Disputed Post-Industrial Landscapes:

An enquiry into the "loft-living" cultural model in Montréal's Saint-Henri

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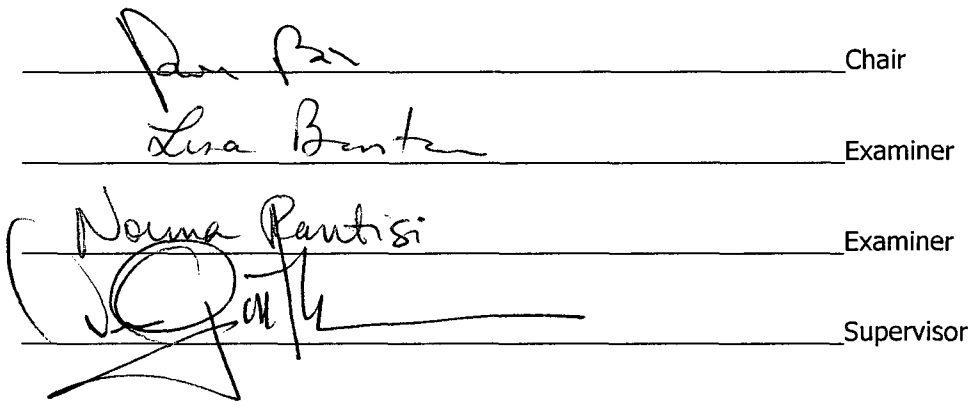

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ABSTRACT

An enquiry into the "loft-living" cultural model and its development practices in Montréal's Saint-Henri

Edith Tam

The working-class neighbourhood of Saint-Henri in Montreal experiences social, economic and material transformations that see former sites of production changed into residential environments. The urban "revitalization" efforts have often translated into social discomfort, as projects intended to inject vitality into a fractured landscape have truncated and disrupted long-established spatial and social patterns. This thesis posits that the built environment is a material and cultural substance that mediates relationships between social and economic agents. The study employs a three-pronged analytical approach that includes: firstly, a reading into the built environment itself; secondly, an analysis of the real-estate marketing discourse; and thirdly, through in-depth interviews, a documentation of the perceptions of newcomers and long-term residents, in order to delve into the cultural impacts of new development practices. Relying on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital, and Henri Lefebvre's notions of space, this study explores the status of a "loft-living" cultural model in the wider field of gentrification. More specifically, it examines how the social and economic determinants of redevelopment strategies influence the spatial and social 'disputes' taking place in the former industrial landscapes of Montréal' Saint-Henri.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

The former industrial landscape of Saint-Henri is becoming reconfigured as an increasingly gentrified landscape of consumption that caters to a new "loft-living" lifestyle. The purpose of this research project is to study the evolution of the "post-industrial" landscape of Montréal's Saint-Henri neighbourhood. More specifically, the research aims at documenting and interpreting recent physical transformations of former sites of production as well as interpreting some of their associated development and dwelling practices It seeks to understand the cultural significance behind the transformation of these factory sites into residential ones.

Saint-Henri, a working-class neighbourhood is considered to be part of the "birthplace of heavy industry" in Canada (DeVerteuil, 2004: 77). It is replete with sites of production inherited from its industrial past. Factory and warehouse buildings border the Lachine Canal and dot the rest of the area. As a working-class neighbourhood, Saint-Henri has been considerably impacted by de-industrialization in an era that has taken a heavy toll on all the industrial areas adjacent to the Lachine Canal.

In 1848, with the enlargement of the Lachine Canal (first opened in 1825) and the introduction of the Grand Trunk Railway, the rapid spread of industry from Griffintown came all the way through to Saint-Henri. Former rural and agricultural lands were portioned off into ad hoc developments where workers' residences intermingled with large-scale industries that included everything from flour mills, steel foundries, sugar refineries and tanneries. By 1940, the Lachine Canal area was home to a multi-cultural population and a workforce 30,000 strong, which qualified Montréal as the most significant concentration of manufacturing and heavy industry employment in Canada (Desloges, 2003; DeVerteuil, 2004; Legault, 1991; Lewis, 1991).

Nearly twenty years later, the fortunes of the Lachine Canal would be reversed as the St. Laurent Seaway opened in 1959 and companies began relocating their warehouses and manufacturing plants to less expensive suburban locations (Bliek & Gauthier, 2007; DeVerteuil, 2004; Lessard, 1989). Between 1974 and 1986, some of the larger companies that left the area included Northern Telecom, Redpath Sugar, Sherwin-Williams, Stelco and Coleco (DeVerteuil,

2004). Since then, Montréal's economy has grown increasingly reliant on service and creative industries (DeVerteuil, 2004; Florida, 2002; Hamnett & Whitelegg, 2007). The lack of space and inability of the inner-city areas surrounding the Lachine Canal to allow for infrastructure expansion ultimately sounded the death knell for the city's industrial economy.

Since the 1980s, major public investments into the refurbishment of the Lachine Canal and its transformation as a park and a space for leisure have triggered a new wave of private capital investment concentrated on the former industrial sites and complexes. Such development is congruent with discourse and development practices that emphasize the real-estate potential of former sites of industrial production. The National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE), for instance, states that although former industrial buildings and sites may be "abandoned, idle or underutilized commercial or industrial properties", they still possess an "active potential for redevelopment" (NRTEE, 2003:ix).

In the last twenty years, the investment of more than $100 million of public money allowed the reopening of the Lachine Canal, to yachting this time, as well as the construction of a linear park granted with pedestrian and bicycle paths (Lessard, 1989; Ville de Montréal, 2004). This investment has triggered a wave of private investments in residential construction along the banks of the Canal or at a short distance from it. As a consequence, today many industrial sites and buildings have already undergone significant physical transformations into sites for residential use. Such a trend is likely to persist and even to intensify in the wake of the construction of a new healthcare Mega-project, the McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) Glen Campus nearby, and Saint-Henri's proximity to downtown Montréal (*see Figure 1.1*).

There are economic and environmental advantages related to the influx of public and private money invested in the redevelopment of Saint-Henri's brownfield sites. Yet one can suspect that the wave of physical transformations that ensued has significant social and cultural impacts on the community, as the in-coming population embraces a "lifestyle" which is unfamiliar to that of the traditional working class population.

Figure 1.1: Saint-Henri in the context of Montréal

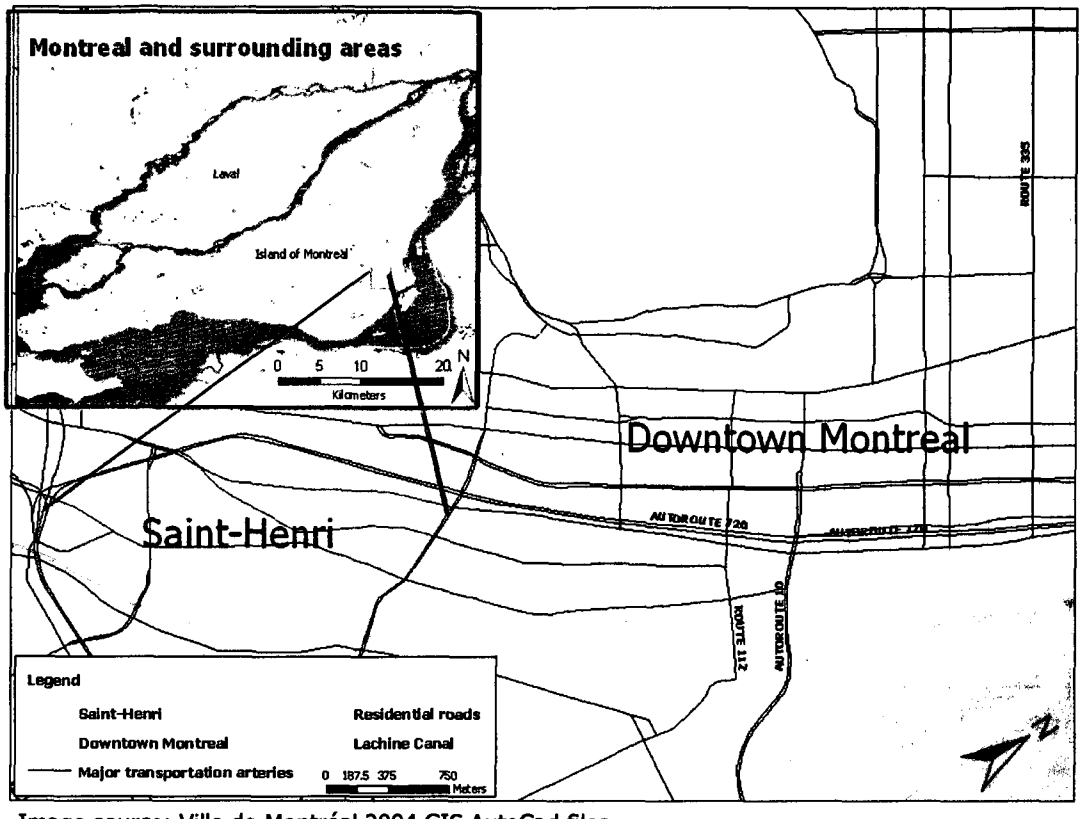


Image source: Ville de Montréal 2004 GIS AutoCad files.

NB: Saint-Henri (shown in green), is approximately 4.5 kilometres from downtown Montréal (shown in yellow).

Echoing the transformations documented by Sharon Zukin's (1982) study in New York's SoHo district, the landscapes of production in Saint-Henri are becoming reconfigured as a landscape of consumption, focused on "loft-living". Bliek and Gauthier (2007) warn us that these transformations may translate into "spatial atomization" and "cultural disembodiment"[1] in this neighbourhood, as the old stock population, in particular, might feel estranged from the lifestyle and the culture of taste of the newcomers.

In Saint-Henri, as in other similar former industrial neighbourhoods, reinvestment is in obsolete architectural forms and sites. This study argues that such reinvestment is both economic *and* symbolic; in order for the economic operation to succeed, potential customers must start

[1] Spatial atomization describes a fragmentation of the physical landscape while cultural disembodiment refers to a disjuncture between social groups and their lifestyles.

seeing industrial spaces as suitable living quarters. One of the main premises of this project is that the built forms are more than the mere physical manifestation of real-estate economics and brownfield redevelopment policy imperatives. Rather, the landscape has prompted disputes within physical and social arenas of Saint-Henri. Although many people saw with a favorable eye the injection of capital in derelict former industrial complexes and infrastructures, at present, developers, public agents and local community members are debating how best to redevelop Saint-Henri and in ways that will serve the needs of the local population (RESO, 2006).

The built environment is, in fact, a dynamic system that mediates social and economic relations by offering (or withholding) opportunities for agents to realize themselves socially, economically, and culturally (Bliek & Gauthier, 2007; Gauthier, 2003). The dialectics between the material and spatial forms, on the one hand, and dwelling and building practices (the way in which people live these spaces) that preside over their creation, on the other, generate new cultural models. Gauthier's (2003, 2005) contention is that these models are reified in the artifacts and enacted in social practices. Using a theoretical framework informed by urban morphology as well as urban and economic sociology, and drawing upon evidence derived from cartographic and iconographic sources, marketing discourses and interviews, this study will shed light on how post-industrial landscapes are a socially disputed field and a fertile ground for new cultural formulations.

This research examines the ways in which certain social practices and gentrification trends in the field of Saint-Henri are informed by the enduring or changing cultures of taste and *habitus* of Saint-Henri's old and new inhabitants. Several theoretical approaches are used: urban morphology allows this study to delve into the material and spatial transformations affecting former sites of production. The study of commercial discourses will provide insight into the role of marketing in the transformation of industrial sites into spaces of leisure and a residential commodity. Interviews of loft and neighbourhood residents will add ethnographic insight into the mental representations, motivations and decisions behind dwelling choices.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review and theoretical framework explore the general themes raised in the research objective in order to develop the means to obtain a more nuanced understanding of the social and cultural practices underlying the development of post-industrial landscapes. The following four sections, will acknowledge work pertinent to this project, and will discuss how their theoretical and methodological formulations will inform the trajectory of my own investigation.

Producing knowledge about the underlying forces in shaping the new post-industrial landscape allows the reframing of urban planning debates on brownfield redevelopments in Saint-Henri and similar communities in Montréal. Inasmuch as the built environment is a physical manifestation and the outcome of different groups of agents' actions and strategies, it is also an arena where said groups collide or collaborate to produce new meanings to re-inject back into the urban form. Therefore, it is the often conflicting dialectics between the groups themselves and the way in which urban form actually mediates these relationships that this research seeks to reveal.

On a more specific level, the overarching objective can be subdivided into a series of three lines of enquiry: 1. Documenting and analyzing the physical transformation of Saint-Henri at three separate time periods, thereby illustrating the material lineage and the spatial relationships that contemporary built forms entertain with the industrial past. 2. Documenting and analyzing the commercial discourses found in newspapers, via attention to the language and imagery to explore and confirm the influential role marketing has come to play on the dissemination of a "loft-living" zeitgeist. 3. Documenting and analyzing both newcomers and long-term residents' perceptions toward the physical, social and cultural transformations in Saint-Henri via interviews. Of particular interest are the perceptions on lofts as living spaces and their associated lifestyle, compared and contrasted with the perceptions pertaining to dwelling practices in the traditional working-class neighbourhood.

Conceptualizing the forces at play in the making of the urban landscape

One of the main challenges faced in a project like this one, seeking to understand the cultural significance and deeper meaning behind the physical and spatial transformations of former sites of production into domestic spaces, lies in the need to develop a theoretical perspective that embraces both the study of the material objects *and* the study of the multifaceted aspects of their social construction. In his early investigations of the spatial and material transformations of Québec City's inner suburbs of the 18th and 19th century, Gauthier (1997; 2003) encountered similar difficulties. He deemed his initial efforts, centered on urban morphology and the spatial logics informing the evolution of Québec City's built environment insufficient in convincingly explaining the fragmented patterns in the built environment that emerged in times of political and economic turbulence (Gauthier, 1997). Gauthier recognized a need to complement the study of the complexities of the built form's evolution with an investigation of external demands and thus set his efforts on developing a theoretical framework to acknowledge the social factors that also instigated change in the urban environment (Gauthier, 2005: 81).

Likewise, Ian Hodder in *Reading the Past*, argues against the traditional epistemological position in archaeology, which tends to view the material culture as a "passive by-product of human behaviour" (Hodder, 1986: 13) and the prevailing perspective, which contends that social behaviours can be inferred through material artifacts. A treatment or 'reading' of the built environment as artifact offers alternative interpretations of the spatial and social practices of a particular locale (Hodder, 2003: 158). For example, an interviewee may admit that they consume one bottle of wine a week whereas an investigation in the material remnants of their recycling bin may tell a very different story. For this reason, Hodder believes that the system of objects including the built environment is an active force that in a recursive relationship with human behaviours, lend themselves to the construction of social relationships (Hodder, 2003: 159).

In challenging long-established scientific norms in archaeology, Hodder identified three dialectics which needed further reevaluation: the link between material culture and societal behaviours; between the causes and effects of social, economic and cultural change; and, third, the way in which archaeologists derive theories from facts (Hodder, 1986: 13). Hodder opposed the traditional adherence to a one-way relationship where: a) material culture dictates social behaviours; b) causes dictate effects; and c) facts dictate theories. Instead, he advocated that researchers should consider a reflexive relationship between the components of all three dialectics, meaning that in each case, the components mutually constitute each other, imbuing cultures with meanings, ideas and perceptions. Ultimately, a "reading" of the past according to Hodder's theorizations is a step towards reconciling the gap that has long existed between material environment and social processes.

Gauthier, in his work on Québec City's early fragmented landscape, independently developed a theoretical framework reminiscent of the archaeological theories of Hodder. Gauthier (2003, 2005) relied heavily on the notion of *type* and *typological process* borrowed from the Italian school of urban morphology (see Caniggia & Maffei, 2001). While a theoretical framework grounded in urban morphology allowed the examination of *typological transformations* focused on "endogenous determinants" (Gauthier, 2005: 85-86), or the way in which morphological changes conform to a recognizable system in the evolution of built form, the remaining challenge rested on the need to examine the "exogenous determinants" that "constitutes the engine of morphological change" (Gauthier, 2005: 85-86), including a broad range of social aspects, for example, economic, political, social and technological practices, etc. The notion of *type,* as defined by Caniggia and Maffei, refers to a cultural model that is more than just a material form, and that embodies the cumulative knowledge of a local population akin to a collective codification. Caniggia and Maffei formulated an explicit definition of the *type,* presented as: "a system of integrated cognitions, assumed unitarily to satisfy the particular need to which [the] object has to correspond. These cognitions are already an organism, inasmuch as they are integrated, correlated, self-sufficient or complementary notions with a unitary aim. They

are already a pre-projection of what the end product will be, albeit prior to the object becoming a physical being" (Caniggia and Maffei, 2001: 50 in Gauthier, 2005: 83). In this sense, *type* parallels the notion of *habitus* developed by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1990). In his attempt to operationalize the notion of *type* in a theoretical framework that more explicitly explains the social factors at play within the *typological process*, Gauthier defines the *typological process* as a "...mediation between social needs on the one hand, and material culture and technical knowledge on the other..." (Gauthier, 2005: 82).

Using the example of colonial urbanism, Gauthier was able to illustrate how a complementary study of urban morphology *and* social practices can be mutually constructive in examining *typological processes*. Colonial urbanism generally involves the practice where architects and planners of the colonizing power impose European housing models into the local occupied environments. Effectively, the new buildings alter traditional housing standards, while instilling new sets of social relations in congruence with a new colonial political and cultural order (Gauthier, 2005: 87). In this instance, the introduction of new housing models foreign to the local culture denotes "exogenous" pressures instilled by a colonial culture. Over a longer period though, through the dialectic of a morphological *type* and a social *habitus*, new cultural models emerge, and become embedded in the local culture.

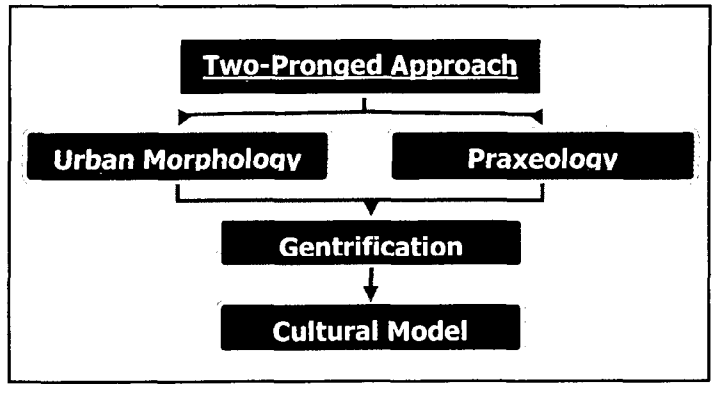
Another illustration of this reflexive process in action comes from Kim Dovey (1999) who conducted a study of power and the links between architecture and urban form. Like Hodder and Gauthier, Dovey shared these views of the built environment:

> Built form reflects the identities, differences and struggles of gender, class, race, culture and age. It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order, and the private corporate interest in stimulating consumption. Because architecture and urban design involve transformations in the ways we frame life, because design is the imagination and production of the future, the field cannot claim autonomy from the politics of social change (Dovey, 1999: 1).

In his analysis, Dovey argues that subliminal framework messages of acceptable social practice and structures of power are embedded into the architecture of everyday life; the more embedded these messages are in the built form, the less society questions them. Drawing from a wide variety of social theories, he deconstructs the spatial syntax of places like the Nazi Chancellery in Berlin and the Forbidden Palace in Beijing to reveal how relations of power are mediated through the built environment. While his theoretical framework is similar to that of Gauthier's, Dovey's research viewed the "complicitous silence" or the power of semiotics in architecture as a way in which power and control is meted out upon society and constitutes the main struggle of relations between dominant and dominated groups. His most interesting contribution in the context of my study is however a series of binary schema with which the dialectics of social practice can be examined in the context of the built environment: orientation/disorientation, publicity/privacy, segregation/access, and identity/difference (Dovey, 1999: 15-16).

On an empirical level, Dovey's binary schema complements the theoretical framework developed by Gauthier (2005). The conceptual diagram of the theoretical framework puts forward a two-pronged approach that entails urban morphology and praxeology. These are used in combination to examine landscapes shifts in morphologically and historically turbulent times and contexts. Following this dual approach, this study will attempt to tie the research into a wider body of gentrification literature and explore the existence of a new cultural model intervening in Saint-Henri's spatial and social landscape (*see Figure 2.1*).

Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework



Architecture and Urban Form

Urban morphology is an approach that focuses on studying the city's built environment and its evolution over time, treating urban material culture as dynamic and pervasive elements capable of influencing social and economic agents of change. Urban morphology views the city as not only the physical manifestation of spatial configurations and the accumulation of built material over time but as a "form" which is "social" in its essence. When used in combination with a study of associated social practices, it allows one to take into account the social, cultural and economic forces that inform individual and groups in influencing the evolution of built form. Moudon (1997: 3) argues that by reading the evolution of the built environment, this type of study can highlight the "ideas and intentions" of people are manifested materially in our cities.

Divided into three main schools of thought, urban morphology proposes a number of strategies to studying urban form. The British school of thought, inspired by the work of M.R.G. Conzen (1981), suggests conducting "town-plan analyses" to describe and interpret the evolution of the built landscape through the shapes and patterns of streets, cadastral delineations and building footprints (1981). The French school places a greater emphasis on the dialectic between the built world and the social world, and theorized, for instance, the evolution of a city's form according to growth axes (vectors of urbanization) and growth poles (Panerai, 1999). The Italian school views the city as an organism in constant evolution. Researchers such as Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian-Luigi Maffei (2001), influenced by the disciplines of biology and linguistics, devised a structuralist approach centered on the notion of process typology, in order to scientifically analyze the built environment in a synchronic and diachronic manner. Key aspects of this approach include: firstly, conceptualizing the built environment as a complex system of interrelated elements, which function at different scalar levels; secondly, conceptualizing the built environment as a dynamic system; and by extension, thirdly, stressing that the built environment system is characterized by relative autonomy (Gauthier, 2005: 83). Of these three schools of morphological researchers, it is the work of Caniggia and Maffei that has the most pertinence to this study. Their formulations of *type* and the *typological process* provide an important postulate

where built forms can be interpreted as manifestations of cultural models inscribed in historical and cultural contexts and hence submitted to preordained logics and trajectories into how built forms will be constructed and used in the future.

Within the context of Montréal, three studies in particular have demonstrated the utility of a morphological reading into the city's built form. A study conducted by Zacharias (1991), looked specifically at the emergence of loft buildings in Montréal's post-industrial context; he attributed the development of this residential form to a set of unique spatial and social circumstances already embedded in the urban form, thus confirming the mediating role of the building *type* in the built environment. Zacharias noted that patterns of French colonial rule, the encumbrances of 'rights-of-passage' in title transfers and a need for flexible and economical commercial space in the mid-19th to mid-20th century combined to enable the development of Montréal's loft district (Zacharias, 1991: 226). His study offers a useful methodology: combining the study of elements of human occupation and their morphological constraints such as the subdivision of land, transportation routes and overall modularity of urban tissue (lots and blocks) with historical information about economic patterns. He concludes that lofts in Montréal emerged as a result of restructured specialized buildings that have been assimilated for residential functions.

More recently, a study by Gilliland (2002) documented physical transformations of street widenings in 19th century industrial Montréal. In response to the addition of more vehicles, transportation infrastructure, increasing traffic speeds and demands for space, the widening of narrow streets was both necessary and inevitable. On a broader socio-economic scale, Gilliland (2002: 38) attributes the physical changes to the processes of capitalist economy and the concept of "creative destruction," where the old is destroyed to make way for the new. More importantly, the author found that local property owners along the streets scheduled for widening were instrumental in organizing the "creative destruction" of their streets in order to manipulate public investments in street improvements. This was all done deliberately with the capitalist objective of increasing land rents and property values. Gilliland's study sheds light on

some of the mechanisms according to which the urban form's evolution is informed by social practices. Morphological studies have shown that street patterns are often the most resilient elements of the city's built environment; and Gilliland's study demonstrates the susceptibility of street patterns to morphological change but also indicates their influential role in social practices of economic activity.

Bliek and Gauthier (2007) address the progression and changes in urban form around the Lachine Canal using principles found in urban morphology. Arguing that transformations in the built landscape are more than a mere reflection of human culture, they set out to demonstrate how this physical environment has its own structure and logic through the reconstruction of a morphological timeline that traces the political, economic and technological events that coloured the history of the Lachine Canal.

Their article documents and analyzes the morphological evolution of the entire Lachine Canal area from the 1800s to 2002 using elements of analysis found constant throughout urban morphology: lots, street patterns, building footprints, building types, and cadastral arrangements. In the early 1800s, rural and agriculture land was divided according to the French côte system, creating subdivisions with long boundaries that eventually led to the creation of transportation routes which in many cases, still exist today. Specialized urban fabric appeared shortly after the enlargement of the canal while early subdivision of seigneurial properties enabled the introduction of the railway and allowed for increased lot sizes and larger building footprints. Through secondary sources, the authors found that the technological shift from hydraulic to steam power and the imposition of railway sidings also had an effect on the built form as it reached its climax phase. Shortly thereafter, a recessive phase of the built environment was brought on by the closure of the canal and opening of the St. Laurent Seaway in 1959; large industrial facilities were left vacant erode the industrial spatial order. Finally, residential development had begun taking over former industrial sites as residences were either forcefully introduced or brownfield industrial buildings were adapted to a new residential spatial order aiming to take advantage of the unique qualities of the post-industrial settings. Ultimately, the

authors were able to demonstrate how the morphology and construction of industrial infrastructure along the Lachine tended to, "follow the path of least resistance...and established an industrial spatial order where 'precedent allowed, or deferred to the residential spatial order where it could not be overcome" (2007: 14). This study illustrates how the historical and cultural contexts of the material environment does indeed influence the way in which new urban forms emerge. Yet recent residential developments point to both historical continuity and a break within the morphological patterns that are indicative of the emergence of a new *type*, i.e. a new cultural model—that of industrial lofts.

Social Practices

In terms of social practices or praxeology, many sociologists have theorized about human behaviours and their impacts on the built environment and surrounding spaces. Michel de Certeau, in an influential piece entitled *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), posits that places were continuously being physically and culturally transformed through the practices of everyday life. He was instrumental in putting forward the notion that spaces are influenced by people consuming and "walking the city" (de Certeau, 1984). de Certeau identified a dialectic exerted on urban spaces that distinguishes the way organizations of power may perceive and consume space much differently from individuals without power. Mandanipour (1999) argues that because spatial behaviour is defined by the organization and formation of space around us, it has therefore become an integral part of our existence as social creatures. One of the main facets of his article is the recognition that the existence of public space is founded upon institutionalized agreement; people must acknowledge and abide by the rules and symbols that are embedded in public space in order for it to exist. de Certeau and Mandanipour provide relevant approaches of social practice and its recursive relationship with the built environment making nearly corresponding arguments to Hodder and Gauthier for the social realm. However in considering the "exogenous determinants," my study will employ elements of Gauthier's approach and draw from the work of sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre because their theories of

habitus and spatial representations correspond best with morphological concepts of type, typological process.

The concepts of *habitus, field* and *capital* developed by Pierre Bourdieu provide an interesting theoretical framework to investigate the social practices at play in the conversion of Saint-Henri's brownfield into domestic spaces. Defined as a set of tastes and lifestyle choices, *habitus* encompasses the inherent dispositions of an individual or group of agents constructed through a reflexive relationship between the social agents and a system(s) of classified or classifying practices[ii] (Bourdieu, 1984: 171 in Podmore, 1998: 286). Bourdieu conducted many complex and in-depth studies and determined that *habitus* could be discerned from all the properties belonging to an individual, for example, houses, paintings, cars, clothes, perfume. It even extends to the products an individual consumes, like food or music, and the activities they participate in, such as sports and other forms of entertainment (Bourdieu: 1984: 173). It is also defined as the subconscious strategies of action and practice in everyday life (Bridge, 2001: 207).

In his writings, Bourdieu has always insisted that an individual's *habitus* is produced through unconscious mental processes: "these unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditioning via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities" (Wacquant, 2006: 6). This unconscious system of dispositions dictates one's actions and practices in everyday life, but in doing so, it depends heavily on one's possession of *capital.* Bourdieu believes *capital* comes in four principle categories: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Wacquant, 2006: 7). The endowments of these types of *capital* enable people to engage in everyday social spaces and spheres of life, which Bourdieu labels *fields* and which are further governed by rules and an internal structure. These rules of the *field* are constantly being defined and re-defined, engaging in a reflexive dialogue with the *habitus* of different groups of people and the different types of *capital* they possess. All facets of Bourdieu's

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[ii] Classifying practice is the process of judgments made in determining one's distinctive set of tastes, for instance, the decisions behind differentiating or appreciating certain practices and products.

theories are, in fact, fluid concepts that both constrain and enable the practices of individuals in society and echo the morphological definition of *type* as theorized by Gauthier (2005).

Gentrification

The physical manifestations of gentrification come in a variety of forms. Early studies of gentrification typify the process as involving the renovation of period homes and row-houses within inner-city neighbourhoods. The process has evolved to include manifestations ranging from the rejuvenation of waterfront properties as described in a study on London's Docklands (Ogden & Hall, 1982), rental apartments converted to owner occupied homes (Hamnett & Randolph, 1986), the retrofitting of abandoned churches to create upscale condominiums in Montréal (McConville: 2004), and lofts in the former industrial district of SoHo in New York (Zukin, 1982). Thus, the prevalence of brownfield industrial buildings in Montréal's Saint-Henri and their vulnerability to pressures of physical transformations and associated social changes, make this type of research all the more pressing.

The concept of gentrification became ubiquitous after Ruth Glass (1964) first coined the term to describe the process by which groups of upper-middle class residents began purchasing and moving into deprived areas of London's East End thereby revitalizing the neighbourhood. However, many researchers recognized that the concept of gentrification needed to address more than just the process of neighbourhood upgrading (Beauregard, 1986; Rose, 1984; Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003). More specifically, it required the acknowledgement of the complexities in social practices occurring in "various ways in different neighbourhoods of different cities, comprising diverse trajectories of neighbourhood change implying a variety of protagonists" (Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003: 2451).

As a way of examining the physical and social transformations brought about by post-industrial interventions, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of social practice proves especially useful as an analytic or explanatory framework, more so than the oftentimes overused notion of *gentrification*. In their critique of gentrification as an explanatory framework, Van Criekingen and

Decroly (2003) have challenged its application as an all-encompassing definition of physical and social transformations; rather, they have married it with elements of Bourdieu's approach advocating for its delineation into four sub-categories to better describe distinctions within the process: gentrification, marginal gentrification, upgrading and incumbent upgrading. The processes of 'upgrading' and 'incumbent upgrading' generally take place in long-established bourgeois neighbourhoods. Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003: 2454) use Bourdieu's terminology of social practice and conceptualize 'marginal gentrification' as neighbourhood revitalization associated with an incoming middle-class that is "richer in cultural *capital* than in economic *capital*" and 'gentrification' with an influx of affluent classes that transforms the former low-income neighbourhood into a wealthy area. According to such a typology, many former sites of production in Saint-Henri have already yielded to 'marginal gentrification' and 'gentrification'.

According to David Ley (1993, 2003), who has also conducted a significant number of studies into the gentrification processes in Canada, the tendency to attribute the gentrification phenomenon solely to economic forces is flawed; the process must also be explained with knowledge of consumer preferences. Ley is not alone in believing that social and cultural aspects and individual agency should be afforded a more prominent role as many authors have begun to articulate similar critiques (Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007; Hjorthal & Bjornskau, 2005: 355; Jackson, 1985; Podmore, 1998; Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003). These critiques lead to challenges in the research paradigm of gentrification: while clusters of creative classes may be considered a boon to the economic well-being of the future of deindustrialized inner-cities, they may present a greater burden to the already disadvantaged and lower-income residents of the area who cannot partake in the benefits of loft conversions.

In his account of gentrification in Canadian cities, Ley (1997; 2003) contends that there exists a 'homology' between producers and their clients (Ley, 2003: 2351). The *habitus* of producers and clients depends on the changes in *capital* which in turn fuels a change in taste. Ley's argument is that a shared *habitus* informs the development of new architectural types and

the middle-class who consume these forms, relying on each other in an intertwined cycle of production and consumption.

Using Bourdieu's terminology, Ley was specifically interested in uncovering how individuals coming from a position of high cultural *capital* and low economic *capital* could move to a position of rising economic *capital* (Ley, 2003: 2527). For example, artists who have high cultural *capital* (creativity) but have low economic *capital* are brought into the downtown core where the *habitus* of living lofts becomes popularized and trendy enough to begin attracting or creating a class of rising economic *capital*. Ley successfully extends Bourdieu's theories of aesthetic dispositions and the relations between economic and cultural influences to the inner-city real estate market (Ley, 2003: 2528-2529). He is concerned with what drives people to transform the aesthetic value of something formerly seen as junk into a valued commodity.

In the case of post-industrial loft conversions in Saint-Henri, Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003: 2454) have argued that Saint-Henri is a neighbourhood of 'marginal gentrification' where incoming 'marginal gentrifiers' (Rose, 1996) have began transforming post-industrial warehouse spaces according to their *habitus,* and their associated preferences of dwelling type, lifestyle and consumption tastes, which distinguished them from other middle-class groups in the suburbs for example. For Rose, marginal gentrifiers signify "fractions of the new middle class who were highly educated but only tenuously employed or modestly earning professionals, and who sought out niches in inner-city neighbourhoods—as renters in the private or non-profit sector, or...as co-owners of modestly priced apartment units" (Rose, 1996: 134 in Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003: 2454). Bridge (2001: 207) theorizes that the motive force behind further reproduction of this *habitus* of 'marginal gentrifiers' and more incoming 'gentrifiers' has been "the drive to maintain distinction in the struggles over status in social space".

Podmore's investigation into "loft-living" in Montréal also establishes theoretical links between the *habitus* of 'marginal gentrifiers' and 'gentrifiers' and indicate that the form of gentrification propelled by the former (post-industrial loft conversions) is a strategy to distinguish themselves from the latter in Montréal (1998). The concept of *habitus* is a core element of

Podmore's study; it helps to explain the relationship between the location, material landscape and media images of lofts and the aesthetic dispositions or practices that produce it. Podmore's study reveals two sets of *habitus* in competition for loft spaces: loft artists who use their spaces to live and work, and loft dwellers who are adventurous condominium owners experiencing the cosmopolitan appeal of inner-city dwellings preferring lofts over other forms of residential dwellings. Podmore's study does not account for the taste and lifestyle choices of marginal gentrifiers in Saint-Henri who do not live in loft spaces yet still represent what Smith calls a "divisive and polarizing force" that has the power to displace long-standing members of an initial population (Smith 1996 in Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003: 2456). Nor does her study account for the long-term residents of neighbourhoods that are affected by gentrification and loft reconversion. Although they may not occupy or consume the lofts per se, the perceptions of this form of living arrangement by the long-term population is arguably instrumental in "the drive to maintain distinction in the struggles over status in social space" to quote Bridge again (2001: 207).

Picking up on this need to assess the *habitus* of longstanding resident communities, Butler in Islington, Britain, identified two competing *habitus* in a newly gentrifying neighbourhood which he labels the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' (2003: 2476). Islington is described as a coherent narrative of mixed-communities (white working-class and liberal middle-class incomers) but found itself becoming fractured by the influx of newcomers who neither belonged nor understood the community's history. Hence, the values of the inner-city community were becoming displaced by a *habitus* of incoming residents whose dispositions revolved around money and market-based solutions to life (Butler, 2003: 2476). Butler's findings of two competing *habitus* in Islington indicate the possibility of duplicating a similar study in Saint-Henri so as to validate the social disembodiment of residents, however, before doing so, there is also a need to explore the causes behind the *habitus* lifestyle dispositions and their effects on physical transformations in Saint-Henri.

A recent study conducted by Scozzari (2007) in Saint-Henri revealed that many residents regarded changes stemming from gentrification in Saint-Henri to be somewhat uneven in their distribution. Arguing that many studies tend to focus on displaced or incoming residents, Scozzari (2007) interviewed long-term residents who lived in the area before and after major real-estate developments and uncovered micro-geographies of residents with varying economic backgrounds. Those with higher economic backgrounds lived around park areas while those that were poorer lived around non-park areas. Many interview respondents in his study were open to the potential benefits that gentrification could bring and had one common caveat: all revitalization efforts should integrate and develop the more neglected areas of Saint-Henri.

In trying to tie the concepts of *habitus* to wider arguments of gentrification, one can turn to Henri Lefebvre, author of *The Production of Space* (1991), who provides a useful link. Lefebvre envisioned space or the built environment as both a social based on the values and meanings assigned by people, and as a means of reproduction and control; people 'practiced', 'conceived' and 'lived' in spaces that in turn, exerted control on their behaviour (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39). He theorized that space is a socially constructed entity in which a dominant hegemony regulates the behaviour between people of different classes, races or genders.

Lefebvre's philosophical exploration of social space provides another framework with which to analyze the built environment of Saint-Henri by separating it out into three categories of social manifestations: 1) Spatial Practice; 2) Representations of Space; and 3) Representational Space. Essentially, Lefebvre's concepts of spatial practice describes the way in which people 'perceive' space; representations of space are how space is 'conceived'; and finally representational space is how people actually 'live' in a space (Lefebvre, 1991: 33-39), a division that can be applied the analysis of Saint-Henri.

Podmore has made compelling observations that the *habitus* of loft dwellers, and loft artists are one of many causes of gentrification in Montréal (1998). My study will also strive to include the *habitus* of those groups who do not live in lofts, i.e., the long-term residents who find themselves oftentimes opposed to the increasing dominance of new incoming groups. As the

tastes and lifestyle dispositions that inform and are framed by each *habitus* influence the manner in which spaces in Saint-Henri are conceived, perceived and lived, Lefevere's theoretical framework will highlight Saint-Henri as a "disputed post-industrial landscape".

On the Dialectic of the Material and the Immaterial and the Rise of New Cultural Models

According to Caniggia and Maffei (2001), the *type* is a cultural model, an unconscious mental representation or logic that is mobilized by agents when they construct and use the built environment (Gauthier, 2005: 83). Gauthier (2005) proposed a three-level diagram (*Figure 2.2*) that illustrates the interweaving relations occurring in new cultural models. This framework can also apply to the new type in a typological process.

Figure 2.2: Dialectical production of new cultural models (types)

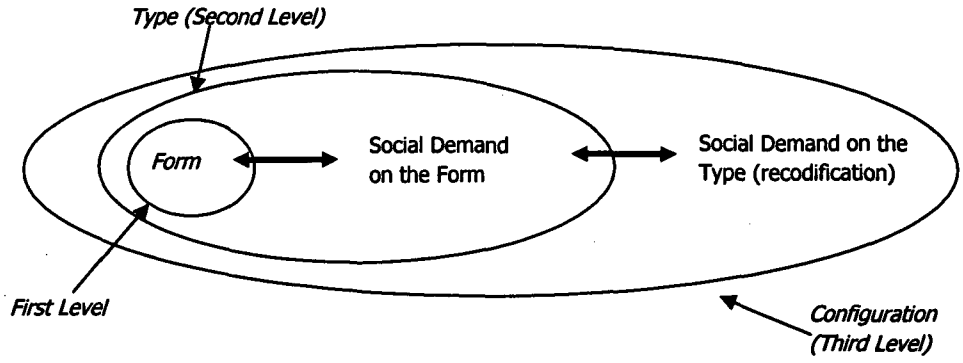

Image source: Adapted from Gauthier, 2005: 87.

At the first level is the *form* which is "governed by all the rules commanding the spatial configuration and material arrangement of concrete objects" or governed by the endogenous determinants of the system of the built environment). At the second level is the *type* which exists as a result of interaction between both endogenous and exogenous determinants. Exogenous forces (such as economic, juridical and technological practices) in turn compel the *form* to adapt to social needs and demands. It is at this junction that *habitus* appears—Bourdieu's concepts of tastes and lifestyle dispositions exert their influences on exogenous forces

as well (Gauthier, 2005: 87). Finally, the third level is known as the configuration level. Gauthier posits that a new incarnation emerges from the dialectic interactions between a *type* and the exogenous determinants influencing it. In such a context, the *type*, as a new cultural model, becomes tangible in the built environment and lends itself to being 'practiced', 'conceived', and 'lived' (see Lefebvre, 1991) by different agents.

In 1982, Sharon Zukin wrote an influential book called "loft-living", which documented the emergence of what I would describe as a new *architectural type*, and new *habitus* which corresponded to a new cultural model in New York's SoHo district. As a physical manifestation of gentrification, this new cultural model came in the form of loft apartments converted from former industrial buildings and sites of production. The prevalence of abandoned industrial buildings in and around Montréal's Saint-Henri and their availability for profitable loft conversions highlights the relevancy of Zukin's research.

Zukin attributed the rise in "loft-living" to a 'return to the city' trend, where new amenities and incentives prompted people to break away from suburban idyll to return to the, "social diversity and aesthetic promiscuity of city life" (1987: 131). A series of actions implemented by the government contributed to the rediscovery of real-estate potential in industrial landscapes; rezoning land use, tax incentives to attract building investment, subsidies to non-profit tenants and investors, and standardization of landlord obligations (Zukin, 1982: 151). This was coupled with an increase in dual income households and rising prices of suburban dwellings in the 1970s, and the marketing campaigns of developers, the in-migration of people back into inner-cities and post-industrial landscapes has significantly contributed to the proliferation of loft conversions as a form of gentrification (Zukin, 1987: 131-132).

The concept of an "Artistic Mode of Production" (AMP) coined by Zukin (1982), is that artist groups took advantage of rent gaps and depreciated industrial buildings, and transformed them into a new aesthetic of hip and trendy live-work space. The mainstream culture appropriated this AMP as a commodity in what she labels the "cult of domesticity" (Zukin, 1982:

81) and transformed the former sites of production into a commercialized space where an industrial aesthetic was valorized. Zukin described a physical and social transformation that saw housing for artists or the "living poor" (1982: 81) become a new *type* of bourgeoisie luxury residence that further perpetuated the expanding interests of a middle class cultural model.

A growing appreciation for and identification with old industrial buildings has become appropriated by the media who see themselves as stalwarts advocating an industrial style (Zukin, 1982: 69). Developers see themselves playing the 'benevolent role' of creating an urban economic engine while promoting cultural heritage (Zukin, 1982: 138). In Saint-Henri, ingenious marketing and packaging by developers in the inner-city real-estate industry has produced volumes of marketing literature that have effectively recoded the geography of the city by rewriting social history. As a pre-emptive justification for increasing revitalization strategies, the former filth of industry along the Lachine Canal has been recast as a highly desirable pastoral landscape, following an imagery that the media has helped to transform.

In her assessment of Zukin's argument, Podmore views the treatment of culture as a commodity to be insufficient in explaining the socio-cultural processes behind "loft-living". Beyond economic aspects of land markets and rent gap, the AMP that occurred in New York cannot be universally generalized to describe the emergence loft conversions and "loft-living" around the world. Instead, Podmore believes that localized socio-cultural processes, such as the practice of aesthetics and lifestyles, culminate in a 'symbolic system of imagery' that contribute to the production and reproduction of the loft lifestyle (1998: 284).

Focusing on the case of Montréal lofts, Podmore (1998) distinguishes it from the experience in SoHo in the fact that local circumstances have lent themselves to the creation of a distinct loft culture. Firstly, the local morphology, local planning and heritage preservation practices have all encouraged the emergence of a loft landscape. Secondly, Montréal is described as a second generation market where loft conversions began appearing in the 1980s and 1990s. Having laid the groundwork for her analysis of Montréal, the author demonstrates how Montréal's new cultural model of "loft-living" emerged through the influence of design, décor

magazines and even the movie industry spotlighting the new cosmopolitan lifestyle. This coverage by mainstream media has legitimized lofts as a new way of living and further disseminated the *habitus* and *capital* encapsulated by "loft-living" (1998).

Likewise Smith, a prolific writer on gentrification and its economic explanations, concedes that a consumer *habitus* of "loft-living" is borne out of more than just economic strategies but also created through marketing and advertising (1996: 57). According to Weber (2002), the spatial policies found in urban renewal initiatives are based largely on a rhetoric that stigmatizes post-industrial or brownfield sites as being areas of blight and obsolescence. The media has adopted this language as well as what Smith calls the 'frontier myth' that effectively extolled the people moving back to the inner-cities as 'urban pioneers' (1996: 13). In his book, *The New Urban Frontier* (1996), Smith also points to the 'naturalization' of landscapes to appeal to new attitudes in the contemporary city such as environmentalism (1996: 32). The language commonly used in marketing and news fed these attitudes by evoking images of neighbourhood recycling, upgrading, and renaissance; while also reinforcing the rhetoric of renewal, urban cleansing and blight, this language reinforced the favourable attitudes towards gentrification and individual consumption patterns (Smith, 1996: 32). Evocative terms such as 'rehabilitation', 'revitalization', and 'redevelopment' are very influential, Smith argues, in attracting people back to post-industrial neighbourhoods and are especially powerful in perpetuating the legitimacy of lofts as a new cultural model.

Some authors suggest that structural economic changes have spawned individuals who "gentrify as an expression of the socioeconomic standing and evolving class identity" (Smith & Graves, 2005: 405). These individuals are highly selective in choosing which locations and what buildings to occupy. Distancing themselves from the cookie-cutter dwelling forms that characterize the suburbs, the new middle-class enjoys the non-standard characteristics that the working-class neighbourhood embodies; as Zukin says, "only those who do not know the steam and sweat of a factory can appreciate (Zukin, 1982: 59). New patterns of consumption result in this class having the power to dictate patterns of production of the urban landscape and thus

create a demand for urban lofts. A stronger fascination for cultural experiences, aesthetics and different *capital* accumulation has inspired a new orientation towards the industrial aesthetic.

Conclusion

Lofts are not quirky "quixotic one-offs" and novelty residential forms to be taken for granted, and rather are indicative of broader social changes transcribed in the transformation of the built environment (Hamnett & Whitelegg, 2007). Zukin's work in SoHo has strongly suggested that "loft-living" as a new cultural model has broader social ramifications: "Change in the use of lofts corresponds, in general, to the movement of corporate sector investment capital into a selected number of decaying downtowns. As part of a long-term change to the city's political economy, "loft-living" contributes to the de-industrialization and gentrification of the urban core" (Zukin, 1982: 256). In the case of Saint-Henri, Zukin's perspective has merits, but further empirical understanding of the endogenous and exogenous forces specific to Saint-Henri's post-industrial landscape is required.

This study proposes to revisit the aforementioned theories and notions of gentrification and "loft-living" to verify the extent to which they apply to Saint-Henri. It proposes as well to shed light on the dialectics among the material transformations, their associated social practices (the development practices upstream and the dwelling practices downstream) and social representations. The latter exercise is meant to uncover the mechanisms at play behind the transformation of a landscape of production into a landscape of residential consumption and leisure.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Objectives and Methodology

Introduction

There are three lines of enquiry that I pursue in this study. By first focusing on the material culture, I document and analyze the spatial relationships between the old industrial forms and the new residential forms of three case study sites in Saint-Henri. It is important to understand the physical state of Saint-Henri's past and contrast it with the present to more fully comprehend its spatial syntax and overall adaptability to loft conversions. Second, I document and analyze the role of commercial discourse of loft housing developments in delving into two local newspapers as well as the promoter's websites. I believe that such a discourse is instrumental in fostering new lifestyles associated with lofts. Thirdly, I record local perceptions towards the physical and social changes taking place in both private and public realms through semi-structured interviews. It is via these methods that I unveil the various types of habitus cohabiting in the post-industrial landscape and articulate the loft-living trend in Saint-Henri.

Saint-Henri as a Case Study

Considering the transformations of its urban landscape, Saint-Henri constitutes an ideal setting to conduct a case study on how inner-city neighbourhoods have been recovering from Montréal's recent economic difficulties, and how these transformations denote the advent of new "lifestyles" and cultural models. For an area that had been left to lower-income and working-class groups, Saint-Henri's post-industrial landscape suddenly became a profitable real-estate venture again in light of new redevelopment initiatives such as loft and condominium conversions. Ironically, these lofts cultivated nostalgia for Saint-Henri's industrial heritage amongst self-styled cosmopolitan groups, while simultaneously downplaying the stigma associated with a poor and "dilapidated" inner-city neighbourhood. The transformations of Saint-Henri's industrial landscape and the slated construction of large infrastructure projects such as

the MUHC Glen Campus and the Turcot Interchange highlight the urgency and pertinence of this research.

'Reading' the Textual Sources in Saint-Henri

In my research I conduct a 'reading' of data sources pertaining to Saint-Henri—the term 'reading' is used rather loosely. Shurmer-Smith says that "implicit in the idea of reading is the assumption that one is making sense out of something experienced" (2002: 123). 'Reading' however, is more than a simple consumption of traditional textual sources, it extends to include the intake of "anything with a degree of permanence that communicates meaning" (Shurmer-Smith, 2002). This can include a myriad of sources ranging from paintings to photographs or maps or films, and most certainly in the case of this research, to the experiences, appearances and meanings imbued in Saint-Henri's urban landscape. Likewise, other researchers concur that these sources of visual data can prove invaluable when treated as text, revealing insights that might have otherwise been neglected in other methods (Hannam, 2002).

Because Saint-Henri has undergone significant periods of physical change in the past 100 years, the appreciation of the landscape then and now justifies an analysis of the built environment. Maps are an ideal source of data because they show a snapshot overview of a geographical area. Maps are the most accessible source of information as they encompass street layouts, lot sizes and building configurations along with other natural and artificial features in the urban landscape.

Likewise, commercial literature imparts significant amounts of insightful information about a product or a cultural object, such as the "loft" in the case of this study. According to Shurmer-Smith (2002), advertisements are some of the most self-conscious forms of texts created in contemporary societies. A reading of loft advertisements in Saint-Henri entails the realization that the product (industrial building) is constituted as an image. Marketing departments use text and also images to self-aggrandize and communicate the alleged attractiveness of their places to potential buyers (Miles, 1997; Shurmer-Smith, 2002).

Conversation, meanwhile, has been and continues to be the primary medium for basic human interaction (Silverman, 2006). Reading into information imparted during interview conversations highlights the perceptions and opinions of the subject of the interviews.

In accordance with the research objectives outlined previously, the data collection of this study is informed by a qualitative theoretical framework initially developed by Gauthier (2003; 2005), which combines the tools of urban morphology and of praxeology. This framework allows for a 'reading' of Saint-Henri's spatial forms and artifacts, on the one hand, and the study of dwelling and development practices, on the other hand. Urban morphology is an approach that focuses on studying the city's built environment and its evolution over time, treating urban material culture as dynamic and pervasive elements capable of influencing social and economic agents of change. Praxeology refers to the study of human actions and practices (Bourdieu, 1977). Used together, these theoretical perspectives and methods hold potential in providing empirical evidences of how cultural models are concretized in the built environment and enacted in social practices.

Tools for Data Collection

The first task was the documentation of the spatial evolution of three major sites of production that have experienced residential conversion in Saint-Henri. Data for this study was assembled from the collection of archival cartographic documents obtained from the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationale du Québec and contemporary AutoCAD and ArcGIS shapefiles already provided by the Sud-Ouest Borough. Historical maps and plans from three distinct periods (1907, 1949 and the recent year of 2007) were georeferenced in ArcGIS to be analyzed at constant scales. Cartographic evidences were then triangulated with, and completed by, iconographic evidence and a contemporary photographic survey of building types conducted by the author. The three study sites chosen are fairly representative of Saint-Henri's post-industrial landscape: the Quai Des Éclusiers Complex on Saint-Ambroise Street; the Fattal Complex on Saint-Remi Street and the former Imperial Tobacco plant on Saint-Antoine Street. The Fattal Complex and

the Imperial Tobacco projects are reconversions of preexisting industrial buildings while the Quai des Éclusiers project shows new residential constructions - with explicit "industrial" architecture overtones – built on a former site of production.

A visual layering of the 2007 map over the 1907 and 1949 historical maps was expected to allow for a closer inspection of the three study sites. Of particular interest were the spatial changes between the historical industrial buildings and current loft conversion counterparts, changes in the lot parcels, as well as the syntactic rules governing the street network and the transportation infrastructures (canal and railroads). The general evolution of architectural forms was traced, with particular attention given to the transformations induced by residential conversion. The morphological analysis was expected to point to signs of spatial atomization, such as disenfranchised spatial enclaves, between the industrial forms and traditional built form of Saint-Henri.

Secondly, an investigation was conducted on the role of commercial advertisements in the transformation of Saint-Henri's post-industrial sites from a landscape of production to a landscape of consumption. Commercial advertisements are believed to be one of the practices that developers use — more or less consciously— to instill the idea that dwelling in a former industrial environment is desirable. This investigation entailed a reading of advertisements pertaining to loft projects in the Sud-Ouest Borough, with an emphasis on the three sites chosen in the morphological analysis. The weekend real-estate sections of local newspapers *La Presse* and *The Montréal Gazette* were consulted in order to collect an assortment of both French and English ads. The period covered started one year before the construction of the first of the three projects of reference and continued until the present. However, this potentially long sampling process is made manageable by theoretical saturation: the collection of advertisements was conducted up until a point of saturation, i.e. when no new information appeared (Bryman & Teevan, 2005: 232). Furthermore, a wealth of information was collected from the websites of Quai des Éclusiers and Imperial Lofts—both of these are closely scrutinized for their commercial content. In contrast to this, the Fattal Building does not have a dedicated website because it

only contains rental apartments; I found its advertisements on the online classified ads website called Craigslist[iii].

Marketing language is believed to be especially influential in cultivating a demand for lofts. Marketing literature tended to speak of post-industrial neighbourhoods in rhetorical terms, areas are 'blighted' where industry has left behind 'abandoned' buildings or 'obsolete' infrastructure. Catch phrases indicating positive change, such as revitalization and redevelopment can be especially influential in appealing to contemporary attitudes towards city living. By conducting a textual and iconographic analysis of marketing arguments are pinpointed, in particular those praising the virtues of "loft-living", and of inhabiting the landscaped banks of the former industrial canal. This process aids in discerning what is in the minds of the producers and what could help potential customers change their perception of an 'abandoned and blighted' post-industrial factory into a 'trendy loft'.

Thirdly, a study of the respective perceptions of newcomers and long-term residents in Saint-Henri was conducted. Rather than using questionnaires or surveys, in-depth semi-structured interviews were employed. While they are time-consuming and translate into more work, in general this style of interview yields much richer information. In total, thirty-one interviews were conducted with individuals who lived in one of my three case studies and with individuals who lived within the rest of Saint-Henri. My questions focused on the development and influences attributed to the three loft buildings selected for the morphological and commercial advertisement analysis, hence the need to recruit those individuals who live in such buildings but also those who live within close proximity.

The process of recruiting respondents was done through convenience and snowball sampling (Bryman & Teevan, 2005; Weiss, 1994). Interview participants were initially comprised of contacts made through friends and acquaintances who were then able to refer their own

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[iii] My decision to use Craigslist as a source of commercial marketing of the Fattal Building is based upon my interviews with the residents of this building. Craigslist is an online classified ad website. In all cases, the residents related to me their experience of finding their loft through advertisements found on Craigslist.

acquaintances to take part in an interview[iv]. Another technique I used to recruit participants in my convenience sample was by loitering in places where potential respondents would congregate, such as the metro station and local bars and coffee shops. I also made use of local neighbourhood social agencies[v] that were extremely helpful in reaching out to local residents who may not have opened up to me as an outsider. In another case, I underwent an elaborate search for a particularly elusive resident of the Fattal Complex[vi].

Each interview lasted approximately 30 to 60 minutes. Detailed notes of the interview were taken and when permitted, the conversation was also tape-recorded (Weiss, 1994). Each interviewee was given a formal introduction letter as well as a consent form for them to sign in their mother tongue (See Appendix A and B). After explaining the purpose of my study and how they were chosen to be participants, my role in the semi-structured interview was to guide the conversation based on a series of questions developed earlier (See Appendix C and D). These questions related to the respondent's living quarters, lifestyle and community. This method assisted me in operationalizing the research objectives and further corroborating the insights found in morphological evidences and commercial discourse content.

Tools for Data Analysis

For the purposes of analyzing the data collected in this study, certain tools from grounded theory were particularly useful and well-suited for the qualitative aspects of my data especially that of commercial advertisements and interview discourse. Recall the analogy made by Denzin and Lincoln (2003) comparing the work of a qualitative researcher to that of a quilt-

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[iv] Some of the interview participants in the initial group of convenience samples were recruited by using the advent of a social networking website called Facebook. In Facebook, there is a field called "what are you doing right now?" which allows users to announce their activities or current status to other users within their network. Faced with the challenge of finding interview participants, I announced that I was "seeking to interview people who live in Saint-Henri". Surprisingly, within three days, this convenience sampling method yielded 4 willing participants.

[v] Local agencies such as the Saint-Henri CLSC, Citoyens de Village des Tanneries, Les Femmes Active and Famijeune.

[vi] Due to the fact that many residents of the Fattal Building are primarily renters, it is very difficult to track any of them down. This particular resident is an independent musician and had played some venues within one of the lofts of the Fattal building. Through websites of underground music venues and a reverse look-up on Canada 411, I was then able to contact the resident's band manager who put me in touch with him.

maker; the central focus is the development of a theory out of data and an iterative approach, meaning that data collection and analysis proceed in tandem repeatedly referring and weaving back to each other (Bryman & Teevan, 2005, 284).

Some of tools of grounded theory include coding where a researcher's interpretations of data shape his or her emergent themes. Coding is a way to label, separate, compile and organize data; it is done simultaneously as data is collected so as to minimize the possibility of the researcher forgetting details. Referring to collected advertisements and interview transcripts, I expected general themes, such as the appreciation for loft aesthetics and industrial heritage, to emerge, which I then further organized into categories[vii]. By reviewing the codes whilst considering the broader theoretical ideas of *habitus* and capital framing my study, I then used these codes to extract fragments of the transcripts or advertisements to cement my argument (Bryman & Teevan, 2005).

Theoretical saturation is another tool used to guide the data collection of commercial advertisements as well as interview participants. It was anticipated that data collection would be time-consuming and potentially tedious; by applying theoretical saturation, data were collected only up until the point at which no new data or perceptions emerged (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). This method is employed to save time and cut down on costs associated with the time spent on collecting newspaper advertisements.

Discourse analysis is an especially useful technique for analyzing the data pertaining to the study of a "loft-living" *habitus*. More specifically, I did not wish to delve into the reasons why developers are marketing to people—it is already quite apparent that they aim to attract people to consume their product. Instead, I was interested in how the decision to use the history or industry of Saint-Henri as a marketing device by developers and how this marketing has come to establish the neighbourhood's identity. As Potter asserts, "discourse analysis has an analytic commitment to studying discourse as texts and talk in social practices...the focus is...on language

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[vii] Coding categories include: architectural features; industrial aesthetics; activity; community, investment; social displacement; change; trendiness; knowledge of previous industry; loft conversions; spatial divisions.

as...the medium for interaction; analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do" (Potter, 2004: 203).

Silverman contends discourse analysis is a method that engages directly with the cultural and political contexts of a research (2006). By acknowledging that reality is constituted of many people's accounts and within different contexts, discourse analysis rejects assumptions that there are true or false descriptions of 'reality' (Bryman and Teevan, 2005; Gill, 1996; Gill, 2000; Potter, 2004). This is especially important as all discourse is organized rhetorically, meaning that the morphological data or text collected for this study were all formulated by different actors and groups, in order to make it persuasive. Discourse intends to present a version of reality in an effort to challenge competing versions of events. My use of discourse analysis was aimed at identifying rhetorical techniques behind the portrayed versions of reality (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). Because the interview questions were of an open-ended format, respondents were encouraged to answer freely according to their judgments and opinions regarding "loft-living". Interviews were then transcribed into text and read critically, highlighting key themes that emerged, which ultimately revealed a higher awareness of people's perceptions and priorities in Saint-Henri.

Research Validity

Qualitative research has sometimes been criticized for being overly subjective because of the heavy reliance on the researcher's interpretations and rapport established with interview participants. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) there are 4 main criteria in ascertaining the trustworthiness and authenticity of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In terms of credibility, a problem may arise when several accounts of one event, such as the construction of Quai des Éclusiers, arise. This study uses triangulation as a means to establish credibility—triangulation is the cross-checking of results between one research strategy against another strategy (Bryman & Teevan, 2005; Silverman, 2006). Denzin and

Lincoln assert that while it may not generate a 'true' reading, triangulation contributes to the credibility of a study by adding "rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth..." (2003: 5).

This research on *habitus* in Saint-Henri tends to be quite context-specific; it is a detailed investigation of the morphological and social changes that this particular neigbourhood is undergoing. Thus transferability or the likelihood of replicating this study in another area and finding the same results would be improbable without 'thick description', a concept taken from Clifford Geertz's study (1973). Thick description is the careful and extensive verbatim reporting of data sources (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000: 347). By documenting verbatim sources, thick description is a way to meticulously report the perceptions of local social agents and acknowledge the limitations of the study. If the study were to be transferred elsewhere, the thick description results of one study may be used by researchers to decide whether an investigation is viable in other settings (Bryman & Teevan, 2005; Huberman, 2002). The limits of time and space meant that thick description is employed in only a few instances; however, these instances were indicative of growing sentiments of social and physical dispute revolving around some of Saint-Henri's loft conversions.

The dependability of a qualitative research entails the detailed record-keeping of all methods and techniques of data collection and analysis. In providing my research instruments, other qualitative researchers have the option to scrutinize my research and judge for themselves whether proper procedures and methodology was followed. It also enables others to assess whether my inferences are justified (See Appendix E and F).

The final criterion asserted by Lincoln and Guba is confirmability which is essentially questioning whether a study has been biased or influenced by a researcher's own personal values (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While a major element of qualitative research is interpretivist, I am still analyzing and interpreting data according to the knowledge derived from the theoretical framework and literature review—it is not overtly coloured by my own opinions. (Bryman & Teevan, 2005; Huberman, 2002).

Limitations of Study

Limitations of this study lie in the fact that no quantitative analysis was made of the collected data. A more rigourous scientifical approach typical of quantitative analysis may have allowed the identification of demographic trends that could have been statistically correlated with the gentrification process. A stricter quantitative analysis could also have allowed for the replication of similar studies and comparisons with other post-industrial neighbourhoods experiencing loft conversions. However, this study set out to conduct a 'reading' of the urban morphology, commercial discourse and interview responses and sought to provide insight and knowledge to instigate continuous debate on the topic of "loft-living". A qualitative approach was employed that placed emphasis on words, ideas and perceptions. Although these methods may not have been considered a hard science, proceeding otherwise would have led to the loss of this study's rich ethnographic narrative.

Conclusion

This study used a three-pronged approach to study the emergence of "loft-living" cultural in Saint-Henri; it draws qualitative tools from urban morphology and discourse analysis to 'read' the iconographic and textual sources of data collected. While urban morphology offers a vision of Saint-Henri's physical reality, the triangulation of discourse analysis 'read' from commercial and interview transcripts provide a more comprehensive version of social reality by taking into account the perspectives of local residents. Despite the limitations associated with a purely qualitative study, this research contributes to the overall knowledge of evolution of the neighbourhood and presents a narrative to the 'dispute' occurring in Saint-Henri.

CHAPTER FOUR: Analysis

Introduction

Saint-Henri's urban landscape has already been described as an excellent setting to conduct a case study on how an inner-city neighbourhood has been impacted by the economy, and also how a particular transformation in the housing market signifies the emergence of a new lifestyle or cultural model Zukin described as "loft-living" (Zukin, 1982). One of the main premises of this project is that the built forms are more than the mere physical manifestation of real-estate economics and brownfield redevelopment policy imperatives. The conversion of the built landscape of industrial buildings into residential lofts is paralleled with the insertion of a foreign "loft-living" lifestyle into the local social and cultural norms. The result is that Saint-Henri is becoming a disputed field in that its built environment is the object of social and economic interactions amongst the different groups and agents who have vested interests there.

The data analysis is presented in five sections. The first section introduces the morphological background of Saint-Henri, using archival maps from 1907 and 1949 to analyze the spatial relationships between residential and industrial tissues. The second section traces the evolution of built form to the emergence a new residential form in Saint-Henri centered on industrial loft conversions. The third section analyzes the ways in which three loft developers are marketing their products. The fourth section examines the incoming middle-class people who rent or purchase these lofts to verify whether their culture of taste and lifestyles are in fact, reifying marketing strategies. In the fifth and sixth section, this study extends its inquiry to include the physical ramifications and social implications of "loft-living" in Saint-Henri.

1. Morphological Foundations of Saint-Henri

Saint-Henri is a traditionally lower-income enclave, bounded by the St. Jacques escarpment to the north, the Lachine Canal to the south, Atwater Street to the east and the Turcot Yards to the west. Saint-Henri is also situated just south of the wealthier neighbourhood of Westmount. The built landscape is characterized by a number of physical barriers. A railroad

runs through the middle of the neighbourhood. The Lachine Canal (a former industrial waterway) and factories delineate the neighbourhood's southern periphery; given their principal functions for industry, the lots are large to accommodate industrial buildings.

The street network of Saint-Henri stems from rue Notre-Dame, the original matrix route[viii] that extends from the western walls of Old Port. Streets are generally in a straight alignment and follow a rectangular grid pattern but where the land was fragmented by a railroad down the middle or by large industrial lots around the periphery, the streets and lot plans have been wedged into these remaining spaces and have seen their patterns adapted accordingly. In examining the archival insurance map from 1907 (*see Figure 4.1*), it is also evident that although many residential lots had already been plotted out at the time, many of them have not yet been built (*see Area A of Figure 4.1*). Buildings are depicted with either a yellow or pink coloured building footprint—the yellow is indicative of a wooden structure while the pink is indicative of a stone or masonry structure.

Saint-Henri has historically consisted of five Catholic parishes that ranged in wealth. As Bourdieu theorized that one's wealth or *economic capital* can be visibly recognized, for instance through one's choice of food or clothing (1984), *economic capital* may also be visible or reflected in the building materials of one's home. An example of economic disparity is offered when comparing the parish of Ste-Elisabeth du Portugal (*see Area B of Figure 4.1*) centered on Ste. Elisabeth du Portugal Street (present-day rue du Courcelle) south of the corner of St. James Street (present-day rue Saint-Jacques) and the parish of Saint-Henri (*see Area C of Figure 4.1*) located on Convent Street (present-day rue Couvent). The former parish, Ste-Elisabeth-du-Portugal is near the intersection of two major thoroughfares and borders a number of heavy industries not to mention the railroad to the south. The lot divisions surrounding the church are an irregular mix of larger industrial lots and small narrow residential lots and those lots that are built up are occupied by wooden structures without any setback from the sidewalk (*see letter "E"*

[viii] The term "matrix route" refers to a road that predates urbanization of the area, which served as a channel or "vector" for the said urbanization during the expansion of development in a neighbourhood.

of Figure 4.2). In contrast, the area where the Saint-Henri church is located is not nearly as industrial as Ste-Elisabeth-du-Portugal and appears to be much more residential. There is less evidence of industrial activity around the church, while lots are significantly wider. They are also occupied by masonry structures with notable setbacks from the street (see for example letter "J" of *Figure 4.2*) which are visible even on the 1907 map.

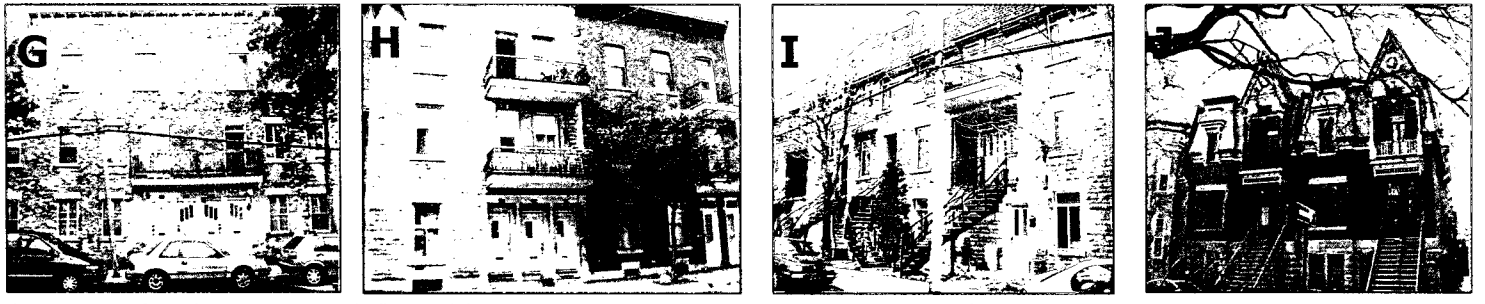
With the exception of today's modern multi-family apartment buildings and industrial loft conversions, the housing stock of Saint-Henri is still dominated by small residential buildings: the single cottage dwelling, the duplex, and the triplex. These are the most prevalent residential forms or housing "types" in Saint-Henri. A foundation *type*, as discussed by Caniggia and Maffei (2001), is a model of building which in a certain time and place represents the majority of buildings as it constitutes the codified family residence standard. The foundation type is the structure that best reflects the functional requirements prevailing at a certain time in a given area and therefore a synthesis of innovative features and collective values (Caniggia & Maffei, 2001). In Saint-Henri in the late 19th century, most of the housing stock seems to have consisted of modest single-dwelling homes with a pitched roof that corresponded to the French-Canadian rural vernacular architectural tradition. Echoing a similar evolution in Québec City (Gauthier 1997: 2003), around the turn of the 20th century, this residential form was transformed, to generate two and three stories multi-dwelling architectural "types"—i.e. the duplex, triplex, five-plex, etc. (see examples "C" to "J" of *Figure 4.2*). The current conditions of Saint-Henri's housing stock range from buildings that have deteriorated significantly following decades of disinvestment to others that have been restored and display increasing signs of gentrification.

Figure 4.1: 1907 Insurance Map of Saint-Henri

Image source: Pinsoneault, A.R., (1907) *Atlas of the Island and City of Montréal and Ile Bizard* by. Bibliothèque et Archives nationale du Québec. Plates 29, 30, 34, 36, 39 and 40.

Single storey foundation types with pitched roofs. Image source (left to right): A) http://spacingMontréal.ca/neighbourhood/st-henri/ taken by Christopher DeWolf; B) Image taken by author

Two storey duplex and triplex foundation types with flat roofs. Image source (left to right): C) Image taken by author; D) http://spacingMontréal.ca/neighbourhood/st-henri/ taken by Christopher DeWolf; E) image taken by author; F) Image taken by author.



Three storey foundation types with flat and false mansard roofs. Image source (left to right): G) http://spacingMontréal.ca/neighbourhood/st-henri/ taken by Christopher DeWolf; H) Image taken by author; I) Image taken by author; J) http://spacingMontréal.ca/neighbourhood/st-henri/ taken by Christopher DeWolf

Figure 4.2: Examples of foundation types in Saint-Henri

Figure 4.3: 1949 Map of Saint-Henri

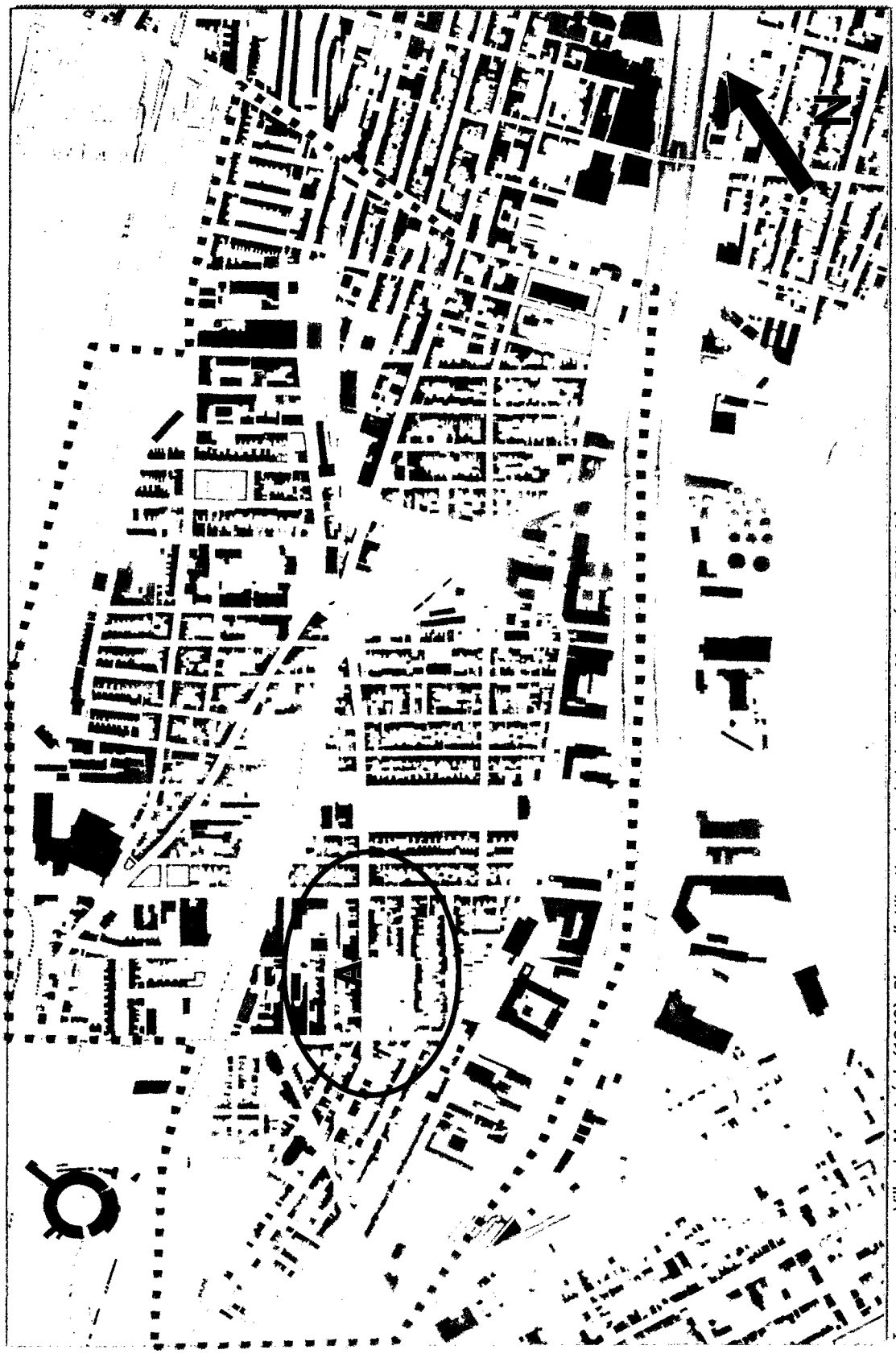


Image source: Ville de Montréal. (1949) *Plans d'utilisation du sol de la ville de Montréal.* Bibliothèque et Archives nationale du Québec. Plates 44-68, 44-72, 48-48 and 48-72.

By 1949, maps show that Saint-Henri has become increasingly and more densely populated (*see Figure 4.3*). The pressures of growing industrialization, visible in the increase of industrial and specialized buildings along the canal and at the periphery of the neighbourhood, meant that more workers and their families settled in the area. Residential areas that were only plotted out on the 1907 map were built and occupied by 1949 (*see Area A of Figure 4.3*). Furthermore, on some lots building density increased, where a small building footprint indicates a single structure occupying a fraction of the lot, the 1949 map shows a large building footprint occupying nearly all of the lot (*Figure 4.4*).

The densification of residential lots carried out by the aggregation of dwelling units meaning that relatively square buildings not only expanded vertically with one or two additional stories but also were enlarged horizontally by extending the length of a building to occupy more of the lot. Hence, the genesis of an L-shaped buildings (*see Area A of Figure 4.4*).

Figure 4.4: Comparison of the same two lots in 1907 and 1949

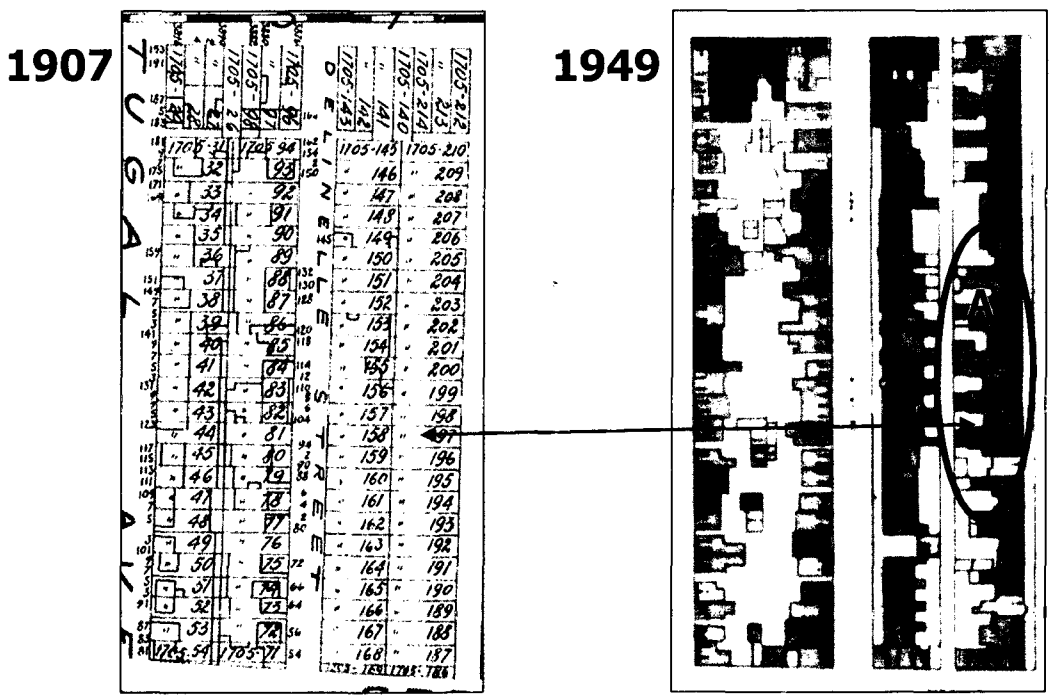


Image source (left to right): See Figures 4.1 and 4.3.

In this brief morphological reading, it is clear how physical barriers and the environment on the one hand constrained the growth patterns of residences and industry but on the other hand also allowed the population of Saint-Henri to address the socio-economic needs for more dwellings. The densification of residential tissues was compelled to follow an already established pattern of allotment and building. In his critique of archaeological theory, Hodder had urged researchers to consider a reflexive relationship between material culture and the social world; the components mutually constitute each other imbuing cultures with meanings, ideas and perceptions, as occurred in Saint-Henri.

At a neighbourhood level, the 2007 map of Saint-Henri (*Figure 4.5*) has retained much of the same built landscape as that of 1949; large industrial footprints can still be found around the periphery along the Lachine Canal while tighter close-knit residential forms populate the leftover spaces in between barriers. Upon closer inspection of the lofts at the scale of built-fabric, there may not be a significant visible difference in the building footprints, yet a morphological reading of syntactic relations with surrounding building tissues reveals that when transformed to accommodate loft dwellings, these industrial buildings have integrated architectural traits corresponding to modern multi-family apartment complex: a more recent foundation *type*. Such a "feedback loop" that sees an older architectural type transforming while integrating some of the characters of a more recent *type*, is a common occurrence in the evolution of built forms through the "typological process" (Gauthier, 2005: 86). What is less common is to see a former specialized building type (the industrial multi-story complex here) informed, in its evolution, by a residential type. The result of such a transformation is a hybrid: neither governed by industrial necessities nor totally residential, and certainly quite remote from the local vernacular residential forms that derive from the rural tradition.

Figure 4.5: 2007 Map of Saint-Henri

Image source: Sud-Ouest Borough GIS Shapefile 2007. NB: Lofts in this study are shown in yellow.

The Fattal Complex was formerly the factory for Jenkins Valves. The buildings were used for the production and storage of hardware. However it has been recently converted into lofts and rented out primarily to artists and students. As an example of a former industrial building that had lost its original economic function, the Fattal Complex has been rehabilitated (albeit, its bulk has not been altered and the building footprint, for example, remains the same) but its function has changed (*Figures 4.6*). Some of the residents interviewed in Saint-Henri expressed approval of its reuse:

> Renewal...it's an older building that can have a new life. It had been abandoned for a while but it's a good recycling of the building. I'm not against development and rejuvenation whereas some places have too much rigidity. I think it's great. We don't have to knock the buildings down. They've lived their life cycle and can be reused to serve a different purpose and yet still keep the characteristics of neighbourhood. (Teacher and long-term resident, Anonymous, 2008).

Another resident understanding the new movements to reuse and recycle buildings also echoed this opinion:

> Industry was for production and it provided jobs for people but now it's shelter for people and it's good. Now society is into recycling buildings. If it has a useful function, it's good because we're saving the urban landscape. (Construction worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Figure 4.6: Fattal Complex 1907, 1949 and 2007

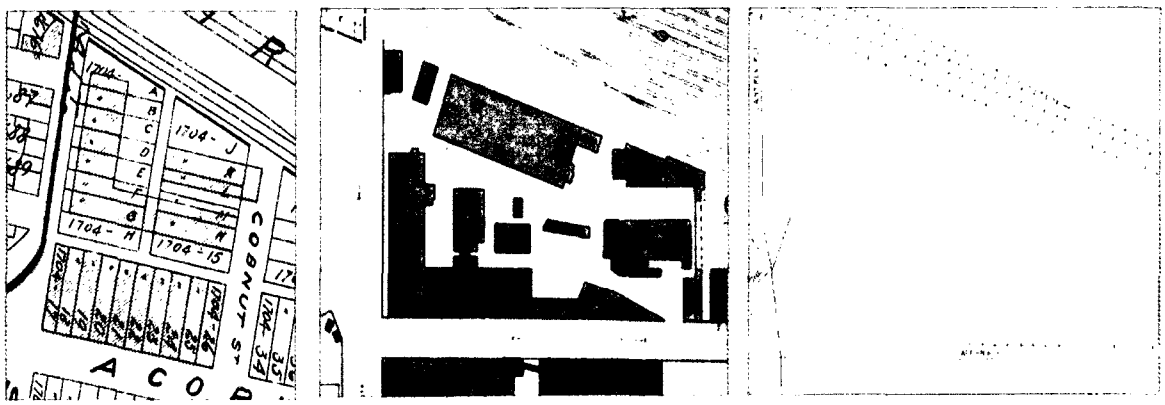


Image source (left to right): See Figure 4.1; See Figure 4.3; Sud-Ouest Borough GIS shapefiles2007

Figure 4.7: Fattal Complex before and after

Image source (left to right): http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/industrial/images/jenkins02.jpg; image taken by author.

The footprint of the Imperial Lofts, my second case-study, has not changed since its construction, although the exterior appearance of the building has gone through three phases of significant modifications (*Figure 4.8*). When it was first constructed, the buildings of Imperial Lofts ranged from four to six stories high and resembled other industrial buildings at that time with features like large windows and a rough white-washed exterior. The large windows, typical of such buildings, were meant to bring natural light deep into the wide interior before such light could be provided easily by artificial means. The only embellishment was the detailed cornice demarcating the joining of the wall and the roof. During the 1970s, aluminum siding was fastened to the exterior walls of the buildings to prevent erosion due to environmental degradation. The siding effectively covered all the windows and projected an unattractive brown façade to its adjacent streets. The current renewal of the Imperial Lofts has involved the removal of the aluminum sidings and a complete refurbishment of the exterior; walls have been stuccoed and the new windows panes have been installed. Even the cornice beneath the roof line has been restored (*Figure 4.9*). Like the Fattal Complex, the former industrial function of the Imperial Lofts has been rewritten as a residential space.

Figure 4.8: Imperial Lofts 1907, 1949 and 2007

Image source (left to right): See Figure 4.1; See Figure 4.3; Sud-Ouest Borough GIS shapefiles2007

Figure 4.9: Imperial Lofts in the 19th century, 1970s and projected future

Image source (left to right): www.loftsimperial.ca; www.Montréalbits.com; www.loftsimperial.ca

Unlike the Fattal Complex and Imperial Lofts, Quai des Éclusiers, is a building of substitution. This means that the Quai des Éclusiers Complex is a new construction now located on the site of the former Stelco steel foundry. The map images from 1907 and 1949 show the building footprint of the steel foundry during its years of establishment and expansion whereas the map image from 2007 shows that the new footprint of the current Quai des Éclusiers is approximately the same as previous years (*see Figure 4.10*). It is clear that the developers attempted to mimic the footprint of the old buildings. The theme of replication is also carried over to the exterior of the building (*see Figure 4.11*) where before, the old buildings were made of red brick and aluminum siding with windows typical of large industrial form. The entire building façade fronts directly onto the sidewalk. Presently, similar exterior finishes and frontage onto the sidewalk is mimicked with the Quai des Éclusiers buildings.

Figure 4.10: Quai des Éclusiers 1907, 1949 and 2007

Image source (left to right): See Figure 4.1; See Figure 4.3; Sud-Ouest Borough GIS shapefiles2007

Figure 4.11: Quai des Éclusiers before and after

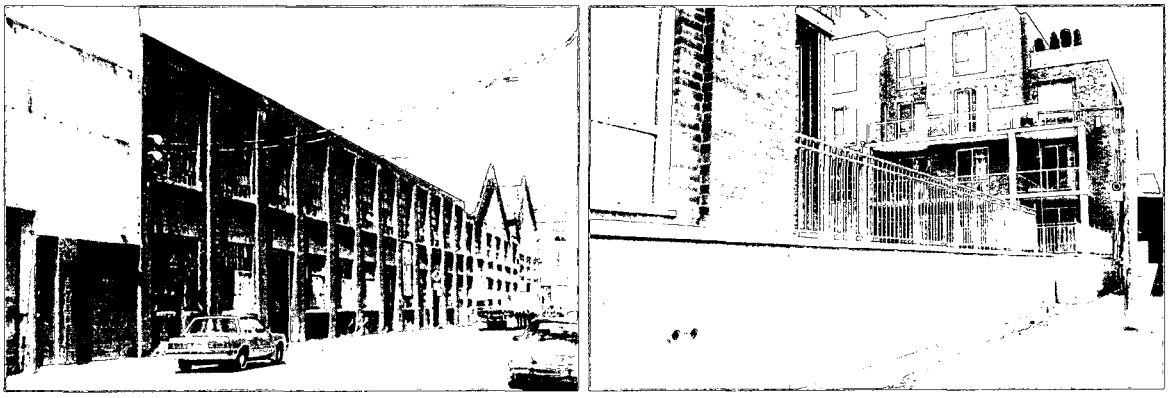


Image source (left to right): http://spacingMontréal.ca/neighbourhood/st-henri/ taken by Christopher DeWolf; image taken by author. Photo on the right taken from similar angle but closer to the building.

While it is quite obvious that the developers and their architects attempted to replicate some industrial architectural details pertaining to the original Stelco building, perhaps as a nod to the past, some interview participants expressed disappointment at the lack of access to the canal. Many people feel that a great opportunity to integrate into Saint-Henri or join the neighbourhood to the newly opened canal was missed saying that the sidewalks ended abruptly and that neighbouring streets felt closed off and unfinished. One resident said of Quai des Éclusiers, "It's beautiful because it's by the water but it looks like an office building!" (Blue-collar worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008), while another resident said, "I love the

water but I don't like the architecture of the building because it's too new. It's too much like Ile des Soeurs [an affluent neighbourhood of Montréal, which experienced considerable development in recent years]...The Quai des Éclusiers was such a bad idea because they tore down an old industrial building to build that thing!" (Papermaker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

In all three cases of lofts, the reuse of industrial buildings and land has been viewed as a beneficial for the neighbourhood of Saint-Henri and signaled renewal. However, the sight of revitalization has been tempered by growing feelings of segregation and limited access as developers may have missed the opportunity to better integrate many of these new loft spaces into Saint-Henri's existing built landscape.

2. The Emergence of a "loft-living" cultural model in Saint-Henri

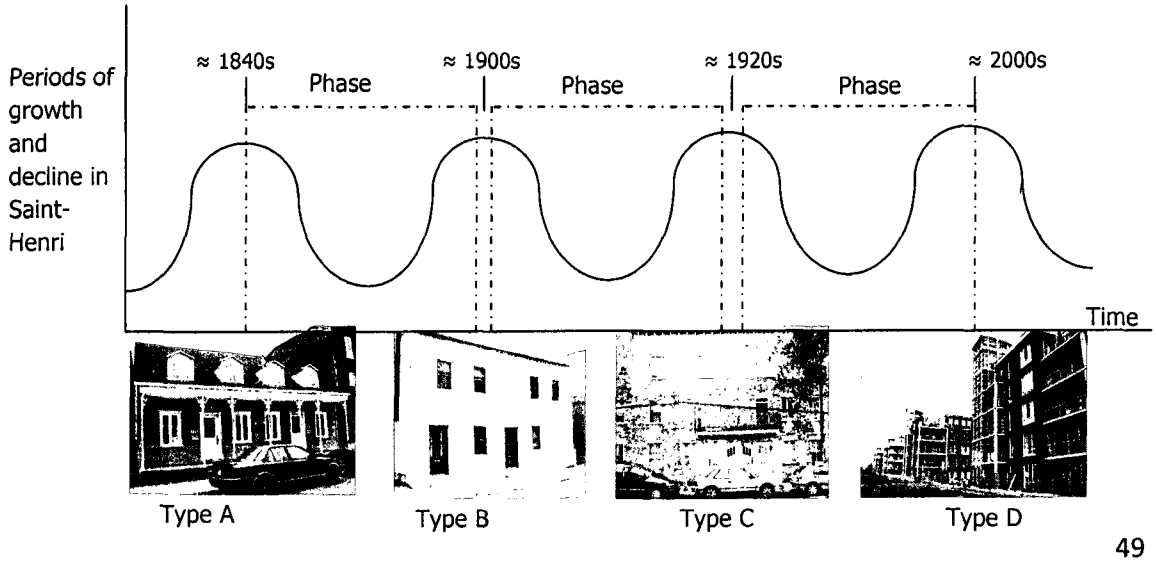
As demonstrated in the section of morphological foundations, industrial and residential tissues developed in conjunction, with the former stimulating the growth of the latter. The *typological process* (*see Figure 4.12*) described by Caniggia and Maffei (2001) is when *foundation types* are progressively produced during successive phases of expansion and growth of a city. During each specific period of growth, the population generally adheres to a specific *type* which derives from previous architectural forms (Caniggia & Maffei, 2001). Saint-Henri's landscape for instance has witnessed the practice of expanding single houses into duplexes hence generating a new model informing both the transformation of older houses and the construction of new ones. Morphological change is the outcome of a dialectical interplay between purposeful practices (for instance, land development), everyday "spontaneous" practices (transforming one's house) and the structural resilience of inherited built environment itself as well as the building culture of which it is the product (Gauthier, 2005).

When Saint-Henri encountered a crisis of deindustrialization in the mid-1970s, many industrial buildings were left abandoned. Montréal's economy had shifted from an industrial and manufacturing hub to one that was increasingly reliant on service and creative industries

(DeVerteuil, 2004; Florida, 2002; Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007). Shifts in production and transportation technologies as well as morphological considerations help explaining the neighbourhood's fate. As the 1949 map shows, the landscape was nearly built at full capacity so that in order for companies to expand their infrastructure or to adapt it to new production and transportation imperatives, for instance, it was necessary to move their operations elsewhere, thus leaving the industrial landscape of Saint-Henri devalorized. These industrial needs and may have fostered gentrification because the ensuing spatial changes ultimately influenced contemporary practices of architecture, urban planning and urban design of Saint-Henri.

The diagram below illustrates the typological process occurring in Saint-Henri. Periods of neighbourhood growth and decline are tracked along the oscilating line in the diagram: where the line rises indicates a period of expansion (i.e., industrialization), and where it falls indicates decline (i.e., deindustrialization). The *foundation types* depicted along the bottom correspond with the dominant residential building form at the time. In the 1840s, single story homes (*see Type A in Figure 4.12*) were the norm because Saint-Henri was still a rural area. In the 1900s and 1920s, duplexes and triplexes (*see Type B and Type C in Figure 4.12*) became more prevalent in response to growing populations during industrialization. In the 2000s, multi-unit dwellings types (*see Type D in Figure 4.12*) appeared in response to an increasing demand for the "loft-living" cultural model.

Figure 4.12: The typological process in Saint-Henri



On a macro city-wide level, Daniel Bell (1973) first speculated upon the factors that initiated transformations in post-industrial landscapes; he asserted post-industrial societies shared four key characteristics in their emergence:

1) A shift from a manufacturing sector to a service-based economy;

2) The centrality of new science-based industries with 'specialized knowledge' as a key resource, where universities replace factories as dominant institutions;

3) The rapid rise of managerial, professional, and technical occupations and;

4) Artistic avant-gardes lead consumer culture, rather than media, corporations or government (Bell, 1973).

Saint-Henri found itself becoming increasingly valuable after the reopening of the Lachine Canal as a linear park (Bliek & Gauthier, 2007; Deverteuil, 2004; Montréal, 2004); the location of many industrial buildings along the Lachine Canal and the potential to transform these places into waterfront property was an obvious factor in encouraging investment into the neighbourhood. Neil Smith added to these four characteristics posited by Bell by including a phenomenon he terms the "rent gap" in inner-cities in conjunction with industrial devalorization and pressures of urban expansion have initiated the processes of gentrification (Smith, 1996: 59).). In Saint-Henri, industrial devalorization was counteracted by conventional modes of gentrification, such as interior and exterior upgrading of buildings. A shift was also observable in the built environment—the adoption of loft *type,* apparently fueled by gentrification—which seems to partially confirm Smith's theory.

Smith further underscores his argument by stating that, "when economic growth is hindered elsewhere in the economy, or where profit rates are low, the built environment becomes a target for the switching of much profitable investment" (Smith, 1996: 59. Some interview participants commented on the fantastic investment opportunities available in Saint-Henri's loft conversions despite it's location in a devalorized neighbourhood. They cited the government incentives for first-time home-buyers as additional reasons to buy a loft.

Focusing on a micro neighbourhood-level, Sharon Zukin's theory of the Artistic Mode of Production (AMP) (1982) expands upon Bell's argument that 'artistic avant-gardes' leads consumer culture. Zukin's theory of AMP states that artists helped create lofts in the SoHo neighbourhood of New York City. Under a capitalist economy, artists groups took advantage of rent gaps and of devalorized industrial buildings and transformed them into a new hip and trendy live-work space (Zukin, 1982). The rough open spaces and coarse surfaces of industrial interiors eventually charmed people with their edgy appeal and became the material manifestation of a "loft-living" cultural model (Zukin, 1982). Zukin saw that "loft-living" exhibited a certain ideological appeal: lofts were "reconceptualizing" and "recapitalizing" on the spatial values, such as "light, air and open-floor plans", found in the suburban homes, popular during earlier generations (1982: 257).

Smith and Zukin's explanations of the conversion of former industrial buildings into lofts have mainly been bound to theories of economic profit. Such arguments have been contested by many other researchers who argue that the roles of the built environment or socio-cultural factors have been ignored. The built environment and locale are inextricably linked. Bliek and Gauthier (2007), note that the historical and cultural context of material environment does indeed influence the way in which new urban forms emerge. For Podmore (1998: 284), "loft-living" owes its emergence and popularity to much more than the rent gap or AMP and therefore requires an acknowledgement of the "complex webs of relationships between place, identity, and the media, that is diffused to, and (re)produced in, divergent inner-city locations".

3. Marketing of "loft-living"

Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* is derived from his observations that social relations between groups are based on the possession of varying degrees of economic social and cultural capital (1984). Similarly, gentrification and one of its offshoots, "loft-living", as examined in this study, are class-based residential and locational living arrangements "of choice". Thus the field

of "loft-living" within the housing field can be informed by an assortment of cultural mediators such as real estate developers, travel, food, clothing and even home décor (Podmore, 1998).

"Loft-living" in Saint-Henri is socially constructed, as shown below, upon history clichés and "industrial myths". The marketing discourse produced by the real estate developers is a form of mediation where language contributes to shape the landscape. The negative connotation of "loft-living", similar to that of gentrification at-large, is rendered non-threatening with terms like "urban renaissance", "urban regeneration", and "urban sustainability" (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008: xix). As Lees, Slater and Wyly point out, "these neutered terms politely avoid the class constitution of the processes involved" (2008: xix). The promotional materials examined in this study went beyond cultivating historical and industrial "myths" but also sought to win over a specific variety of urbane and cosmopolitan individuals by appealing to their lifestyle values. In the analysis of promotional material found in La Presse, The Gazette and the websites of the promoters of the lofts[ix], the following themes emerged: history and architectural details; health and activity; and environmental concerns. Marketing might thus be key in conferring value and status upon something that might normally be perceived as "banal" or "common" (Bourdieu, 1984: 5 in Ley, 2003: 2530).

The Making of Historical and Industrial "Myth"

When analyzing the marketing material, it becomes noticeable that the language of Imperial Lofts seeks to cultivate a myth imbued with a sense of history mixed with an idealized representation of past industrial buildings. From the very first page of their website, the developers champion themselves as saviors and preservationists of Imperial Tobacco's former heritage, rescuing it from a life of obscurity:

[ix] Due to the fact that units at Quai des Éclusiers and Imperial Lofts are for sale, marketing material is much easier to find. On the other hand, units at the Fattal Complex are for rent, the promotional material is not as rich.

Over the years, the almost hundred-year-old industrial complex has lost its original character, suffering from tasteless modernizations. Imperial Authentic Loft brings back the antique fenestration with a modern touch in order to achieve a refined urban style...it [Imperial Lofts] gives new life to the old Imperial factories, transforming the historic buildings into modern urban condos (Imperial Lofts website, 2008).

Figure 4.13: Historic images of Imperial Lofts

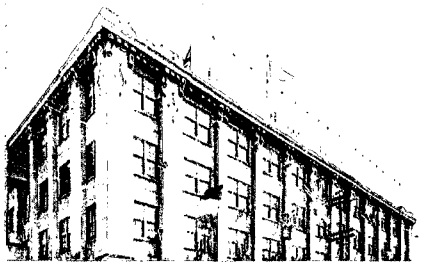


Image source (left to right): www.loftsimperial.ca

Figure 4.14: Newspaper advertisement for Imperial Lofts

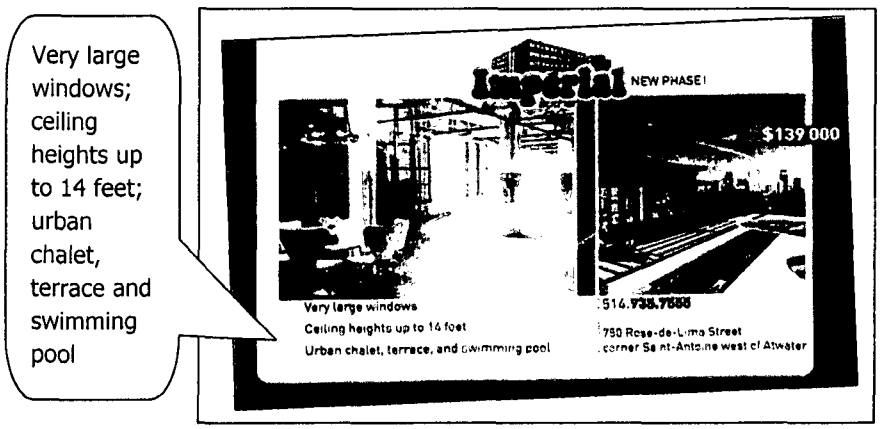


Image source: the Montréal Gazette

There is an emphasis on history and industry buttressed by the preservation of architectural features particular to lofts:

A loft where open and fluid spaces, light and sun go hand in hand...thanks to their high ceilings, the huge windows and their efficient design, even the smaller units guaranty [sic] the larger comfort! Come and see by yourself! (Imperial Lofts website, 2008)

Meanwhile, another page of the website (*see Figure 4.15*) boasts of units with, "13 feet ceilings and visible columns give the lofts a great character where industrial and rough materials blend with fine elements in a daring yet warm atmosphere" (Imperial Lofts website, 2008).

Figure 4.15: Architectural features

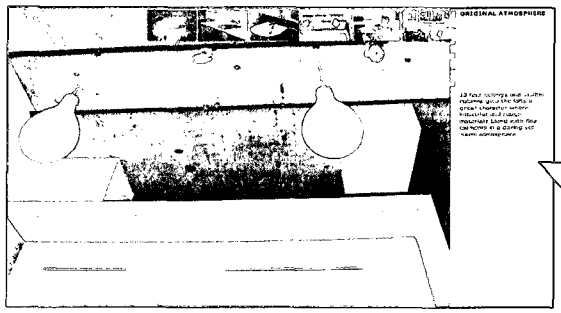


Image source: www.loftsimperial.ca

Zukin's said it best when she reasoned that lofts, like the one above, can only be appreciated by "people who don't know the steam and sweat of factories" (1982: 59), and who choose to turn a blind eye to the mass-production of tobacco products. As a conversion from an already existing industrial building, the advertising campaign of Imperial Lofts, named after the *Imperial Tobacco Company* that once used the space, attempts to "blend industrial elements, urban history and the most sophisticated modern design," erasing negative elements such as the fact this tobacco factory was associated with offensive odours and a harmful product. Podmore (1998: 286) had come to similar conclusions in her study of the emergence of "loft-living" *habitus* in Montréal, that the media was responsible for projecting the inner-city as a new living space as well as fashioning the cultural model of aesthetic dispositions for a specific social group.

The Quai des Éclusiers development is a new construction built on the site of a former steel manufacturing plant. While the original building has been completely torn down, images provided on the Quai des Éclusiers website also try to articulate a similar historical myth and emphasize its architectural features such as bare concrete ceilings, floor to ceiling windows: "grandes fenetres de 8 pieds avec plafond de 10" style loft" ("Large windows of 8 feet with loft

style 10 foot ceilings". Translation by author). In addition, the exterior construction materials, comprised of brick and aluminum, and the architectural expression in general are reminiscent of industrial architecture (*see Figure 4.16*).

Figure 4.16: Architectural features of Quai des Éclusiers

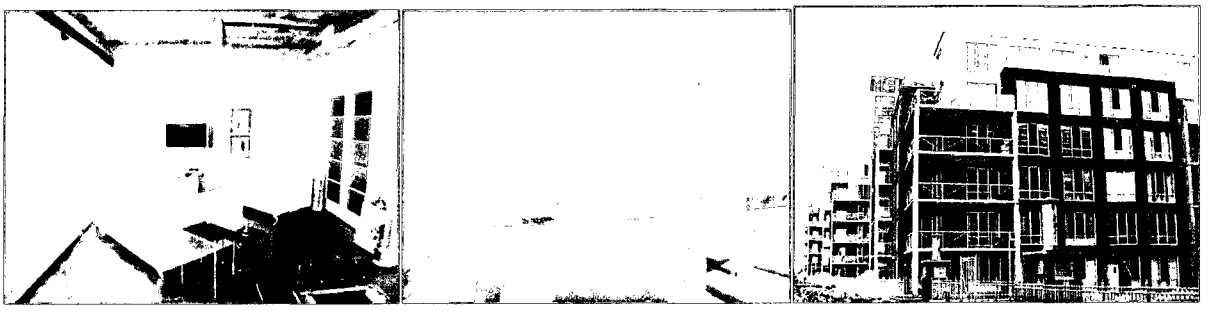


Image source (left to right): www.lequai.ca

Advertisements for rental units in the Fattal Complex (*see Figure 4.17*) also stress industrial architectural features that would appeal to certain tastes and lifestyles: "Lofts include a large open space, mezzanine, new kitchen & bathroom, new large windows that open, brick walls, high ceilings, concrete floors" (Craigslist Montréal website, 2008).

Figure 4.17: Architectural features of the Fattal Complex

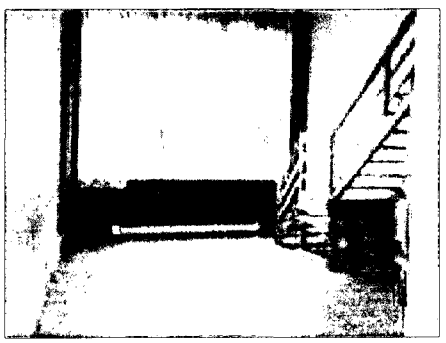


Image source : http://Montréal.en.craigslist.ca/apa/1047385024.html

Owners of Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers are encouraged to stylize their spaces according to predetermined aesthetic ideals—their websites provide images of lofts in different styles but nevertheless reinforcing the "loft-living" aesthetic associated with the new cultural model. Although not explicitly stated in the advertisements for the Fattal Complex as if already

known between "insiders" the renters of units in the Fattal Complex are essentially given carte blanche over how to transform or decorate their loft,

An image of the Imperial Loft showroom features a number of placards with design materials already colour-coordinated: "Imperial Authentic Loft offers the future owner to choose the floor-covering, the colors and material of his brand new environment" (Imperial Lofts website, 2008).

Figure 4.18: Showroom materials at Imperial Lofts

Image source: www.loftsimperial.ca

These options cater to the tastes and lifestyles of buyers they are trying to attract. It is through this allegedly urbane and "cosmopolitan" group of people (after all, lofts were born in New York City), that the classified practices and classifying systems of "loft-living" is further disseminated to other would-be loft owners or renters.

Health and Activity oriented lifestyles

Aside from marketing to enthusiasts of historical and industrial architectural aesthetics, the analysis of the advertising also revealed that developers were targeting specific groups of individuals who participate in active and somewhat "sophisticated" social lifestyles.

The purchase of a loft in the building affords the owner with access to some exclusive amenities. The image shown in Figure 4.22 is a map compiled by the developers of Imperial Lofts showing all the activities and amenities located in Saint-Henri that would enable their

cosmopolitan residents to "opens the doors to Montréal's turmoil and lifestyle." The use of the term "turmoil" as a positive attribute is interesting here. It is presumed that Montréal's centre of high level of activity will be perceived positively by potential buyers. It offers a sharp contrast to the marketing efforts deployed by suburban developers who quite systematically insist on "tranquility" somewhat promising an escape from the very same city's "turmoil".

Figure 4.19: Advertisement of activities available at Imperial Lofts

Image source (left to right): www.loftsimperial.ca

In the advertising for Imperial Lofts (*see Figure 4.19*), images of two young people playing volleyball and a computer-generated rendering of their proposed rooftop terrasse are accompanied with quotes such as:

> The common areas and the rooftop chalet create a dynamic living space. For those wanting to opt for a serious work-out, the pool and the fitness centre will certainly satisfy your needs. ...there will be a terrace on the rooftop, a terrace with a swimming pool and an urban chalet with barbecue, kitchen, lounge, fireplace and billiard table to allow residents to take full advantage of their urban environment...In the courtyard, the urban park will host basket-ball, volley-ball and hockey games where those fond of sports will improve their well-being....and lifestyle! (Imperial Lofts website, 2008)

Taking advantage of its "prime" location along the Lachine Canal, Quai des Éclusiers also has several unique amenities to offer potential buyers. The development features an indoor pool, sauna and gym while outside, residents can enjoy, "Canot, kayak, ponton [sic] boat, roller

blades, ice skating, cross-country skiing, pool, biking, gym and many more..." (*see Figures 4.20 and 4.21*)

Figure 4.20: Advertisements of activites available at Quai des Éclusiers

Image source (left to right): www.lequai.ca

Figure 4.21: Advertisement of activites available at Quai des Éclusiers from newspapers

"Canot, kayak, bateau pontons, patin à roues allignées, patin à glace, ski de fond, piscine, vélo, gym, etc. (Canoe, kayak, paddle boats, rollerblades, ice skating, cross-country ski, pool, bike, gym etc. Translation by author)

Image source: La Presse

Speaking only for the Imperial Lofts, one salesman interviewed for this study, who also happened to be a loft owner on the site, disclosed that he was hired by the developers of the project because he was particularly adept in marketing towards people in the 25-35 age brackets. The social and cultural opportunities discussed above are indisputably geared towards the young, "hip and trendy" cadre:

> I even created a map of all the amenities in and around this project, of what potential clients would be interested in. I've been hired to market specifically to first-time homebuyers in the age bracket of 25-35 with an average age of 27. (Loft salesman and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Figure 4.22: Map of amenities around Imperial Lofts

Environmental and Ecological concerns

Image source: Imperial Lofts brochure obtained from sales office.

Given the current movement towards environmental awareness and sustainability, nature has also been conscripted by marketing into the "loft-living" *habitus*. The naturalization of landscape is used to appeal to the environmental and moral sensibilities of potential buyers as evidenced in the five pages of information that Imperial Lofts has dedicated to environmental features in their website (*Figure 4.23*).

Figure 4.23: Environmental and ecological images

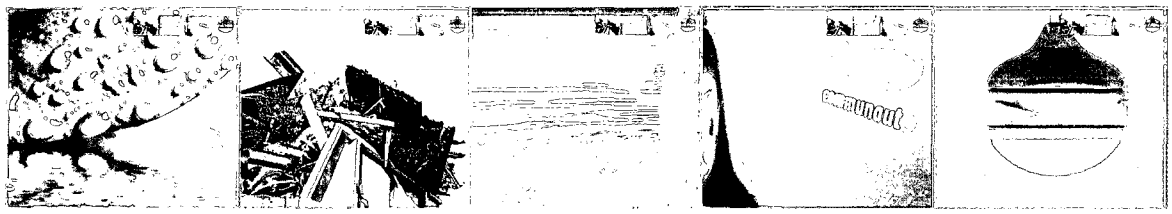


Image source (left to right): www.loftsimperial.ca

In an effort to win over the discerning environmentalist, the project design includes a number of, "environment-conscious innovations" including the creation of "one of the first privately owned green roofs in the area". Other environmentally conscious features include:

1) Landscaping of the yards without asphalt
2) Using Local materials when available
3) High-speed garage door
4) Sorting and recycling of construction waste
5) Indoor parking for bikes and scooters
6) Collecting rainwater for watering plants
7) Parking spaces for Communauto (a car-sharing organization)
8) Location close to public transport and amenities
9) Cool roofs using pale and reflective materials
10) Solar water heating of the pool
11) Efficient and eco-friendly lighting in common areas
12) Ceiling fans in each unit
13) Sorting and recycling facilities in lower ground floor
14) Digital thermostats in each room
15) Dual-flush toilets
16) Large windows to reduce lighting during the day

(Adapted from Imperial Lofts website)

Even the blue wave design (*see Figure 4.24*) that greets visitors on the homepage of Quai des Éclusier's website and other newspaper advertisements are reminiscent of water and imply a connection with nature. One has to remember here the origin and function of the Lachine Canal, which had little to do with "nature", and everything to do with transportation, hydro-electricity production and servicing the largest concentration of industrial activity in 19th century Canada.

Figure 4.24: "La Nouvelle Vague" of Quai des Éclusiers

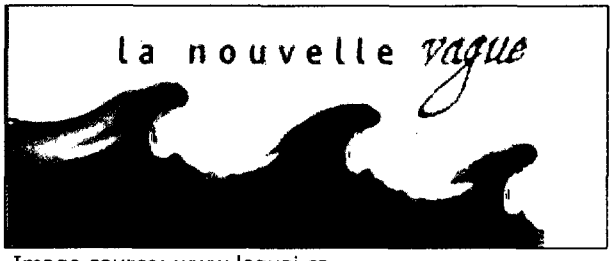


Image source: www.lequai.ca

As demonstrated in this section, the loft advertisements in this research are not simply employing an innocuous set of descriptions and pleasant images, their emphasis on history, architecture, health and environment all convey ideologically charged cultural values. The marketing material has taken on the role of mediating a new locale and industrial aesthetic dispositions in attracting a new socio-economic class and thereby radically altering the traditional social and spatial orders in Saint-Henri, by turning former sites of production into "healthy" and "close to nature" amenities for example.

4. The Influences of Marketing Discourse on the Public

Ley (2003) argued that in order a particular habitus to emerge, it's associated aesthetics and tastes must be "received and confirmed" by a target audience of clients. The previous section has shown how developers have marketed their lofts to potential buyers using themes of history, industry and healthy, active lifestyles. This section will thus focus on how these marketing efforts have been received.

Much like Hodder and Gauthier's theories of the reflexive nature of the built environment, Bourdieu believes that lifestyles and aesthetic dispositions are 'actively constructed through a recursive relationship between social agents and systems of classified and classifying practices' (Bourdieu, 1984: 171 in Podmore, 1998: 286). Ley posits that a type of 'homology' exists between producers and their clients, where each party is on equal footing with one another, and their mutual relationship engages a cyclical effect of production and consumption of a product (2003: 2351). The loft conversions produced and marketed by developers in Saint-Henri must then have their value received and confirmed (Ley, 2003: 2532). The previous section, an analysis of marketing and promotion literature demonstrates how through written and visual languages, a discourse is produced and conveyed that is instrumental in turning former sites of production into sites of leisure and consumption. This section will show how these ideals of lifestyle are received and resonate with people who consume these spaces.

Podmore identified two categories of "loft-living" *habitus* in Montréal (1998): loft artists and loft dwellers. I am extending this research to take into consideration the *habitus* of long-term residents. However, at this point, the analysis will focus on loft artists and loft dwellers as these are the people who are consuming loft spaces in Saint-Henri. Loft artists engage in loft spaces as producers of art and despite having high levels of cultural capital, are relatively low on economic capital and therefore for the most part are renters. Loft dwellers, in contrast, can generally be described as individuals with some cultural capital and a higher level of economic capital than the average Montréal artist. Podmore (1998) categorizes people of this *habitus* as belonging to the middle-class. They subscribe to a wider sphere of aesthetic dispositions and social practices and, in the case of this research, inhabit converted or mocked industrial stylized loft as a means to distinguishing themselves from middle-class suburbanites as well as long-term residents and even loft artists. Both loft artists and dwellers are actively receiving and confirming the "loft-living" *habitus* (delivered through marketing literature) hence taking part to the system of classified practices and classifying practices as described by Bourdieu in Chapter Two (1984: 173), although some differentiation occurs as loft artists are likely to be repelled by the

marketing literature that appeals to the loft dwellers. It is remarkable for instance that such literature does not mention art or "artists way of life" in spite of the well known origin of loft living.

Information gathered from interviews offer vignettes of the ongoing process of "loft-living" gentrification in Saint-Henri and insights into why loft artists and dwellers find different versions of these spaces appealing. The semi-structured interviews consisted of a sampling of residents in the three loft buildings in question: Fattal Complex, Quai des Éclusiers, and Imperial Lofts. In total, in-depth interviews of 30-60 minutes in length were conducted with eleven residents.

The age of loft artists (in the Fattal Complex) ranged from 23 to 27. While one was a professional musician, the other three were university students (two were in the process of completing a bachelor's degree while the third was in the midst of a graduate degree). The ages of loft dwellers were slightly older ranging from 25 to 39 and all worked in occupations that tended to require higher education, for example, a director of sales and marketing, chemist, or physiotherapist, real estate sales and marketing. Out of the eleven people interviewed, the majority of them also identified themselves as Anglophones[x] despite being perfectly bilingual.

The Public Reception of History and Industrial "Myth"

During the interviews, respondents who lived in lofts were asked about how they came to rent or buy their home to assess how available marketing may have been compatible with their expectations and preferences. When searching for a property to buy, one loft owner had visited other neighbourhoods in Montréal such as Mont Royal, and Laurier Streets areas and parts of the Plateau but found that the Imperial Lofts offered him the charm and character of history. He also believed that older constructions were more solid and secure:

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[x] Although convenience and snowball sampling methods yield predominantly Anglophone respondents, this does not necessarily mean that there are more Anglophones than Francophones. The researcher's Anglophone background and accented French might have contributed indirectly to such a linguistic distribution.

> The most interesting place was in Saint-Henri. I looked at Lowney Lofts[xi] as well. I specifically liked the old buildings with history. First, they're more valuable because they're part of history. Second, old places tend to have better quality in construction like the foundations of this place. (Chemist and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

All the loft dwellers interviewed cited their attraction to their loft because of specific architectural features such as high ceilings, an open plan, exposed concrete, exposed piping and big windows. While Quai des Éclusiers is new construction and not converted from an existing industrial building, one loft dweller exhibited enthusiasm for the conversion of industrial buildings into loft-living spaces by developers:

> I love it [industrial loft conversions]...as long as it has modern amenities. If you get the right developer to put the right type of money into it, I think it's a great tribute to the building rather than letting it rot away. You need to have a developer that has an appreciation for it's original state and preserve the building's characteristics...exposed concrete ceilings, exposed piping...the vents, tall windows, these were the selling points of this place. (Director of sales and marketing and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Loft artists and loft dwellers alike were not only attracted to the architectural features of former industries but also appreciated the option they had to "control" their own environment. The ability and option to customize allows loft consumers to further reproduce and "relay" or reinterpret history and industry according to their own liking and lifestyles.

> I have a studio unit in the Imperial Lofts. It's a 570 square foot unit where the bedroom is on top of the bathroom. It's kind of like a mezzanine; the ceilings are tall enough so that I can add more square footage to the unit by putting my bed there. (Loft salesman and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

> I like having an open space because it allows us to control the design of space. We've got the freedom to manipulate our environment. There's a really

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[xi] Lowney Lofts is another rehabilitated industrial building in the nearby neighbourhood of Griffintown.

communal conception of space...the thin walls means that there's a fluid sense of space. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

This place is a loft with big windows and there's always sunlight. There's lots of space, lots of wood. I mean, everything is original. It's nice to have high ceilings. I like this unit better than other units that have been fully renovated. Everything's pretty much original except for the division of the units. (Musician and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

The Public Reception of Health and Activity oriented lifestyles

The analysis of the interviews also revealed that the marketing of social and cultural amenities had a profound effect on some loft owners in deciding to purchase in Saint-Henri. Recall the marketing publicity of Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers and their rich inventories of possible lifestyle activities—the purchase of a loft in Saint-Henri seems to imply access to an exclusive and active "lifestyle". One real estate agent and loft dweller said of Quai des Éclusier's proximity to the Lachine Canal, "it's for exercise or jogging...it is one of the selling features of the Quai des Éclusiers...it appeals to the sporty healthy types" (Real estate agent and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

One resident expressed his enthusiasm over the number of options provided by Quai des Éclusiers, which among other things include kayaks and canoes:

I've been spending a lot of time in the park, on the water. I kayak just about every single night...it's one of the benefits of the building, it's got 8 kayaks for its owners to use on the water. That's fantastic, like who else gets to kayak at night you know? My office is a twenty five minute walk away, it's fantastic so I get to walk to my office...it's that way (pointing in a southwest direction). I walk or I cross country ski in the winter-time, I got out my garage door and door to door I'm just smack on St. Patrick's (street) on the other side. I kayaked to my office yesterday. I love that I'm just on the cusp of downtown and a seemingly quiet neighbourhood...it's comfortable, convenient for my situation and very active. The number of joggers, cyclists and rollerbladers is uncanny! (Director of sales and marketing and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Another loft dweller had originally planned to buy at Quai des Éclusiers but found that the units that he wanted were all sold out. Instead, he settled for Imperial Lofts but with its amenities (*see Figure 5.23*) found that he had not lost out at all:

> I spent a lot of time here already because of the Canal Lachine. It's a nice area, quieter than the Old Port. The Old Port is completely different, you can't compare. It's not as touristy here, people are different...Atwater Market is great along with all the small restaurants and parks, and tennis courts. (Chemist and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

The loft salesman and loft dweller at Imperial Lofts who was responsible for creating the map of amenities confessed his initial shock at the availability of activities and amenities.

> I originally come from Rosemont and am used to taking the bus everywhere. I was overwhelmed in moving to Lowney Lofts and now here to Imperial. I found the neighbourhood and the services here—everything is within 15 minutes! Since December 2006, a lot of places have closed...old stores are leaving and new trendier ones are coming in. (Loft salesman and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Ever since the popularity of loft dwellings established itself as a new cultural model in SoHo (Zukin, 1982), the media has acted as an agent to recodes the post-industrial landscapes by building a relationship between heritage, industry and lifestyle. The research has demonstrated how language and images have been used heavily throughout the marketing material. It has also shown the generally successful reception of these marketing schemes through the interview responses of the people who bought lofts. Interestingly, despite its appearance in the marketing, especially those of Imperial Lofts, environmental concerns were not mentioned by new residents. This discrepancy suggests that the reification of the marketing literature by the public is not an absolute but a contested process.

5. Spatial atomization in urban morphology

As noted in the literature review, some theorists argue that as social practices and structures of power became increasingly embedded in the architecture of everyday life; the less society questions them (Dovey, 1999). One could thus infer that the aesthetic value of historical and industrial features conveyed by developers, are subsequently received and confirmed by loft artists and dwellers, is one such social practice that has been embedded into the material form. Gauthier (2005) has made the case that the built environment and landscape is a disputed field that mediates social/economic and cultural relations—a system of regulations that offered opportunities but also withheld them as well. This system of regulations was articulated by Dovey into a series of binary schema in which the dialectics between built form and social practices could be further examined: publicity/privacy; segregation/access; orientation/disorientation; stability/change; and identity/difference (Dovey, 1999: 15-16).

The size of lots and building footprints indicators are useful in showing spatial changes but weaving cartographic evidences together with local perceptions gleaned from interviews can also be very telling. Upon first glance, the images in Figures 5.6; 5.8; and 5.10 (pages 44, 46 & 47) showed that over the time span of a century, the building footprints of all three loft buildings had not varied drastically. However, upon closer inspection, the binary schema posited by Dovey becomes more evident.

All three loft buildings have some form of shared private space. The Fattal Complex has its own makeshift courtyard in the back of the buildings that is mainly for parking and garbage collection but one interviewee noted the space has also been the site for many impromptu communal gatherings. The private space of the Fattal Complex has been in existence for a long time and has evolved to adapt to the needs of its immediate community. Both the Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers are different in that their respective private spaces have been purposefully designed to created communal spaces solely for the use of their own residents: this includes a rooftop terrasse or urban chalet for the former and fenced-in courtyards for the latter. Both loft developments have also provided amenities such as pools, spas, saunas and gyms; all are out of

sight from the general public. In contrast a public pool, tennis courts and green spaces are readily available in public city squares found in Saint-Henri, situated less than one block away from both Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers. One loft resident at Quai des Éclusiers admitted to his withdrawal from the immediate surroundings of the neighbourhood:

> I identify more with the [Atwater] market and the Lachine Canal. I drive along St. Ambroise and de la Commune Street to cut through to Downtown so I don't even go through Saint-Henri. I'm polite to people in the gym and sauna but other than that, I don't have many relations. (Clothing designer and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

The Quai des Éclusiers project is situated on the site of a former steel foundry which required a large footprint for manufacturing and needed unrestricted access to the canal and railroad. The Lachine Canal is now designated a public park and yet the development of the Quai des Éclusiers did not incorporate or establish new spatial connections to the rest of Saint-Henri. The building seems to "turn its back" on Saint-Henri and grants its residents unrestricted access to the "public" park. For instance, the Quai des Éclusiers have acquired the rights to a small segment of the Lachine Canal public park for use as a private boating dock for its residents. This dock, as with the entire property of Quai des Éclusiers, is surrounded by an aluminum railing with signs reading "private property" (*see Figure 5.25*). One long-term resident, who is also a university professor of art history, had an acute sense of the industrial loss and missed opportunities faced by Saint-Henri:

> The most visible changes are the demolition of industry to make lofts. Before, locals would work there and go to these places regularly; these were places where people worked hard. There's good and bad memories. Now there's a barrier that creates all kinds of frictions. People living south of Saint-Ambroise don't mix with the rest of Saint-Henri. They [lofts] killed the specificity of the area. They modified the landscape but not necessarily in a good way. They did it with bad construction and missed a great opportunity, all in the name of short profit. People buying these lofts [Quai des Éclusiers] are in for a big surprise. (Professor and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Figure 5.25: Private spaces of Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers

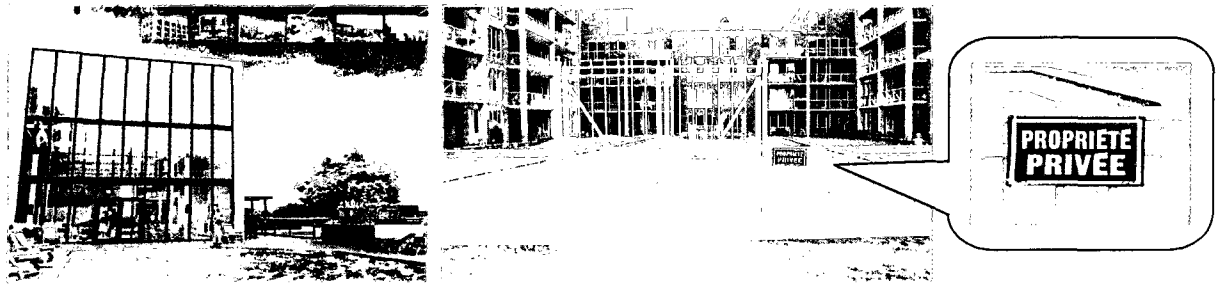

Image source (left to right): www.loftsimperial.ca; image taken by author.

The delineations between public and private space have served to embed specific social codes and customs into these spaces, which are then internalized into people's perceptions of two sets of binary schema: segregation/access and orientation/disorientation. Access to the Lachine Canal park is blocked visually by the view of Quai des Éclusiers; this visual barrier imposes not only a feeling of segregation upon many of the residents in southern Saint-Henri but also a sense of disorientation as an element in their own neighbourhood becomes unrecognizable:

> I find this building [Quai des Éclusiers] to be cold. I would've wanted to live there at one point but it just doesn't represent the neighbourhood. The sidewalk ends kind of abruptly, they're not finished. It's so closed off. (Social worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

One resident who had lived in the area expressed irritation at the way Quai des Éclusiers seemed to be built only for wealthy homeowners:

> I think it's a mistake [Quai des Éclusiers]. They could have used this land better like calling it the "blue road". It's always the richer people who have the best view. I wonder why it's always converted for condos or lofts. There's nothing for ordinary people. The poor people are put aside. They shouldn't segregate people. (Teacher and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Another resident reminisced about the time before the Canal had been turned into a park. "It used to be a boat carrier canal. My father used to swim there before the lofts and

condos came. There used to be trains and plastic palettes, now there's nothing for us" (Construction worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Recall the images in Figure 5.2; the distributive characteristics of Saint-Henri's foundation types ranged from one storey to three stories. These square or rectangular buildings typically have two lighted facades (windows on each end of the house) since they almost always share a party wall with a neighbouring building. When there are two or more dwellings in a building, each dwelling has a direct access from the street in the form of interior or exterior staircases for the upper-floor units. Contrast these characteristics with lofts which emulate the distributive characteristics of modern multi-family apartment buildings. The lofts studied in this project have a higher number of stories ranging from three to six, relative to the vernacular architectural that range from two to three stories. Their access to dwellings is through shared vertical and horizontal spaces because of the height of the building (which requires the installation of elevators) but also because of the space configuration inside (where corridors give access to each unit). Because each unit must have a lighted façade, internal organization calls for a long corridor which orders the internal distribution. One interviewee, who had visited the Quai des Éclusiers with the hopes of purchasing a unit, was quite unimpressed with this type of spatial organization:

> This [Imperial Lofts] is nice but I wouldn't live there. I don't like 5-6 stories, you know, a thousand people on your floor as you walk in your home. I would call it the "Toronto style" where you have just one hallway inside the building. It's nice don't get me wrong but I just don't like the fact that it seems like a hotel. (Computer programmer and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

Within lofts however, the distributive characteristics of organization is clear and simple. Almost all internal walls are taken out to allow for open concept living. This spatial layout does not favour intimacy as segregated rooms are replaced by open floor plans and does not cater to a wide variety of households.

Traditional architectural types may contain any number of rooms ranging from 2 ½ up to 6 ½[xii]. Such types generally dictate separation of space in order to accommodate the different activities of its inhabitants such as sleeping (bedroom), food preparation (kitchen) and day-time living quarters. Industrial spaces, which have traditionally been places of work and commerce, have high ceilings and vast open interiors in order to accommodate large scale machinery, storage or large groups of workers. As they were not originally meant to be inhabited as residential spaces, rough finishing textures were used on the floors and walls (e.g.: concrete, wood) and ventilation or water pipes were not covered up since the priority was functionality and not aesthetically pleasing spaces. As these industrial buildings were transformed into residences however, their large interior spaces were carved up and partitioned off in order to mimic residential forms, and example of a cultural rule acting as an "endogenous determinant" (Gauthier, 2005: 85-86). Loft conversions still follow certain endogenous determinants that affect the residential tradition, such as those fixing acceptable dimensional thresholds for rooms and dwellings and provision of natural light or suggesting a distribution of units along a central corridor serviced by a centrally located elevator shaft.

In accordance with Dovey's schema of identity and difference (1999), industrial conversion is a mechanism through which social differences are turned into social distinction--warehouses, sweatshops, steel smelts and flour mills become avant-garde lofts for the urbane cosmopolitan groups who aim to distinguish themselves from their suburban counterparts. The image of stability that many long-term residents had was that these industrial buildings were associated with hard, gritty labour. In these cases though, the industrial spaces have succumbed to "exogenous determinants" of economic pressures, to maximize space and to sell many units, developers have crowded as many units as possible into the floor plan (*see Figure 4.26*), meaning that some units are as small as 500 square feet while the largest units may be

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[xii] It is customary in Montréal to refer classify apartments according to the total number of rooms they have regardless of how many bedrooms there are. The '½'indicates a bathroom. For example, a 1 bedroom, 1 kitchen, 1 living room and bathroom would qualify as a 3 ½.

over 1000 square feet. In addition to the government's intervention in land use zoning as noted in Chapter Two, Zukin also encountered similar circumstances in her study of SoHo loft conversions where the "developer's objective is to fit as many loft-apartments as possible into the available space" (1982: 9).

As a result of crowding of units, traditional divisions of rooms and separate functions became blurred as 'open concept' rooms turned out to be the prevailing norm. This process of transition is representative of a binary schema between stability and change (Dovey, 1999: 15-16): the long-standing images of Saint-Henri's industrial buildings are rapidly and drastically changing into trendy loft conversions whose layouts may not be something many people can relate to nor afford.

Figure 4.26: Building floor plans of Quai des Éclusiers and Imperial Lofts

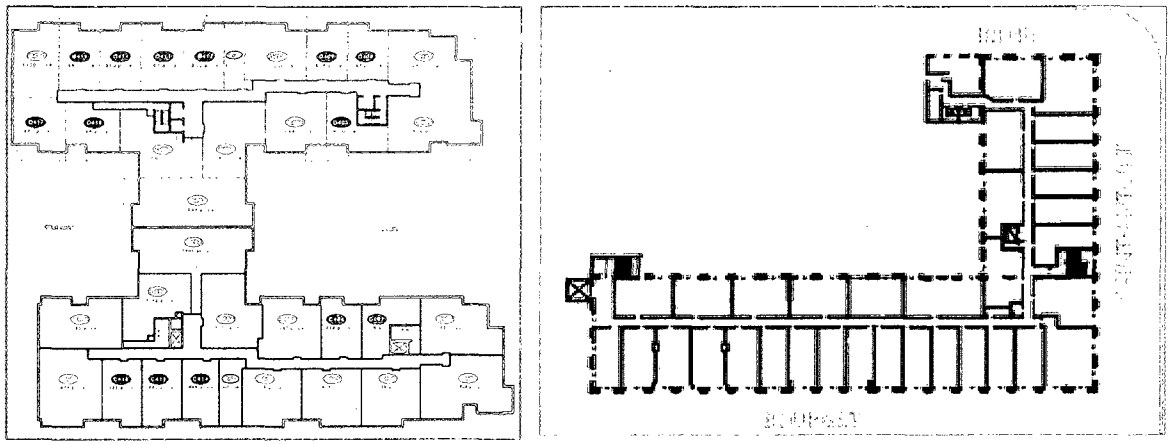

Image source (left to right): www.lequai.ca and www.loftsimperial.ca.

One interview participant expressed his bewilderment over the size and price of units in the Imperial Lofts:

> We went in to check them [Imperial Lofts] out and they wanted $140,000 for a 600 square foot room. It was ridiculous. Open plan or not, 20ft ceilings or not, 600 square feet is 600 square feet, it's still tiny. It's something that doesn't quite make sense to me. (Computer programmer and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

In spite of the small spaces or due to it, the attempts to adapt industrial buildings to the needs of a "loft-living" lifestyle has meant that these spaces were conveniently meant "to build new relationships between spatial functions, deconstructing the traditional domestic divisions and creating flexible living spaces" (Podmore, 1998: 290). In the Fattal Complex, some residents have taken an ad hoc approach to partitioning their lofts since the units are essentially empty boxes that allow for unconstrained modifications:

> We rent it, there's five of us. It was originally open plan but we've built walls to separate our bedrooms out of plywood and sheets. When you first come in on the left we've built a cubicle-like bathroom. Above the bathroom, there's about a 5 foot space between the top of the bathroom and the floor/ceiling of the next level. And actually there's a girl that's living with us who's a bit of a crusty punk but she built walls out of pallets and she's staying up there for a hundred bucks a month. The room that she sleeps in, she can't actually stand up in. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

The urban morphological readings combined with interviews corroborate Bliek and Gauthier's (2007) apprehensions of spatial disembodiment in Saint-Henri. The urban morphology of lofts within Saint-Henri's urban fabric has entailed a shift in spatial and social practices; loft residents are segregated and almost sheltered from the rest of Saint-Henri. Public sentiment has confirmed that despite attempting to pay tribute to industrial architectural details and retaining the same footprint, the lofts have in fact been embedded with a new spatial order that does not necessarily agree with traditional building tissue.

By creating physical barriers, social exclusion and displacement of groups with lower in economic capital is likely to follow: "The effacing of an industrial past and a working class presence, the white-washing of a former social stain [which is] achieved through extensive remodeling...Inner worldly asceticism becomes public display; bare brick walls and exposed timbers come to signify cultural discernment, not the poverty of slums without plaster...In this way "the stigma of labour" is both removed and made other" (Jager, 1986: 79-80, 83, 85 in Smith, 1996: 114).

6. Social implications of Lofts

The influx of a new category of residents and their associated "loft-living" lifestyles into Saint-Henri has significant physical and social implications on the area. Bliek and Gauthier (2007) had warned of spatial atomization because of the barrier effect of large industrial lots and building footprints now turned into residential, but fenced, spaces. This section will shed light on increasing tensions associated with the social disembodiment produced by clashing residential *habitus* in Saint-Henri.

After the examination of "endogenous determinants" (architectural and technical), and "exogenous determinants" (social and economic), of morphological change in the previous section, the remaining challenge is to explore the ways in which physical intervention of lofts pervades social *habitus*. Lofts are former specialized buildings that have been recycled for residential uses of loft artists and dwellers, and have gradually become a contemporary variant of condominium and multi-unit apartment type complexes. While more housing stock is created, the discontinuity between new architectural forms and existing residential forms is effectively challenging people by creating barriers of wealth and taste. When the wants and needs of the local community are not taken into consideration, negative outcomes tend to manifest themselves in social tensions and eventually displacement (Rose, 2004).

It is for this reason that Saint-Henri has become a disputed environment. Although the built environment is a physical manifestation of the actions and strategies of different groups, it is also a field where these different groups collide or collaborate, which injects new meanings back into the urban form (Bliek & Gauthier, 2007). This section delves into the perceptions on lofts as living spaces and their associated lifestyle, and has identified three contrasting and competing *habitus* in Saint-Henri.

Podmore (1998) distinguished loft artists and loft dwellers in Montreal. As outlined in Chapter Two, she found that loft artists tended to engage with their lofts as artists—living, working and creating in the same social space. Loft dwellers consumed their lofts as a domestic

space (Podmore, 1998). If this study is to understand the conflicts occurring in the spatial and social environments, it must extend to include the *habitus* of new incoming residents who are not loft dwellers but whose *habitus* may knowingly or unknowingly serve to perpetuate the aesthetics "loft-living" and also that of the long-term residents of Saint-Henri who may not identify with these lifestyles at all.

As discussed earlier, Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* possessed a range of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital; economic (money and other financial resources), cultural (symbolic attributes such as artistic skills), social (social status amassed through belonging of an individual to a certain class or group) and symbolic (such as the accumulated reputation through the performance of philanthropic deeds) (Wacquant, 2006: 7). A combination in levels of capital further defines the social practices and culture of tastes and 'distinction' of a particular *habitus*.

Figure 4.27: Bourdieu's Economic and Cultural capital in Distinction

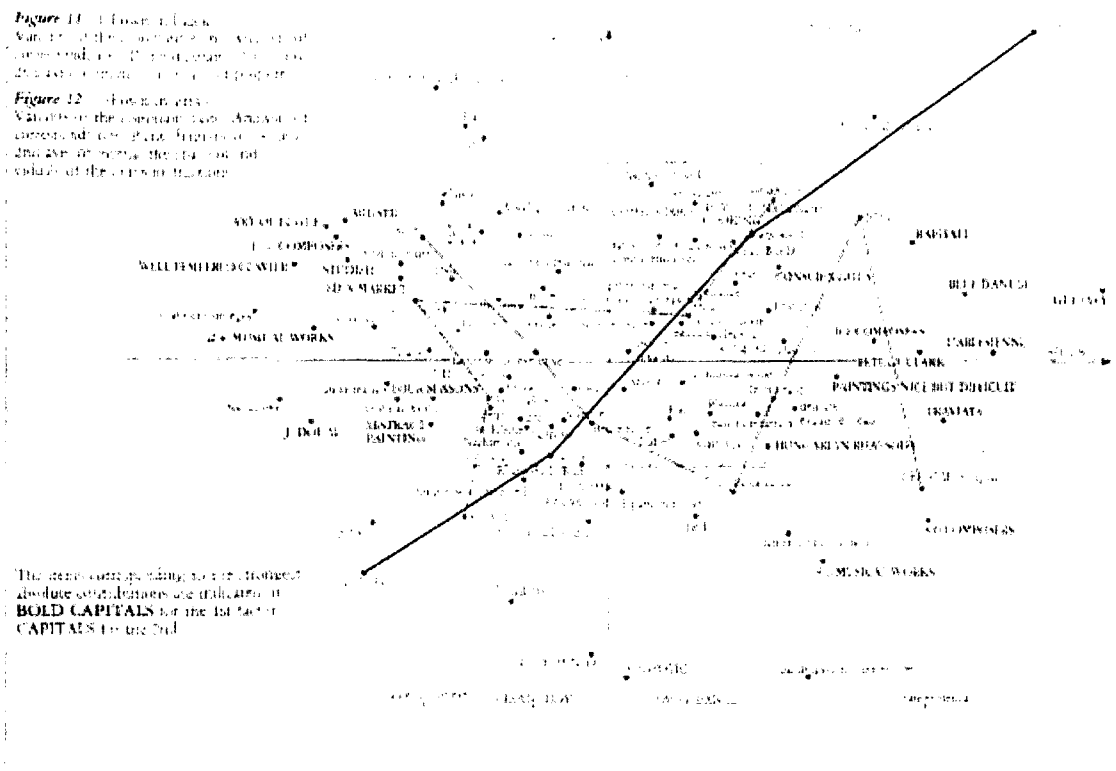

Image source: Bourdieu, 1984 (taken from http://www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/Anthro/Anth206/bourdieutaste2.jpg

Bourdieu conducted extensive studies to illustrate his notions of capital, most notably his work in Distinction (1984) where in one case, data was collected and analyzed from 467 respondents belonging to the dominant class. Respondents were asked to give identify their knowledge or preferences in four areas: legitimate competence (i.e. paintings and music); aesthetic disposition (i.e. beautiful or ugly photographs); middle-brow culture (i.e. books and film actors) and ethical dispostions (i.e. qualities of friends). Bourdieu was able to isolate groups with varying distributions of *cultural* or *economic capital* which 'distinguishes' the dominant class from other classes and legitimizes social differences (Bourdieu, 1984: 260-264).

Interviews for this study were conducted on a much smaller scale as thirty-one interviews were carried out with Saint-Henri residents where basic demographic information was collected alongside their open-ended answers. The demographic information facilitated the categorization of each interview participant according to different levels of cultural or economic capital. Participants were first sorted according to their place of residence so as to determine the residents who lived in a loft (one of my three case studies) and those residents who did not live in a loft but still resided in Saint-Henri. Subsequently, all participants were sorted according to age and to indices based on Bourdieu's ideas of capital, such as income, time spent in Saint-Henri and level of education.

According to Bourdieu's research in Distinction, despite the many other modes of acquiring knowledge outside of academia, one's level of education automatically confers a relative level of cultural capital (1984: 80-81). Similarly, a higher level of income would indicate a greater degree of economic capital. The sorting process yielded some interesting insights into different levels of capital of the interview participants and moves closer to validating the pertinence of Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* for this study (*see Table 4.1*).

Table 4.1: Categories of habitus in Saint-Henri

Age (yrs)	Household Size (# of people)	Income*[xiii]	Rent	Own	Education**	Time (yrs) in St. Henri	Occupation Type
Loft Dwellers							
30	2	5		Yes	4	1	Clothing Designer and Sales
43	1	3		Yes	4	1	Chemist
29	2	5		Yes	3	1	Director of Sales and Marketing
25	2	5		Yes	2	1	Real estate sales
29	1	5	Yes		5	1	Graduate student
34	2	3		Yes	5	3	Graduate student
39	1	2		Yes	4	1	Physiotherapist
32.71		4	1	6	3.857143	1.2857143	
Marginal Gentrifiers							
25	2	4	Yes		2	1	IT Tech support
32	1	4	Yes		4	3	Computer Programmer
29	1	3	Yes		4	1	Executive Assistant
27	1	2	Yes		4	2	Social worker
27	2	2	Yes		4	2	Freelance writer
47	1	1	Yes		4	2	Graduate student
25	1	1	Yes		1	3	Sales clerk
30.29		2.429	8		3.285714	2	
Loft Artists							
27	3	1	Yes		4	5	Musician
22	3	1	Yes		2	4	Student
23	3	3	Yes		5	1	Graduate student
26	5	1	Yes		2	1	Student
24.5		1.5	4		3.25	2.75	
Long-term Residents							
66	2	3	Yes		5	8	Company Owner/Paper Maker
34	4	2	Yes		3	20	Blue Collar worker for City of Montréal
45	1	3		Yes	4	10	Construction
29	2	1		Yes	4	7	Student
60	2	5		Yes	5	33	Professor
45	1	3	Yes		4	15	High School Teacher
27	3	1	Yes		3	27	Collection agent
55	2	2		Yes	4	55	Volunteer
67	1	1	Yes		1	67	Homemaker
63	1	1	Yes		1	33	Homemaker
76	1	1	Yes		1	44	Homemaker
60	1	1	Yes		1	42	Homemaker
43	1	1	Yes		3	15	Social worker
51.54		1.923	9	4	3	28.923077	

Income *[xiv]

1 = < $24,999
2 = $25,000-$49,999
3 = $50,000-$74,999
4 = $75,000-$99,999
5 = > 100,000

Education**

1 = trade school
2 = secondary school
3 = college (CEGEP)
4 = university (undergraduate)
5 = university (post-graduate)

[xiii] Household income includes all unrelated residents' incomes

[xiv] According to Statistics Canada, low-income threshold is $38,832 while anything above that is considered median and/or vey good (Statistics Canada, 2008). Income thresholds for this study were grouped into quantiles of $25,000 in order to be less intrusive towards interview participants.

The complexity of Bourdieu's analysis is abridged in this study as the demographic information collected from the 31 interviews in this study are similarly grouped and isolated according to levels of income and education (see Table 4.1). In her study, Podmore applied Bourdieu's ideas of *habitus* to loft dwellers and loft artists in Montréal and found that people were using or consuming loft spaces differently based on their functional or aesthetic values (1998). Ley argues that in addition to functional and aesthetic values, the use and consumption patterns of spaces can also be attributed to the differing degrees of capital possessed by each *habitus* (2003). In Table 4.1, loft spaces are inhabited by loft dwellers that possess higher levels of education and household incomes (thus translating to greater levels of cultural and economic capital). Meanwhile, marginal gentrifiers and loft artists have similar levels of cultural capital but may lack the economic capital to consume loft spaces the way they aspire to (although some individuals do not have such aspirations, as will be revealed in a later section). Finally, long-term residents show a lower level of cultural and economic capital and are either unable to or decline from involving themselves with a "loft-living" culture of tastes and their associated lifestyles. The four groups of residents in Saint-Henri all have varying degrees of capital which can be further associated with their particular *habitus* (*see Figure 4.28*).

Figure 4.28: Habitus and Capital in Saint-Henri

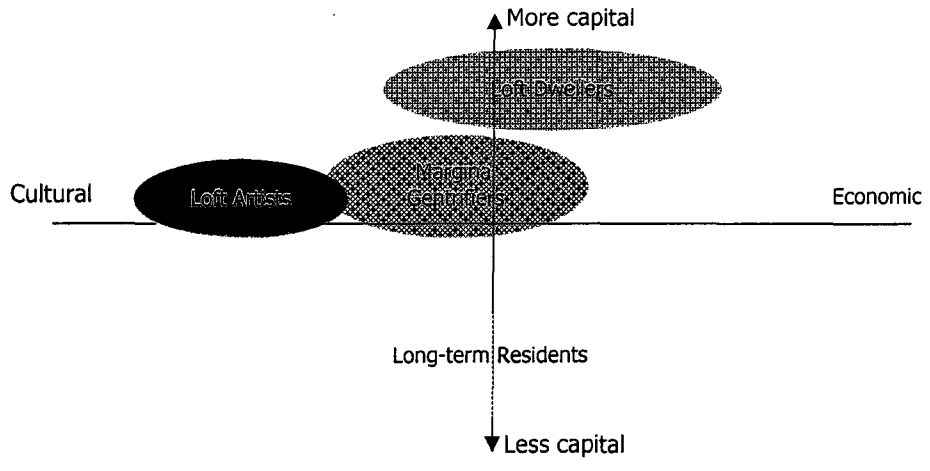

Image source: Adapted from Bourdieu's concepts in Distinction (1984).

Loft Dwellers

There are seven interview participants who are considered as loft dwellers (*see Table 5.1*). It is a fairly young adult sub-set as their ages ranged from 25 to 43 years and demographic profiles indicate them as having high levels of education and household income (5 out of 7 individuals had an undergraduate university degree or higher and 4 households had an annual income of over $100,000). While their demographics may be an indication of their class status, their appreciation for "loft-living" habitus is more clearly expressed through their discourse as recorded perceptions illustrated how they were indeed heavily influenced, or at least in agreement with, the language and imagery of loft advertisements. It was apparent that architectural and aesthetic characteristics and elements marketed by loft developers such as high ceilings and large windows guided the tastes of loft dwellers. A look at spatial and material considerations permitted the conclusion that loft designs also afforded loft dwellers the option to withdraw physically and socially from Saint-Henri. A conspicuous display of this is in the material possessions seen around the neighbourhood:

> There's more professionals than there used to be. The IGA [supermarket] has brought a lot of higher income people like those from the Quai des Éclusiers. You can tell by the cars they drive, they're all Subarus and Saabs. I haven't seen anyone around here that looked older than 40. (Real estate agent and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

> It's gentrified a little bit and it doesn't have the same reputation as before. It's getting younger, becoming hipper. Same as Atwater Market, everything's all new and trendy. (Graduate student and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

> It's a younger area with lots of professionals. You're either younger or you're older. Lots of Mazerattis and BMW's. I think it's a good thing in Saint-Henri. Place Saint-Henri has always had a bad rap like Pointe-St-Charles. Notre-Dame down to St. Ambroise was sketchy but now it's getting nicer. (Clothing designer and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Aside from their appreciation for loft aesthetics, some loft dwellers also confirmed Smith's argument of the forces behind post-industrial landscapes. He argued that gentrification of urban areas, such as lofts in Saint-Henri, are a "resolutely economic creation" (Smith, 1996: 51). When asked to comment on what he thought the social implications of lofts in Saint-Henri were, one loft dweller expressed concern over potential displacement yet this was quickly countered with his enthusiasm in being able to spot a good investment and profitable opportunity:

> Well, you know where are all these people going to go? Where are we pushing the poor out to? Of course it's fantastic if you can score a place that's a fraction of the cost of what it would cost you in downtown but eventually, like obviously, there's a tremendous separation from the places across the street [from Quai des Éclusiers] on St. Ambroise. We look out our front door and across the street there's low income housing and it's poor so you know...but aesthetically, I couldn't give a second thought about it but there's this fantastic deal [loft investment]! (Director of sales and marketing and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Another loft dweller had no intention of purchasing a loft until she visited Imperial Lofts out of curiosity. Once there, she was won over by the investment potential:

> This [Imperial Lofts] is actually the first and only place that I've looked at. I read an article in the Gazette and was curious about the project, so I came to take a look. This loft was a spontaneous purchase because I was planning on saving up for another couple years before buying but the developers are actually offering a rebate for first-time home-buyers who buy something under $160,000. But I got this one anyway because I think it's a good investment. (Physiotherapist and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Although the Imperial Lofts maintain that a certain percentage of their units are reserved for affordable and social housing, in reality, the lofts are rarely getting through to the lower-income groups but are still being purchased by typical middle-class loft dwellers that ascribe to similar tastes and values. From a position of high economic and cultural capital in relation to the

other types of *habitus* in Saint-Henri, loft dwellers still aspire towards higher economic capital. Probably without knowing, the salesman and fellow loft dweller at Imperial Lofts revealed some insightful information about a financial loophole many would-be loft dwellers take advantage of:

> The City of Montréal gives grants for 1st time home buyers under $180,000 as long as they intend to live here as their principal residence for 3 years. The affordable housing here is great compared to the market in Montréal. Montréal considers affordable housing under $180,000. Usually the cost of constructing dictates the sale price. Here the affordable housing runs from $150,000 to $190,000 in 10 months (I took possession in 2007) but I bought in fall of 2006. The sizes of the lofts have been getting smaller. Everyone has the intuitive knowledge that the prices of the units will eventually go up so a lot of people buy for the investment or use it to rent out to others. (Loft salesman and loft dweller. Anonymous, 2008).

Relative to the other residents in Saint-Henri, the loft dwellers interviewed show signs of higher *capital* and thus have a dominant *habitus*. Their lifestyle tastes and relative economic affluence may explain the predisposition of loft developers and even government institutions in catering to the needs and tastes of loft dwellers.

Marginal Gentrifiers

It cannot be generalized that all incoming residents of Saint-Henri choose to live in lofts however. Many of the marginal gentrifiers, though having a somewhat similar cultural capital and sharing some tastes with that of the loft dwellers, might still be in the process of accumulating economic capital and therefore not able to afford a loft that they aspire to buy. In this study, seven interview participants were considered marginal gentrifiers (*see Table 5.1*). All of them had a high level of cultural capital comparable to that of loft dwellers as 5 out of 7 individuals had a university degree and all worked in white-collar professions. This group was noticeably lower in economic capital when compared to loft dwellers. Like loft dwellers and loft artists, some marginal gentrifiers display similar interests and aesthetic values. One resident

drew upon her cultural capital and was aware of Saint-Henri's background prior to her decision to move into the area:

> I love the character of it [Saint-Henri]. I'm actually a history minor so the history of this building really appeals to me. I like that it has chunky old wood, everything's really heavy. It's not modern at all. (Executive assistant and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

Just as the marketing of industrial aesthetics by loft developers were found to have an influence on loft dwellers as evidenced in their following comments, this influence can be traced to have an impact on incoming residents as well. While not living in a loft, this same resident did work in an old industrial building that had been converted into office and commercial space across the Lachine Canal in the Cote-St-Paul neighbourhood:

> I work in an office that was an industrial building but it's been converted into a loft. It has 18ft ceilings and it's about 2200 square feet with 18 large windows. The walls are sandblasted brick and the ceilings are all original. There are original floors too, wide wooden planks and it's all open plan. I don't live in a loft but I can understand the appeal since I get the feeling [of a loft] at work. I wouldn't mind living in a loft. (Executive assistant and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

Marginal gentrifiers express similar sentiments about how lofts have upgraded social amenities and the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Saint-Henri. For an area that had a tough reputation, Saint-Henri is heading in a direction that attracts lifestyles associated to *habitus* with a higher level of cultural capital.

> I really like those old buildings that get converted into lofts...I'm a very big fan of it. I love the way they've been doing that to buildings 'cause it just adds to cleaning up the area. It's definitely something that I would be interested in purchasing later on. (IT Tech Support and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

> I would probably buy down here [Saint-Henri]...I mean, I like the Plateau too but here you have the Atwater market which I love. I shop there a lot. It's

> very trendy as opposed to IGA or the Super C across the street. It's a meeting place for the upper class but I still go there for lunch sometimes. Also, there's Place Saint-Henri Metro and Notre Dame Street is picking up so we see a lot of new restaurants coming in. (Executive Assistant and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

In contrast to these viewpoints, there are some marginal gentrifiers who are not fond of the "loft-living" aesthetic or the community it entails and thereby reject the loft cultural model. When asked about the changes they witnessed as a result of industrial loft conversions, one incoming resident commented on what she saw as the ensuing social displacement brought about by proposed loft projects in the neighbourhood:

> St. Henri is a real mix of people. In my co-op, there's a clear distinction between the co-op and the rest of the neighbourhood. For instance, one street perpendicular to mine has a lot of poverty and social problems like drugs, alcoholism but then other parts are populated by students and young families...it's very patchy. Apparently, the Hell's Angels used to live there but now, right across from them you have people beginning to make small changes to their homes like replacing the front doors. People used to joke that on one side it was the Hell's Angels and on the other side it was becoming like the Gay Village. The upgrading of things like front doors has made the area look nicer but it's also pushed out a lot of people from the area. (Social Worker and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

When asked about the social amenities new to Saint-Henri, some incoming residents even expressed concern over pending social and cultural implications, citing the increasing costs to live and shop in the area. New grocery stores and restaurants opening in Saint-Henri meant to cater to loft dwellers and even incoming residents have had the opposite effect on some of the residents interviewed, "I don't like the IGA because it's expensive and if it's expensive for me and I have a job, it must be really expensive for others" (Social worker and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

> Some of the lofts are beautiful but you know that the people living in those spaces are the urbanites with money. Lofts aren't accessible to the poor, there's no low-class housing. I think there's still a stigma attached to living in Saint-Henri. Buildings in my area will eventually be turned into lofts and condos. The rent can cost approximately $1500-$2000 a month. That's too expensive. Old is becoming valuable again—it's only a matter of days. (Graduate student and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

Loft Artists

David Ley's article (2003) states that "some poverty neighbourhoods may be candidates for occupation by artists, who value their affordability and mundane, off-centre status," and posits that they are the indication of impending gentrification. Their use of lofts as spaces for living, working and creating has been a source of inspiration to those loft dwellers wishing to experience similar industrial avant-garde features. Of the thirty-one interviews conducted, only four could be considered loft artists. This group exhibited a fairly high level of cultural capital, similar to that of loft dwellers, but significantly lower economic capital than the latter (see Table 5.1). Interviews with loft artists in Saint-Henri revealed a peculiar trait of their *habitus*—debunking economic assumptions that people (such as loft dwellers in previous section), maneuver through life in search of economic profit, loft artists attached importance to cultural capital yet seemed to shun the pursuit of higher economic capital. Loft artists also appreciate the industrial aesthetics of lofts but rather than consuming lofts as a product, they engage with it as a place that accommodates their artistic activities, thus confirming the observations made by Podmore (1998). They also seem to value and actively seek out symbolic capital much more so than loft dwellers counterparts.

> The bread factory apartment is number 304 or 403, I can't remember but they hosted a show there once where the Unicorns played. The loft got nicknamed the "bread factory" because someone made bread for all the people who showed up. People live communally there but it also doubles as a venue. It's cool that people here have a tendency to nickname spaces...gives it a sense of common identity. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

> A lot of the people here are students, artists, musicians, punks and transients. There really is a strong sense of community...we have communal dinners but at the same time, we're kind of implanted here [in Saint-Henri]. (Student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

Chiming in his agreement of the unique communal atmosphere found in Saint-Henri, one incoming resident had a particular way of describing it:

> Our favorite way to describe it [area around Fattal Complex] is to call it "sesame street" 'cause in the summer, everybody's out drinking beer on their front stoop and it looks like a sesame street because everybody's outside playing in the street. You wouldn't really get there anywhere else...from what I've seen, this is sorta St. Henri. (Computer programmer and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008).

Many loft artists have in fact expressed feelings of anger and disgust knowing that their presence in Saint-Henri may be a cause for increasing gentrification in Saint-Henri. One Fattal resident, maybe familiar with the Chicago School of urban sociology, compares the issue of incoming loft gentrifiers to the process of biological invasion and succession of species:

> Oh, for sure, gentrification is coming from Atwater down Notre-Dame to Saint-Remi. There's way more young professionals coming in. You can tell that gentrification is spreading because all the Haitian restaurants are closing and being replaced by Thai or sushi places. There's new spaces that are exclusive to the demographics that dominate. They appeal more to the middle-class than the working class. It really is like a biological succession of species. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

> The loft space is a phenomenon because it allows for a relationship with space that is not common in western culture. There are rumours about Fattal [building owner]...he's kind of like "an author of gentrification...I feel like I'm kind of on the fringe of gentrification too. Being white and male, the world is designed to make me feel comfortable. If anything, I feel disgust. It's the politicization that makes me uncomfortable. I think gentrification is really a piecemeal lifestyle. I'd like to see a minimization of a gentrifying footprint. Aesthetics and political sympathies are being inflamed. I'm opting to protest silently like boycotting these

places [restaurants and stores] that haven't been here longer. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

In their protest, other loft artists have opted to do more than silent boycotting but rather engage in the social and built environment as something other than consumers:

> It's a lifestyle poverty choice. Like the Atwater Market, I like to go dumpster diving there. It's kind of like a withdrawal from capitalism but they have people policing to deter people from dumpster diving now. I think it's to appease the yuppies. I don't get it, all that food is going in the trash anyways. (Graduate student and loft artist. Anonymous, 2008).

Long-term Residents

Congruent with Neil Smith's concept of a 'frontier myth' (1996) in gentrification and with Zukin's "loft-living" cultural model (1982), different *habitus* in Saint-Henri have ignited social differences, e.g., an "us" and "them" mentalities suggested by Dovey's binary schema of orientation/disorientation public/private and segregation/access (1999: 15-16). These "us" and "them" mentalities found in translation within the urban tissue and commercial discourse has exacerbated the disembodiment felt by long-term residents, which now can be confirmed though interviews. The ages of long-term residents interviewed in Saint-Henri range from 27 to 76 years of age (*see Table 5.1*). Out of the thirteen people interviewed, four of them did not currently participate in the workforce, while the remaining interviewees were predominantly employed in either the service sector or blue-collar labour. Bourdieu had categorized people with a lower cultural capital based on their level of education. When the same indicator is applied to the group of long-term residents, their cultural capital shows to be only slightly lower than that of loft dwellers, incoming residents and loft artists; more than half of them had attended post-secondary and earned a degree while the others had only a secondary school education. Regardless of what may be interpreted as a minor difference in cultural capital, many long-term residents still did not hold the same aesthetic value for industrial lofts and the marketing of their industrial history as loft dwellers or loft artists, which denotes a different culture of tastes and

values (*see Figure 5.27*). One long-term resident expressed his sadness over the architectural features of the Quai des Éclusiers and laments the loss of the former industrial building:

> I know it [Quai des Éclusiers] replaced a beautiful old shed buildings that I really appreciated. Now it's the style of architecture that's cheap and quickly built. It's adorned with aluminum. It looks artificial and expensive for what it is. The location doesn't appeal to me either because it seems too peripheral. (Student and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

> I think change like this (Quai des Éclusiers) is positive—it's redevelopment and regeneration of the area but at the same time, it's tragic—it could have been anything else but this happened very quickly. (Paper maker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

For some people, the need for the architectural features available in the new lofts is incomprehensible. There was a palpable disdain for how loft developments neglect the needs of long-term residents and cater to the loft dwellers instead:

> The lofts are a big difference but they don't fit in with the culture. These buildings could have been used for day cares. People here know what we need...we don't need high ceilings. It's the Lachine Canal, I mean...come on!!! They have their big windows. I don't understand why people want a condo when they have nothing (green space, family, etc). They should have made more housing for older people, there's not enough day cares. (Collection agent and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Other residents commented on not only the physical transformations but also the fact that signs of wealth were pervading the neighbourhood, with everyday needs priced or classed well out of reach for long-term residents. Many people cited the new IGA grocery store as a source of friction, "Le IGA rendu trop loin et les gens sont devenus d'une classe élevée" ("The IGA has become too far and the people [who shop there] have become a higher class". Translation by author) (Homemaker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008). When asked if he would consider purchasing a loft, even one incoming resident replied, "Well, the people that are here now are blue-collar workers, there's no way that we can afford these places. I'm not a blue-

collar worker, I think I do pretty well and these lofts aren't within our means." (Computer Programmer and marginal gentrifier. Anonymous, 2008)

> "It's changing but it seems to be only for the rich people coming into St. Henri. There's no food stores in this [west] side of Saint-Henri, all we have are deps [corner stores] and restaurants. People can't afford that! They get their cheque the first of the month...people can only shop once a month. The new IGA is too far, a taxi is too expensive for many people and the bus is difficult. We don't even have a fruit store or butcher. IGA used to be cheaper before they moved to their new location, it also used to be closer on Notre-Dame but now it's too far. St. Henri looks like a rich place now. We're used to seeing regular people at the IGA but now it's full of rich and we feel uncomfortable because these people look down on the poor. (Volunteer social worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

The sentiment above demonstrates the perception long-term residents have in their lack of power to control or influence the changes occurring in their neighbourhood. This lack of power can most likely be attributed to their lack of economic capital. With the exception of one interview participant who earned over $100,000 and five others who earned a good income between $50,000 to $75,000, seven of the participants relied on government subsidized housing and earned an average household income under $25,000 annually.

> In terms of loft conversions in St. Henri, people like us don't really have a lot of say. We don't have that authority because it's the developers and the city that have the power to make decisions...people have no power because it's a very rich and poor dichotomy. (Social worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

In terms of social capital, social status amassed through belonging to a certain class or group(Bourdieu, 1984), interviews with long-term residents show that they have significantly higher levels of social capital and networks than their counterparts (1984). Greater social capital could be attributed to the time that they have spent in Saint-Henri (a range of 7 to 67 years); the longer length of time has enabled them to establish stronger social networks with one another.

I've lived here for 27 years. I have a big huge family and a lot of my family lives on this same street. We (indicating her friend and herself) live in the middle of St. Henri so it's really practical to be close to everything and everyone we need. Before the condos, the social networks were great. Now with the new people (loft dwellers and incoming residents), I don't give a fuck about them! They come into *our town* and look down on us! (Collection Agent and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Saint-Henri has had a negative image of being a run-down biker haven but with new spaces like Imperial Lofts, Quai des Éclusiers, a new category of people are entering and bringing their cultural values with them. Some residents were neither overwhelmingly for nor against the insertion of lofts in the neighbourhood but rather saw it as a "cleaning up" of their once run-down neighbourhood. Their only wish was for an equal distribution of amenities and advantages across the board for all residents of Saint-Henri regardless of income and status, such as provisions for affordable housing and accessible amenities:

Saint-Henri's changing for the better. New people is good, there's a different atmosphere. For example, you see more children, more families. I just hope my taxes don't go up! (Volunteer and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

There's new buildings and construction everywhere. They should build more affordable housing. The opening of the Lachine Canal has brought a lot of new people. It was positive for the neighbourhood in that there have been efforts in adding green spaces to the area. But because incoming people have bigger houses, condo types look down on people who have lived here for a long time. In old days, there were no $100,000 cars here, now they're all BMWs. (Blue-collar worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Il ya beaucoup de rénovation et nouvelle construction. C'est positif pour certaines choses. Mais le quartier, est bien, avec un besoin d'améliorations. Les lofts, c'est une très bonne idée pour les habitations mais [cela] est bon pour les riches seulement. (There are a lot of renovations and new construction. It's positive for certain things. The neighbourhood is good but needs a lot of

improvements. The lofts are a good idea for homes but they are only for the rich. Translation by author). (Homemaker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

And in response to promises of affordable housing, one interviewee saw cities and developers as hypocrites:

> The Imperial Lofts, I know that the developer doesn't want to make affordable housing. They only do it to get the building permit. Gentrification like these "lofts" cannot be stopped. Jobs are being lost, the population is aging and not very well educated. On St. Antoine and du Courcelle, the discourse was that they were going to give places to poor seniors. But they're $1200 rent a month, it's a myth that they're building for the poor! It's a false statement. There are 1 or 2 "poor" that live in these loft buildings, many of them move to the south shore because it's still affordable. The economic force is against them. The proximity to downtown is too much of a point for profit. There have been attempts to "freeze" the city but the city is an organism and it will evolve. It's impossible to freeze change. There will be anarchy in Saint-Henri because of the development—anarchy in terms of finance. (Professor and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

It is inevitable that in conversations about "loft-living" in Saint-Henri, the discourse eventually touches upon the sore point of social disembodiment and feelings of displacement:

> The neighbourhood was poor, the industrial time was over. I saw the first condos being built around 2000 and 2001 and now it has changed drastically for the worse. I think it's negative because the impact is that the rents increased and landlords that kick out tenants. People have changed too. I've seen good people; good landlords lie to get rid of tenants. I myself have experienced this two times where I was kicked out under false pretences. Saint-Henri has changed too much, I don't recognize it anymore. I wish I could stay here but I see a future here that works for cars and not for citizens. (Teacher and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

> I don't feel comfortable with the new people from the lofts. Condos and lofts have single professionals that look down of on people. They have lots of dogs which they never clean up after. It's fun to see the changes in some places but it

creates a lot of tension. You've got people that make $100,000 vs. $18,000 in income. (Collection agent and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Despite the changes, some residents do not have the money to move away but others are opting to stay out of pride and protest much like some of the loft artists discussed previously. Interviews with long-term residents also suggest that their symbolic capital could be the result of a collective rejection of the loft aesthetic promoted by Imperial Lofts and Quai des Éclusiers:

> Even though there are a lot of changes, it's still my neighbourhood and I wouldn't change a thing. I still take pride in my life here. I'm happy with the neighbourhood as it was, why change it? The lofts are fashionable ever since the canal was cleaned up and reopened. The condos, they should be more affordable housing. If I leave, I'll always come back. It's still going to be the "old neighbourhood" to me. (Blue-collar worker and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

> Yes, I'm staying here because I don't want them [newcomers] to destroy Saint-Henri. It's kind of like a protest to the newcomers. (Collection agent and long-term resident. Anonymous, 2008).

Conclusion

The dual approach of morphological and praxeological analyses discussed in this chapter, has highlighted the clash of *habitus* from the interplay between material transformations and associated commercial discourse and social practices. Through the identification of a new residential building *type,* the loft, and looking at cartographic and iconographic evidences triangulated by semi-structured interviews, light has been shed on a "loft-living" cultural model linked to the habitus of a specific group of gentrifiers. In addition, a discourse analysis of marketing materials has shown that the interventions in the "upstream" process of loft planning in Saint-Henri has helped disseminate the said cultural model—which contributes to the production of a gentrified landscape. The loft-housing sub-field is dominated by middle-class people. Similarly, an analysis has also revealed the clash in aesthetic values, representations and

to some extent the social practices of loft dwellers, marginal gentrifiers and their loft artists or long-term resident counterparts, which have contributed to the dispute over the "loft-living" model and its associated *habitus*.

The loft landscape in Saint-Henri has become an exemplar of societal identities. It is within this structure of material environment and social practices that the three aforementioned *habitus* must assert themselves. An important facet about "loft-living" is that it is what Ley calls "a class-privileged temperament" (2003: 2531). Higher cultural and economic capital is a feature of the dominant class and thus affords them more authority in influencing upstream processes such as gentrification. As Wacquant points out, Bourdieu's studies of human practice sheds light on the clashes and struggles between groups of different habitus and which "simultaneously point to the social conditions under which these hierarchies can be challenged, transformed nay overturned" (2006: 3). What has come to light through this study are some of the uneven distribution of benefits, spatial atomization and cultural disembodiment experienced by groups in Saint-Henri because of the varying degrees of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital granted to each *habitus*.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The "loft-living" *habitus* revolves around the aesthetic disposition and symbolic values attached to the loft housing market in Saint-Henri. As Bourdieu theorized, *habitus* could be found in any of the material properties possessed by an individual, (such as lofts) (1984: 173). The analysis of loft marketing, and interviews in this study have shown how aesthetic value was conferred upon architectural features such as large windows and concrete ceilings by a so-called cosmopolitan group who take pleasure in the novelty of living in a historical building with typical industrial features. *Habitus* could further be recognized in the way in which an individual behaved; thus the appreciation of industrial aesthetics and pursuit of healthy and active lifestyle also contributed to the objects and practices involved in the production of a "loft-living" lifestyle or *habitus* (or what Podmore calls loft dwelling (1998).

The Fattal Complex, Imperial Lofts and the Quai des Éclusiers studied in this research are physical manifestations of recent public and private investments to revitalize Saint-Henri's landscape, effectively transforming former places of deteriorating industry to new sites that emphasize the real-estate potential of loft conversions. The recoding of the landscape from industrial to a new "loft-living" model and its associated tastes has brought about social and cultural clashes between incoming populations and the old-stock population. The analysis of material data has shown that loft developers placed a clear emphasis on retaining and recoding industrial spaces of Saint-Henri based on the local reinterpretation of a "loft-living" cultural cachet initially founded in SoHo lofts (Zukin, 1982). Gauthier (2005) would argue that this is a prime example of "exogenous determinants" exerting pressures on the new cultural type. This research is congruent with Podmore's work in which she identified media outlets as having a profound influence over the manipulation and instrumentalization of a cultural model pertaining to a housing form (1998).

A basic task of this research has been to record the spatial manifestations and the spatial atomization that "loft-living" has fostered and investigate the broader social ramifications

in Saint-Henri. By highlighting upstream social practices (of the developers) and downstream dwelling practices, this study sought to shed light on how a traditional landscape of production has become altered into a landscape of consumption for those groups with a "loft-living" *habitus*.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study has been a foray into both the physical and social compositions that have formed the "loft-living" cultural model in Montréal's Saint-Henri. While it has been highly qualitative and bordering on an ethnographic study, another avenue of investigation involving statistics may prove interesting as well. The results from Statistics Canada's 2006 survey could provide strong indicators and confirm the process of gentrification if not "loft-living". Although my study was qualitative, simple demographic data was still collected from interview participants and tabulated in Table 5.1. Some interesting patterns have emerged such as the average ages of each group that was interviewed: loft dwellers averaged at 32 years; marginal gentrifiers followed at 30 years; loft artists were the youngest at 24 years; finally, long-term residents were significantly older at 51 years. These ages can be paralleled with the amount of time the individuals have spent living in the neighbourhood—this may or may not reflect a trend of an increasingly young population moving into Saint-Henri. As discussed earlier, economic and cultural capital are determined by average household income and highest level of education attained. At first glance, the data seems to confirm the postulate in this study that the incoming loft dwellers, artists and marginal gentrifiers possess higher levels of both forms of capital than that of the long-term residents. In the future, additional interviews with more residents would increase the representativeness of the study and possibly provide additional verification of a dispute between "loft-living" habitus and other cultural models in Saint-Henri.

Discussion

This research identifies four different habitus in Saint-Henri. Saint-Henri's new social landscape does not consist solely of loft dwellers; this research has uncovered groups of marginal

gentrifiers and loft artists. All three groups have similar high levels of education and have certain cultural values in common, such as a shared appreciation for the historical and industrial past of Saint-Henri. Ley (2003) noted that artists were one of the early influences in the genesis of a gentrification aesthetic in Canada; in Saint-Henri, they were some of the first who occupied and valorized former industrial spaces. Like loft dwellers, loft artists engage in the same aesthetics but for differing reasons: lofts are perceived as a place to live, work and create art. One of the loft artists interviewed is a musician, who in addition to renting a unit in the Fattal Complex, also rents a smaller unit in the same complex in order to rehearse. These "rehearsal units" are located in a row of buildings literally eight feet from the nearby railway tracks and are rented out specifically for artists to rehearse or to create art.

Similar to loft dwellers, loft artists too were beguiled by media imagery of loft aesthetics, albeit slightly more apprehensive as the commercial discourse seemed too flashy and so far removed from how loft artists would actually use and consume the space. Podmore notes that the media has promoted the myth that "loft-living" is a glamourous affair by using flashy images and dialogue to make it more palatable for cosmopolitan living—this effectively sanitized and toned down the edgy frontier *habitus* of loft artists (1998). Despite being rich in cultural capital, loft artists and marginal gentrifiers especially, are limited in regards to economic capital (*see Table 5.1*). Nevertheless, all three types of *habitus* still remain part of a dominant culture that has the ability to influence over the development of Saint-Henri.

A fourth *habitus* of long-term residents has also been recognized in Saint-Henri. Their lifestyle is significantly less "avant-garde and cosmopolitan" than loft artists or loft dwellers as these people are the ones with long historic ties to the loft landscape before it became commodified. In the interviews with long-term residents, perceptions of Saint-Henri being a place of hard, industrial labour has brought about mixed memories for many long-term residents. Some speak of it as being "sketchy" or a former biker haven but most recall Saint-Henri as being synonymous with "hard work", "honest good people", or fondly call it "the old neighbourhhood". They did not oppose the conversion of industrial buildings for social needs rather than

consumption and in saying so, they implicitly expressed resentment towards the fact that industrial buildings were changed in favour of catering to the "loft-living" *habitus* of loft dwellers. Long-term residents generally expressed confusion towards "loft-living". Not all residents rejected lofts outright but many did not understand the need to convert the buildings into lofts rather than forms of housing or other uses that the community actually needed. These respondents cared less for the industrial aesthetics; their rejection of lofts indicated a deeper social reaction against inequitable distribution of resources.

The four *habitus* discussed can potentially be tied to a wider discussion of gentrification using Lefebvre's concepts of how space is 'practiced', 'conceived' and 'lived' (1991). Lefebvre viewed the built environment as both a place of social production based on the values and meanings assigned by people, but it was also a means of reproduction and control. The process of gentrification in Saint-Henri thus becomes a setting in which people have the capability of interpreting, creating or resisting spatial practices.

The spatial practice of a society, as defined by Lefebvre, "secretes that society's space...in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly as surely as it masters and appropriates it" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Furthermore, spatial practice as acceptable ways of behaving in a space "ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). In other words, the spatial practices manifested or concretized in the material or built environment contribute to defining a space that appeals to our five senses and affects the way in which we act within that space. The spatial practice of loft dwellers engaging with the material environment around Quai des Éclusiers, for example, is cued by the information conveyed in commercial advertisements but is also dictated by the *habitus*. Incoming groups of people attracted to loft conversions and their associated lifestyles constitute a growth of a new cultural model in Saint-Henri.

Unlike spatial practice, representations of space speak of how a space is socially conceived by dominant groups upstream in the development of lofts. Historically, industrial lofts buildings have been under the control of the manufacturing and warehouse businesses of Saint-Henri's; the dominant economic investors of the neighbourhood. Deindustrialization has

transferred the authority over industrial spaces to loft and condominium developers who have the power to disseminate loft developments according to the priorities, lifestyles, agendas and *habitus* they want to project and perpetuate. This *habitus* is something that has been received from commercial discourse and confirmed by loft dwellers groups who purchase the lofts. These transitions have brought about problems of spatial atomization and social disembodiment that effectively segregate those with a different *habitus* as demonstrated with the physical manifestations of Dovey's binary schema in Chapter Four. Loft dwellers, marginal gentrifiers, loft artists and long-time residents are also at odds over how to behave in public or private space (i.e., swimming or kayaking) as there is confusion over segregation and access. The built environment is embedded with a Dovey calls a "complicit silence" (Dovey,1999) and while it does not dictate behaviour outright, it does limit access to opportunities to those with enough economic or cultural capital to pay the price of admission.

Representational space signifies how people choose to live in a space or how they react to rules dictated by the dominant class. This choice has been shown to be the case in all four types of *habitus* identified in Saint-Henri. Many loft dwellers have chosen to avoid establishing social ties with the rest of the neighbourhood preferring to limit their activity to areas prescribed to them by commercial discourse (*see Figure 4.22*). One loft dweller opted to avoid venturing anywhere north of St. Ambroise from his home in Quai des Éclusiers and travelled to and from his activities mainly via car. The interviews with marginal gentrifiers revealed that they were slightly more integrated into the neighbourhood; they live in traditional types of housing (duplexes or triplexes that have entrances on the street rather than loft complexes that are much more private) that are more conducive to social integration within the neighbourhood.

Loft artists seem to straddle the divide between loft dwellers and long-term residents. On the one hand, their initial presence in Saint-Henri's former industrial buildings most likely attracted the eye of developers, incoming marginal gentrifiers and loft dwellers. Ironically, loft artists are being displaced and have come to resent the "loft-living" lifestyle that they had helped

produce (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008: 118). Loft artists are beginning to discover shared grievances and empathize with long-term residents over fears of displacement.

In regards to reacting the dominance of "loft-living" and its representations of space, there are instances when particular spaces are used in ways that they were not originally intended for—take for example the loft artists whose 'dumpster diving'[xv] at Atwater Market entailed a reaction against controls or acceptable social behaviours embedded in an existing space[xvi]. Some long-term residents have stayed in the neighbourhood simply as a means to protest the changes; they hope that their continued presence will serve as a reminder to loft dwellers and other marginal gentrifiers what their neighbourhood of Saint-Henri is supposed to be.

Conclusion

David Harvey in *Social Justice and the City*, critiqued the urban social and spatial trends that allowed for the "exploitation of the many by the few" (1973: 314). Smith noted that "previous working class sections of the city are dragged into the international circuits of capital" (1996: 26). What has come to light through this study is that there is an uneven distribution of benefits resulting in spatial atomization and social disembodiment experienced by different groups because of their varying degrees of capital granted to each *habitus*. Many long-term residents, especially, have a completely different set of cultural values and tastes than that of loft dwellers; they neither understand the aesthetic value of a "loft-living" *habitus*. To them, the industrial landscapes and architecture are associated with hard labour and work, a tough neighbourhood that they are proud of and not necessarily something they want to gentrify with

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[xv] Dumpster diving is the activity of scavenging for foods (usually those deemed unfit for sale) that have been discarded by stores. This activity usually occurs after store hours.

[xvi] One loft artist who engages in 'dumpster diving' informed me that Atwater Market and the neighbouring Super C grocery store have issued a ban against dumpster diving. Apparently they were under pressure from nearby loft and condo owners who perceived this activity as criminal and dangerous. This loft artist has chosen to ignore the ban.

lofts. Ultimately, it is inevitable that in conversations about "loft-living" in Saint-Henri, the discourse eventually touches upon the sore point of displacement.

What is seen in Saint-Henri is that *habitus* is enacted and re-enacted through the ways in which people interact with their social and material worlds. Those with higher cultural and economic capital such as loft dwellers and marginal gentrifiers are granted the power to influence the perpetuation of the "loft-living" cultural model. Long-term residents do not have the same luxury as they have limited economic capital thus they many seem resigned to inevitability of gentrification but adhere strongly to their extensive social capital networks in the neighbourhood as a means of support and perhaps a means of resistance.

Loft conversion is an assertive form of gentrification—via architectural interventions in the traditional neighbourhood's morphology that affects social tastes and potentially stigmatizes or antagonizes long-term residents. The commodification of industrial space can entail a shift in perceptions thanks in part to publicity and marketing. This research has aimed to analyze the landscape of Saint-Henri using a dual approach of morphology and praxeology. In so doing, the transformation in the urban tissue and a "loft-living" cultural model emerged leading to a further argument of loft lifestyles to be a part of the dominant middle-class gentrification.

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APPENDIX A

Formal Interview Introduction Letter (English Version)

Ms. Edith Tam
Department of Geography, Planning & Environment
Concordia University
1455 blvd de Maisonneuve Ouest,
Montréal, Québec
H3G 1M8

Dear Saint-Henri Resident,

I am a graduate student in the department of Geography, Planning and the Environment at Concordia University and am currently conducting research on recent housing trends in Saint-Henri and Little Burgundy. This research is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Community University Research Alliance (CURA), and the Bibliothèque et Archives nationale du Québec (BAnQ). The research looks in particular at the conversion of many former industrial sites and buildings for residential uses in Saint-Henri.

I am seeking residents living both in and around the following loft buildings: Cours Charlevoix (11 rue Charlevoix, 2460 rue Ste-Cunégonde; Le Quai des Éclusiers (4150 rue St-Ambroise); Imperial Lofts (3810 rue St-Antoine); and Fattal Building (617 rue St.-Rémi). Participation in this research would involve an interview of approximately 1 hour in duration. Participants will be asked to provide information on their dwelling experiences (such as type of dwelling occupied, attraction to the area, when they arrived in the area), use of local amenities (such as the Lachine Canal), as well as satisfaction with the area. All information will be treated with **confidentiality** and if at any time a participant wishes to discontinue their involvement, there will be no penalties and any information previously supplied will be eliminated and not included in the final publication.

If you would be interested in participating in this research, please fill out the back of this letter and send it back to me in the enclosed pre-paid envelope. If you have any questions at all regarding the research or what is involved, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Pierre Gauthier. Thank-you for taking the time to consider this request and I hope to hear from you soon.

Thank you and best regards,

Ms. Edith Tam
Master's Candidate

Any comments, questions or concerns you may have can be directed to the following persons:

Edith Tam (Researcher)	Dr. Pierre Gauthier (Thesis Supervisor)	Dr. Craig Townsend (Ethics Reviewer)
Master's Candidate	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor
Geography, Planning & Environment	Geography, Planning & Environment	Geography, Planning & Environment
Concordia University	Concordia University	Concordia University
tam.edith@gmail.com	pierreg@alcor.concordia.ca	townsend@alcor.concordia.ca
(514) 699-7480	(514) 848-2424 ext. 2062	(514) 848-2424 ext. 5191

APPENDIX B

Formal Interview Introduction Letter (French Version)

Mme Édith Tam
Département de Géographie, Urbanisme et Environnement
Université Concordia
1455 boul. de Maisonneuve Ouest
Montréal, Québec, H3G 1M8

Cher Résident de Saint-Henri,

Je suis une étudiante à la Maîtrise au département de géographie, urbanisme et environnement de l'université Concordia. J'effectue présentement une recherche sur des tendances récentes en matière d'habitation à Saint-Henri et dans la Petite-Bourgogne. Cette recherche est financée par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH), *programme de soutien à la maîtrise* et *programme Alliances de recherche universités-communautés* (ARUC) et Bibliothèque et Archives nationale du Québec (BAnQ). La recherche porte en particulier sur la conversion à des fins résidentielles d'anciens sites et bâtiments industriels.

Je cherche donc des résidents vivant dans et autour des bâtiments suivants : Cours Charlevoix (11 rue Charlevoix, 2460 rue Ste-Cunégonde), Le Quai des Éclusiers (4150 rue St-Ambroise), Imperial Lofts (3810 rue St-Antoine) et Fattal Building (617 rue St-Rémi). Votre participation à cette recherche impliquerait une entrevue d'une durée d'une heure approximativement. Les participants seront invités à fournir à l'information sur leurs expériences en matière d'habitation (tel que le type de logement occupé, l'attrait exercé par le secteur, le moment d'arrivée dans le secteur), l'utilisation des aires d'agrément locales (tel que le canal de Lachine), ainsi que sur la satisfaction générale à l'égard du secteur. Toute l'information recueillie sera traitée de manière confidentielle et les participants conservent le droit d'interrompre leur participation à la recherche à tout moment sans conséquence pour eux.

Si vous êtes intéressé(e) à participer à cette recherche, veuillez compléter le dos de cette lettre et nous le faire parvenir dans l'enveloppe préaffranchie ci-jointe. la section au verso de cette lettre et renvoyez le tout dans l'enveloppe pré-affranchie incluse. Si vous avez des questions concernant la présente recherche ou sur votre éventuelle participation, n'hésiter pas à me contacter ou à contacter le professeur Pierre Gauthier mon directeur de recherche. Merci d'avoir pris le temps de considérer cette demande et au plaisir de vous compter parmi les participants.

Bien à vous,

Édith Tam
Candidate à la Maîtrise

Si vous avez des questions pendant ou après l'étude, vous pouvez contacter les chercheurs ou le personnel de l'étude:

Edith Tam
(Chercheuse principale)
Candidate à la maîtrise
Langue parlée: Anglais
Département de Géographie,
Urbanisme et Environnement
Université Concordia
tam.edith@gmail.com
(514) 699-7480

Prof. Pierre Gauthier
(Directeur de maîtrise)
Professeur agrégé
Langues parlées: Français et Anglais
Département de Géographie,
Urbanisme et Environnement
Université Concordia
pierreg@alcor.concordia.ca
(514) 848-2424 poste 2062

Prof. Craig Townsend
(Responsable de l'éthique de la recherche)
Professeur adjoint
Langue parlée: Anglais
Département de Géographie,
Urbanisme et Environnement
Université Concordia
townsend@alcor.concordia.ca
(514) 848-2424 poste 5191

APPENDIX C

Consent Form to Participate in Research (English Version)

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Edith Tam of the Department of Geography, Planning & Environment of Concordia University.

A. Purpose:
I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to investigate the conversion of many former industrial sites and buildings for residential uses in Saint-Henri and Little Burgundy. The project conducted by researcher Edith Tam from Concordia University is financed by SSHRC, CURA and BAnQ.

B. Procedures:
- I understand that my participation in the study will last approximately one hour.
- If permission is granted, the interviews will be tape recorded. I understand that no one will have access to the tapes other than Edith Tam.
- I understand that my participation will bring only minimal risk or harms.
- I understand that there is no obligation for me as a participant to answer any question that I feel is invasive, offensive or inappropriate.
- I understand that I may ask questions of the researchers at any point during the research process.
- I understand that there will be no payment for my participation.

C. *Conditions of* Participation:
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study is **confidential** (i.e., my identity will **not** be revealed in study results).
- I understand that the findings from this study may be published in a master's thesis.

D. Your Contact Information
1) Is your contact information correct on page 1? ____Yes ____No (please continue to #2)
2) ___Mr.___Mrs.___Ms. First Name:_____Last Name:_____
3) Address:_____
4) Phone:_____
5) Email:_____
6) Availability for interview (check all that apply): ___Monday ___Tuesday ___Wednesday ___Thursday ___Friday ___Saturday ___Sunday
7) Time availability (check all that apply): ____9:00-12:00 ____12:00-15:00 ____15:00-18:00 ____18:00-21:00
8) Preferred interview format: ___Phone ____In person

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSET AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

9) Signature:_____
10) Witness Signature: _____
11) Date:_____

E. Recommendations:
If you know of someone who fits into my research criteria (living in or around loft buildings in Saint-Henri), would you be comfortable recommending them for this research? If so, what is their name and contact information?

_____

_____

_____*If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Craig Townsend, Ethics Reviewer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424, ext. 5191 or by e-mail at townsend@alcor.concordia.ca*

APPENDIX D

Consent Form to Participate in Research (French Version)

Je declare que j'accepte de participer à un programme de la recherche conduit par Edith Tam du département de géographie, urbanisme et environnement de l'Université Concordia.

F. But de la recherche:
J'ai été informé(e) que le but de la recherche est d'étudier la conversion d'anciens sites et bâtiments industriels pour un usage résidentiel à Saint-Henri et dans la Petite-Bourgogne. Le projet conduit par la chercheuse Edith Tam est financé par le CRSH et BAnQ.

G. Procédures:
- Ma participation durera environ une heure.
- Si je donne mon accord, l'interview sera enregistrée. Le cas échéant, seuls les étudiants qui conduisent l'entrevue auront accès aux bandes sonores de l'entretien.
- Je comprends n'être potentiellement sujet par ma participation qu'à des risques ou embarras minimums.
- Je comprends qu'à titre de participant, je n'ai aucune obligation à répondre à quelque question que j'estimerais intrusive, offensante ou inappropriée.
- Je comprends que je puis poser des questions aux interviewers ou à leur professeur à tout moment dans le cours de la recherche
- *Je comprends que je ne serai pas rémunéré-e pour ma participation à cette recherche.*

H. Conditions de Participation:
- Je comprends que je puis retirer mon consentement et interrompre ma participation à tout moment, sans conséquences négatives.
- Je comprends que ma participation à cette étude est **confidentielle** (c.-à-d. que mon identité **ne sera pas** révélée avec les résultats de l'étude).
- Je comprends que les données de cette étude puissent être publiées.

I. Information de contact:
12) Est-ce que l'information concernant vos coordonnées à la page une est exacte? __Oui___Non (sinon, continuez à question #2)
13) ___M.___Mme.___Mlle. Prenom:_____
Nom:_____
14) Adresse:_____
_____
15) Numéro de téléphone:_____
16) Courriel:_____
17) Disponibilité pour l'entrevue (jours): ___Lundi ___Mardi ___Mecredi ___Jeudi ___Vendredi ___Samedi ___Dimanche
18) Disponibilité (heures): ____9:00-12:00 ____12:00-15:00 ____15:00-18:00 ____18:00-21:00
19) Lieu préféré pour l'entrevue: ___Chez vous ____Autre

J'AI LU ATTENTIVEMENT CE QUI PRÉCÈDE ET JE COMPRENDS LA NATURE DE L'ENTENTE. JE CONSENS LIBREMENT ET VOLONTAIREMENT À PARTICIPER À CETTE ÉTUDE.

20) Signature:_____
21) Signature d'un témoin: _____
22) Date:_____

J. Recommandations:
Si vous connaissez quelqu'un qui répond aux critères de recherche (vivant dans ou autour des bâtiments listés, à Saint-Henri), nous serions intéressés à leur faire part de cette recherche! Le cas échéant, veuillez inscrire leur nom et coordonnées :
_____
_____

Si à tout moment vous avez des questions au sujet de vos droits en tant que participant à une recherche, veuillez contacter Craig Townsend, Responsable de L'éthique de la Recherche, Université Concordia, (514) 848-2424, poste 5191 ou par courriel townsend@alcor.concordia.ca.

APPENDIX E

Interview Guide for Saint-Henri Resident (English Version)

Name:
Address:
Postal Code:
Telephone:
Email:
Date:
Time:

1) How long have you lived in Saint-Henri? _____
2) Could you describe your dwelling to me please?

The following questions are asked if needed:
a) Could you please describe the things you like most about your dwelling?

b) Could you please describe the things you dislike about your dwelling?

c) If applicable, could you talk about the conversion or transformations of your building?

3) How did you come about renting or buying your home?

4) Could you please describe your neighbourhood to me?

The following questions are asked if needed:
a) Have you seen any changes occurring in the neighbourhood during the time you've lived here?

b) Do you think that these changes are generally positive or negative?

c) What type of relations do you have with your neighbours (both within the building and within the neighbourhood)?

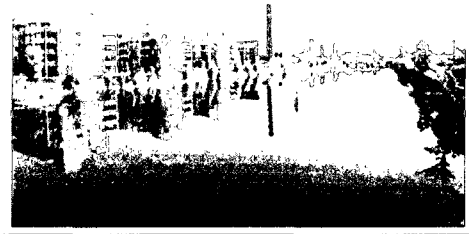
5) What are three words that come to mind to describe your neighbourhood?

6) Do you envision yourself living here for a long time?

Specific Site Information:

The following pictures were taken from the neighbourhood. Can you tell me what these images evoke for you?

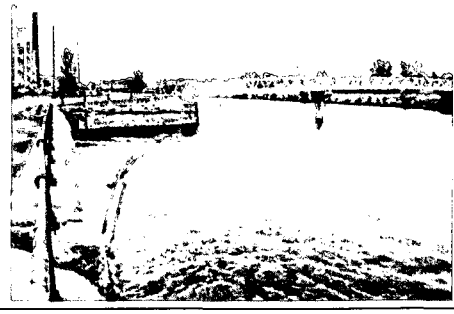
Comments?



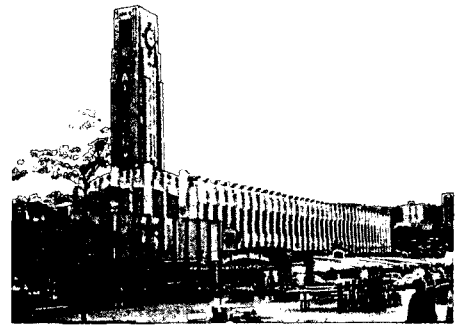
Comments?

Comments?

Comments?



Comments?



Comments?

7) Overall, how do you feel about the conversion of industrial buildings into residences?

Demographic Information

1) Age:___(yrs)

2) Number of people in the household:_____(adults)_____(children)

3) Do you work, study or other?

4) What is your occupation?

5) Level of education:
____trade school
____secondary school diploma
____college (CEGEP)
____university (certificate, diploma, degree)
____university (post-graduate)

6) Average monthly payment for rent or mortgage?

7) Approximate household income:
_____less than $25,000
_____$25,000-$49,999
_____$50,000-$74,999
_____$75,000-$99,999
_____$100,000 or more

APPENDIX F

Interview Guide for Saint-Henri Resident (French Version)

Nom:
Adresse:
Code Postale:
Telephone:
Courriel:
Date:
Heure:

1) Depuis combien de temps vivez-vous à Saint-Henri?
2) Pouvez-vous me décrire votre logement?

a)Quels sont les aspects de votre logement que vous préférez?

b) Quels son les aspects de votre logement que vous n'appréciez pas?

c)Pouvez-vous me parler de la transformation de cet édifice à des fins résidentielles?

3) Comment en êtes-vous venu à louer ou acheter ce logement?

4) Décrivez-moi votre quartier?

a) Avez-vous noté des changements dans votre quartier depuis que vous y habitez?

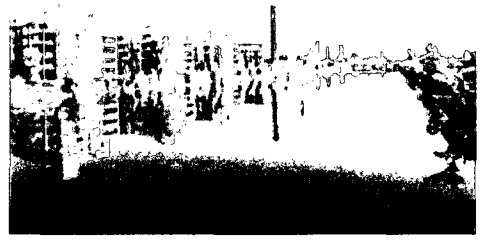
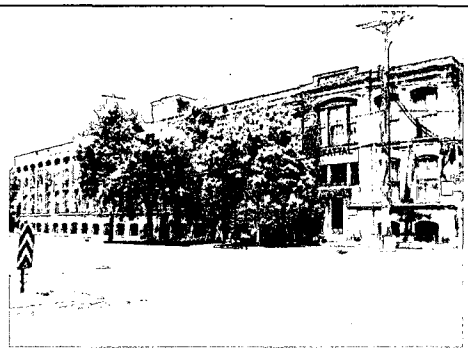
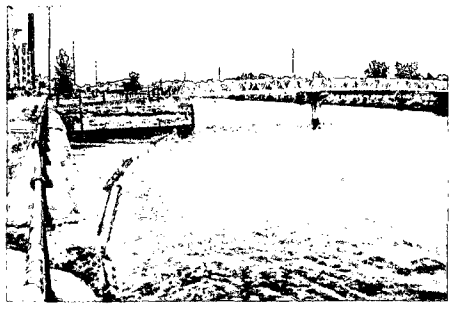
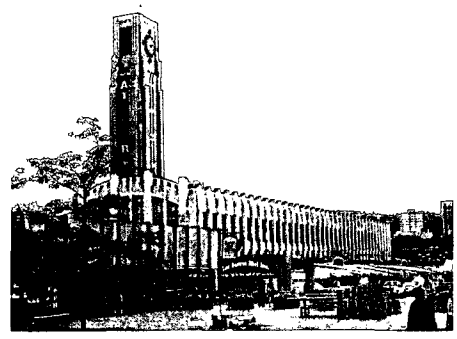
b) Croyez-vous que ces changements sont généralement plutôt positifs ou négatifs?

c) Quel type de relations de voisinage entretenez-vous?

5) Si vous deviez utiliser 3 mots pour décrire votre quartier, quels seraient-ils?

6) Croyez-vous vivre ici encore longtemps?

Specific Site Information:

Les photos suivantes ont été prises dans le quartier Saint-Henri. Quels trois mots vous viennent à l'esprit en regardant ces images?	
	
Commentaires?	**Commentaires?**
	
Commentaires?	**Commentaires?**
	
Commentaires?	**Commentaires?**

7) Que pensez-vous des conversions de bâtiments industriels en bâtiments résidentiels?

Informations démographiques

8) Âge:___(ans)

9) Nombre de personnes vivant dans le logement:_____(adultes)_____(enfants)

10) Quelle est votre occupation?

11) Niveau d'éducation:
_____école de métiers
_____diplôme d'études secondaires
_____diplôme d'étude collégiales
_____diplôme universitaire de 1er cycle (certificat, baccalauréat)
_____ diplôme universitaire de 2^e ou 3^e cycle

12) En moyenne, combien payez-vous mensuellement pour votre loyer ou votre hypothèque?

13) Revenu familial annuel:
Ask this question last or if the interviewee is uncomfortable, ask them to estimate the amount for question #5.
_____moins de 25 000$
_____25 000$-49 999$
_____50 000$-74 999$
_____75 000$-99 999$
_____100 000$ ou plus