale neighbourhood resource displacement had almost completely transformed the local commercial landscape, facilitated by the state-led process of redevelopment (Davidson, 2008). However, we cannot assume the indirect effects of gentrification to be experienced negatively by all residents, as elsewhere recent investigations have highlighted that incumbent residents may be appreciative of improvements in local service provision although sharing a sentiment that such improvements were ultimately not made for them (Doucet, 2009; Freeman, 2006).

I argue that a first step toward refining the concept of indirect displacement is to take into consideration the urban sociological literature on the significance of the

neighbourhood for different groups. There is a need to understand the broad debates on the significance of the neighbourhood as social space because if it has no particular importance for incumbent residents, than displacement either in direct or indirect forms is of no consequence. Review of the literature on social ties and social networks suggests that the neighbourhood is of particular importance for low-income groups and the elderly because their social networks are more neighbourhood-based (Authier, 2005; Fortin, 1988; Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Henning & Lieberg, 1996). However, it is not clear to what degree these assertions are generalizable. In particular, the claim that low-income people have more locally-rooted networks than higher income groups needs more critical investigation, due in part to the different cultural contexts and city sizes from one case study to another.

Second, the urban geographical literature on 'sense of place' also needs to be mobilized to further develop the concept of indirect displacement. Place can be understood as a type of object, so for example, learning to know a neighbourhood requires identification of significant landmarks within neighbourhood space. Tuan (1977) has argued that a place achieves concrete reality when we are able to experience it with all our senses. Long residence in a particular locale enables us to know a place intimately, but often in a bounded fashion. For example, our experience of place is circumscribed by our daily experiences, thus place includes our street or the shops in the neighbourhood we frequent (Tuan, 1975, 1977). As such, place can be understood as a unit of environmental experience, a convergence of thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of the people experiencing them (Canter, 1986).

Discussions around 'sense of place' frequently mobilize two inter-related concepts: place attachment and place identity. Place attachment is often portrayed as a multifaceted concept that characterizes the bonding between individuals and their important places (Giuliani, 2003; Low & Altman, 1992). Becoming psychologically attached to place occurs in three main ways: through affect, through cognition and through behaviour (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Place identity has been described as the individual's incorporation of place into the larger concept of self; a "potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings (Proshansky et al., 1983)." As such, place

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

The term 'sense of place' is used to emphasize that places are significant because they are the focus of personal feelings. Places are infused with meanings and feelings by those who inhabit or experience them (G. Rose, 1995). Location is not enough to create sense of place in itself; it emerges from involvement between people and between people and place (Pretty et al., 2003). In gentrifying neighbourhoods, explorations of 'sense of place' have found there are often competing representations of place held by longstanding residents compared to incoming gentrifiers (Blomley, 2004; G. P. Martin, 2005).

Drawing upon this diverse literature, I develop a typology breaking down the experience of indirect displacement into four constituent types. First, *exclusionary displacement*, which occurs when through mechanisms underway in gentrifying neighbourhoods, areas that were once accessible become inaccessible to low and modest income households as competition from higher income groups pushes prices beyond their means (Marcuse, 1986; Millard-Ball, 2002). This could be experienced at the individual level in terms of increased difficulty finding suitable housing, decreased residential mobility, and/or frustration due to living in unsuitable housing. Second, *social displacement* pertains to the impact of gentrification processes upon incumbent residents' social ties and social networks. This may be experienced by the individual in terms of fracturing of local social networks and in such cases might result in feelings of loneliness or grief (Fried, 1966). Third, *cultural displacement* relates to the idea of competing cultures within gentrifying neighbourhoods between incumbent residents and gentrifiers, who tend to try to refashion the neighbourhood in their image. The neighbourhood thus becomes a site of contestation between competing senses of place (Blomley, 2004; Jess & Massey, 1995; Lehman-Frisch, 2002, 2008; G. P. Martin, 2005; G. Rose, 1995). This may be experienced by incumbent residents in a number of ways including economic and cultural exclusion, inconvenience resulting from commercial service displacement, or conversely appreciation of new local services; and it may also affect levels of comfort in neighbourhood public spaces. Last, *political displacement* pertains to the shifting power dynamics within neighbourhood-based community

institutions and organizations and/or the creation of new such organizations by incoming residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Martin 2007). Shifting dynamics within organizations or the creation of parallel organizations by newcomers may result either in political disempowerment or conversely in political empowerment through access to new social capital.

To explore the experience of direct displacement due to expropriation, it is highly pertinent to draw on the environmental psychology research on the meaning of home, this being critical in terms of one's experience of displacement. The meaning of home is often conceptualized as a haven or refuge. In such cases, the experience of displacement can result in a number of negative psycho-social reactions, such as grief, anxiety, stress, depression, loss of security and control, alienation, up rootedness, or loss of sense of self (Carr, 1994; Després, 1991; Fried, 1966; Key, 1967; Kleinhans, 2003; Vandemark, 2007). Fullilove (2004) thought existing labels did not adequately describe the psycho-social implications of displacement and developed the concept of 'root shock' to describe the traumatic shock reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem. The individual has a way of maintaining external balance between herself and the world and navigating her environment, which is referred to as a 'mazeway.' When this mazeway is damaged the person will go into 'root shock', which represents a profound level of emotional upheaval that essentially undermines the working model of the universe that had existed in the individual's head (Fullilove, 2004). Her empirical work in Northeast and Gainsboro, two African-American neighbourhoods in Roanoke, Virginia, concluded that urban renewal sapped strength and depleted resources in a way that increased the vulnerability of those uprooted, not just in the immediate sense, but for the ensuing decades, and further created divisions and hostilities within the city that are still difficult to endure to this day. As such, an unintended consequence of urban renewal is 'mazeway disintegration' triggered by community dispossession on the one hand, and the accompanying psychological trauma, financial loss and rippling instability caused by direct displacement on the other (Fullilove, 2001). However, we cannot assume home to have such profound positive meaning. Elsewhere in the literature home is represented not as a haven or refuge, but rather as a trap, for example for elderly or unemployed people who are housebound

(Moore, 2000). Nonetheless, Slater (2010) calls for renewed research on displacement 'from below', from the perspective of those experiencing it, arguing that we still have much to learn from moving accounts of 'love and loss' in the context of the devastation wrought by displacement (Slater, 2010: 178). This research is in large part a response to such calls to explore the wider range of displacement effects that may arise as a result of gentrification, new-build gentrification and mega-project development, from below - in terms of the perspectives of long-term residents who experience them.

2. Methodology:

In order to explore the multiple dimensions of displacement the case study seemed the optimal methodological approach. My methodological strategy combined documentary research and qualitative semi-structured interviews. I began by examining descriptive statistics to assess the degree and types of gentrification underway in Saint-Henri and document recent changes. This was complemented by an inventory of commercial service provision on the main neighbourhood commercial street, rue Notre-Dame, which was then compared to commercial service provision in 1996 in order to construct an approximate portrait of changes in retail services.

The bulk of the research process, however, consisted of semi-structured interviews with long-term renters to explore whether they experienced displacement (direct or indirect forms) and if so, what meaning displacement had in their lives. My indirect displacement sample consisted of 29 interviews with 34 total residents. The majority of interviewees were between 31 and 50 years old and females were over-represented. Over two-thirds spoke French as a mother tongue, while a quarter were Anglophones, and 3% spoke a non-official language. This is roughly characteristic of the linguistic balance in the neighbourhood, although immigrants are under-represented. The lion's share of interviewees were Caucasian. As to housing tenure, just under half the sample were private sector renters, while the remainder were in various types of public housing (HLM, coop and OBNL). Interviewees came from a range of income levels though the majority were low and modest-income and had diverse educational backgrounds. In terms of length of residence, 29% had been in Saint-Henri for 5-9 years, 50% for 10 years or more and 21% had lived their entire lifetimes in the neighbourhood.

The direct displacement sample was comprised of five[1] key informant interviews whose housing was slated for expropriation for the redevelopment of the Turcot Interchange of whom four were private sector renters and one was a homeowner who had been living in the same house for 45 years. I interviewed four women and one man, from a variety of income groups. Interviewees' ages ranged from 36 to 72 years old and their length of residence in the neighbourhood was between 5 and 66 years.

3. The Saint-Henri neighbourhood:

Saint-Henri, located in the South-west of Montréal, is one of Canada's oldest working-class neighbourhoods. The opening of the Lachine Canal in 1826 was key to its development (Blais et al., 1981). The neighbourhood is also characterized by a long history of activism. As early as 1880 workers went on strike to protest their wages and working conditions in the factories lining the banks of the Lachine Canal and by 1898 workers had achieved their first victories. Women played a prominent role in such struggles and were key leaders in early union organizing. The abysmal working conditions in the neighbourhood's factories combined with this tradition of union activism led Saint-Henri to be an ongoing site of labour unrest in subsequent decades (Michaudville, 1972).

As a result of deindustrialization, Saint-Henri had been losing population since the 1960s. In 1966, the population peaked with 26 699 inhabitants and declined continuously until 2001, bottoming out at 13 563 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 1966 and 2001 Census). The hardships of unemployment wrought by deindustrialization combined with this longstanding tradition of activism and self-help laid the groundwork for Saint-Henri to be the birthplace of the first citizens' committees in Montréal in the early 1960s. This in turn led to the eventual establishment of a whole array of popular institutions within the neighbourhood (Godbout & Collin, 1977; McGraw, 1978; Mills,

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[1] Despite my initial assumptions that studying displacement through expropriation would not pose the same methodological difficulties as other types of direct displacement (such as that induced by gentrification), recruitment for this part of the research was extremely challenging. I suspect this was related to: 1) research fatigue – as residents of this part of the neighbourhood had been the subject of numerous research endeavours and on-going media attention; and 2) limitations in available time and energy due to the logistical issues inherent in the potential forced relocation. Nonetheless, because the five key informants presented such different profiles and the wider dearth of qualitative accounts of direct displacement 'from below,' these accounts still constitute a valuable contribution to knowledge on direct displacement.

2009). Favreau (1989) categorizes Saint-Henri as a traditional 'quartier populaire' which historically had the following characteristics: a situation of relative social homogeneity; a sense of neighbourhood belonging developed more on a cultural (i.e. white French-Canadian Catholic) than socio-occupational basis; the creation of a certain type of social and cultural life; and a frame of reference of belonging to a very well-defined neighbourhood, where the neighbourhood unit dominates (Favreau, 1989). As early as the late 1980s traditional gentrification began to take hold in parts of the neighbourhood, which Ley (1996) argued would provide the Canadian counterpart to the gentrification of Harlem, as Saint-Henri had been among the country's most disadvantaged slums for more than a century (Ley, 1996).

However, more recently, the long-term population decline underway in the neighbourhood since the 1960s has halted. Between 2001 and 2006 there was a 9.1% increase in population (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census). Today, while Saint-Henri is still a largely working-class and francophone neighbourhood, with a high percentage of single-parent families, low-income households and renters, it has been changing substantially in recent years, with widespread conversion of the former industrial landscape into housing, especially new condominium developments along the Lachine Canal (designated a recreational corridor by Parks Canada in 1997. The scale of this conversion was contested, with community groups in Saint-Henri and adjacent Pointe-Saint-Charles calling for mixed use to create more local industrial jobs and limit the spread of gentrification (Germain & Rose, 2000; Sénécal & Michel, 2002). To this day, the longstanding tradition of activism in the neighbourhood continues unabated. Between 2000 and 2007, there were 72 collective actions in Saint-Henri, the majority of which were to protest the condominium developments mushrooming up along the Lachine Canal and against plans to locate a garbage dump in the neighbourhood (Hernandez Latorre & Le Bel, 2011).

4. Findings: Four constituent types of indirect displacement in Saint-Henri?

We now examine whether indirect displacement (in its various forms) is a useful concept for understanding long-term renters' experiences in Saint-Henri, summarizing the evidence from this exploratory study of the four different types of indirect displacement set out in the indirect displacement typology.

<u>Social networks and social displacement?</u>

To examine potential social displacement I explored residents' social networks to see if they had friends and family living locally. All income groups tended to have weak ties/acquaintances within the neighbourhood. In terms of strong ties, among low-income residents some reported having almost all their strong ties living in the neighbourhood. The following quotation is from a lifelong resident and demonstrates that the neighbourhood is extremely important in terms of her localization of her social network.

> **ID-29(a):** "For me, Amy, Saint-Henri is Saint-Henri. I have it tattooed on my heart for real, and the people I spend time with, the majority remain in Saint-Henri. I'll tell you that we are a family of seven (…) there are two who have moved. My sister married a soldier so she had to remain close to the military base. And my other sister moved to Ville Saint-Pierre because you can have the same thing as here for $300 less rent." *[translation] 45 year old woman, lifelong resident, low-income, living in public housing.*

A factor that ultimately led to a fracturing of social networks for some residents was the widespread fires within the neighbourhood and the subsequent displacement of friends who were then unable to find replacement housing nearby, due to the lack of affordable housing. The shift in neighbourhood atmosphere identified through loss of many acquaintances and the subsequent loss of familial atmosphere within Saint-Henri may also constitute a form of social displacement, experienced through the dilution of networks of locally-based weak ties. This may be related to length of residence, as the likelihood of significant turnover of neighbours over time (no doubt accelerated by the forces of gentrification) seems more likely to be perceived and experienced in a negative fashion by those who have been residing in the neighbourhood for a significant duration of time. Further, high turnover in rental housing (due to lack of maintenance by the landlord) seemed to be a factor mitigating against 'locally based community' and networks of weak ties insofar as it was reported that it required significant energy to recreate ties with neighbours on an annual basis in the face of high turnover. Another factor contributing to a fracturing of social networks was repossession-induced-displacement, whereby friends or neighbours were pushed out of their housing and were unable to find replacement housing close by. Evidence suggests that in the case of repossession, even if one has the ability and/or good fortune to be able to remain

within the neighbourhood after the fact, it does not mean that such events will not have a dire impact on one's social network or social re-integration into the neighbourhood more generally.

Cultural displacement in local retail services?

Neighbourhood retailing was a point of divergence in terms of the views of interviewees. There was evidence of a mismatch between available retail services and the needs of some long-term residents, especially in terms of certain basic items such as children's clothing, forcing residents to leave the neighbourhood to shop for these basic items. Moreover, as the opening quotation highlights, there was a sentiment among some lifelong residents that recent commercial changes such as the arrival of boutiques and cafés, were not destined to the incumbent population, but rather for affluent newcomers living in new-build developments along the Lachine Canal. Among some lifelong residents such changes constituted a threat and were perceived as a force pushing low-income residents out of the neighbourhood to make way for higher income residents. This contrasts with recent findings in a gentrifying neighbourhood in the north of Edinburgh, where even though long-term low-income residents perceived changes in commercial provision to be for others, they tended to view the changes in more positive terms. In this case, however, retail changes were concentrated in a new-build shopping centre, so long-term residents had retained their traditional shopping district which remains a focal point of the incumbent population (Doucet, 2009).

With regards to this idea of a shifting 'sense of place' resulting from wider neighbourhood changes this was evident in some aspects of the commercial landscape in Saint-Henri. A key site of contestation was the new IGA supermarket opened in 2006 and was a noted point of conflicting views among residents. Some long-term residents felt uncomfortable in the new store due to the loss of a more familial small-scale neighbourhood grocer and its replacement with a much larger, more expensive store, which in turn led to a shifting 'sense of place' at the neighbourhood grocer that they could no longer identify with.

> **ID-23 (a)**: "It is very, very, very expensive there, it is certain that for him [the grocer] ... We are the last of his worries. Yet it is a man that, well it has been years that he is in the neighbourhood. (...) Here we had a small IGA, and when I say small, it is not just the size of the place, but I mean to say that a little IGA for

me, I mean that we felt at home when we went there back in the day. But not today. Today it has moved and been renovated, there's ... they built a luxury IGA, we call it luxury, it is not even affordable. You no longer feel ... It's no longer our neighbourhood IGA there. It's really no longer the same." *[translation] 51 year old woman, long-term resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

Others however, felt that the new IGA was a real improvement in the neighbourhood, though those expressing this view were more recent arrivals and were not low-income, so likely not priced out of the new store. Interestingly, a key point of tension was raised by one lifelong resident, who felt caught between rock and a hard place: she felt conflicted about supporting the new store (due to its exorbitant prices), but continued to shop there in order to help sustain the store and protect the jobs of many long-term neighbourhood residents who were employed there. In light of deindustrialization and the rise of precarious employment, this interviewee saw the strategic value in keeping low-income residents employed within the neighbourhood, even at the expense of larger grocery bills for her family. The Atwater market was also a point of discord. While some residents clearly felt culturally excluded by the lack of availability of traditional Québécois ingredients and the high prices of produce there, another longstanding resident suggested that in fact it had never been a market destined to the local population. On the whole, these results suggest that at least for lifelong residents, cultural displacement had occurred within neighbourhood retail establishments.

Cultural displacement in neighbourhood public spaces?

Parks within the neighbourhood were well used by a variety of residents including those with and without children, and to a lesser degree, the elderly. In terms of levels of comfort, dogs surfaced as a key point of tension in the use of public parks. While a dog run had recently been provided to accommodate the increased number of dogs in the neighbourhood, not all dog-owners felt it was safe for their dogs there due to the presence of so-called 'aggressive' breeds. This links to Tissot's (2011) work where she argues that gentrifiers' choices of breeds tended to reflect body attitudes which mirrored the 'habitus' of their owners. As a consequence of this lack of comfort, some dog owners would walk their dogs off-leash in other neighbourhood parks, which in turn created tensions, especially with parents with young children, or with neighbourhood children who did not want to play in areas frequented by dogs:

ID-24(c): "They rebuilt Louis Cyr Park (…) but what happened is that they have created a park of grass, before it was games, now they have just put down grass, but then it is like a dog park. It's not supposed to have dogs, but the kids call it the dog park and they will not go there because there is poop on the ground, so they cannot walk there and cannot go play there. So we don't go there anymore. But when I was little, we went to this park. We would play there. But since 5-10 years, we can't go because there are dogs (…) They leave them off leashes as well, and do not pick up the poop and leave the dogs roaming free. It's dangerous for children. So we go to the parks further away." *[translation] 24 year old female, lifelong resident, high income, living in coop housing.*

Interestingly, however, some lifelong and long-term residents felt that the dog run afforded an opportunity for mixing of diverse breeds of dogs, as well as a minimum of social contact with the more affluent newcomers, many of whom owned dogs. This contrasts with Tissot's (2011) findings where gentrifiers who advocated for the creation of the dog run in a gentrifying neighbourhood stressed its contribution in terms of 'connecting people,' despite the fact that users were fairly homogeneous (i.e. middle and upper-income residents).

The redevelopment of the Canal and the changing 'sense of place' along its banks was experienced differently among lifelong residents. While some greatly appreciated the improvement in infrastructure along the Canal, for others it had simply become too frequented leading to a shifting 'sense of place' there, in line with Bélanger's (2010) findings that the recent development along the Lachine Canal had the effect of diluting long-term residents' sense of belonging there. Improvements in neighbourhood parks were widely noted, although among some long-term and lifelong residents they were greeted with cynicism, as they felt insulted that such improvements were made only after the influx of a more affluent population, which is similar to findings of a study in New York City. Harlem, NYC, however, is a black inner-city neighbourhood with a long history of disinvestment and poverty, and in this case cynicism was based on the perception that improvements resulted from municipal collaborations with affluent white residents. As such, both race and class were salient dimensions in defining 'us' and 'them' (Freeman, 2006).

Cultural displacement and shifting 'senses of place':
Some interviewees expressed feelings of division and social separation between themselves and the incoming condo dwellers and felt that some incoming residents

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were trying to symbolically recast the condominium developments along Lachine Canal as distinct from the Saint-Henri neighbourhood:

> **ID-29(a):** "They are snobs, I'm sorry ... (...) Amy, we were doing a survey on the edge of the canal. People living on the edge of the canal, if you ask them ... "Hello ma'am, you live in St-Henri?" "No, I'm sorry." "Ah, you are in another neighbourhood?" "Well, I live here on the edge of the canal." "Well, madam, the canal is in Saint-Henri." "No, no, no ma'am. I live in..." "Well, tell me the name of your neighbourhood first?" "Well, I live in Montréal!" "I'm sorry to tell you but you live in Saint-Henri." That's what I said to her and then I left. Worse, it was not just a lady, but two ladies who were not together. They do not live in Saint-Henri. They live on the edge of the canal. I'm sorry, but this is where you live." *[translation] 45 year old women, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*

Here we see an example of conflicting and competing 'sense(s) of place' held by long-term residents and incoming condominiums dwellers, as has been found elsewhere (Blomley, 2004). As such, this constitutes evidence of cultural displacement in terms of shifting 'senses of place.' However, in contrast to (G. P. Martin, 2005), in Saint-Henri we find that symbolic representations of place are not only important for newcomers but also for at least some incumbent low-income residents. A sense of division and feelings of social separation were also observed in Doucet's Edinburgh-area case study, but there they were accompanied by more benign feelings and were not perceived as threats by long-term residents (Doucet, 2009). In Saint-Henri, some long-term residents experienced discord with incoming condo dwellers who exhibited condescension and snobbery towards them, similar to recent findings in South Parkdale in Toronto (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). A key difference is that in the cases of Saint-Henri and to a lesser degree in South Parkdale, there was mobilization against the changes wrought by gentrification, whereas in Leith there was little to no resistance (see Slater, 2004). Moreover, in Saint-Henri, while not all long-term residents experienced this social separation as forcibly negative, those that did were actively engaged in the fight to protect their neighbourhood.

Political displacement?

In order to examine whether political displacement was underway I explored whether there had been shifts in power between existing neighbourhood organizations or

whether new organizations had been created by incoming gentrifiers vying for power with long-established organizations. As following passage illustrates, one thing that was noted was that there was a distinct lack of participation from incoming residents in neighbourhood struggles.

> **ID-02:** "Well, I think when I go there, what I see a lot of is people like me, who it's been years that they are here. I don't see too many new residents, the rich and all that ... mobilizing for something..." *[translation] 32 year old woman, lifelong resident, low income, living in public housing.*

A more recent resident recounted a story of a colleague who visited a condo project masquerading as a potential buyer, only to discover that one of the main selling pitches by the realtor was that you have the advantage of the canal, but your building faces away from the neighbourhood so you do not need to be involved in it.

> **ID-26:** "I'll give you an example, one of my colleagues (…) he went to one of many new condo projects on the canal (…) and the lady told him: "What is fun here is that you have the advantage of the canal, but you are backed onto the neighbourhood, so you do not need to be involved", so at the end of the day that is a selling point, "Come here, it's cool, you do not need to invest." (…) For me it is the major problem that is happening in the neighbourhood (…) people opt for comfort and after that are pretty much fairly indifferent to what is happening outside." *[translation] 28 year old male, recent resident, modest income, living in private rental housing.*

These findings are consistent with recent research in the same neighbourhood, which revealed that some longstanding residents reproached incoming gentrifiers for their lack of involvement in the social and cultural life of the neighbourhood (Bélanger, 2010). However, they contrast starkly with recent findings from an investigation of indirect displacement in three neighbourhoods with substantial new-build gentrification along the River Thames in London, which revealed concrete examples of explicit conflicts between new and existing residents. (For instance, one site of conflict was over the plans to redevelop the main commercial street and evidence of gentrifiers political weight and power giving them the upper hand in this contestation over defining the future dimensions of place (Davidson, 2008)). I did not find evidence of this type of conflict underway in Saint-Henri. I can postulate a few possible reasons for this. First, London is near the top of the global economic hierarchy of advanced tertiary cities. Thus, it seems likely that the differences in power between incumbents and incoming gentrifiers (in economic terms and political terms) would be more extreme than what is

observed in our case in Montréal (a marginal advanced tertiary city). Second, perhaps it is also a matter of timing as incoming condo dwellers in Saint-Henri were not yet actively mobilized in the neighbourhood at the time of fieldwork—a situation that could change as their numbers increase and if the rate of turnover is not too high.[2]

Exclusionary displacement?

In Saint-Henri there was definite evidence of exclusionary displacement. However, it seemed to depend on one's socio-economic position and was more likely to be experienced by long-term residents as the following quotation illustrates:

> **ID-23(b)**: "Yes, sure, because it's like in our neighbourhood, we are no longer at home. We cannot come and go as we want. Worse is like all of a sudden you, well once you leave, the minute you leave it's already there, when you're in private rental housing it is not easy, but if you leave the neighbourhood, it is even harder to return. So it is like you are no longer at home, no longer able to come and go as you want. It's finished. You no longer have that feeling of belonging, of being at home. Finished." *[translation] 51 year old woman, long-term resident, low income, living in coop housing.*

This perspective was shared by a number of long-term renters, particularly those in public housing within the neighbourhood. They had already been priced out of the private rental housing market, and while their own tenure was somewhat secure within the neighbourhood, for their friends and family putting one's name on the public housing lists and hoping for the best was the only way to move back to the neighbourhood. This resonates with Teixeira's (2007) finding that as Toronto's Little Portugal gentrified the increase in housing prices prevented former residents from moving back to the neighbourhood from suburban areas. However, this was not the perspective of all long-term residents interviewed. One lifelong resident recounted how many of her friends and family had chosen to move to the suburbs due to the confluence of a number of factors including the lack of affordable housing, Saint-Henri's reputation as a poor neighbourhood and the greater accessibility of green space in suburban areas. Nevertheless, the point remains that whether long-term residents leave voluntarily or

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[2] Due to the equivocal evidence of political displacement in the case of Saint-Henri, I have some reservations about the concept itself. In the context of an oral presentation of this research in Montréal, a long-term community activist from Saint-Henri posed a cogent rhetorical question: If the local working-class had no real power to begin with, notwithstanding the strength of local organizations, isn't the debate about political displacement moot?

not, gentrification of their old neighbourhood foreclosed the options of those who later wished to return.

Not all private renters felt the neighbourhood was too expensive, however. The following quotation is from a more recent resident, who had succeeded in finding both his sister and aging father housing within a block of where he lived, so as to facilitate caring for their elderly father.

> **ID-03**: "No. It is still within reach. Especially compared to other neighbourhoods, I mean if you compare to the Plateau, I mean, come on, it's the same types of apartments. (…) I had the same type of apartment that I do now and it was like three times what I pay." *35 year old male, recent resident, middle-income, living in private rental housing.*

This interviewee's concern raises another dimension of exclusionary displacement: as the housing prices escalated in the neighbourhood, that he would be priced out of becoming a homeowner in the neighbourhood. This resonates with Millard-Ball's (2002) findings in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Stockholm, that as competition for rental housing increases in gentrifying neighbourhoods, it privileges more affluent renter households.

5. Findings: Exploring the Threat of Direct Displacement

In Saint-Henri, as elsewhere, the experience of direct displacement can lead to a number of detrimental effects for affected households, including diminishing housing conditions, increasing housing costs and increasing overcrowding or doubling up (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Wellar & van Hulten, 2012). By far the most taxing effects are those that are psychosocial in nature. Living with the threat of displacement provoked a different set of emotional reactions for each key informant, which are informed by different personal circumstances. Fearlessness and the potential for grief in the event of displacement were characteristic of a longstanding elderly renter, with a highly embedded social network. More immediately debilitating reactions such as post-traumatic shock, difficulty coping, stress and anxiety were manifested by a lifelong elderly homeowner living with chronic pain for whom the importance of home as a haven and safe space, combined with the potential loss of a deep sense of belonging in Village des Tanneries (a sub-neighbourhood in Saint-Henri) due to her lifelong residence there, were important factors at play. This resident talked about her experience of the threat of expropriation in terms of her demolition:

DD-05: "I was completely demolished ... I was shaking like a leaf ... well I have bad health problems so it was by chance I found myself at the same time in the clinic for chronic pain and (…) I was no longer able to able to talk about my pain because was so taken with the Turcot (…) And she [the psychologist] told me: 'You are in post-traumatic shock.' And the first week I was not able to able to stay home all alone ... I I I I ... was crying, weeping and I am not really a crier, but I was completely demolished. It changed my behaviour. In the first week I lost six pounds. For a woman who is not healthy, that does not help. Anyway, finally it's all put back in place, but I went through hell. I really went through hell." *[translation] 65 year old women, lifelong resident, middle income, homeowner.*

For a long-term renter with the experience of serial displacement within the neighbourhood, debilitating stress, anxiety, lack of control and powerlessness were characteristic of the experience of the threat of expropriation. Here past tenure insecurity and previous experiences of displacement, combined with the potential loss of sense of belonging at both the scale of her home and wider local neighbourhood, informed such emotional upheaval. Fear of loss of one's livelihood was emblematic of another long-term renter who utilized his loft as a live/work space. Last, feelings of injustice, powerlessness, anger and frustration were characteristic of another recent renter due to the potential loss of a dwelling that suited her needs both functionally and psychologically.

These key informant interviews also confirm what past studies on the impact of forced relocation and gentrification-induced displacement have found. First, the fear of not being able to find adequate replacement housing within one's means that would afford the same quality of life was a major source of stress (Atkinson et al., 2011). However, this study suggests - contrary to past studies that have revealed that renters experience more difficulty than owners in finding replacement housing to meet their needs - that length of residence in the neighbourhood is a key variable at play here and that owners too may face significant difficulties if they are elderly (on a fixed income) and bought into the neighbourhood long before it gentrified. However, fear of change and attachment that homeowners (particularly elderly) who have lived in a particular dwelling for a substantial period of time develop, may also be at play here. Second, as in Atkinson et al. (2011), the experience of serial displacement posed major psychosocial problems for those affected. Indeed, one informant who had two past experiences of repossession-induced-displacement experienced much more serious

negative psychological reactions compared to a long-term renter also slated for expropriation but without past experience of displacement. Third, our study illustrates points made by Key (1967) and Kleinhans (2003) in that one lifelong elderly resident (already facing great difficulties due to chronic pain) experienced by far the most debilitating emotional reactions to the threat of displacement, including being diagnosed with post-traumatic shock. Fourth, past research has highlighted that the greater one's commitment to an area pre-relocation, the greater the likelihood of a grief-based reaction post-displacement (Fried 1966). Indeed, in our study, the key informant that alluded to the possibility of feeling grief/sorrow in the event that she were forced to move was an elderly long-term resident with a dense local social network and a deep commitment to the area, acting as spokesperson in the fight against expropriation. Further, in line with the findings of Gans (1959) and Lipman (1969) as to the greater impacts of displacement on the elderly, the lifelong elderly homeowner interviewed experienced a variety of very strong negative emotional responses to the prospect of expropriation, thus increasing the likelihood that she too might experience a grief reaction, if not worse (Gans, 1959; Lipman, 1969). Indeed, recent research on expropriation elsewhere in Québec revealed elderly homeowners are also likely to have grief-based reactions in the event of forced relocation (Bresse et al., 2010).

The most troubling findings in this part of my research were the extremely negative psycho-social effects of living with the threat of displacement for three of the five residents interviewed and that 'root shock' (Fullilove 2004) was an apt descriptor for the experience of two of these key informants (a lifelong elderly resident with chronic health issues and a resident with experience of serial displacement in Saint-Henri before expropriation). As outlined earlier, the psychological process of place attachment has three dimensions: it occurs through thoughts, emotions and behaviours (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Given the depth of negative psycho-social reactions of three of the five key informants, it would seem that length of residence is a key factor in deepening the psychological aspects of place attachment. Moreover, involvement in fighting to stay put in the neighbourhood seems to deepen place identity, referring here to the individual's incorporation of place (in this case Saint-Henri) into the larger concept of self.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I reflect on both the limitations and contributions of this research as well as suggesting where Canadian displacement research might go from here. There are three main limitations. First, because this was a single-case study design utilizing primarily qualitative methods, there is no larger claim to generalizability of these findings. Replication of these findings in another Montréal neighbourhood undergoing similar sets of socioeconomic, cultural and infrastructure changes would be necessary in order to make broader claims about these results being representative of 'geographies of gentrification' (Lees, 2000) in Montréal. Second, due to the qualitative nature of this study, no attempt has been made to measure the amount of direct displacement underway or mapping where displacees are going (Atkinson et al., 2011; Van Criekingen, 2008, 2009; Wellar & van Hulten, 2012; Wyly et al., 2010). A final caveat relates to sampling constraints: the sample was less diversified than intended. Almost half of interviewees were recruited through community organizations some of which organize against gentrification and displacement in the neighbourhood. It is possible that the stories recounted here have in some cases been influenced by residents' involvement with such organizations.

The most substantial contribution of this research is the development of an indirect displacement typology that, by drawing upon a variety of literature from different sub-fields and traditions within urban studies, refines and nuances this concept by sub-dividing it into four constituent types. Secondly, the operationalization of this framework in fieldwork and qualitative analysis of the interviews helped to identify subtle differences in terms of residents' experiences depending on length of residence, where they lived in the neighbourhood and their type of rental housing tenure. This research reveals that the concept of 'indirect displacement' is a useful one for understanding resident experiences of the changes associated with gentrification and mega-project development. Overall, we can conclude that there was some evidence of social, cultural and exclusionary displacement observed in Saint-Henri, particularly among low-income incumbent residents. There was no evidence of political displacement underway in the neighbourhood however, though this needs to be re-examined at a later date. A third contribution of this research is the holistic treatment of the multi-faceted concept of

displacement (in both indirect and direct forms) in a particular local context. This study also revealed that living with the threat of direct displacement is a source of major psychological upheaval for those affected.

This study helps us identify a number of avenues in need of more detailed exploration in future displacement research. Further examinations of the diverse contexts and experiences of displacement (in both direct and indirect forms) are necessary in other Canadian cities experiencing gentrification, using qualitative methods in order to glean in-depth understandings of displacement 'from below'. Second, there is a need to unearth the 'emotional geographies' (Davidson & Lees, 2010) of displacement in neighbourhoods undergoing significant new-build developments. Last, in light of the particular, although not unequivocal, evidence of indirect displacement on incumbent residents in Saint-Henri, future research could build upon this work to develop specific planning recommendations in order to limit its negative effects.

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