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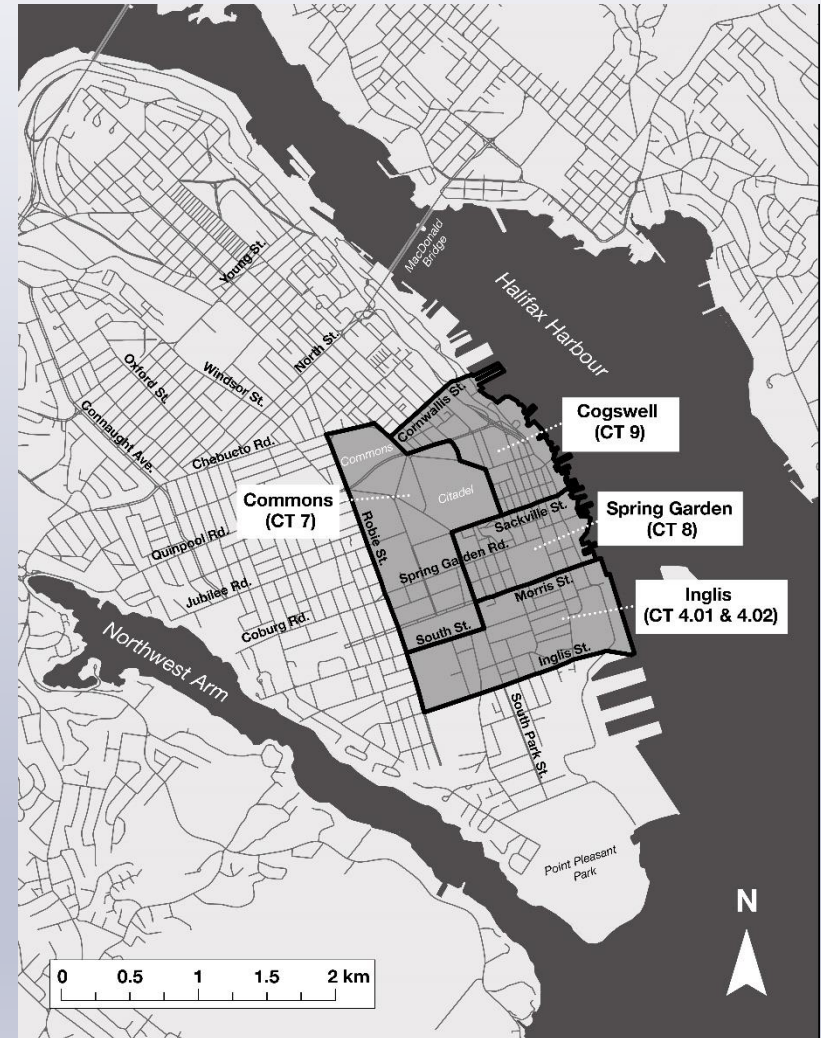
Who Lives Downtown?

*Tracking population change in a mid-sized city:
Halifax, 1951-2011*



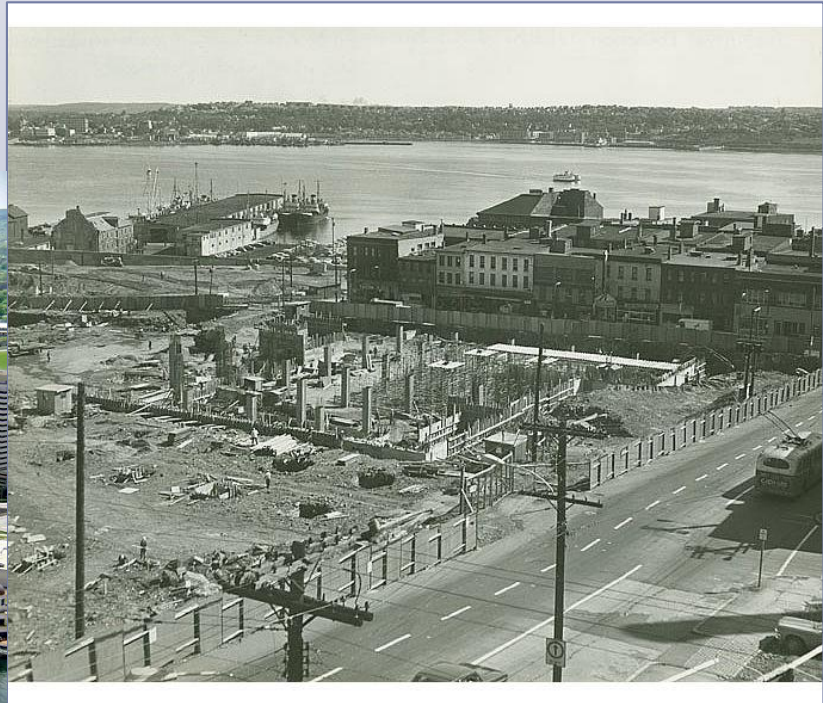
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

- ▶ How did planning policies in the post-war period affect the character and composition of the central city?
- ▶ Followed four central census tracts from 1951 to 2011 to look at how population changed



Planning Changes

- ▶ 1945 Master Plan and 1950 Official Plan advocated slum clearance
- ▶ Urban renewal: Cleared the north central downtown



Urban Design and Regional Planning



Policy shifted:

- ▶ 1970s Downtown Committee and waterfront revitalization sought residents for downtown; heritage conservation.
- ▶ 1970s Metropolitan Area Planning Commission: regional planning forecast population explosion. Suburban expansion followed.

Amalgamation and the Regional Centre

- ▶ 1996: amalgamation created Halifax Regional Municipality. Smart city, smart growth vision
- ▶ Regional Centre: target to take 25% of regional growth until 2031.
- ▶ Central urban design plan, density bonusing: promoting housing.



Planning and Residential Development



- ▶ High density but primarily residential uses concentrated in south and north of downtown
- ▶ In Central Business District, residential uses are allowed on upper floors: residential towers.
- ▶ Since 2009, many zones permit high density residential uses

Fewer people live downtown today

Population by Census Tract, 1951-2011

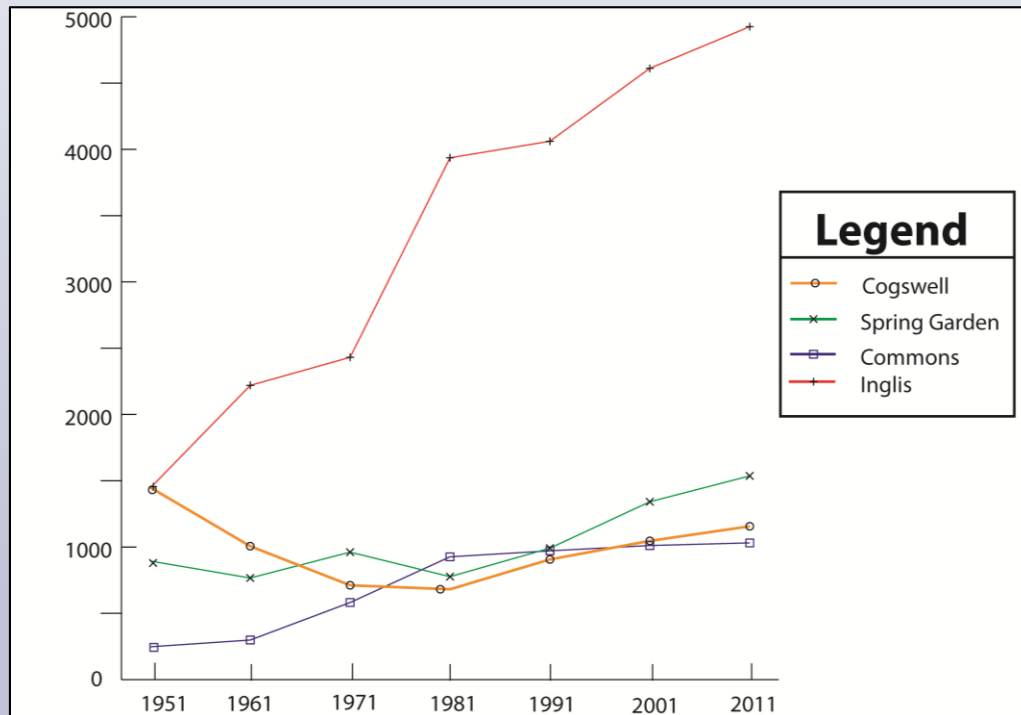
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Cogswell - CT9	6,267	4,380	2,215	1,540	1,617	1,738	1,984
Spring Garden - CT8	4,238	3,384	2,920	1,675	1,838	2,266	2,763
Inglis - CT4	5,855	7,047	7,105	7,781	6,762	7,632	8,067
Commons - CT7	2,385	2,217	1,875	1,676	1,629	1,644	1,716
Central CTs combined	18,745	17,028	14,115	12,672	11,846	13,280	14,530
Halifax CMA overall	112,931	183,931	222,635	277,727	320,501	359,183	390,328

Lowest population during the period in red

Highest in green

Yet there are more occupied dwellings

Total Number of Occupied Dwellings



Average Household Size

	1951	1981	2011
Cogswell - CT9	4.3	2.3	1.7
Spring Garden - CT8	4.7	2.2	1.8
Inglis - CT4	4.1	2.0	1.7
Commons - CT7	9.7	2.2	1.7
CMA overall	3.8	3.0	2.4

The proportion of single-person households ranged from 46% in Spring Garden to 66% in the Commons tract; only 29% of households in the CMA held one person.

A downtown with fewer women and even fewer children

	1951	1981	2011
Cogswell - CT9	96.2	96.2	69.7
Spring Garden - CT8	126.4	100.0	95.4
Inglis - CT 4	125.3	101.9	97.8
Commons - CT7	176.4	131.0	114.4
CMA overall	102.3	104.3	106.9

Number of females
for every 100 males

Percent of
population under 15
years of age

	1951	1981	2011
Cogswell - CT9	30	29	4
Spring Garden - CT8	20	14	4
Inglis - CT 4	16	6	4
Commons - CT7	12	5	2
CMA overall	34	23	15

A downtown with varying wealth and educational achievement

	1951	1981	2011
Cogswell - CT9	.78	.95	1.57
Spring Garden - CT8	.79	.97	1.18
Inglis - CT 4	1.04	.92	.86
Commons - CT7	.82	1.47	1.63
CMA overall	1.0	1.0	1.0

Average income as a proportion of city average [CMA = 1.0]

- Some central tracts became more affluent, relative to the city average, while the southernmost tract (home to university students), fell below the CMA average
- In 1951, the Cogswell and Commons tracts had a predominantly poor and poorly educated population. By 2011, they had residents who were more affluent and highly educated than the city overall.



Planning and Change

- ▶ Planning decisions played a major role in emptying out the downtown, and influenced how areas changed. Efficiencies and densities proved elusive.
- ▶ Other forces at work - Many differences reflect cultural changes: living alone, smaller households, higher educational achievement, new popularity of urban living.
- ▶ Differences in neighbourhood profiles reflect perceptions of local risk, and proximity to key features, such as universities. Not all tracts trend upwards in affluence.
- ▶ *Social, spatial, and economic processes have differential effects on the trajectory of downtown neighbourhoods*



Who lives downtown?

- ▶ *In 2011, a downtown resident in Halifax was most likely Canadian-born, between 20 and 35 years of age, male, childless, university-educated, living alone (or with one other person) in a rented apartment.*

▶ Comments or Questions?



For more on our research on neighbourhood change, visit
<http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/index.html>