NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A Case Study of the East Victoria Park Neighbourhood in Calgary, Alberta

by

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- Ancient 0579
- Medieval 0581
- Modern 0582
- Black 0328
- African 0331
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- Canadian 0334
- European 0335
- Latin American 0336
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- General 0473
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- Animal Pathology 0476
- Food Science and Technology 0359
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- Plant Culture 0479
- Plant Pathology 0480
- Plant Physiology 0817
- Range Management 0777
- Wood Technology 0746

Biology
- General 0306
- Anatomy 0287
- Biostatistics 0308
- Botany 0309
- Cell 0379
- Ecology 0329
- Entomology 0353
- Genetics 0369
- Limnology 0793
- Microbiology 0410
- Molecular 0307
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- Zoology 0472

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- General 0786
- Medical 0760

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- Chemotherapy 0992
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- Education 0350
- Hospital Management 0769
- Human Development 0758
- Immunology 0982
- Medicine and Surgery 0564
- Mental Health 0347
- Nursing 0569
- Nutrition 0570
- Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
- Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
- Ophthalmology 0381
- Pathology 0571
- Pharmacology 0419
- Pharmacy 0572
- Physical Therapy 0382
- Public Health 0573
- Radiology 0574
- Recreation 0575
- Speech Pathology 0460
- Toxicology 0383

Home Economics 0386

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- General 0485
- Agricultural 0749
- Analytical 0486
- Biochemistry 0487
- Inorganic 0488
- Nuclear 0738
- Organic 0490
- Pharmaceutical 0491
- Physical 0494
- Polymer 0495
- Radiation 0754

Mathematics 0405
Physics
- General 0605
- Acoustics 0986
- Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
- Atmospheric Science 0608
- Atomic 0748
- Electronics and Electricity 0607
- Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
- Fluid and Plasma 0759
- Molecular 0609
- Nuclear 0610
- Optics 0752
- Radiation 0756
- Solid State 0611

Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984
Engineering
- General 0537
- Aerospace 0538
- Agricultural 0539
- Automotive 0540
- Biomedical 0541
- Chemical 0542
- Civil 0543
- Electronics and Electrical 0544
- Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
- Hydraulic 0545
- Industrial 0546
- Marine 0547
- Materials Science 0794
- Mechanical 0548
- Metallurgy 0743
- Mining 0551
- Nuclear 0552
- Packaging 0549
- Petroleum 0765
- Sanitary and Municipal 0554
- System Science 0790

Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

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A CASE STUDY OF THE EAST VICTORIA PARK NEIGHBOURHOOD IN CALGARY, ALBERTA

BY

JAMES E. SCOTT

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to attempt to explain the dynamics of a major shift in policy approach concerning the inner city Calgary neighbourhood of East Victoria Park, stemming from a 1991 proposal to expand the Stampede Park tourism and exhibition/convention facility. The research attempts to explain this shift in the context of urban economic development, which is seen to have emerged relatively recently as a significant component of urban development and municipal administration, not only in Canada, but in Britain and the United States as well. Four research questions are posed:

1) What are the dynamics of the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and urban economic development imperatives observed in the case study?
2) What has been the nature of the shift from neighbourhood planning to support for urban economic development in the case of East Victoria Park?
3) How can the shift in planning approach concerning East Victoria Park be explained in the context of:
    a) The emergence of urban economic development as a policy stream in the case-specific context of the research?
    b) Broad shifts in the administration of cities by local government brought about by the widespread concern for economic restructuring and the resultant pursuit of urban economic development as a major policy stream?
4) What lessons, questions and requirements for further research can be derived from the findings of the case study evaluation?

The research employs a case study approach in order to analyze the historical and contemporary application of policy concerning the neighbourhood in question. An analytical framework is established from a review of the literature concerning neighbourhood threats, inner urban redevelopment, urban economic development, and city planning/neighbourhood planning.

The research concludes that a significant shift in planning approach has occurred concerning the East Victoria Park neighbourhood since 1991. The shift is characterized by a movement away from neighbourhood-level planning, towards support for demolition of the neighbourhood in order to facilitate city-wide tourism development, and urban economic development objectives. The research has found that tourism objectives have evolved since 1965, and, in their present form, have become incorporated into urban economic development strategies. This evolution has created pressure on the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, in both the potential of Stampede Park expansion, and in a broader movement to develop a significant portion of the inner city area surrounding the neighbourhood into a major tourism, convention, and leisure node. City planning policies concerning the neighbourhood appear to have been influenced by urban economic development imperatives, which were cited as one of the two central reasons for the planning department's support for rescinding existing neighbourhood revitalization policies.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Page

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE AND RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to attempt to explain the dynamics of a recent shift in the approach taken by the City of Calgary Planning and Building Department concerning East Victoria Park, a small neighbourhood located in the inner city area of Calgary, Alberta. The shift in planning approach being examined was drastic in nature, entailing rescinding existing neighbourhood revitalization plans in favour of demolishing the entire neighbourhood to allow a 1991 proposal to expand Stampede Park, a large tourism, professional sports and leisure/ entertainment complex. Expansion of Stampede Park posed a direct threat to the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, which houses approximately 1,000 residents living in a 32 hectare area.

The research attempts to explain this shift in planning approach by employing urban economic development (UED) as an explanatory framework for analysis of the case study. The rationale for this research path is based on three factors.

The first factor underlying the rationale for the research is the recent emergence of urban economic development strategies in Calgary, and the penetration of their language and objectives into the Stampede Park expansion debate. The conflict which has arisen between the East Victoria Park neighbourhood and the expansion of Stampede Park has been viewed locally by observers and participants as a clash between city-wide economic development objectives on one hand, and support of inner city housing revitalization on the other[1].

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[1]For example, the City of Calgary Administration (City of Calgary, 1991a); Victoria Park groups (Victoria Park Community Association Letter to Calgary City Council, June 12, 1993); and other observers (Interview with Dr. David Swann, October 8, 1991).

Stampede Park is the most important tourist attraction in Calgary. The strongest argument employed in support of its expansion has therefore focused on the substantial economic and social gains from tourism and convention activity which could be anticipated with the provision of an improved facility. More significantly, the development of tourism infrastructure in general, and Stampede Park in particular—it has been argued—is supported by the existence of *broader policies and strategies* concerning the economic development of Calgary (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede (CE&S), 1991b). A corollary to this side of the argument has been that denying Stampede Park expansion for the sake of preserving or revitalizing a decaying inner city neighbourhood would be to obstruct such economic gains and, therefore, the greater economic well-being of Calgary.

The above argument has been forwarded frequently in the local print media, and has been employed by local business and other organizations which support Stampede Park expansion. However, the language of urban economic development has also entered into the evaluation of the Stampede Park expansion proposal, *and into evaluation of the existing revitalization plans for the East Victoria Park neighbourhood.* With respect to this latter aspect of the planning process, the research has been prompted by the way in which tourism development arguments appear to have initially been utilized by the Calgary Planning and Building Department to justify support for the expansion of the Stampede Park facility into the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, and to partly rationalize the abandonment of existing policies concerning the revitalization of the neighbourhood.

The second rationale for the research is the ubiquity of urban economic development as a policy stream and practical matter in the administration of Canadian municipalities within the last 10 to 15 years. The significance of urban economic development in Canadian cities is attested to by the number of strategies and policies that have emerged in written form, and, in at least one case, have been incorporated into the general municipal plan review

process. Furthermore, the Canadian situation appears to be a reflection of a much more widespread concern for economic development at the local level, notably in the United States and Britain. Based on its prevalence both in practice and in the urban-based literature, urban economic development can be said to have emerged as a significant component in the administration of cities. For this reason, examination of the interface between urban economic development and other urban issues which impact both city planning and citizens, for example inner city redevelopment, is warranted.

The third rationale for the research is that urban economic development theory and practice has not emerged without criticism. In fact, although urban economic development is often viewed as having a positive impact on urban economic systems (by diversifying the scope and raising the level of economic activity) and, consequently, on social structures (by improving the quality of life for citizens), the literature appears to be increasingly concerned with the potential for certain urban economic development policies and activities to have negative impacts on cities.

One of the central critical questions concerning urban economic development is that of the distribution of the costs and benefits of its policies and activities. Do some socio-spatial areas within cities benefit more than others from economic development and, conversely, do some areas and groups bear a disproportionate share of the 'costs' (economic and social) of economic development? In the literature this concern is frequently raised in the context of perceived shifts in the economic and *social* philosophies guiding urban administrations caused by a widespread preoccupation with urban economic development. In this regard a central concern is that in promoting cities as places for investment (frequently by focusing on the use, regulation and taxation of land), municipal administrations are at the same time moving away from a social agenda for public action.

Thus, this research is concerned specifically with the possibility that the pursuit of

broader economic development imperatives by municipal governments can exert pressure on administrative and political decision-making processes concerning neighbourhoods. Public sector planning, as a function of municipal government, is seen as being implicated in this potential conflict between economic development imperatives and neighbourhood development: is there a possibility that the requirements of economic development objectives can relegate neighbourhood-level planning to a subordinate status?

In 1982 Friedmann and Wolff turned to so-called "world cities" (the "control centres of the global economy" like Tokyo, London, New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco) to take a "new look at cities from the perspective of the world economic system-in-formation", and at the future of city planning in this context (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982:309). As Feagin and Smith (1987) would elaborate 5 years later, Friedmann and Wolff viewed these cities in 1982 as products of "the great capitalist undertaking to organize the *world* for the efficient extraction of surplus" (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982:309. Italics added). For Friedmann and Wolff, the fundamental issue for cities in this context is who controls urban life: "resident populations or…transnational corporations, or…the nation states that provide the political setting for world urbanization?" (ibid.).

World-city formation therefore created 'an agenda for research and action'—the sub-title of their paper—the "problem focus" for which, "would be the restructuring of economic, social, and spatial relations, and the ensuing political conflicts" (ibid.:329). "Planners", Friedmann and Wolff argued, would be "directly engaged on this contested terrain", "they will have to rethink their basic practices, since what is happening in world cities is in large measure brought about by forces that lie beyond the normal range of political—and policy—control. How can planners and, indeed, how can the people themselves, living in world cities, gain ascendancy over these forces?" (ibid.:309).

But what of lower-order cities, that is, those which do not have, or are not even

approaching, world-city status? Calgary is not a world-city (although Michelmann (1991) calls it a 'nascent international city'), nor is Winnipeg, yet these places demonstrate awareness of the global context of urbanization, and incorporate its language into urban economic development strategies and growth policies. Feagin and Smith (1987) suggest that it is possible to classify *all* cities, according to their function, in a global 'hierarchy' of places. Furthermore, places of virtually any size can theoretically aspire to being some kind of global city or, at the very least, can provide for a perceived requirement that they must somehow adapt to a restructuring global economy. As Reid (1991c) argues, "even in lower order centres, like Winnipeg and Edmonton", global economic adaptation emerges as an "unrealistic but seductive aspiration [which] has taken hold of the imagination of some economic planners, giving economic planning in these centres an absurd dimension not so apparent in higher order centres" (p.77).

Absurd or not, such low order Canadian cities have pursued this avenue of urban economic development since the late 1980s. The issue here is that this pursuit brings Friedmann and Wolff's "contested terrain" to a more varied assortment of urban contexts arranged hierarchically below the 'world city' level. This observation, and a central question for planning, is summarized by Seasons (1994), when he states,

> "The economy is the major preoccupation of our time. Canadians are anxious about their economic future, and communities are trying to cope with the fiscal, economic and social costs of economic uncertainty, chronic unemployment, and the disappearance of traditional economic sectors. But where, exactly, do planners fit in this picture? ...How do changes in local economies affect planning practice?" (Seasons, 1994:10).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study proceeds from four research questions raised by the issue of Stampede Park expansion, and the shift in planning approach concerning the East Victoria Park

neighbourhood which it triggered:

1) What are the dynamics of the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and urban economic development imperatives observed in the case study?
2) What has been the nature of the shift from neighbourhood planning to support for urban economic development in case of East Victoria Park?
3) How can the shift in planning approach concerning East Victoria Park be explained in the context of:
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4) What lessons, questions, and requirements for further research can be derived from the findings of the case study evaluation?

1.3 CONTEXT AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The Stampede Park expansion issue crosses a potentially wide and diverse range of pragmatic and theoretical research areas. Although it is necessary to keep the scope of the research focused, this study draws on a body of literature covering several areas: inner city redevelopment, neighbourhood threat, local (urban) economic development, and city/ neighbourhood planning. An objective of this research is to integrate relevant aspects of these research areas to form an analytical framework for evaluating the case study.

The first category of literature involves neighbourhood threat. It is necessary to establish an understanding of the threats posed to neighbourhoods by large scale redevelopment, since the scale of residential displacement implied by the Stampede Park expansion proposal is similar to some of the urban renewal projects of the 1960s. Contemplation of this type of mass displacement could be considered as an anomaly in the context of contemporary inner city upgrading (gentrification), which has largely replaced urban renewal as a revitalization phenomenon, and as a subject of academic discussion. The purpose of a discussion about neighbourhood threats in the context of redevelopment is to explore issues and outcomes of large scale redevelopment which, for the most part, exemplified the planning approach to inner city revitalization in the 1950s and 1960s in North America. This discussion is then used to establish a historical context for discussion of neighbourhood planning, and subsequent discussion concerning potential threats to neighbourhoods in the context of urban economic development.

The second area of literature research is concerned with urban economic development. With notable exceptions, it is widely accepted in the literature that urban economic development is a relatively recent issue, having emerged within the last 15 to 20 years as an increasingly significant component of urban administration. Broadly speaking, this study focuses on three facets of local economic development in the urban context,

namely: 1) the impact on the built form of cities in general, and on inner city redevelopment in particular; 2) the impact on social and socioeconomic systems in cities (that is, on neighbourhoods); and 3) the impact on municipal government decision-making and, specifically, city planning.

For the past 15 years or so the literature on inner city revitalization has increasingly been concerned with the economic restructuring of cities and urban economic development. Consequently, there now exists linkages in the literature between urban economic development and the built form of cities. The form and magnitude of inner city and CBD development and redevelopment over the last 15 years or so is linked by such writers as Barnekov et al. (1989), and Fainstein (1991), to the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial, and increasingly global-scale, society.

With some oversimplification, issues in the literature about the impact of economic development on social structures can be divided into three closely interrelated areas of discussion: work force and job-related issues; social welfare issues; and, most importantly here, neighbourhood issues. All of these categories stem, to various degrees, from the question of how the benefits (and costs) of local economic development are *distributed* within urban society.

The relationship between economic restructuring, urban economic development, and the local decision-making processes—of which planning is viewed as a significant component here—is the third facet of urban economic development literature research. Debate in this area often centres on the changing role of planning and planners brought about by attempts to diversify and bolster local economies in the face of macro-level economic restructuring.

The contents of the literature review are intended to form an analytical framework for explaining two aspects of the case study which form the areas of analysis: firstly, the

shift in planning approach taken towards the East Victoria Park neighbourhood in 1991 and, secondly, the dynamics of the conflict between urban economic development objectives and neighbourhood conservation and revitalization objectives, to which planning policy has historically responded in this case.

In creating the analytical framework, the literature review attempts to synthesize aspects of the literature concerning inner city redevelopment, neighbourhood planning, and urban economic development. In doing so, an attempt is being made to compare two distinct eras in the evolution of municipal government intervention in urban development. The first of these eras is that of urban renewal, which is seen as having flourished in the 1950s and 1960s; the second era entails the 'contemporary' phenomenon of urban economic development which has emerged since the early 1980s, and its manifestation in inner urban revitalization. Comparing these apparently disparate eras in urban development history is viewed as necessary, in that the threat posed to the East Victoria Park neighbourhood and the decisions to be made at Calgary City Hall are reminiscent of the threats to inner city neighbourhoods posed by large scale urban renewal in the former era, while the contemporary decision-making process concerning the issue has clearly been infused with the language of contemporary urban economic development.

Secondly, planning thought and practice in the 1970s was influenced in part by the experience of urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s. In simplified terms, neighbourhood-level planning which emerged in the early 1970s is now seen as a reaction to the anti-neighbourhood characteristics of urban renewal. However, there is a concern in the literature that neighbourhood-level planning and, indeed, sensitivity to the neighbourhood and social contexts in general, is on the decline. Gerecke and Reid (1991a), for example, argue that "Canadian city planning has regressed over the past 15 years...we are not handling the challenges of the city very well" (p.59). Furthermore, this decline is viewed by some authors

as a result of the widespread preoccupation with economic issues, specifically, with urban economic development (for example, Gerecke and Reid, 1991; Fainstein, 1991). Therefore, comparing urban renewal and urban economic development as sources of neighbourhood-related issues is also necessary for a discussion of the forces which inform, and exert pressure on, planning thought and practice.

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

A case study approach is employed in this research to determine the extent to which a social entity (the neighbourhood) and a functional component of social intervention (city planning) are impacted by broader policy imperatives in place at the local government level. In broad terms, these objectives place this study within the interrelated methodological domains of social research and public policy analysis.

Babbie (1992) forwards three purposes of social research, namely: to explore a topic; to describe situations and events; and to explain things, noting that any given research will typically entail more than one, if not all, of these purposes (p. 91-92). In addition to these three purposes, Babbie defines a fourth purpose of social research, namely that of research for evaluation. Evaluation research is appropriate:

> "...whenever some social intervention occurs or is planned. A social intervention is an action taken within a social context for the purpose of producing some intended result." (p. 347)

Insofar as this research traces the decision-making processes of local government and its administration concerning a significant urban issue, one of the purposes of this research is to be descriptive. Providing interpretations as to *why* certain decisions were made implies that the research is also explanatory in nature. To the extent that the research addresses issues of social intervention and the impact of policy on social structures and decision-

making processes, particularly at the administrative level, a third purpose of the research is to evaluate the impact of government intervention. However, evaluation research as described within the realm of social research is intended primarily "to determine how well the program goals [of the given intervention] have been achieved." (Chadwick et al. 1984, 296). In other words, evaluation is largely limited to the intended or unintended impacts of a given program of intervention on the target at which the intervention was aimed (ibid.; Babbie 1992). In order to place this research within a broader evaluative framework it is necessary to turn to the practice and theory of public policy analysis.

Public policy is defined by Pal (1992) as, "a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems." (p. 2). Public policy analysis is seen as existing within the field of social research, and encompasses three primary areas of analysis: the determinants (causes) of policy, the actual content of policy, and the impact of policy (Pal 1992, 20-21). Pal indicates that in the analysis of public policy there are four possible types of policy impacts that can be examined: direct impacts; impacts on the political system; economic impacts; and social impacts. Evaluating *direct* policy impact is seen as "the most natural way" to analyze policy (Pal 1992, 183), and refers to the analysis of the impact of a policy on its intended target. This aspect of policy analysis is essentially that which forms the evaluation research approach as defined in the 'pure' social sciences. However, Pal's evaluative typology extends beyond direct impacts to include the evaluation of *indirect* impacts, which are political, economic, or social. These are impacts on groups, systems and processes which lie *outside* the intended policy target.

Evaluation research in the context of social research is not a methodology, but a goal of research. The distinction between purpose and methodology is made by Chadwick (1984): "Evaluation research is not *a* method. Rather, it applies a *variety* of techniques and methods to answer questions such as 'Does a program work in the manner in which it was

designed to work?'" (p. 283).

Field research and unobtrusive research techniques (as defined by Babbie 1992) are utilized in this study. The field research techniques employed consist of interviews, observation of meetings and public proceedings, and limited participant observation in work groups and closed meetings which formed part of the case study.

The unobtrusive research technique employed in the study is content analysis. Babbie (1992) states that "content analysis methods may be applied to virtually any form of communication." (p. 313). Sources of public information utilized consist of minutes of meetings of Calgary City Council and its various committees (including correspondence submitted to meetings and hearings), minutes of local approving authority decisions, administrative reports concerning specific issues, consultant reports, and publicly available memoranda. In addition to the above public information, analysis of pertinent policy documents, strategies, and resolutions was performed, including those from other Canadian municipalities. A fourth source of public information utilized is newspaper clippings, primarily from the *Calgary Herald* daily newspaper, and popular (as distinguished from academic) periodical articles. The researcher was also able to access a limited amount of private communication material consisting primarily of correspondence and memoranda originating from within the City of Calgary and from 'outside' organizations. Statistical data collected by Statistics Canada and various City of Calgary departments are also employed in the research.

This research has several methodological and practical, self-imposed limitations. Firstly, the Stampede Park expansion issue is highly controversial. This raises the possibility that information obtained through interviews and some sources of content analysis—particularly the media—may be influenced by this controversiality. Interview subjects were sometimes evasive and/or defensive concerning certain topics, or may have

attempted to embellish certain aspects of a situation or issue. It is also recognized here that newspaper articles, by their very nature, are rarely completely objective in their presentation of events.

Interviews and content analysis—even the analysis of private documents and draft reports not available to the public—cannot, in most cases, reveal the hidden agendas of politicians, community leaders, and other individuals involved in the debate surrounding Stampede Park expansion. It is the researcher's opinion that an such an important event involving so many actors and a complex weave of issues and sub-issues is a suitable vehicle upon which the goals and aspirations of individuals and groups could potentially be forwarded. An attempt has been made to recognize this possibility in the research, and to be wary of the potential for hidden agendas to influence the decision-making and negotiating processes that may appear only on one level in records, reports and other information accessible by the general public.

This research focuses on the relationship between the neighbourhood and outside forces with which it has interacted in the case study. It is recognized here that a neighbourhood is an entity with its own unique dynamics resulting from a mixture of residents and their various interests and goals, the nature of which can lead to the formation of internal alliances and groups. The 'official position' of East Victoria Park as a community on development issues related to Stampede Park expansion has, since the early 1960s, been subject to radical shifts that have sometimes reflected the dominance of one such group over another for a certain period of time. Thus a conscious effort has been made to recognize the possibility of hidden and/or overt agendas originating from within the community itself, and to ensure that the research does not probe into the internal dynamics of East Victoria Park beyond the extent that is necessary. Doing so would likely constitute an entirely different topic of research with sufficient material for a second case study.

Statistical information concerning East Victoria Park was obtained from reports produced by the City of Calgary Planning and Building, and Social Services departments. These reports in turn employed data extracted from the Statistics Canada 1986 census, more recent City of Calgary Civic censuses, and City of Calgary Social Services research data. Due to the small geographic area occupied by the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, and its characteristic uncertainty in terms of redevelopment, coupled with ongoing fluctuations in population, East Victoria Park is a difficult area to quantify statistically. Therefore, some caution should be applied when reading the statistics compiled by the City of Calgary, as they have been manipulated to fit enumeration area (EA) and sub-EA levels, and may therefore be subject to minor errors. In other cases, the sub-EA Census data which was available to the City of Calgary was approximately five years old by 1991 (i.e. 1986 Canada Census data), which makes it potentially susceptible to errors of relevancy as a result of the rapid changes that have been experienced by the neighbourhood due to the factors cited above. Despite these cautions, however, the author has received assurance from a City of Calgary Social Services Department statistician that the City of Calgary data is representative, and it is deemed suitable for the purposes here. Some data describing East Victoria Park collected by agencies other than the City of Calgary or Statistics Canada—including the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede organization and local newspapers—is also cited in the study for information purposes only. Again, such data should be regarded with some caution for the reasons cited above, but also due to the possibility of bias on the part of the agency responsible for the collection and compilation of the data.

1.5 ORGANIZATION

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature used to form a theoretical framework

for the case study. First, redevelopment as a threat to inner city neighbourhoods is discussed, followed by a discussion of the neighbourhood-level planning which emerged following the near cessation of urban redevelopment practices in the 1970s. Urban economic development is discussed as a context for the case study research, and as a context for issues concerning inner city revitalization and neighbourhood threat. The final section of Chapter Two attempts to synthesize relevant aspects of the literature concerning economic development, inner city redevelopment, and city planning. The influence of urban economic development on city planning is then discussed with respect to the specific context of neighbourhood-level planning.

Chapter Three describes the study area contained in the case study, namely Stampede Park and the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. Chapter Three also summarizes the Stampede Park expansion proposal, which was submitted to the City of Calgary in early 1991. In order to place the contemporary decision-making process concerning the expansion issue in a meaningful context, a brief history of municipal intervention in the development of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood is provided in Chapter Four. The historical perspective of planning policy is discussed in the context of the dynamics of a historical conflict between the neighbourhood and Stampede Park, which has in turn stemmed from an ongoing threat of Stampede Park expansion into the East Victoria Park neighbourhood since 1968.

Chapter Five is the focus of the case study, and relates the contemporary planning process concerning the 1991 proposal to expand Stampede Park into the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. This planning process lasted approximately four years, from 1990 to 1994. The role of the Calgary Planning and Building Department within this process is defined, with a focus on the initial decision-making stages—between 1990 and mid-1991—during which period critical decisions were made by both the Planning and Building

Department, by the Civic Administration as a whole, and by Calgary City Council. A second phase of decision-making—essentially the fall-out from the initial decision-making process—is then discussed. This second phase entailed the 'sorting out' of land uses and other issues prior to the preparation of a new plan for the Stampede Park expansion/ East Victoria Park neighbourhood area.

Chapter Six revisits the four research questions posed in section 1.2 (above). The concluding chapter evaluates the contemporary planning process within three primary frameworks, namely: the evolution and establishment of economic development strategies in Calgary (with a focus on tourism); the historical context of planning policy concerning the East Victoria Park / Stampede Park expansion issue; and the literature framework established in Chapter Two. An overview of the development and significance of urban economic development and tourism as a context for the case study is developed, with a view to defining the dynamics of the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization objectives and economic development objectives. The historical linkages between municipal planning policy and the Stampede Park expansion - East Victoria Park conflict are then explored in this context. The contemporary shift in planning approach is subsequently evaluated within both the historical and theoretical frameworks. Lastly, directions for further research and new questions raised by the case research are considered.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This research attempts to explain a major policy shift in the approach of a Canadian city planning department concerning the revitalization of a small inner city neighbourhood. The explanatory framework for the case study draws on the emergence of urban economic development as an increasingly significant topic in the academic literature concerning both planning and broader municipal administration and urban development issues.

Three concepts are central to the case study research: first, city planning and, within this, neighbourhood planning; second, urban economic development; and, third, threats to neighbourhood integrity. The purpose of the literature research is to link these concepts in order to create a framework within which the shift in planning concerning the East Victoria Park neighbourhood can be evaluated. In pursuing these linkages, the research is attempting to establish urban economic development as a relatively new context within which to understand aspects of the more 'established' research areas, namely neighbourhood-level issues and city planning. In this vein, it is tentatively suggested here that the nature, and perhaps even the purpose, of inner city revitalization has been altered as urban economic development has increasingly moved to the fore as a feature of urban administration. In turn, it is felt that inner city neighbourhoods and official city planning[1] are having to contend with this change in the broader context of urban development.

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[1]This research is concerned with 'official planning'. Official planning refers to the theory and practice of statutory land use planning. Official planning is distinguished from 'unofficial' planning theory and practice. Unofficial planning is critical of and, often, in opposition to official planning. This critical approach traditionally stems from the view that official planning is a "front" for the articulation and perpetuation of the interests of the powerful (Benveniste, 1989). As a reaction, unofficial, or critical, planning engages in politics, acknowledging and promoting socio-political aspects of planning. In this framework, an end goal of unofficial planning is forwarding the interests of the disenfranchised (Benveniste, 1989). See also Friedmann, 1987.

2.2 INNER CITY REVITALIZATION, NEIGHBOURHOOD THREAT AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING

2.2.1 Explanations of Neighbourhood Threat

A prominent theme in the academic discussion of the dynamics of the inner city[2] is that of threats posed to the neighbourhood as a geographic, social, political, and economic entity. The causes and effects of changes imposed on poor or working class, and sometimes decaying, inner urban neighbourhoods are frequently the topic of discussion. The expression and use of power, the operation of politics, workings of government, community leadership, race and ethnicity, and—in the political economy vein—the routine functioning of capitalism, are several societal themes played out and addressed in the context of the inner city neighbourhood. Neighbourhood threat is introduced when the action of outside agents in the context of these broader themes causes potential or real disruption—ranging from inconvenience to mass displacement—to the personal lives, economies, and communities of people living within a defined geographic subset of the city.

There are several theoretical explanations for neighbourhood threats. In the neo-Marxian intellectual vein, Logan and Molotch frame urban development within a conception

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[2]A note on defining the inner city is required. Bourne (1982) states that "There is no single definition of the inner city, nor should there be. The term is strictly relative. That is, the inner city has to be defined from a specific point of reference and set within a particular social and political context" (p. 224). Bearing this in mind, the inner city is conceptualized here primarily, as Bourne describes, as "the older portion of an urban area immediately surrounding the central business district (CBD)" (p. 225). This description applies to the case study presented in the following chapters, and also to the writer's conception of the inner city. However, the writer is aware that discussions about the inner city or 'centre city' in the context of extremely large urban agglomerations—particularly those of the US—may also refer to whole municipal jurisdictions within these larger urban areas, as opposed to subsets of one municipality.

of the urban economy as a system of "use values" and "exchange values", in which "any given piece of real estate has both a use value and an exchange value" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:1). A use value is non-economic, that is, it derives from the function of a place as "the basis for carrying out a life", whereas exchange value represents the monetary value of a place, as a generator of 'rent'. The pursuit of these values, argue Logan and Molotch, is "inherently contradictory and a continuing source of tension, conflict, and irrational settlements." (Logan and Molotch, 1987:1, 2).

Logan and Molotch view neighbourhood threats as a natural consequence of the operation of exchange values in cities: "For us", they state, "the major challenge to neighbourhood, as a demographic-physical construct as well as a viable social network, comes from organizations and institutions (firms and bureaucracies) whose routine functioning reorganizes urban space. ...The commodity status of an area within the larger urban system, combined with its internal organization, will determine the fortune of a neighbourhood" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:111-112). In this context, threats stem from locational decisions about undesirable urban infrastructure, urban renewal, and private sector site assembly and development—and constitute unequal distribution of costs and benefits in that, "the life chances of the poor are sacrificed on behalf of profits and rents enjoyed by people living elsewhere" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:113).

Logan and Molotch's explanation of neighbourhood threat falls within what Bourne (1982:238) calls the "exploitation hypothesis" of inner city decline. Bourne implicitly places the concept of neighbourhood threat within a broader discussion of the decline of the inner city, possible explanations for which he has categorized under seven other hypotheses[3]. The

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[3]Namely, the "natural evolution hypothesis", the "'pull' hypothesis", the "obsolescence hypothesis", the "'unintended' policy hypothesis", the "structural change hypothesis", the "fiscal crisis and underclass hypothesis", and the "conflict hypothesis" (Bourne, 1982).

exploitation hypothesis of inner city decline is another term for the political economy perspective of urban analysis, in which "power relationships" and "systematic exploitation under a capitalist system" are seen as the central causes of inner city decline (Bourne, 1982:239)[4]. Inner city decline (which, presumably, entails a neighbourhood component) is linked directly to the issue of distributing costs and benefits in urban development, thus:

> "This approach explicitly raises the question of who benefits from and who pays for uncontrolled economic change and urban growth. The argument is that private landowners, businesses, and financial institutions are the major beneficiaries of inner-city decline, aided by governments, which are dominated by property and business interests. The costs are borne, in general, by society as a whole, through its tax base, and by individual members of the society who are trapped by such changes in declining regions or inner cities" (Bourne, 1982:239).

Yet, as Bourne demonstrates, other explanations of inner city decline do not explicitly contemplate the operation of capitalism as a source of inequality and conflicts in the inner city. For example, the "unintended policy hypothesis" cited by Bourne focuses on the role of the public sector as an agent of distribution and redistribution in cities. In this capacity government, through implementing two particular postwar policies—namely housing (suburbanization) and transportation (urban freeways)[5]—is seen as having caused a series of "hidden or unintended" impacts on inner city areas as a result of policies specifically directed *away* from the inner city (Bourne, 1982:237). Promoting the construction of suburban housing, for example, had the corollary effect of discriminating against the improvement of older housing stock and restricting financing for inner city housing construction and improvements. Widespread urban freeway construction produced a dual impact of assisting housing decentralization while directly destroying "vast areas of the inner

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[4]See also Guterbock, 1980.

[5]Discussed here in the US context.

city", thereby having the "side effect of creating or accelerating many traditional inner-city problems" (Bourne, 1982:237, 238).

Another explanation of neighbourhood threats is the distribution of costs and benefits in cities. Logan and Molotch (1987) have addressed the issue of cost-benefit distribution in the context of urban development: "human activities generate costs and benefits, some of which are borne by those who create them (they are "internalized") and some of which are not (they are "externalized")" (p. 34). Logan and Molotch place the discussion of costs and benefits in the context of Molotch's (1976) "growth machine", an "apparatus of interlocking progrowth associations and governmental units", which seeks to "create conditions that will intensify land use" for profit (Logan and Molotch, 1987:33). In this conceptual framework, the distribution of the costs of urban development is,

> "...regressive...Development projects that increase the scale of cities and alter their spatial relations inevitably affect the distribution of life chances. When capital moves from one place or economic sector to another, the "action" always has potential for redistributing wealth and changing the allocation of use and exchange values within as well as across places. ...People who share control of places try to trap growth. They join together in order to shift internal costs of activities to other areas or to others in their own area, and to capture the benefits of those activities, particularly rents, for themselves" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:35).

Hodge, takes a more pluralist approach in discussing costs and benefits. Hodge (1986) points to a "neighbourhood/ city" dichotomy characterized by situations in which "judgments arise regarding the status of the values of people in local areas [neighbourhoods] against those of the entire [city] community" (p.183). This dichotomy—which implies that the distribution of costs and benefits occurs as the natural result of normative judgments—creates an "inherent tension" in the city (Hodge, 1986:183): "If, for example", states Hodge, "a new expressway is deemed necessary to serve the entire community, its actual location will impinge on some neighbourhoods and some groups of people in the

community more than others" (Hodge, 1986:183).

Irrespective of the intellectual perspectives from which they operate, Hodge (1986) and Logan and Molotch (1987) illustrate that the development of cities—that is, decisions and actions concerning economic growth and the use of urban space to achieve growth—implies the generation of certain costs and benefits. Benefits—but more importantly here, costs—are then distributed across the city's society on the basis of various socio-economic and socio-spatial variables. One area of the discussion about urban development in which the concept of neighbourhood threat frequently occurs is inner city revitalization.

2.2.2 Inner City Revitalization and Neighbourhood Threat

Inner city revitalization—in which the use of previously developed land is altered in order to produce an improvement over the existing situation—implies making decisions about the arrangement and use of space in the city by a wide range of individuals and groups: financial institutions, developers, government agencies, homeowners, landlords, and so forth. Threats to neighbourhoods are most commonly associated with revitalization when individuals or groups outside a neighbourhood contemplate or initiate revitalization which will impact the neighbourhood directly or, in some cases, indirectly.

Redevelopment—in which large portions of inner city areas are demolished, cleared, and rebuilt—is generally seen as the form of revitalization most disruptive to neighbourhoods. In their typology of inner city neighbourhood types, McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer (1975:7) identify "threats of redevelopment" as one of four major causes of inner city decline. Returning to Logan and Molotch's (1987) analysis of urban development in the context of use and exchange values, redevelopment of the inner city is seen as a significant "exchange value threat" (p. 112) to the neighbourhood, whether it stems from private

activity, public programs, or a combination of both. "Poor people's neighbourhoods are the most vulnerable to social and physical transformation" argue Logan and Molotch (1987:112), "both by government bureaucrats and by property entrepreneurs".

Redevelopment does not imply replacing an existing land use with a use or uses which will prove desirable or beneficial for the groups of people who presently live there, in fact, the opposite is often the case. In this vein two components of redevelopment have historically posed serious threats to neighbourhoods, namely decisions made by municipal governments about the location of infrastructure, and the renewal of inner city areas under government programmes.

Regarding municipal infrastructure location in the inner city, Logan and Molotch state that, "as cities grow and government bureaucrats seek sites for devalued projects...they look first—if they have any occupational competence at all—to poor people's neighbourhoods" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:113). One example of urban infrastructure that has threatened neighbourhoods and proven extremely controversial is urban expressways. Debate about the insensitive intrusion of urban expressways into inner city neighbourhoods is most often framed in the US context, where "the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 funded nearly 5,000 miles of limited-access highways in urban areas, demolishing or dividing scores of neighbourhoods" (Gelfand, 1975:222-34 in Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:11). "Highway construction destroyed urban neighbourhoods by demolishing housing and placing physical barriers between residents of the same neighbourhood. To minimize project cost, highway planners searched for inexpensive land with the least costly buildings where little organized resistance could be expected. Lower and working-class neighbourhoods with marginal or dilapidated buildings met these criteria" (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:12).

However, urban expressway construction and its deleterious effects on inner city neighbourhoods were not exclusive to the US: "Since World War Two, and especially since

the 1950s" states Leo (1977:17), "Canadian cities have followed their neighbours to the south in planning major new urban transportation networks." As a result, Canadian jurisdictions have experienced controversial disputes surrounding the location of urban expressways through inner city areas to the extent that, according to Leo (1977), "the urban expressway battle has become a regular feature of Canadian political life" (p. 9). Major expressway battles between neighbourhoods and government occurred during the 1960s in Toronto and Vancouver, with other disputes occurring elsewhere.

In Toronto, citizen opposition against various components of the Metro Toronto transportation plan—most notably the Spadina expressway—lasted for more than 10 years beginning in 1961. Early citizen opposition to the Spadina expressway stemmed in part from the threat of residential and business displacement and the general disruption of inner area neighbourhoods through which the Spadina was to be built (Leo, 1977:33-34; see also Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970:3). In Vancouver, residents of that city's Chinatown were threatened in the latter half of the 1960s by plans to construct an elevated eight lane expressway through their community (Leo, 1977:45). The expressway was to require a 120 foot wide right-of-way, necessitating the demolition of houses and businesses, "cutting through and destroying the social unity of this closely woven community" (Pendakur, 1975:60). When Vancouver City Council approved the expressway alignment through Chinatown in 1967, the community engaged in a "political attack" against the facility, culminating "in an acrimonious public meeting attended by five hundred citizens", following which the Chinatown freeway project was suspended in 1968 (Leo, 1977:45-46; see also Pendakur, 1972:59-73).

These urban expressway debates of the past have served to illustrate how neighbourhoods become seriously threatened by plans prepared by bureaucrats and the consultants they commission, and how this threat can manifest as a significant component

of local political discourse. Inner city dwellers—particularly the poor—became "double losers" in freeway construction in that, "they [had] the least to gain from the infrastructural development and much to lose by the choice of its location" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:114). Thus, infrastructure location can become a cost-benefit distribution issue. In the case of the Chinatown expressway issue in Vancouver, Tennant (1981) suggests that the cost-benefit distribution was attributable to less innocent circumstances than general urban development patterns. He has noted that the 'Chinatown' expressway was a "major public service to be provided by the civic government" to service several large-scale office/ commercial complexes in the CBD constructed by private companies, "without which the downtown complexes could not function properly" (Tennant, 1981:132).

Another form of redevelopment that has been discussed as a source of neighbourhood threat is the approach to inner city rebuilding employed during the 1950s and 1960s under urban renewal programmes in North America and elsewhere.[6] As is the case with urban expressway issues, urban renewal has received a great deal of attention in the US context, likely due to its long time frame, significant impact on inner cities, and significant racial implications. Postwar urban renewal in the US represented a significant neighbourhood threat issue. Anderson (1964:52) has commented that the "consequences of a typical [US] federal urban renewal project are often harsh. People are forcibly evicted from their homes, businessmen are forced to close their doors, buildings, good and bad, are destroyed". From its inception in 1949, until 1963 the US Urban Renewal program had reportedly resulted in the displacement of 152,803 families and 51,434 individuals from their homes and neighbourhoods (Urban Renewal Administration cited in Anderson, 1964:54). This direct

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[6]See for example Gibson and Langstaff (1982) on the history of urban renewal in the UK.

consequence of renewal was compounded, Anderson has argued, by the length of time it took for a project to be implemented from the planning stages to actual construction—an average of slightly less than 12 years (Anderson, 1964:73-88).

Urban Renewal represented a significant cost distribution issue, stemming largely from the fact that the central aim of the programme was, according to Anderson (1964:91), "an attempt to change existing land use patterns within cities into new, different land-use patterns that some persons feel are more desirable from their viewpoint of the public good." Cost (and benefit) distribution issues lay in a central implementing mechanism of the programme, namely the emphasis on private investment, wherein government was "purchasing real estate, destroying it, and then selling the land to a private developer who erects buildings that meet the approval of the officials of the local renewal agency" (Anderson, 1964:91). In theory the economic benefits were to go to private investors or, as Logan and Molotch have put it, "urban renewal used government authority and subsidy to make large-scale private investment attractive in areas where the potential payoff was too low to attract investors" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:114).

The goal of changing land use patterns and the mechanism of private sector investment are seen as having combined in the US urban renewal programme such that "the results were overwhelming in their costs to poor neighbourhoods" (Logan and Molotch, 1987:114). In order to make renewal more profitable for private investors, urban renewal progressively replaced cleared housing with non-residential uses and/ or housing which was not affordable for those it had displaced. "Civic centres, convention halls, sports arenas, office buildings, middle and upper income housing, restaurants, department stores and other facilities catering to the affluent became components of projects across the country. Slums and blighted areas adjoining existing central business districts were cleared and replaced with new land uses for a new class of people" (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:12; see also

Anderson, 1964). Logan and Molotch (1987) have called this aspect of US urban renewal a "massive rent redistribution" (p. 168) which "destroyed more housing (especially poor people's housing) than it created" (Fried, 1971 and Greer, 1965 cited in Logan and Molotch, 1987:168).

Of the Canadian context of urban renewal, Gerecke and Reid have argued that "the focus on urban renewal was primarily an American phenomenon. Urban renewal appeared rather belatedly in Canada and was soon abandoned without having much impact on the urban fabric of our cities" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991b:134). However, the literature indicates that Canadian inner city neighbourhoods were nonetheless impacted to varying degrees by the clear-and-rebuild practices implemented under the Urban Renewal programme between 1948 and 1968. Filhion (1988) notes that during this period, $125 million was spent by the CMHC on some 48 urban renewal projects in Canadian cities (cited in Carter, 1991b:10).

Carter (1991) has commented that Canadian urban renewal projects "primarily replaced the built environment with freeways, commercial buildings, and public institutional uses" and that some 13,000 inner city housing units were demolished and replaced with 18,000 new dwellings (p. 10). However, as Carter notes, "not all 13,000 units were beyond repair nor were all the displaced residents accommodated in the new buildings" (Carter, 1991:10). Wolfe (1994) has made similar observations to those of Carter, commenting that towards the end of the urban renewal programme in the late 1960s, "functioning neighbourhoods were threatened with massive demolition for transportation facilities or for new private-sector offices and apartments" (Wolfe, 1994:27). "Generally", Carter concludes, Canadian "urban renewal in this period was quite disruptive for the inhabitants of affected neighbourhoods" (Carter, 1991:11).

In its analysis of the Canadian Urban Renewal programme released in 1969, the Hellyer Task Force officially voiced doubt about "the present practices in [Urban Renewal]

and some of the principles which appeared to underlie them" (Canada, 1969:64). Although the Task Force did not question the need for a redevelopment policy, it was concerned about the disruption to the lives of those it affected, and about the issue of compensation in certain cases of home ownership under the techniques of implementation (Canada, 1969:65). The 'Chinatown' expressway issue in Vancouver mentioned above, as well as other cases of urban renewal practice "were instrumental in the creation of the Hellyer Task Force in 1968" (Carter, 1991:10). One such case was the Trefann Court urban renewal controversy which took place in Toronto from 1966 to 1972. The Trefann Court issue—in which a small neighbourhood of approximately 1,000 people was threatened with demolition under a 1966 Urban Renewal Scheme—is described by Fraser (1972) as an acrimonious struggle by threatened residents (and aspiring politicians) against the City of Toronto.

The theme of neighbourhood threat in the context of redevelopment has been articulated most clearly through critical appraisals of the earlier (1950s and 1960s) urban renewal programmes in Canada and the US. In fact, it appears that the controversy stemming from neighbourhood issues which arose during this period largely defined Canadian writing on urban issues and municipal politics during the 1970s (see for example Lorimer, 1970, 1972; Sewell, 1972; Caulfield, 1973). Furthermore, the nature of local politics and urban administration that emerged in several large Canadian centres in the early 1970s appears to have been shaped in part by the conflict stemming from these neighbourhood threats, or, in the very least, these threat issues were employed as vehicles for local political movements, such as community participation (see Fish, 1981; Tennant, 1981; Caulfield, 1973).

2.2.3 Neighbourhood Planning

Not only did the experience of neighbourhoods threatened by large redevelopment projects define Canadian writing on urban issues and politics, these experiences, to some degree, contributed to city planning thought, policies and practice which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The substance of planning theory and practice which emerged after the 1960s is often referred to as neighbourhood planning. There does not appear to be a singular definition of neighbourhood planning, rather, it describes a theoretical and pragmatic approach to city planning which embodies certain concepts. Neighbourhood planning is best defined by referring to the central concepts which it is seen to embody in the literature. Four such concepts can be identified, namely: sensitivity to the local and unique makeup of neighbourhoods; the recognition of neighbourhoods as more than pieces of land, that is, of a social-political component in planning; and resident involvement in planning which affects them, that is, citizen participation. The fourth concept related to neighbourhood planning of importance here is its utilization not only as a means for citizens to achieve some measure of control over their neighbourhood's future development, but also as a mechanism for protecting their neighbourhood from external pressures and threats. Thus, neighbourhood planning entails a territorial defense function in addition to the aforementioned concepts.

Perhaps the concept that is most central to neighbourhood planning is citizen participation (Jones, 1990). "Motivations for citizen participation", states Smith, "are a combination of immediate concerns, such as protection of property values, with broader concerns such as increasing alienation of citizens from governments that are perceived to have been slow, inefficient and reluctant to address urban problems and to involve citizens in decision-making" (Smith, 1991:20). The movement advocating citizen participation in the planning process is seen to have emerged from conflicts that arose out of redevelopment

planning during the 1950s and 1960s. Smith states that "Neighbourhood revitalization processes at work in 1960s were the main stimulus behind the growing importance of citizen participation in planning in the 1970s and 1980s" (Smith, 1991:13).

Reaction to redevelopment, argues Smith (1991), was prompted by three facets of redevelopment in both Canada and the United States, namely large-scale land clearance and assembly, urban expressway development through inner city areas, and the private development of high rise apartments and offices, sometimes on publicly cleared land (Smith, 1991:28). In the Canadian context, the original utilization of redevelopment as a means of replacing dilapidated housing stock was departed from during the late 1950s. In the departure from urban renewal "as a means of improving living conditions" (Smith, 1990:200), the concept of the highest and best use of land is seen to have dominated policy, such that neighbourhoods—or, more accurately, the land they occupied—were essentially viewed as economic entities.

Decisions about the future of urban places were therefore based on the relative economic usefulness of neighbourhood areas. This allowed planners to categorize neighbourhood areas according to their physical condition, with a view to attaining the most cost-effective (the highest and best) use of the land. This basis for decision-making about the future of areas was predicated on a theory of "social neutrality" (Smith, 1990:195), that is, the human/social dimension was suppressed. However, removal of the social dimension from planning (or, using Logan and Molotch's terminology, the use value of a place), left the rights of property ownership (or exchange value) which, according to Smith (1990), could not be avoided as easily. To get around this, policies espoused the notion of the "good of the greater community" to justify interfering with private property rights: returning to highest and best use of land, then, the greater public interest implied making the most cost-effective use of land (Smith, 1990:195). In conjunction with the theory of social neutrality, notions

of the greater public interest were employed to justify clear-and-rebuild policies.

In this context, citizen participation is seen to have emerged out of a general dissatisfaction with clearance and redevelopment policies and action (Smith, 1991). Policies were criticized for their insensitivity to the social aspects of planning and, more specifically, with the failure of policies to allow affected citizens to participate in fundamental decisions about their own living environments. Davidoff's (1965) paper, in which he outlined his suggestion for advocacy in planning, is often viewed as both a representative expression of disaffection stemming from the urban redevelopment period, and a prime example of the emergence of alternative approaches to planning (Smith, 1991).

Davidoff called for stripping away the technical, socially-neutral guises of planning (Davidoff, 1965). He charged that professional planners and governments should not be the sole plan-makers: planning, Davidoff argued, should be pluralistic (ibid.:332). In addition to the demystification of planning, Davidoff contended that planning should cease pretending to be socially-neutral. Decisions about land, he argued, could not be made in the absence of some kind of value-laden analysis: planning inherently went beyond the land question to include social issues because decisions were being made about the *use* of land. The use of land, in turn, implied distribution of costs and benefits among individuals and groups of people, thus, Davidoff argued, "Who gets what, when, where, why and how" should be asked about the allocation of public resources in decisions about land. A central flaw of urban renewal in this regard was its "ignorance of social and economic methods of analysis", which "caused planners to prepare solutions in the absence of sufficient knowledge of the costs and benefits of proposals upon different sections of the population" (Davidoff, 1965:336).

The fall-out from Davidoff's concern for plurality and a social agenda was the central concept of advocacy planning. In promoting advocacy planning, Davidoff saw the planner "as an advocate for what [he/she] deems proper", "able to engage in the political process as

advocates of the interests both of government and of such other groups, organizations, or individuals who are concerned with proposing policies for the future development of the community" (Davidoff, 1965:331-332). Advocacy, however, also implied protectionism and territoriality. Translated into the neighbourhood setting, protection of both territory and socio-economic space has emerged as a central objective of neighbourhood planning. In his study of neighbourhood planning in Edmonton, Smith, has focussed on plans which were drafted specifically "to prevent the wholesale redevelopment of...neighbourhoods, and to promote an alternative form of revitalization, based on preservation and renovation of the existing housing stock" (Smith, 1991:1).

In terms of planning theory, neighbourhood planning was not only a reaction to the implementation of redevelopment policies, but also to the theory which informed them. Urban renewal was informed by rational-comprehensive theory (Smith, 1990; Davidoff, 1965). In its translation into policy within the Canadian context, rational-comprehensive theory manifested in three approaches to urban renewal, namely redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation (Smith, 1990). Social neutrality and the concept of the highest and best use of land were inherent in rational-comprehensive planning theory, and allowed planners to systematically categorize neighbourhoods to determine which urban renewal approach would be appropriate for a given area (Smith, 1990; Gerecke and Reid, 1991a). Within this theoretical framework, redevelopment clearly emerged as the dominant form of renewal until the late 1960s (Smith, 1990; Carter, 1991).

For planning, the theoretical shift away from redevelopment started prior to the mid-1960s (Smith, 1990). Redevelopment, although increasingly viewed "as a political liability" (Smith, 1990) after 1965, was not curtailed until 1968, with the commissioning of the Hellyer Task Force process, and the suspension of urban renewal studies pending the outcome of the Task Force in 1969 (Smith, 1990; Carter, 1991). By 1968, argues Smith, the

view that "area rehabilitation...was the most appropriate renewal strategy for the 1960s and beyond" had become well-accepted by planning theorists and professional planners (Smith, 1990). Thus, planning theory and the perspectives of planners played a leading role in seeking an alternative approach to renewal: "planners", argues Smith, " had been leading politicians at all levels to recognize the importance of area rehabilitation in the Canadian context...it was left to planners in the field to try to persuade their elected officials to shift focus" (Smith, 1990:202-203). Ultimately, the shift in approach which did occur manifested in the Canadian national urban policy context as the Neighbourhood Improvement and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programmes. (Carter, 1991; Smith, 1990, 1991).

In summary, neighbourhood planning appears to have emerged in the 1970s as a reaction to the problems associated with clear-and-rebuild policies and practices which characterized urban revitalization in the 1950s and 1960s. Kiernan calls neighbourhood planning a "virtual revolution in both the substance and the procedures of planning" in this regard (Kiernan, 1990:18). Informed by this historical context, neighbourhood planning embodies certain principles, namely: citizen participation (Smith, 1990, 1991); sensitivity to the smaller scale of neighburhoods and to social issues (Smith, 1991; Kiernan, 1990; Jones, 1990); and a means of defending the neighbourhood against threats (Smith, 1991; Kiernan, 1990).

2.3 URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.3.1 Definition and Significance of Urban Economic Development

Despite extensive practice, and the volume of literature concerned with urban economic development (UED)[7], there appears to be a definitional problem concerning the phenomenon. Seasons (1994) best summarizes this problem: "Economic development is a widely used, yet often misunderstood, phrase...there is no universally accepted definition, [but] there are links to related concepts" (p. 10).

Seasons forwards a definition of economic development composed of three concepts: development; community development; and a concern for "traditional" economic issues, namely jobs and payrolls. Development is defined as, "the upward movement of an entire social system, which includes both economic and non-economic elements, ...[or] as a long-run, sustained process involving improvement or process" (ibid.). Community development—itself a nebulous concept—encompasses the principles of human development, quality of life, and well-being as justifications for economic development (ibid.)[8]. The third concept in Seasons' definition is the stimulation of traditional economic concerns, such as job creation, per capita economic production, and the overall objective of, "building community capacity" (Seasons ,1994: 10). Thus, economic development is defined as:

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[7]UED is seen as a component of the broader definitional category of local economic development (LED), and focuses on larger, metropolitan areas, as distinct from LED, which can also describe economic development in smaller municipalities, rural municipal districts, and so forth.

[8]The community aspect of economic development is explored more fully by Boothroyd and Davis (1993) in their overview of the community economic development (CED) movement.

> "a sustained process of improvement in material status, leading to individual well-being and community vitality. Local economic development is the long-term process of change with the goal of stimulating local economic activity" (ibid.: 10).

Two tenets are central to Seasons' definition of local economic development: change and community well-being. Regarding the former, Seasons states that,

> "Economic development must not be confused with economic growth, however. It includes the notion of *structural change* on the economic or social level, or both; economic growth applies to increases in productivity or incomes within the *existing* social and economic framework" (Ibid. Italics added).

Other definitions of local economic development are broader, and do not necessarily encompass the community or grass-roots principles. Grant (1990) for example, briefly defines economic development as a process, "through which government acts to encourage private sector investment in maintaining or creating new employment and related economic benefits" (148). Filion (1991) states that, "local economic development consists of efforts by municipal governments or other community-based organizations to stimulate economic activity at the local level" (348). Grant's definition emphasizes private investment and its relationship to job creation, with little emphasis on community-based objectives, while Filion is referring generally to economic activity while acknowledging the potential role of community-based organizations.

In general, it appears economic development definitions run the gamut from sole emphasis on the promotion of economic growth within existing economic sectors to the creation of entirely new ones, and from the traditional means of 'smokestack chasing' (and its contemporary counterpart, 'chip chasing') to more grass-roots, human development approaches. The working definition of local economic development to be employed in this study attempts to combine various elements from the two spectrums. Thus, local economic development is defined as the stimulation of local economic activity through means of both diversification and growth within *existing* and *emerging* economic sectors as well as through

attempts to create *new* economic sectors. Economic stimulation is generally viewed as the primary goal of local economic development, in which human (social) development is relegated to a secondary status, largely dependent on trickle-down effects.

Two aspects of urban economic development are central to this research. The first aspect is the significance of UED as a component of municipal government administration, and as a significant variable in broader urban development processes. Robinson (1989) comments that, "interest in local economic development planning and policy has increased markedly over the last 20 years" (p. 283). A number of other authors have made reference to the ubiquity and importance of UED for cities. For example, Shachar and Felsenstein (1993) state that, "over the last decade, the economic development of urban areas has emerged as an important policy area for municipal governments. It now ranks alongside infrastructure provision, housing, social services and other traditional areas of urban development" (p. 839). Barnekov and Rich (1989), focusing on the US, state that, "since the mid-1970s, local economic development has emerged as the focus of urban regeneration policies...the promotion of local economic development has become a principal function of municipal government across the United States" (p. 212). And in the Canadian context, Reese (1993b), notes that "a growing body of urban research is focusing on the problems of cities in post-industrial societies. Much of this literature is specifically directed at what cities are and can be doing to foster economic redevelopment and vitality" (p. 237).

The second aspect of UED is its newness. Various authors describe UED as a relatively recent phenomenon, that is, that it has emerged only within the last 20 years or so (Robinson, 1989; Shachar and Felsenstein, 1993; Barnekov and Rich, 1989). However, this observation about UED requires elaboration in light of researchers such as Eisinger (1988 cited in Grant, 1990), who has traced the emergence of economic development policies to the Great Depression in the US context (Grant 1990, 148), and Kirby (1986), who notes that

forms of local economic development (expressed as boosterism) existed at least 100 years ago in the US. Benjamin (1984) has traced economic development, defined as "physical investments that enhanced property values and created jobs" to earlier periods in the US context, beginning with canal and railway expansion around 1815. If economic development has been a central component of urbanization processes for at least 100 years, as some authors suggest, how can UED be considered a 'new' phenomenon of urban administration? The answer to this question lies in an understanding of economic development as a process of nurturing *new* economic sectors as a response to the perceived requirement that cities of all sizes be able to adapt to national and, more significantly, *global* economic restructuring.

2.3.2 Urban Economic Development and Economic Restructuring

There is a strong linkage in the literature concerning UED between economic development at the local level and what is referred to as economic restructuring. The aspect of economic restructuring most frequently discussed in the literature is *global* economic restructuring, again a relatively recent phenomenon which is seen as having fundamentally altered the context in which cities have come to exist both economically and socially. This shift in context is viewed as having manifested in structural changes to virtually all interrelated aspects of the city as a social community, as an economic and political entity, and as a physical-spatial construct. Within this broader contextual shift, UED is seen as a reaction to the local effects of macro-level economic restructuring.

Feagin and Smith (1987) have pointed out that, "noting the global context of urban economies is becoming commonplace in the social literature, but clarity about what this global context means is much less common" (p. 6). Feagin and Smith provide an overview of the global economic restructuring phenomenon and its impact on cities and city systems, in which global restructuring refers to the emergence of a *new capitalist economic system*

that operates through a complex set of linkages at the international (or 'global') level. This new capitalist system is seen as comprising two central components which are important for cities and their study: first, an international web of transnational corporations; and, second, an international web of cities. Cities and corporations are linked conceptually as, "an integrated world wide network of production, exchange, finance and corporate services arranged in a complex hierarchical system of cities." (Feagin and Smith 1987, 6). The position of a given city within this hierarchy is determined by the significance of the city as a headquarter location for the world's largest transnational corporations (ie. those corporations that largely define the global capitalist system). Cities at the top of the hierarchy, that is, those which house the most of these company headquarters and their myriad support services and subsidiaries, are considered "world command" or "first-tier" cities (ibid., 3; also Friedmann and Wolff 1982).

This top level accounts for less than a handful of cities around the world (ie. New York City, London, and Tokyo)[9], while a much larger number of cities (Feagin and Smith identify 51 such places, ranging in population from 100,000 to 9,000,000)[10] occupy various positions within lower echelons of the hierarchy. Regardless of their classification and size, however, all of these cities share the common bond of being linked—and defined—by a global network of transnational corporations and their support services and subsidiaries. Thus, it is the capitalist *function* of a city (not necessarily its size) within this global network

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[9]Fainstein and Fainstein 1987 and Beauregard 1991 add Los Angeles to the list of US global command cities.

[10]1984 statistics are employed by Feagin and Smith, who note the data has since changed. However, in 1984, Toronto was listed as 15/ 51 on the list of importance as transnational corporation headquarter locations, while Montreal was listed as 26/ 51 (Feagin and Smith, 1987:pp.6-7).

which determines its role and importance within the larger economic system (ibid.).

The manifestation of global economic restructuring most commonly cited in the literature is the 'deindustrialization' of former heavy industrial producer nations (and of particular regions within them), such as Great Britain and the United States, and a concurrent shift of traditional industrial activity off-shore, primarily to Asia and the developing countries (Feagin and Smith, 1987; Beauregard, 1989; Weaver, 1987). Deindustrialiation, in turn, is coupled with a second phenomenon, that of the rise of a services-sector, or an advanced industrial economic base. Knight and Gappert (1984) identify the emergence of the advanced industrial nations:

> "older industrial nations [such as the US and UK] are being transformed; they are becoming advanced industrial nations. In advanced industrial nations, the transformation involves expanding and upgrading the more advanced or "knowledge-intensive" activities, while spinning off [ie. discarding] more traditional manufacturing activities" (p. 66).

In 1987, Clyde Weaver commented with respect to employment that, "the United States [had] already become a service society" (p. 432). Deindustrialization and the rise of the services sector economy has not only impacted the US, however. Britain, and specifically, British cities, have experienced the effects of deindustrialization since the mid-1970s (Lawless, 1989; Goldsmith, 1989; Rees and Lambert, 1985), while Canada has experienced similar economic transformations (Filion, 1991).

Feagin and Smith argue that at the local level this, "fundamental economic restructuring at the global level means restructuring in those other critical contexts within which the world's households live, including the city and the community" (Feagin and Smith 1987, 13). In the North American and British urban contexts, this restructuring is seen as having translated into various kinds of structural changes. Economically, the impact has been characterized by absolute loss and/or decentralization of traditional manufacturing

bases coupled with sometimes dramatic increases in service-sector activity and stimulation of the 'information economy' (Feagin and Smith, 1987; Weaver, 1987; Boddy, 1989).

It appears from a review of the literature that references to contemporary UED commonly incorporate some aspect of this broader operational context, wherein the economic activities of local places are linked to the existence of a restructuring global economy and related shifts in the economic role of central governments. In large part this context, which is viewed as having emerged around the mid-1970s, is seen to *define* contemporary urban economic development, and to distinguish it from the historical development of local economies. If this is the case, how does urban economic development strategy-making and implementation relate to this context; that is, what are the *goals* of UED in light of such macroeconomic shifts?

A critical division between economic development activity which took place prior the mid-1970s, and that which has emerged since is seen to exist. The imperatives of UED since this division are seen to define the goals of UED. Benjamin (1984) provides an overview of this division in the US context. He argues that there was a sharp contrast in the, "urban economic practice" of 1975-1980 with that from earlier periods, stemming from, "a distinct set of historical forces"—namely massive post-War recession, deindustrialization leading to problems in northern US cities, and federal economic shrinkage—which led to, "new patterns of public investment and *urban economic development*" (Benjamin, 1984:38, 43. Italics added).

Other writers on the subject of local economic development have made similar observations. Knight and Gappert (1984) establish linkages between economic restructuring and the need for cities to pursue new forms of economic development activity, stating that, "the context or environment in which economic development occurs has changed. We are entering a new era." In this new era, cities must recognize the, "realities of the global

economy; these realities, which create opportunities and problems for cities, must be accounted for and accommodated." (Knight and Gappert, 1984:66).

The adaptation, or *positioning* of cities by their administrations to a restructuring economy has emerged as a significant theme in the local economic development literature. 'Positioning' describes a process whereby cities strive to adapt, promote, and/ or develop new aspects of their economic, political, physical, and social systems to 'survive' within macroeconomic shifts. Barnekov et al (1989) state that, generally:

> "Increasingly, the urban policy dialogue in both the United States and Britain has been framed in terms of the requirements for a transition to a post-industrial, service-oriented, technologically advanced society. The prevailing expectation has been that economic progress depends on policies that respond to the demands of a market-led, post-industrial transition" (p. 230).

Referring specifically to the relationship between urban economic function and a restructuring global economy, Robinson (1989) states that, "in most cases, the increased efforts to influence the structure and performance of local economies are responses to the local effects of global and national economic restructuring" (p. 283). In their advancement of the alignment theme in the US context, Knight and Gappert (1984) state that:

> "it is in both the national and local interest that cities, or city-regions, *position* themselves in the emerging global economy. Such positioning, ultimately a form of urban strategic planning, requires that cities learn to identify opportunities and to overcome the barriers to their achievement..." (p. 63 emphasis added)...Cities will have to be able to anticipate and then be prepared to *accommodate* structural changes induced by the global economy" (p. 74. Italics added).

In many instances, local economic restructuring entails de-emphasizing reliance on 'traditional' economic (usually manufacturing) bases which have sustained places in the past, but are no longer competitive as these local economic mainstays have shifted, usually offshore. Knight and Gappert refer to this process as the, "spinning off [of] more traditional manufacturing activities" (Knight and Gappert, 1984:66). In their place, cities are to engage

in, "expanding and upgrading the more advanced or 'knowledge-intensive' activities" (ibid.) which are seen as compatible and competitive economic pursuits in the context of a restructuring economy. Fostering of local economic diversification focuses largely on two sub-paths; namely the promotion of high technology and the promotion of what is broadly referred to as the service-sector economy, as stated by Barnekov et al (1989) in the US and UK contexts:

> "The economic development strategies of the 1980s have often been translated into strategies to avert or reverse economic decline by attracting firms in the high-technology and service sectors of the economy and by encouraging local programs of technology development" (p. 130).

Adaptation to the restructuring global economy is generally viewed as critical to maintaining a viable urban economic base and/or rehabilitating a declining one. In most cases, the diversification and adaptation themes have manifested in various forms of economic policy at various government levels in the North American and British contexts. For example, in the US situation Barnekov *et al* (1989) have observed that under the Reagan administration, the view held by central government was that, "rather than insulating cities from national and international market forces, both federal and local policies should encourage adaptation to the major technological changes that were reshaping the economic world" (p. 100).

The urban economic alignment/adaptation theme is linked in turn to another important theme; that of urban entrepreneurialism, wherein cities are seen to promote, or market, themselves in order to gain the economic benefits of a restructuring economy as a means of fiscal survival. Barnekov *et al* (1989) summarize the causal relationship between the changing macro-economic context of cities, urban economic realignment, and municipal entrepreneurialism in the British and American situations throughout the 1980s:

"In both Britain and the United States...the most urgent goal of government was to

> reverse the processes of industrial decline. This required a rapid transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society; a general realignment of institutional and technological infrastructure away from the intensive focus on industrial manufacturing and towards a new and more globally competitive services-oriented economy...The facilitation of the post-industrial transition was a *national priority* in Britain and America throughout the 1980s. Achievement of this priority was believed to require an extensive reliance on a marketplace that was as free as possible from governmental restraint...*The mandate for cities was clear: establish economic development as the central focus of local attention and as the basic function of local institutions, stimulate new public-private alliances, and abstain from public actions which distort the efficient operation of the marketplace or constrain the locational choices, investment decisions, and operational plans of firms* "(p. 5. Italics added).

The restructuring of local economies as a response to global economic restructuring is often viewed in the literature as possessing an inherent competitiveness *between* places. Cities are seen as being in competition for the benefits of a restructuring economy, generally in the areas of job creation and inner city, CBD, and waterfront redevelopment activity (Kirby, 1985; Fainstein, 1991; Barnekov & Rich, 1989; Barnekov, Rich, & Boyle, 1989). In prescribing this activity, Knight and Gappert state:

> "Cities now need to shift from reactive policies so that they can position themselves in the rapidly evolving global economy. In order to do this, cities will have to be able to differentiate between activities in which they can *compete effectively* in world markets and those in which they have outgrown their competitive edge" (Knight and Gappert, 1984:74. Italics added).

Barnekov et al (1989) use the term "privatism" to characterize the direction of US and British national and local urban policy since the late 1970s. Civic entrepreneurship is a key component of the concept of privatism, which describes government deregulation and the simultaneous promotion of private enterprise in urban economic development and physical redevelopment (Barnekov, Boyle and Rich, 1989; and Barnekov and Rich, 1989). Barnekov *et al* (1989) elaborate on the concept of urban entrepreneurship in the British context:

> "As the marketing of place became an accepted and commonplace activity of local government, it advanced from simply a promotional exercise to a key component of local development strategy. As cities continue to seek an alternative economic base—often some variant on high technology industry, service employment, tourism, or leisure services—they have become increasingly involved in a hunt for investment from outside their community, from London, Los Angeles, Tokyo, or elsewhere (p. 213). ...The entrepreneurial enthusiasm among [British] civic leaders has made them boosters of local characteristics that can be considered marketable. In pursuit of investors, firms, technology, and tourists, cities in Britain now consider municipal marketing to be an essential activity" (p. 217; also see Lawless, 1989).

Facilitating the adjustment to emerging economic sectors and the development of new ones is seen as an important—if not the central—objective of UED in the context of this research. The effect of this objective on urban development patterns is discussed next.

2.4 THE BUILT FORM OF URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

UED has several forms of expression, or manifestation, in the administration and development of cities. This research focuses on two closely interrelated conceptual and pragmatic linkages to UED, namely its manifestation in the development of land in cities, specifically in the revitalization of the inner city and CBD areas, and the significance of tourism landscapes within this development framework.

2.4.1 Urban Economic Development and Urban Revitalization

Strong ties exist in the literature between UED and the built form of cities, particularly in the context of the inner city. For example, at the broader urban level, Beauregard (1989), argues that "the recent round of capital restructuring, often dated to the recession of 1973-75, has not only engendered structural changes in the spheres of production and circulation, and used space to do so, but has also *rearranged the form* of

cities" (p.90. Italics added). More specifically, Feagin & Smith (1987) argue that "the physical and geographical profile of urban development has been shaped in many ways by the interplay of global capitalism, the state, and the activities of urban residents. ... As manufacturing industries change in response to the global reorganization of capitalism, the built environment of cities also experiences physical change" (Smith and Feagin, 1987:28). Such change is characterized, Smith and Feagin argue, by the replacement of a manufacturing landscape with a services-oriented one.

In the context of adapting urban economies to a services-oriented economy through privatization, Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich (1989) argue that such spatial restructuring has been deliberate, a "general realignment of institutional and technological infrastructure away from the intensive focus on industrial manufacturing and towards a new a more globally competitive services-oriented economy. To accomplish th[is] transition," they argue, "the urban landscape had to be rearranged to allow for increasing mobility and spatial deconcentration of population and economic activities. The facilitation of the post-industrial transition was a national priority in Britain and America throughout the 1980s" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:5). In this context, then, "the overriding purpose of privatizing urban policy is not the regeneration of cities but rather the *adaptation* of the urban landscape to the spatial requirements of a post-industrial society" (p. 230. Italics added).

This spatial restructuring of cities is often discussed in the literature within the context of inner city revitalization: adaptation to emerging economies and the marketing strategies of places are commonly seen as 'playing out' in the revitalization of the inner city and CBD areas. Levine (1989) has argued that "urban redevelopment has become the *central means* by which cities in the United States and Canada have attempted to cope with changes in the world economy" (p. 141. Italics added). Cities are seen as utilizing inner city redevelopment in that they are, "altering their land-use patterns to accommodate new

industries such as advanced corporate services, tourism, and "amenities" such as sports, the arts, and downtown retailing" (Levine, 1989:141).

A great deal of analysis concerning the use of CBD redevelopment and inner city revitalization as an economic development tool has focused on the situation of so-called 'frostbelt' cities, particularly the larger deindustrializing urban areas of the US and Britain. Prime examples of such cases include the economic problems and local responses encountered in Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston. In the context of marketing particular areas as sites for private investment—as discussed above—such cities "invariably" employ "downtown redevelopment" as "the 'centrepiece' of this new urban entrepreneurialism" (Levine, 1987:104). "Frostbelt cities", states Levine, "have attempted to comprehensively restructure their downtowns from decaying manufacturing, shopping, and retail districts into modern "corporate centers" of offices, upscale commercial establishments and residences, hotels and other tourism-convention facilities" (ibid.). CBD/ waterfront and inner city residential upgrading, states Levine, is "touted as the 'linchpin' of economic revitalization in such Frostbelt cities as Boston, New York and Philadelphia" (ibid.).

Sagalyn (1990) classifies a set of 'standard' components in redevelopment programmes, namely offices, hotels, convention centres, retail centres, sports stadiums, aquariums, theaters and concert halls. These components, Sagalyn notes, are "projects city officials considered essential for a first-class American city in the last third of the twentieth century" (Sagalyn, 1990:430). In describing the use of "urban redevelopment policies to grapple with the new global economic realities", Levine (1989:141) forwards a classification of four main "public benefits" of this form of urban development, namely: 1) the "Symbolic enhancement of the local business climate"; 2) "Direct job creation and tax base broadening"; 3) "Ripple effects"; and 4) "Spearheading economic adjustment" (Levine,

1987:104). The first and fourth of these public benefits are of most interest here. Of the symbolic aspects of urban redevelopment, Levine points out that "glittering downtown redevelopment, proponents argue, is the cornerstone of urban entrepreneurialism because it is an important symbol to potential investors" (p. 104). The logic illustrated here is that urban redevelopment acts as a lure. Public investment in symbols of prosperity, through "ample public subsidies and incentives" (Levine, 1987:104), is seen to beget private sector investment.

The symbolic importance of certain redevelopment forms as a tool of leverage was discussed earlier by Holcomb and Beauregard (1981). "Revitalization", Holcomb and Beauregard state, "requires an image of the reborn city. ...The image of the vigorous, renascent city is carefully nurtured as the seed of the future material city" (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981:52). Holcomb and Beauregard extend their interpretation to include the attraction of specific labour groups as well as capital investment. Thus, "to attract new investment and middle-class residents and consumers, the renovated image must have elements of solidity and security. It must inspire confidence that capital and labour invested in revitalization will be safe and profitable" (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:52).

In the British context, Barnekov *et al*, for example, cite large-scale redevelopment projects in London (the Docklands) and Liverpool (Merseyside) that have been undertaken within the framework of UED.[11] Of the Merseyside redevelopment in Liverpool, Barnekov *et al* state, the emphasis of redevelopment was decidedly economic, with a view to "creat[ing] a new and very different *local economy*. In place of Liverpool's historic

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[11]Coulson (1990) calls the period from 1980 to 1990 the 'UDC [urban development corporation] decade' due to the widespread shift towards private-sector solutions to inner urban redevelopment.

achievements in shipbuilding, manufacturing and cargo handling, the future of the city, as defined by the [Merseyside] Development Corporation, would lie in tourism, the leisure industry, and the service sector" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:193; see also Wray, 1987). Similar approaches to economic problems are discussed by Barnekov *et al* in the context of Glasgow, where "The glistening hotels, convention centres, and festival markets built in older industrial [US] cities such as Baltimore, Boston and Detroit proved irresistible to city planners, [Scottish Development Authority] officials and local politicians who sought a solution to their economic problems" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:210). Judd and Parkinson (1989) have made similar comparative observations between the US and British redevelopment experiences of the mid to late 1980s.

Such aids to economic transformation are not expressed solely in the redevelopment of CBDs, waterfronts and inner cities of frostbelt cities, however. The so-called 'sunbelt' cities of the US are distinguished economically from frostbelt cities by having economies based on services, high-technology manufacturing and energy production, and geographically by their location in the south and southwest (as opposed to the northeast location of frostbelt cities). However, similarities between sunbelt and frostbelt cities have been drawn along the lines of revitalization patterns and, in some instances, along the connections between urban revitalization patterns and economic problems. Feagin and Hill (1987) for example, have drawn comparisons between economic malaise in Houston and Detroit and, more significantly, to the patterns of redevelopment that have occurred as a response. Although Houston's problems were brought about by a recessionary energy economy (while Detroit's suffered from deindustrialization) the results are seen as the same, thus, "ironically, the declining center of a crumbling Great Lakes manufacturing empire and the booming buckle of the Sunbelt both turn out to be one-industry towns whose export industries are going through a global reorganization that bodes well for neither's economic

future" (Feagin & Hill, 1987:175).

Turning to the Canadian context, the literature on inner urban redevelopment since the early 1980s is indicative of the ubiquity and cross-national similarities of contemporary revitalization landscapes and their association with UED. Stewart (1993) draws attention to the international similarities of economic restructuring and its effects on cities: "The Canadian urban picture, despite political and structural differences with Britain and the U.S., is shaped by similar conditions influencing urban environments. ... As a result of the global recession of the late 1970s, all levels of [Canadian] government are embracing urban growth and development as a means to economic survival" (Stewart, 1993:153). Such development patterns are characterized in part, argues Stewart, by "Massive downtown redevelopment projects [that] have been initiated in almost every major Canadian city". "Perhaps", suggests Stewart, "the Canadian government looked to British and American experiences with urban restructuring when they were faced with similar problems of inadequate public resources and increasing urban problems" (Stewart, 1993:153). Similarly, Leo and Fenton have noted that "Downtown redevelopment" in Canadian cities "has also reflected a widespread preoccupation in the [1980s] with economic development" (Leo and Fenton, 1990:185).

Artibise and Kiernan, in their 1989 study of UED and urban redevelopment practices, argue that by the mid-1970s government was emerging as the "principal catalyst of [a] new urban development" in Canada (Artibise and Kiernan, 1989:4.4; Leo and Fenton, 1990). This new urban development is characterized by the emergence of "megaprojects" in Canadian CBDs (particularly along waterfronts), which Artibise and Kiernan have called the "new vehicles" of Canadian urban development (Artibise and Kiernan, 1989:4.6).

Seven such "megaprojects" are analysed by Artibise and Kiernan, namely Harbourfront in Toronto, Granville Island and Pacific Place in Vancouver, the Halifax waterfront, Vieux Ports in both Montreal and Quebec City, and The Core Area Initiative in

Winnipeg (Artibise and Kiernan, 1989). Leo and Fenton (1990) have also noted that, "All major Canadian cities, as well as quite a few minor ones, are the targets of large-scale projects ranging from individual schemes such as Toronto's Eaton Centre, through a renewal of a particular area of the city, for example Halifax's harbour development or Vancouver's False Creek and Pacific Place projects—to an attempt to do a 'facelift' on the entire downtown core area as envisioned in Winnipeg's interlocked Core Area, North Portage, and Forks developments" (Leo and Fenton, 1990:185).

For all intents and purposes, the redevelopment projects discussed by Artibise and Kiernan (1989) and Leo and Fenton (1990) have similar characteristics—scale notwithstanding—to those which have appeared in Detroit, Baltimore, Liverpool and London. The development of office structures, convention centres, festival markets, and highrise apartments in the CBD and along waterfronts is ubiquitous and, in many cases, appears to transcend national boundaries and seems largely ignorant of the local urban context in which it is placed.

2.4.2 Inner city tourism and leisure landscapes

In the context of transforming the inner urban landscape as a vehicle of UED, tourism and leisure have played a prominent role. An integral component of the redeveloped image which emerged in the late 1970s cited in the literature is tourism and leisure 'infrastructure', such as convention centres, festival markets, and large sports stadiums and arenas, which have accompanied the development of office and retail space and residential revitalization. As is the case with the contemporary redevelopment patterns in CBDs and inner city areas, emergence of the tourism and leisure landscape is seen in the literature as ubiquitous, with various aspects of its basic form and impetus bridging urban, regional and national boundaries, particularly those of the US, Britain, and Canada.

Developing local tourism is seen as a component of urban economic development in large part due to the classification of tourism as a *service-sector* industry; that is, that it lies outside the spheres of primary production and manufacturing. In the context of deindustrializing economies (for example in North America and Britain), tourism is therefore developed as a tool in the economic adjustment of localities to a post-industrial state. Broadway (1993) places tourism within the context of deindustrialization and resultant urban economic development activity: "Cities", Broadway argues, "have favoured tourism to combat some of the consequences of deindustrialization and are attracted to tourism by its rapid growth in employment. Cities now compete to attract tourists the same way they attempt to attract business through marketing and the provision of infrastructure" (Broadway, 1993:30).

Other authors, such as Kotler *et al* (1993), view tourism as a key place-marketing objective under the larger goal of strategic urban economic development planning. Barnekov *et al* further develop the linkage between such place-marketing strategies and the specific objective of diversifying local economies through fostering the services-sector base in the context of Britain in the 1980s, thus,

> "As the marketing of place became an accepted and commonplace activity of local government, it advanced from simply a promotional exercise to a key component of local development strategy. As cities continue to seek an alternative economic base—often some variant on high technology industry, service employment, *tourism, or leisure services*—they have become increasingly involved in a hunt for investment from outside their community" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:213. Italics added).

In analysing the impact of the convention centre growth phenomenon in US cities during the late 1970s, Judd and Collins (1979) argue that "In soliciting service employment-oriented convention business, cities hold out the promise of supplementing their economic bases, which have suffered from losses of manufacturing and commerce" (Judd and Collins, 1979:190). In short, as Whelan (1991) has observed, "at present, it seems that all cities are

pursuing tourism" (p. 162).

Two North American examples from the literature illustrate how tourism has been employed as a central mechanism of UED in the context of economic restructuring, as discussed by Levine (1987; 1989). Levine, in his study of "medium-to-large cities making the painful transition from manufacturing into diversified service centers", has focused on the cities of Baltimore and Montreal. In the case of the former city, Levine points to a "tourism-services strategy" as one of three central mechanisms employed to "adjust" the local economy from a manufacturing base to an "advanced services center" (Levine, 1987:109, 115; Levine, 1989). In the case of Montreal, Levine focuses on the economic development and inner urban redevelopment policies and activities undertaken during the administration of mayor Jean Drapeau. During his term as mayor, Levine states, making "Montreal a leading tourist center" was one of two central economic and redevelopment objectives (Levine, 1989:143). In a similar vein, Broadway (1993) has undertaken extensive research into patterns of tourism infrastructure development in Montreal, commenting that "Montreal's emphasis on tourist development stems, in part, from the city's relative economic decline in the post World War II period" (Broadway, 1993:31).

As a matter of inner urban revitalization trends, Broadway (1993), has argued that literature concerning the physical, economic and social restructuring of Canadian inner cities has focused on the phenomenon of middle class migration to the inner city, while "little attention has been given to another consequence of economic restructuring, the conversion of downtowns to tourist and entertainment centres". "In short", Broadway argues, "there has been no systematic attempt to relate the tourist industry to the changing urban structure of a Canadian city" (Broadway, 1993:30). A distinct and ubiquitous tourism and entertainment landscape has indeed emerged since the late 1960s and, it appears, is continuing to evolve in many Canadian cities as well as those of the US and Britain. Ley and Olds (1988), in

discussing certain aspects of these landscapes, have argued that they reflect the "increasing ludic nature of Western urban structure, the growing intrusion of leisure and the aesthetic into the urban landscape" (p. 209).

As discussed above, a primary impetus for the development of tourism in urban areas is to foster economic development. As a visible component of this impetus, the development of inner urban tourism facilities can be seen as having two main objectives within the broader phenomenon of inner urban redevelopment discussed above. The first objective is the transformation of certain spatial and economic aspects of the city in order to facilitate an economic 'adjustment' marked by attempts to foster development of the service sector economy. In this context, the development of tourism facilities and events can be seen as providing a specialized infrastructure for the purpose of making such 'adjustments' (Feagin and Smith, 1987; Broadway, 1993; Beauregard, 1981; Barnekov *et al*, 1989). The second objective is the marketing of local places in the national, but more significantly, the global tourism and investment marketplaces. In this context, with its inherent inter-city competition, the development of tourism infrastructure in inner urban areas can be seen as a way of manipulating the image projected outside the city while creating "crown jewels" to act as key attractors in the promotion of place (Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993:39; Hill, 1983; Judd and Collins, 1979). This inter-city competitiveness, coupled with a 'down-filtering'—or imitation—process, may explain in part the ubiquity of a tourism and leisure landscape, for example the appearance of festival market themes in such disparate cities as Baltimore (Harborplace) and Winnipeg (the Forks).

This tourism and leisure landscape refers to the tourism infrastructure and leisure and recreation built forms, designed to cater to the local citizenry but, in many instances, to attract tourists as well (Millspaugh, 1990; Wall & Sinnott, 1980). A review of the literature reveals eight primary types of tourism and leisure/ recreation built forms, namely:

- hallmark event sites (eg. world's fairs, Olympic sporting events)
- sports stadia
- convention centre/ hotel complexes
- visitor attractions such as aquariums, science centres, and zoos
- arts and cultural facilities (concert halls, galleries, centres for performing arts)
- festival markets
- marinas
- historic or cultural 'districts' (see Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993).

Ley (1987) refers to these kinds of built forms individually as "megastructures", while Beauregard (1981) views the 'megastructure' as an agglomeration of these various components which "coalesce a variety of activities" into one area (p. 27).

These land use forms have appeared in the redeveloped inner urban landscapes of US, British and Canadian cities since the late 1970s, with their appearance becoming increasingly ubiquitous through the 1980s and into the 1990s. Several authors have pointed to the emergence of a significant tourism infrastructure in the US inner urban context in the wake of deindustrialization, for example Beauregard (1979), Levine (1987; 1989), and Sagalyn (1990), but also in the 'sunbelt cities', for example Judd (1983). In comparing US and British inner urban redevelopment trends, Barnekov *et al* have pointed out similarities between the "the outstanding development attractions that would act as tourist magnets" in Glasgow with redeveloped waterfronts in Baltimore and Boston (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:210; also see Lawless, 1989). In the Canadian context, Wall and Sinnott have noted a "rapid expansion in the provision of urban recreational and cultural facilities" in Canadian cities, specifically the development of "huge new amusement parks, zoos, marinelands, museums, art galleries, centres for the performing arts, [and] stadiums (Wall and Sinnott, 1980:50-51).

Three components of this tourism landscape require some elaboration here, namely the hallmark event site, the sports stadium and the convention centre. In marketing the city, so-called hallmark events have historically been pursued as a means of local promotion (Olds, 1988). Hallmark events are defined by Ritchie (1984) as,

> "major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/ or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention" (p. 2).

Within this definition, Ritchie provides a classification of seven types of hallmark event: world fairs and expositions; unique carnivals and festivals; major sports events (such as Olympic Games); significant cultural and religious events; historical milestones; classical commercial and agricultural events; and major political and personage events (Ritchie, 1984:2).

As a tool of place marketing and urban economic development, hallmark events—particularly Olympic Games and world fairs—are staged to intentionally "focus national and international attention on the destination for a well-defined and usually short period of time" (Ritchie, 1984:2). "The sponsoring of many hallmark events" Ritchie states, "has often been based on the assumption that the event leads to the enhancement of the host region from both a tourist and commercial standpoint" (Ritchie, 1984:5). Hiller (1989) terms this the "showcase thesis", whereby a city attempts to "redefine itself on the world stage" (p. 129) or, as Thorne and Munro-Clark observe, "the expectation is that the [hallmark] event will put the city 'on the map'" (Thorne & Munro-Clark, 1989:155). Thus, hosting hallmark events is seen as having a dual economic benefit: the immediate/ short term benefits of facilities construction, tourist, and other revenues (Ritchie, 1984; Hiller, 1989, 1990) and, more importantly, the longer term benefits derived from the creation of prestige and world-wide exposure.

Hallmark events generally require extremely large sites and extensive infrastructure. Such facilities are usually not readily available in cities, and therefore have to be developed: "Common to all of the types of hallmark events", state Thorne and Munro-Clark (1989), "is a political/ planning decision to use land, construct buildings, and provide other facilities or infrastructure, such as a transport system, that will change or disrupt the existing environment either temporarily or permanently" (Thorne & Munro-Clark, 1989:155). Invariably, the sites chosen as venues for hallmark events lie in the inner urban area. This locational decision is intentional: it allows the event to act not only as a profile-building exercise for the city as a whole, but acts to focus this promotion in a particular area of the city that has been linked to the symbolic 'rebirth' of cities.

Thus hallmark events can act as a tool of redevelopment in inner areas, clearing land for their large site requirements and constructing facilities, some of which will remain after the conclusion of the event (Olds, 1988; Ritchie, 1984; Hiller, 1989, 1990). As a redevelopment vehicle, hallmark events are seen as possessing significant transformative power in the context of inner urban landscapes, not only in the instance of the site itself, but also in terms of spin-off redevelopment and revitalization (Olds, 1988; Thorne & Munro-Clark, 1989). Montgomery (1968), in describing the redevelopment aspect of the 1968 World's Fair in San Antonio, Texas, summarizes the relationship between urban redevelopment and urban tourism infrastructure development:

> "The two things fit beautifully: the urban renewal process provided the vehicle that made possible the land assembly and clearance necessary to get the fair up on time; at the same time the fair provided impetus that picked up the pace of public development action" (p. 85).

In Canada, prime examples of the ways in which hallmark events have been used as vehicles of inner city redevelopment in connection with urban image-building can be found in Montreal and Vancouver. Montreal hosted two hallmark events within a 10 year period,

namely the 1967 World's Fair (Expo '67) and the 1976 Olympic Games. Both of these events were held in the political context of the pro-growth Drapeau administration (Whelan, 1991; Levine, 1989; Lanken, 1986). The Drapeau administration utilized urban renewal to clear inner city neighbourhoods in Montreal to make way for large-scale tourism and CBD development projects aimed at making Montreal a leading tourist, financial, and communications centre during the 1960s and 1970s (Levine 1989, 143). Drapeau, seeking to "put Montreal on the world map" as "the great cosmopolis of Canada and all North America" (Lankin, 1986; Drapeau quoted in Lankin, 1986), specifically focused the development of infrastructure for Expo '67 and the 1976 Olympics in the downtown and inner city areas (Broadway, 1993; Whelan, 1991).

The built forms of Expo '67 and the 1976 Olympics have been used to further transform inner Montreal through their more recent reconstitution and employment to further develop tourism in the 1980s and 1990s, which "became recognized as one of Montreal's "axes" of future development" (Broadway, 1993). In developing tourism as a tool of urban economic development, Broadway (1993) describes further transformations of the inner urban landscape in which attempts have been made to "consolidate" the Olympics Complex and Expo '67 sites "as tourist nodes by adding new attractions" (p. 37).

However, this reconstitution of the former hallmark event sites and the development of additional tourism infrastructure is seen as occurring under a socioeconomic context far different from that which existed during Drapeau's original programme of promoting Montreal and reconstructing the inner urban landscape during the 1960s and 1970s. The recent development of tourism infrastructure is seen by Broadway not as urban boosterism during prosperity, but as a "response to structural changes" in Montreal's economy, which has resulted in a "strategy of attracting tourists by constructing new tourist sites and renovating older structures" (Broadway, 1993:44).

In 1986 Vancouver hosted Expo '86, a world's fair hallmark event. The site selected as the venue for the event was the north side of False Creek, an inner city tract of former industrial land situated across a narrow body of water from the False Creek Southside development, which incorporates the Granville Island festival market (see Olds, 1988). Expo '86 represented a significant transformation of the inner urban landscape, and spawned additional large-scale transformative developments on Vancouver's downtown peninsula. Ley (1987), in deciphering the meanings of the Expo '86 landscape, argues that the development of Expo '86 resulted in an entertainment-based "landscape for a mass society" (p. 50). A central characteristic of this landscape was its scale, characterized by the comprehensively planned development of large structures on large pieces of land, and their promotion as urban "spectacles", built "to impress the visitor rather than to accommodate users" (Ley, 1987:52; also see Ley and Olds, 1988).

A land use component common to the hosting of the aforementioned hallmark events in Vancouver and Montreal has been the construction of large sports stadiums (ie. the Olympic Stadium in Montreal and the B.C. Place stadium in Vancouver). Sports stadiums are a prevalent component of the tourism and leisure landscape that has emerged in the North American inner city over the last several years. Kotler *et al* (1993) have called the recent development of sports stadiums in some 24 US cities "stadium-mania", and note that in some cases stadiums have actually been constructed in the absence of a sports team or special event to make use of them (Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993:39). Baade and Dye (1990) have referred to 'stadium mania' in the context of cities attempting to project a 'world class' image of themselves: "more and more local and state governments", they conclude, "are being encouraged to subsidize sports stadiums as an economic development tool" (Baade and Dye, 1990:13). In addition to the B.C. Place and Olympic stadium examples, new sports stadiums have been constructed in Calgary (the Saddledome), Toronto (the Skydome) and

Vancouver (GM Place) within the last 15 years.

Convention centres are another prevalent tourism infrastructure form that has emerged in the last 20 years or so and is discussed in the literature. Judd and Collins (1979) have analysed the role of convention centre development as a component of inner urban redevelopment and UED in the context of US cities in the late 1970s. The provision of these facilities is seen as a catalyst for revitalizing surrounding portions of the downtown area in which they are located; as "anchors for the flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic along avenues of hotels, shops, restaurants, and entertainment establishments with cultural or entertainment facilities" (Judd & Collins, 1979:192). Fainstein and Fainstein (1987), as well as Hartman (1984) have documented the construction of massive convention centre/ hotel complexes in New York City and San Francisco respectively.

Invariably leisure, recreation and consumer components accompany these larger built forms of the tourism and leisure landscape. Levine (1987; 1989) and others (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981; Gratz, 1989) cite the development of festival marketplaces, walkways, historical sites and retail centres in the downtown as a method of urban redevelopment. These kinds of redevelopment can be further linked—both conceptually and spatially—to "a more profound economic, social, and spatial restructuring" (Smith & Williams, 1986:2) of downtown areas into specialized service-sector environments consisting of office employment, leisure and recreation opportunities, consumer retailing, and tourism facilities. In short, tourism and leisure are a significant component of "the modern corporate image" of the "financial, administrative, and professional services center ...[with] an orientation toward luxury consumption that is appealing to young corporate managers, educated professionals, convention goers, and the tourist trade" (Hill, 1983:105).

Thus, in the US context, Holcomb and Beauregard have been able to argue the emergence of a "changing urban milieu" in which "visits from one revitalized central

business district, gentrified neighbourhood, or recaptured waterfront to the next blur the memory" (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1979:64). However, as we have seen, other authors such as Barnekov *et al* (1989), Levine (1989), Artibise and Kiernan (1989), and Broadway (1993) have demonstrated that this redevelopment phenomenon is applicable with varying degrees of uniformity to the British and Canadian contexts as well.

2.5 TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS: NEIGHBOURHOODS AND CITY PLANNING IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Several key themes concerning the emergence of UED as a component of municipal administration have emerged from the literature review thus far. First, economic development is widespread—virtually universal—as a subject of strategic planning and as a practical concern for municipalities of every size (both urban and rural). This observation applies the US, Canadian, and British contexts. In this regard Barnekov et al (1989) argue that public-sector stimulation of the private sector to invest in cities to further economic objectives—that is, "privatism"—is "the dominant cultural tradition affecting urban policy in the United States and Great Britain" (Barnekov, Boyle, and Rich, 1989:1). Stewart (1993) has extended this observation to the Canadian context.

The second theme concerning UED is its linkage in theory and practice to economic restructuring and the globalization of urban economies. Economic restructuring, in which traditional industrial functions have undergone spatial adjustments, while a 'service sector' economy is viewed to have come to the fore, is seen to have caused massive economic and social impacts on North American and British cities. As a response to these changes, UED is seen as a primary tool employed to facilitate adjustment to what are perceived as new economic realities. Thus, *contemporary* UED possesses a distinct adaptive

component—expressed as economic diversification—which has emerged only since the late 1970s. The adaptation and diversification themes have been taken another step in the inclusion of UED in the language and practice of municipal cognizance about the globally competitive situation of cities. Thus, UED is also linked to the concept of urban entrepreneurialism and competition between places on a global scale. The economic adaptation and global competition themes therefore form part of the *definition* of contemporary UED.

A third theme concerning UED is that, in practice, it is consistently land-based, that is, the practical manifestation of UED is in the regulation, taxation, and development of urban land. Thus, deregulation of urban development as a stimulus of private investment is seen in the literature as a prominent feature of municipal administrations. A recent extension of the deregulation theme has been the tendency for national and local governments to form partnerships with the private sector to facilitate the development of land and, therefore, stimulate the local economy. Spatially, the urban area most frequently targeted for development has been the inner city. As the literature has shown, this has been for both economic (the revival of inner urban economies), and symbolic (the 'renaissance' / investor confidence) reasons.

The redevelopment theme of UED has resulted in a very small number of definitive projects, such as the London Docklands and New York's Battery Park City (see Fainstein, 1991). However, such redevelopment has not been limited to London and New York: many smaller cities—including virtually every Canadian city (Stewart, 1993; Artibise and Kiernan, 1989)—have focussed on urban redevelopment to facilitate economic development and economic *adjustment*. Redevelopment has emerged as more than a means of inner urban revitalization: it is also seen as a vehicle to convert cities so that they are better equipped to capitalize from post-industrial capital flows.

The manifestation of UED in the redevelopment of land in the inner city and adjacent CBD is of greatest interest here, because it is here that one of the most traditionally contested subsets of the city—the classic neighbourhood—exists. Neighbourhoods are viewed as having been sensitive to, and historically impacted by, urban redevelopment policies, decisions, and activity. In the 1950s and 1960s comprehensiveness and rational decision-making were the theoretical bases for redeveloping inner cities and, in some cases, destroying neighbourhoods in the service of an alleged greater public good. What, then, are the implications for poorer neighbourhoods of UED as the 'new' conception of the greater public good, and as a new rationale for inner urban revitalization? More importantly here, how is city planning—which, after the 1960s, experienced shifts towards the consideration of social matters in urban development, as evidenced in neighbourhood planning—affected by the linkage between UED and inner urban revitalization?

2.5.1 Urban Economic Development and Social Equity Considerations

There is a general agreement in the literature—even from some critical quarters—that UED is an important, if not essential, aspect of policy and action for cities if they are to maintain basic services and prosper within a context of restructuring economies and shrinking transfer payments (Levine, 1989; Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981). However, it is the *means of facilitating* UED that have received the most criticism.

One criticism of UED policy is that in its reliance on private market solutions to urban problems, there has been a parallel retreat by government from social service delivery, and a reliance on 'trickle-down' distribution as a means of coping with fundamental socio-economic issues faced by urban citizens. For example, Barnekov *et al* argue that,

> "local economic development was commonly portrayed as a policy approach with widely dispersed benefits, an approach which would ultimately help the poor while

> it simultaneously served the interests of the city as a whole. Claims about the general benefits of economic development helped to rationalize the shift in focus away from urban social policy and this rationalization was often reinforced by a revision in the conception of the problems of urban poverty...that the chief ailment was unemployment" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:65; also see Barnekov and Rich, 1989).

Evidence that such economic growth has solved social problems, these authors state, "is notably lacking" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:91). Other authors, such as Levine (1987), Fainstein, Fainstein, & Armistead (1983), and Judd (1983), have examined the simultaneous government retreat from provision of social services and the shift towards 'trickle-down' distribution of wealth in the context of UED.

This criticism has been especially prominent in the US context. Barnekov and Rich (1989), for example, have argued that "perhaps the most injurious outcome of the focus on economic development and public entrepreneurship is its impact on the commitment of local, state and federal governments to social problems and poverty" (Barnekov & Rich, 1989:226). However, the emphasis on UED as a policy stream has been applied to other national contexts as well. In their comparison of the US and UK situations, Judd and Parkinson (1989) have argued the existence of a movement "away from support for social welfare toward the regeneration of urban economies through private sector investment", which has been more prominent in the US than Britain (p. 2). Lawless (1989), however, in describing the British situation, has commented that there has been a "switch from social to economic projects" in British cities since the early 1980s, based primarily on the development of land as a vehicle of economic development (p. 107). This view of the British situation is also held by Barnekov *et al*, who have argued that throughout the 1980s,

> "Attention moved from welfare and redistribution to a concern with industrial decline, the weakness of the British economy, and the management of Britain's transition to a post-industrial society. Urban policy was guided by an economic imperative that elevated the importance of growth and diminished the value of

equity" (Barnekov, Boyle, & Rich, 1989:213).

Turning to the Canadian context, Stewart (1993) draws on the US and British contexts of inner area redevelopment as a vehicle of UED, commenting that the "'bricks and mortar' projects" employed in these countries over the last 15 years or so "may have achieved physical regeneration aims but were not the means to achieving social goals" (Stewart, 1993:153). The implied argument here is that the large-scale redevelopment projects that have occurred "in almost every major Canadian city" have, to some degree, borrowed their assumptions and forms from the US and UK experiences, thus importing the same emphasis on physical and economic objectives (Stewart, 1993:153). In their discussion of Canadian urban and economic development in major Canadian centres, Artibise and Kiernan (1989) have made similar observations regarding the predominance of a "decided tendency to pursue physical development" as a technique of economic revitalization, with only "occasional evidence of the pursuit of social policy objectives" (Artibise & Kiernan, 1989:4.30).

2.5.2 Urban Economic Development and the Neighbourhood

Social equity issues discussed in the context of UED relate largely to the matter of how benefits are distributed across urban society. Turning to the neighbourhood context, a corollary concern with the distribution of the *costs* of UED[12] can be found. Neighbourhood issues discussed in the context of local economic development are of greatest interest here, although it is evident from the literature that related concepts, such as social welfare and job

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[12]Furthermore, several authors have been critical of the effectiveness of urban economic development programmes at achieving even the broad economic goals they are supposed to, that is, whether UED works *at all*. For example see Barnekov & Rich (1989), Kirby (1986) and Levine (1987).

distribution issues[13], cannot easily be separated from the neighbourhood setting. Hill and Feagin (1987) provide a departure point for the discussion of neighbourhoods within the contexts of economic restructuring and UED, in their argument that a fundamental conflict between global capital and local communities underlies the economic restructuring phenomenon: "Working people and their families move in locally-bounded communities", observe Hill and Feagin. "They cannot chart a new course with capital's velocity. Corporation's investment space outdistances people's living space and that is the fundamental urban contradiction in the world capitalist system." (Hill and Feagin, 1987:175).

Two central neighbourhood-related issues are important. The first concerns the distribution of the benefits of UED along neighbourhood lines. Do disadvantaged and declining neighbourhoods—which are, in theory, supposed to benefit from UED—experience real improvements in their economic and social well-being? The second issue concerns the distribution of the *costs* of UED strategies and activities in the context of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Does the experience of some neighbourhoods go beyond

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[13]An issue related to neighbourhood is that of work force shifts stemming from UED, particularly in the instance of job distribution among ethnic groups. Sassen-Koob (1984) argues that the economic growth trends since the 1970s have resulted in spatial (city) and social (work force) arrangements which reflect, "new patterns of the concentration of the benefits of economic growth" (p. 139). More specifically, Robinson (1989) has focused on the distribution of UED benefits with emphasis on the participation of blacks, Hispanics, and other economically disadvantaged groups in US cities. From empirical research, Robinson concludes that low income and ethnic minorities are unable to participate effectively in local economic development planning, placing "the economic development policy arena far outside the sphere of influence of these groups." (p. 292). In his examination of economic development in Detroit, Hill (1986) concludes, "for Detroit's less-advantaged workers, the Renaissance means trading a former possibility for blue-collar jobs at decent wages for the future probability of scarce, low-paying, dead-end, service work-all at a high public cost per job" (p.117). The end result, argues Levine (1989), is that "a substantial underclass is being left behind as the transition from manufacturing to a 'knowledge-based' economy occurs" (p. 150).

the argument that certain groups are excluded from the distribution of the benefits of UED, to the point that UED causes negative *impacts*? Economic development implies the presence of costs in order to leverage some net gain. Such costs may not necessarily be economic: common non-economic costs cited in the literature are 'environmental costs' and 'social costs'. How is the distribution of these costs arranged socio-spatially in cities, that is, how are they distributed among groups of people at the neighbourhood level? These issues, and the broader array of issues to which they are related, are shown graphically in Figure 1.

In his study of inner area redevelopment in Baltimore, Levine (1987) has found that the economic development objectives of such redevelopment have not filtered into poor neighbourhoods surrounding the development area (Levine, 1987). Indeed, the opposite was observed: in poor (primarily black) neighbourhoods, social and economic conditions worsened during the redevelopment of Baltimore's inner area between 1970 and 1985. "For most Baltimore neighbourhoods", Levine concludes, "the 1970s were years of increasing poverty, deteriorating housing, and shrinking opportunities" (Levine, 1987:115). From his study, Levine has concluded that a process of "uneven growth" took place, stemming from a fundamental "absence of explicit mechanisms linking downtown redevelopment to the revitalization of low- and moderate-income neighbourhoods" (Levine, 1987:106). The "lion's share of the benefits of downtown redevelopment" argues Levine, went to the land developers, suburban and 'back-to-the-city' professionals, and tourists who could take advantage of the new employment and tourism/ leisure landscape (Levine, 1987:113-114).

Levine's findings of a "dual economy" in Baltimore is explicitly socio-spatial in that "the spatial trajectory of economic development has been driven by developer profit opportunities, not considerations of social equity" (Levine, 1987:115, 118). This manifests in the situation in which the new redeveloped landscape emerges as an "economic 'island', unconnected in any organic way to the deteriorating neighbourhoods around it"

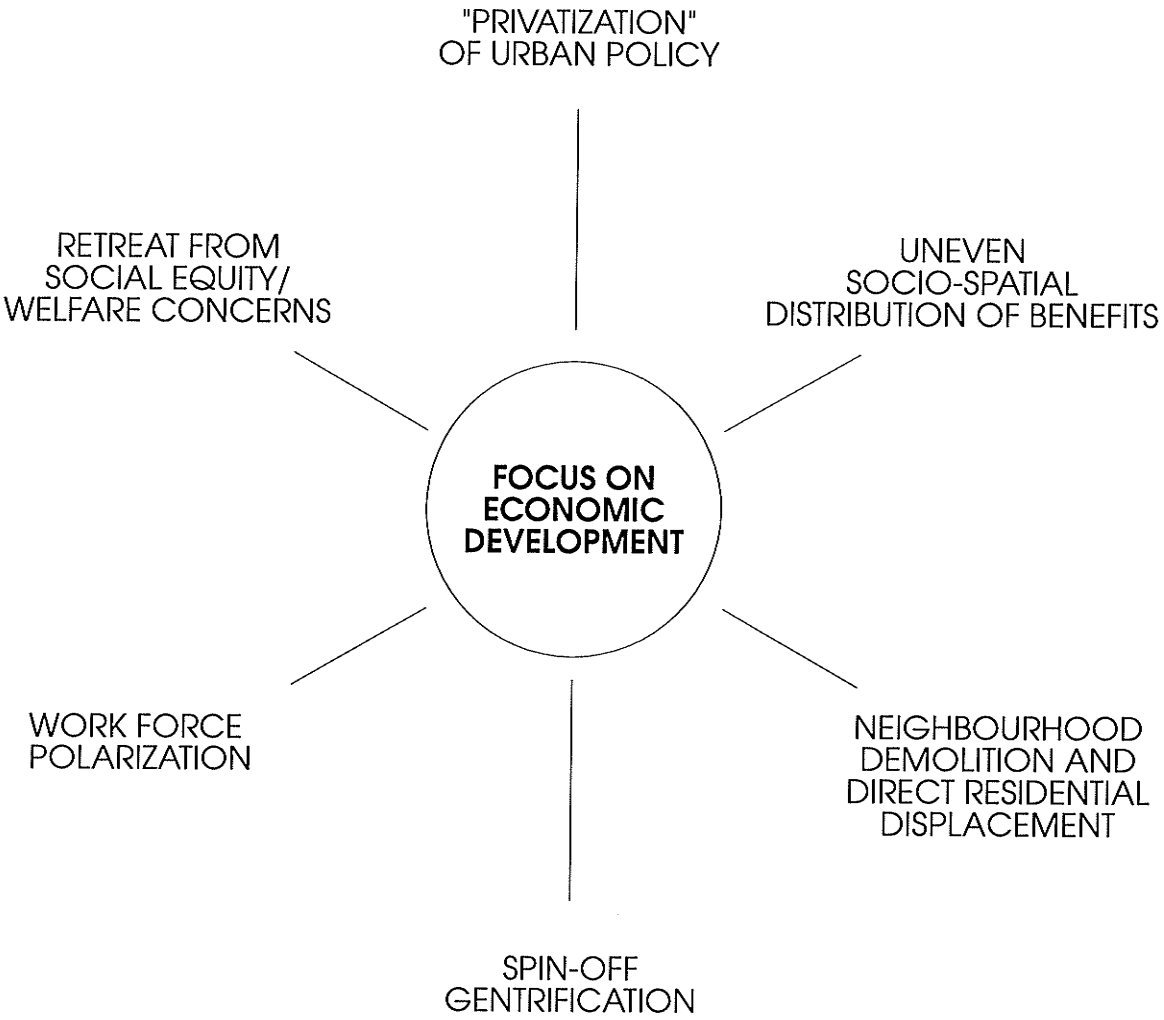


Figure 1

Urban Economic Development:
Issues

(Levine, 1987:118; and Carnoy, Shearer, & Rumberger, 1983:114 cited in Levine, 1987).

The spatial distribution of the benefits of urban redevelopment aimed at UED have been addressed elsewhere. Holcomb and Beauregard for example, in their analysis of the socio-economic terrain of urban redevelopment, have made the general observation that in the US context, "corporate and middle class symbols are articulated and highlighted", while "those of the working class, poor, and ethnic and racial groups are neglected" (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981:64). Similarly, Barnekov and Rich (1989) have argued that "the interests of substantial portions of the community, often those in greatest social and economic distress, are neglected by community priorities for economic development and are untouched by the benefits of economic development programs" (p. 228). Wolfe (1994) has made similar observations to those of Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) regarding the spatial and social disparities of redevelopment in the Canadian context, in which "The sparkling images of the new downtowns and redeveloped industrial sites are marred by the homeless, soup kitchens and rising crime" (Wolfe, 1994:33-34).

The issue of how the *costs* of UED policies and activity are distributed within the city adds another layer to the discussion of neighbourhood threats. In their analysis of urban redevelopment patterns in the US, Holcomb and Beauregard have argued that the "landscape is increasingly peaked where 'high' culture and 'post-industrial' symbolism predominate. In the troughs are the dashed sentiments and psychological disruption experienced by the victims of 'progress'" (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981:64). The concept of 'victim' implies the operation of both distribution and costs, such that redevelopment "further concentrates resources in areas which are dominated by upper- and middle-class people and reinforces their control over these urban spaces. Meanwhile, the negative externalities of redevelopment are often borne disproportionately by low-income people and neighbourhoods" (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981:67).

What are these 'negative externalities' referred to by Holcomb and Beauregard? Fainstein and Fainstein (1987) provide a partial answer to this question in their analysis of the politics of land use planning in New York City. They have argued that direct residential displacement resulting from large-scale service sector-related urban development activity (i.e. office, tourism/convention and other mega-developments) is no longer an issue, largely because local governments cannot rationalize (or politically survive) the destruction of entire neighbourhoods as they did in the 1950s and 1960s. However, direct threat has been replaced by secondary displacement in the form of gentrification. In this case Fainstein and Fainstein (1987) view gentrification as a potential 'spill-over' effect of large-scale redevelopment projects aimed at UED (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1987:241-245; also see Smith and Williams, 1986).

While massive displacement and neighbourhood destruction may not have been the norm since the 1960s—as Fainstein and Fainstein, as well as Holcomb and Beauregard, have argued—the threat of such a consequence in the context of urban development has not disappeared. Kirby (1986) has argued that "some types of economic development are even predicated on the assumption that regeneration will displace low-income residents" (p. 211). Kirby refers to the "Faustian bargains" made by municipalities in their quest for economic development, noting that cities may embark on programs which will ultimately cost more than they benefit, not only economically, but *socially* as well.

One such 'bargain' was made in Detroit in the early 1980s when, in order to secure a Cadillac production plant, the infamous Poletown neighbourhood was razed to clear land for the facility, displacing "3438 individuals and the destruction of 144 existing businesses, schools, a hospital, and 16 churches" (Kirby, 1986:212; see also Cohen, 1982 and Wylie, 1989). Hill (1986) refers to the trade-offs concerning Poletown as "social investment subsidies" which, he argues, are offered to potential corporate investors in order to facilitate

economic development to overcome the problems of widespread deindustrialization" (p.112). Likewise, Barnekov and Rich (1989) have argued that although economic development benefits accrue not only to business people, but to other citizens, "the costs they carry fall heavily on groups that can least afford to pay...that may not be compensated for the destruction of neighbourhoods or the displacement from homes or businesses" (Barnekov & Rich, 1989:232).

More specifically large-scale neighbourhood disruption has been associated with the development of tourism and leisure landscapes in downtowns and inner cities. Thorne and Munro-Clark (1989) argue that many hallmark events involve "a political/ planning decision to use land, construct buildings and provide other facilities, such as a transport system, that will change or disrupt the existing environment either temporarily or permanently" (Thorne & Munro-Clark, 1989:155). Hiller (1990) has also noted the potential for tourism to produce destructive consequences for neighbourhoods.

One example of the disruptive effects of tourism and convention centre-related inner urban development can be found in case studies of the Yerba Buena centre in San Francisco. Yerba Buena involved the development of a large convention centre/ exhibition hall with related tourism and leisure components, intended to help expand San Francisco's role in the international arena as a regional and national services-centre (Hartman, 1984). Hartman (1984) and Fainstein et al (1983) have employed the case of the Yerba Buena centre development to analyze, in part, the uneven distribution of costs associated with UED. The costs of Yerba Buena were distributed unevenly, in that construction of the project was predicated on the demolition of the South of Market neighbourhood, a low-income area serving the needs of some 300 households (Hartman, 1984; Fainstein and Fainstein, and Armistead, 1983).

Another example of large-scale displacement caused by the development and

operation of a large-scale tourism project is the 1986 world's fair, which was held in Vancouver. Olds (1988) has studied the effects of Expo '86 on low-income, largely single male tenants in Vancouver, stemming from dramatic shifts in rental accommodation supply—on which low income tenants depended—in anticipation of the event. Although the development of the Expo site itself was not the cause of a major threat to those Vancouver citizens impacted by the event, there was nonetheless a significant spin-off threat posed by the development of tourism in that instance.

2.5.3 Urban Economic Development and City Planning

As a significant component of municipal administration, and as a potential source of threats to inner city neighbourhoods, UED raises some important issues concerning the practice and theory of city planning, and specifically, for neighbourhood planning. Two closely interrelated areas of concern linking UED and city planning in the literature are relevant here. The first area of concern is that planning theory and practice are experiencing a shift away from social equity considerations as part of the broader movement of government in this direction, caused by a preoccupation with UED. The second area of concern is that the widespread focus on UED threatens to marginalize official planning, both as a regulator of land and as a potential facilitator of the resolution of social issues associated with urban development.

There appears to be a consensus in the literature that city planning has been subjected to significant pressure to change and, in some cases, has undergone shifts in theory and practice, over the last 15 to 20 years. Wolfe attributes this pressure to widespread changes that have impacted the city since 1980, namely "accelerating industrial restructuring, a loss of jobs, increasing criminality in the cities, fiscal crises and a globalization of the economy". As a result, "Planning, like postmodern society, has been pulled in many directions" (Wolfe,

1994:30). In the abstract to their article about planning and power, Gerecke and Reid have been more direct: "The integrity of planning as a profession is under challenge", they state: "The retreat from rational comprehensive planning in the 1960s has not produced an adequate substitute. Into the breach, a number of competing perspectives have emerged" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:59).

One such perspective of planning is that of the promotion of UED. For planning, some authors argue, the influence of UED on both thought and practice has culminated in a marked *shift* in the profession. Fainstein characterizes this shift as a switch in focus "from regulating to promoting development" in the British and US contexts. Of the Canadian situation, Kiernan (1990) has likewise observed that "planners in most Canadian cities find themselves not only more *receptive* to new development than was the case during the [1970s], but increasingly in the business of trying to *catalyze* it" (Kiernan, 1990:14). Jamieson (1994) describes this shift slightly differently, arguing that "a *portion* of planning has thus moved away from its traditional regulatory thrust toward proactive city development" (Jamieson, 1994:79-80. Italics added).

Fainstein (1991) argues that "The foremost impetus driving new modes of planning has been the restructuring of the urban economy...substantive changes in the role of planners have been brought about by a focus on *economic development*" (Fainstein, 1991:22, 23. Italics added). This shift in planning is seen to have occurred within the broader government framework of facilitating UED, discussed above: "In response to deindustrialization and the simultaneous expansion of the service sector, local governments have actively sought to attract new industry to their jurisdictions by offering competitive packages of land and financing" (Fainstein, 1991:22). At least in the British and American contexts, Fainstein argues, "this emphasis has caused planners to use a variety of strategies to bring down the price of land" (ibid.).

Pursuing a line of argument similar to that of Fainstein, and Reid (1991a) argue that the strongest influence on planning thought and practice today is what they refer to as "*laissez-faire* corporatism", that is, the efficient utilization of cities and land as market commodities (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:61). Within *laissez-faire* corporatism, they view globalization as "the exaggerated emphasis put on the need to submit to global market forces". This tendency, argue Gerecke and Reid, is inherently "anti-urban" in its ignorance of the concept of place (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:61, 65). The theoretical and practical outcome of this perspective of the city, it is argued, is pressure for planning "to deregulate land use so as to promote economic development" (ibid.:65).

As discussed above, an outcome of the movement towards promoting economic development is the de-emphasis of social considerations in municipal administration. This concern is reflected in the literature concerning planning in the context of UED. The central concern expressed in the literature in this regard is that a social agenda for city planning faces downgrading or complete exclusion in the movement to improve the economic standing of cities. This argument is summarized by Fainstein and Fainstein (1987) in their discussion of land development in New York city: "The idea of social planning", they argue, "has disappeared almost altogether: equity is an 'unrealistic' planning objective" (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1987:244).

In the Canadian context, Kiernan (1990) has traced the emergence of a shift in planning to the late 1970s. The "intellectual parameters" of Canadian planning, Kiernan argues, "have been overwhelmingly defined by the economic, social, and even physical consequences for Canadian cities of the global recession of the late 1970s" (Kiernan, 1990:13). As a result of the recession, he argues, there "has been a remarkable transformation in both public and professional attitudes towards urban growth and development" (p. 14). This transformation was characterized, according to Kiernan, by the

embracing of growth stemming from a perceived need to foster urban economic development in the face of economic decline.

Kiernan (1990) also links the post-1970s recession, economic restructuring, and urban economic development as defining components in the emergent form of city planning which occurred during the 1980s: "today [growth and development] require a good deal more intervention and encouragement. This requires planners to switch from their traditional passive, reactive, and regulatory mode to a much more proactive and *developmental* role" (Kiernan, 1990:14). In fact, warns Kiernan, if planners fail to make this transition, they will face irrelevancy in light of the increasing national and provincial intervention in matters of local economic development in Canadian cities.

Fainstein argues that the "economic restructuring of the world system of cities has given planning in its new guise [that is, economic development-oriented planning] a heightened importance." (Fainstein, 1991:25). Yet, as Gerecke and Reid (1991a) have argued, economic restructuring and, more significantly, the conceptualization and promotion of the city as an economic entity within a globally competitive framework potentially *threatens* the significance and efficacy of progressive city planning. This threat is seen as an extension of a broader threat to the political power of local government as a whole, in which deferral to the global economic context threatens the potential "evisceration of urban political power" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:65).

Kiernan, writing approximately one year earlier, may have been referring to a practical side of Gerecke and Reid's concern for local autonomy, when he described the emergence of large private-public development corporations as vehicles of inner city revitalization and economic development (Kiernan, 1990; see also Leo and Fenton, 1990, and Artibise and Kiernan, 1989). Kiernan argues that in the late 1980s and into the 1990s "the real planning in Canadian cities...tends not to be done by city planning departments at

all", but by public-private partnerships, in which local government plays one small role. Using virtually the same phraseology as Gerecke and Reid, Kiernan argues that the net result of this scenario has been the "evisceration of much of the urban planning capability of local government" (Kiernan, 1990:16). However, unlike Gerecke and Reid, Kiernan argues that in order to gain relevancy and influence, planning must be brought into the domain of a city's "development and expenditure function", that is, one supposes, planning should become more involved in urban economic development (Kiernan, 1990:20).

Smith has stated that "Since the 1960s and the early 1970s, neighbourhood organizations have emerged as powerful actors in the processes of urban development and planning" (Smith, 1991:1). In a similar vein, Hodge comments that, overall, "...the planning process has become more open..." (Hodge, 1991:371). In terms of both the theory and practice of planning, this involvement has manifested in neighbourhood planning, which, in conjunction with citizen involvement, also emerged in the 1970s. In fact, in Canada neighbourhood planning principles, notably participatory planning and an orientation towards rehabilitation over redevelopment, were embodied in national urban policy after 1973, namely the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program. "As the 1970s progressed", argues Smith, "participation in planning, at a neighbourhood scale, came more to be expected than regarded as the exception and neighbourhood preservation became the basis for inner-city neighbourhood planning policy" (Smith, 1991:34).

Neighbourhood-oriented planning is seen as having emerged as a reaction to neighbourhood-destroying forces which were present in the urban renewal policies of the 1950s and the 1960s. Inherent in neighbourhood planning is an element of protectionism: neighbourhood plans were (and still are) drafted not only as "...a guide for future development...more responsive to local characteristics, desires and problems" (Jones,

1991:6-7), but also "in preventing the wholesale redevelopment of neighbourhoods" (Smith, 1991:261). As discussed earlier in the chapter, city planning theorists and practitioners are seen to have played a leading role during the latter half of the 1960s and into the 1970s in facilitating a shift away from block-clearing redevelopment, towards more sensitive and socially (and politically) aware planning approaches.

Since the late 1970s, however, several authors have commented that the emphasis on small-scale, neighbourhood planning has retreated. Gerecke and Reid (1991a), for example, have argued that, "there has been a backing away from the amalgamation of social and physical planning which progressivists hailed in the 1960s" (p.61). Kiernan (1990) has made virtually the same observation, pointing out that the small-scale, preservation and participation-oriented planning modes of the late 1960s and 1970s have "declined in relative importance" since around 1978 (Kiernan, 1990:18). Both authors have attributed this recent shift to economistic-based reasons.

Kiernan attributes the shift away from neighbourhood-oriented planning to the emergence of an "increasingly pro-development climate engendered by the [1979 and onwards] recession" (Kiernan, 1990:18). Gerecke and Reid link the retreat from neighbourhood planning to the ascendance of deeper and wider forces, namely "*laissez-faire* corporatism" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:61). Planning, rather than assisting people during the processes of urban economic restructuring, has instead "played a role in amplifying rather than diminishing the social dislocation and urban polarization caused by the restructuring of our cities" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:61). Specifically, aligning cities to globalization trends, they argue, "provides a convenient and expedient way of legitimizing the abandonment of planning principles, while, at the same time, acting as a prop for the justification of corporate projects" (ibid.).

Economic development is seen by Fainstein (1991) as overriding in its ubiquity in

the US and UK contexts. She has argued that economic considerations in these places have even managed to penetrate planning at the neighbourhood level. Thus, Fainstein argues, planners who *do* operate at the neighbourhood level in support of low income or disempowered groups are severely constrained by the wider emphasis on urban economic advancement, and are forced to rely on obtaining "side-benefits" from development activity to further their objectives (Fainstein, 1991:31): "within the limits set by conservative national regimes" in these countries, argues Fainstein, "planners seeking to benefit low income people operate in the interstices" (p.31).

The retreat from neighbourhood planning which is being argued here, as well as the broader shift away from equity and social considerations argued by authors such as Fainstein (1991), appears as a retreat from some of the very principles advocated by planning theorists and practitioners in the late 1960s and early 1970s: principles which led to, and formed the basis for, neighbourhood planning in the first place. Indeed, in order to repair the "abandonment" of planning principles to which they allude, Gerecke and Reid suggest the implementation of six alternative principles, several of which--empowerment, expression of the uniqueness of neighbourhoods and other urban places, and initiation of "neighbourhood facilitators"--are reminiscent of the calls for change which emerged out of the 1950s and 1960s (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a:69-70).

2.5.4 Summary

The planned destruction of neighbourhoods during the 1950s and 1960s was predicated on the outcome of classifying them into various categories of physical state: stable, declining, blighted, and so forth. Smith (1990) links this categorization to the pervasive influence of rational-comprehensive theory on planning theory and practice in the 1950s and 1960s. Although not a theory as such, urban economic development has certainly

emerged as a pervasive influence on the administration of, and development in, cities, from London and New York to Regina and Winnipeg, as Figure 2 attempts to demonstrate graphically. In terms of the broader operational context of planning, Fainstein and Fainstein have argued that, "at present, ideas about urban development are far more conservative than they were in the 1960s and early 1970s".

However, "To be sure", Fainstein has later argued, "infrastructure planners always sought to improve economic function, and inner-city redevelopment planning has throughout the postwar period aimed at stimulating private investment" (Fainstein, 1991:22; also see Smith, 1990:200 in the Canadian context). But rational-comprehensive planning theory has been abandoned, argues Fainstein, because it is no longer even required as a justification for facilitating economic gain: this is because "The connection between the economic structure and planning legitimation is now straightforwardly claimed, and the tactics developed to stimulate economic growth are frankly enumerated" (Fainstein, 1991:23).

Has economic development replaced rational comprehensive theory as a central ideology informing planning 'theory' and practice and, if it has, can it be used as an expedient to justify the demolition of neighbourhoods, much as a greater public benefit was employed in the 1950s and 1960s? Several authors have described the linkages between urban economic development and contemporary (1980 and onwards) inner urban redevelopment in the US, Britain, *and* Canada. Other writers have explicitly viewed urban economic development as a source of potential threats to any neighbourhood located nearby, or in the path of, economic development-oriented redevelopment projects.

Wolfe (1994) places the emergence of economic development as an influence on planning theory in her analysis of the streams of thought and deeper socio-economic currents that have brought planning to its current state since its inception in the late 1800s (Wolfe, 1994). In keeping with the general political milieu noted by writers concerned with

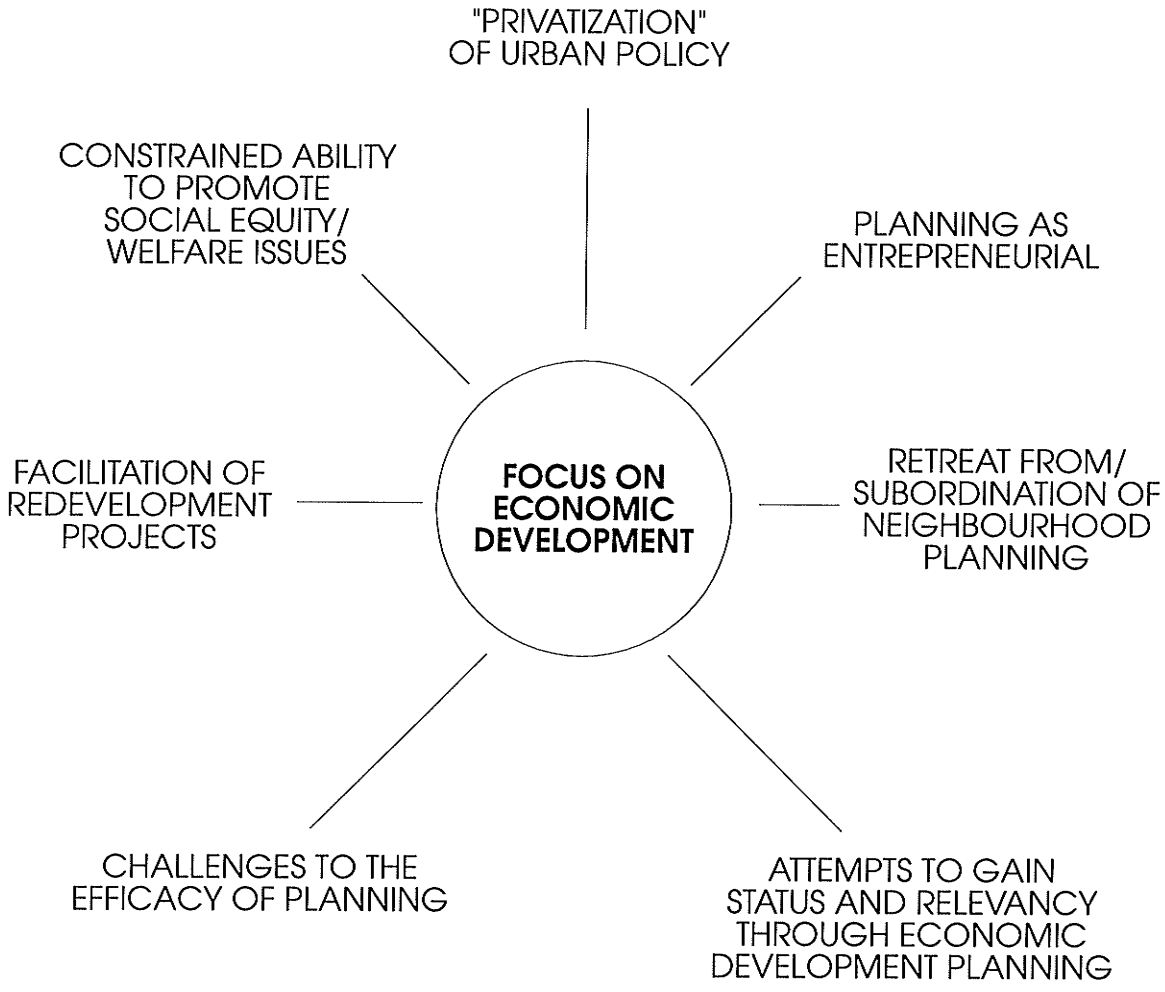


Figure 2

Urban Economic Development:
City Planning and Neighbourhood Planning

the US and UK experiences, Wolfe classifies the decade from 1980 to 1990 as one of neoconservatism for Canada and Canadian cities. Within this period, themes such as industrial restructuring and the global aspirations of cities emerged as components of "images of the city", while "styles of planning" moved towards seeing the planner as "entrepreneur" (Wolfe, 1994:10-11). However, as Wolfe has done, it would be more accurate to suggest that urban economic development is one of several concepts influencing contemporary planning theory and, therefore, the approach taken by planning to the neighbourhood. Yet, to be sure, economic development is seen to have exerted a powerful influence on planning in the last 15 years or so. As a result, some of the principles which underlie neighbourhood planning, such as locally based development, citizen participation, and social equity concerns, have been--and continue to be--subjected to pressures from a broader concern with urban economic development (Wolfe, 1994).

The remainder of the research is concerned with the case study issue outlined briefly in Chapter One and backgrounded, in terms of the study area, in Chapter Three. Chapter Four discusses the historical context of the threats posed to the integrity of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, and the response of city planning to such threats. In the context of the literature review, Chapter Four attempts to establish the basis for a later discussion of the emergence of UED as both a source of threat to the neighbourhood, and as a catalyst for planning policy approaches. Two main themes are of interest in this regard. The first theme is the *evolution* of UED as a threat to the neighbourhood, and as a potential influence on planning policy. The second theme is the historical emergence of neighbourhood planning for East Victoria Park, and the subsequent retreat from this kind of planning, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

3.0 STUDY AREA

The case research involves a study area consisting of two geographic entities located in the city of Calgary. The first is a small, relatively low income neighbourhood called East Victoria Park. The second entity is a major local tourist attraction, convention/trade exhibition, and sports and leisure complex called Stampede Park. East Victoria Park and Stampede Park are situated adjacent to one another in the inner city area of Calgary, Alberta (see Figure 3 and Figure 4), a city with a population of approximately 740,000 (City of Calgary, 1994).

3.1 STAMPEDE PARK

3.1.1 Location and Definition

Stampede Park is a 63 hectare tourism, convention, trade exhibition, and sports and leisure complex located in the inner city area of Calgary. Stampede Park is bounded on the north by 14 Avenue SE, on the east by the Elbow River, on the south by 25th Avenue SE., and on the west by a light rail transit (LRT) line as it enters the central business district (CBD) (see Figure 5). The daily management and programming of activities at Stampede Park is primarily the responsibility of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, a non-profit, quasi-government company. Ownership of the land and buildings which comprise Stampede Park, however, is by the City of Calgary, which has maintained ownership of all land utilized by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede (including any new land obtained through the expansion of Stampede Park) since 1901. The City of Calgary leases these lands to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede at a fixed annual rate of $1.00 (Gray, 1985:116) and, should the lease ever expire, all land and City-owned assets would revert to the management of the City of Calgary (CE&S, 1993).

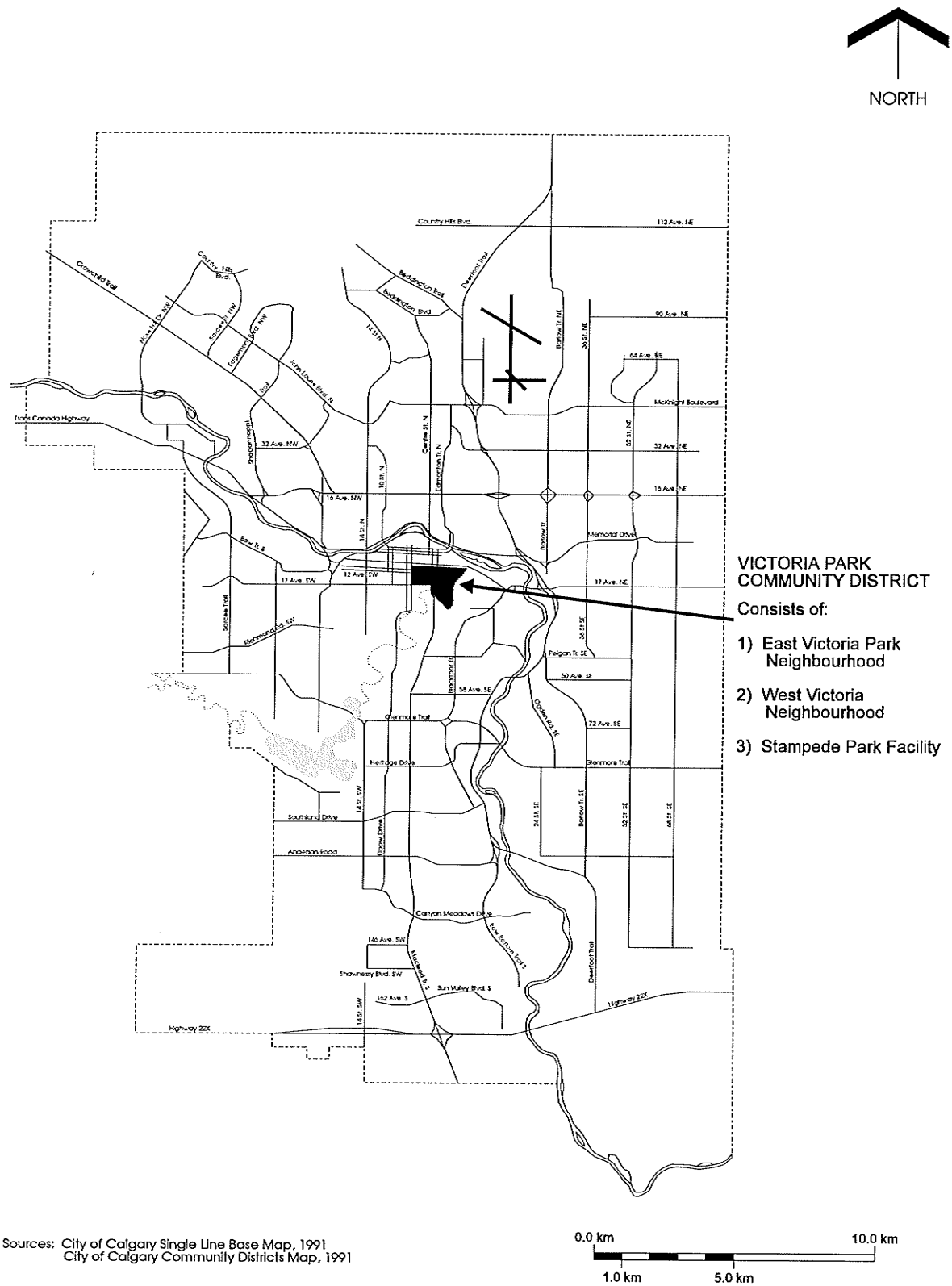
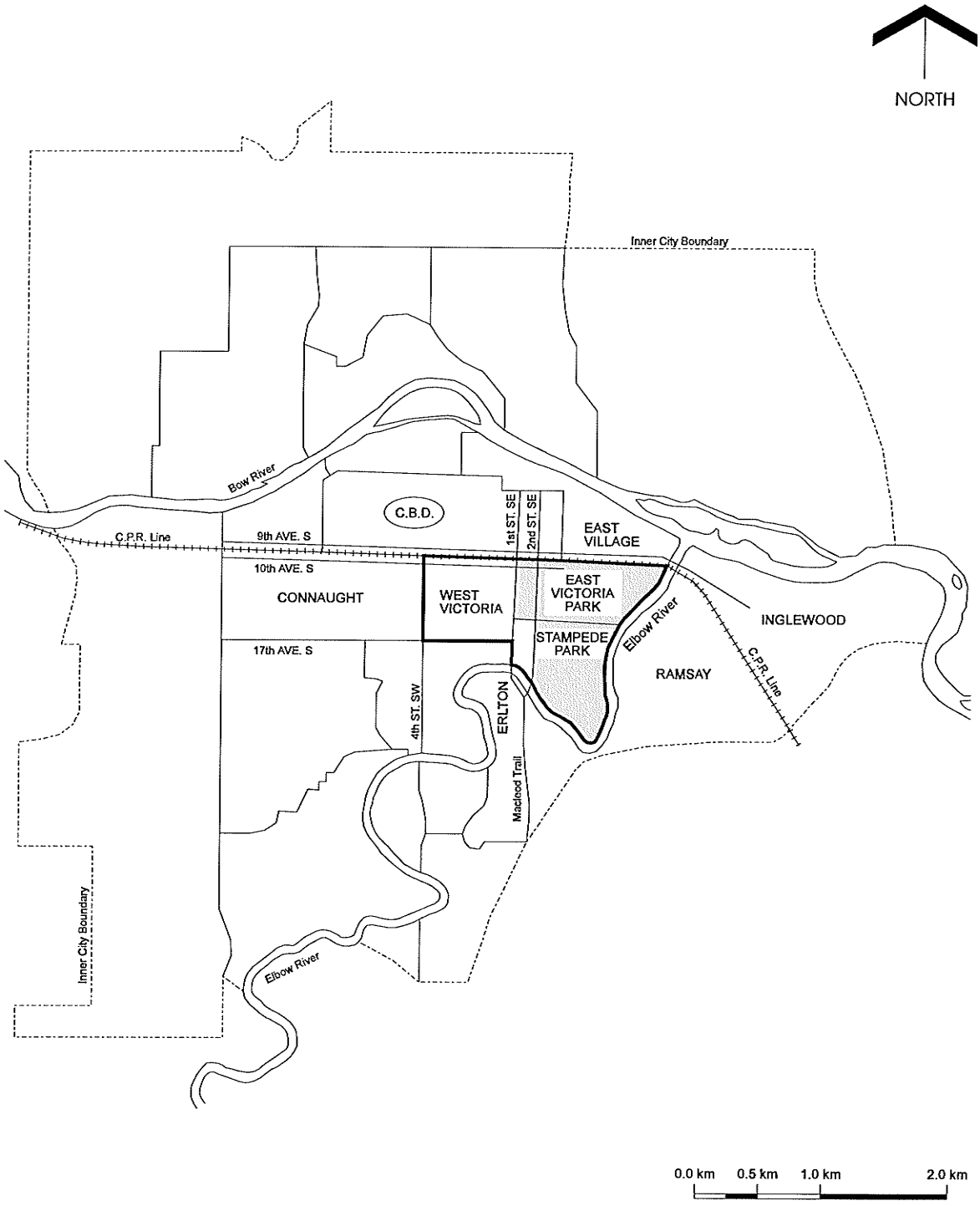


Figure 3

Victoria Park Community District
Location Map



Sources: City of Calgary Community Districts Map, 1991
The Inner City Plan, City of Calgary, 1979

Figure 4

East Victoria Park Neighbourhood & Stampede Park
Inner City / C.B.D. Context Map

3.1.2 Land Use

Stampede Park has existed in its present location since 1884 under various names. Labeled Victoria Park in 1889 (the neighbourhood assumed this name in 1905), the less formal title of 'exhibition grounds' was also used following the first Calgary Exhibition held there in 1886. During its formative years, the facility was limited largely to hosting agricultural exhibitions and fairs intended to promote horticultural aspects of the local and regional economies (Gray, 1985; Foran, 1978). Only in 1932, some twenty years following the introduction of rodeo and cowboys to the July festival in 1912 by American promoter Guy Weadick, was 'Stampede' attached to the organization's name and subsequently to the area from which it operates (Gray, 1985:21).

Stampede Park has experienced an ongoing spatial evolution since 1884. Originally, the park consisted of little more than open land and temporary structures designed to house agricultural exhibits. Infusion of state funds permitted a significant expansion of infrastructure in 1908, initiating an ongoing process of development and redevelopment within Stampede Park. Since the 1920s, expansion of the Park and/ or the reorganization of internal space has been sporadic and ad-hoc in nature; responses to changing market demands, shifts in the role and function of the Park, and the emergence of new promotional ideas (Gray, 1985). On occasion, however, this erratic development pattern was interrupted by periods of more strategic planning (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993), most noticeably during the last 35 years (Gray, 1985:45-46; 163).

The culmination of a process of constant change during the life of Stampede Park is today a highly specialized, large-scale tourism and leisure complex, containing a substantial agglomeration of large, permanent structures representing considerable public capital investment and a substantial operating commitment. In 1992 the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede held capital assets worth more than $111 million, of which approximately

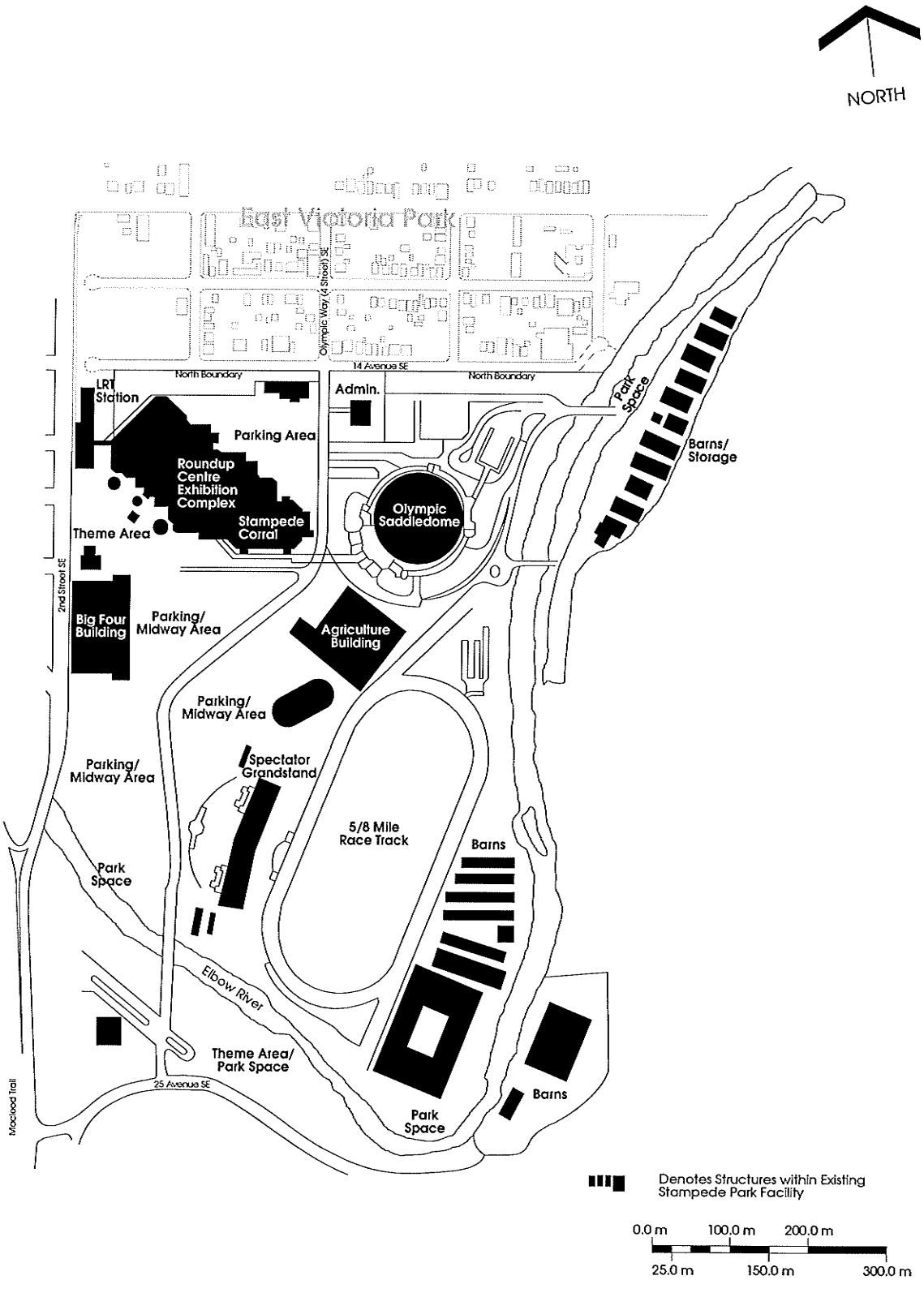


Figure 5

Existing Stampede Park Facility
Area Map

$67 million consisted of buildings and equipment, and $11.5 million of land (excluding the $100,000,000 Olympic Saddledome[1], which is owned by the City of Calgary) (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede , 1993). Daily operation of Stampede Park during 1992 cost approximately $51 million, and generated a gross revenue of almost $61 million (ibid., 31).

There are currently four primary groupings of land uses located within Stampede Park, as well as a number of ancillary uses dedicated to storage, service and administrative functions necessary to the day to day operation of a large multi-use facility of this kind (see Table 1). The primary uses are utilized most heavily during an intense peak period which occurs during the annual Calgary Stampede. During the remainder of the year however, most of the infrastructure is used far less intensively, and is given over primarily to catering to the leisure and consumer demands of the local population. The result of this peak/ non-peak operational characteristic of Stampede Park is a facility that has historically been designed to cater to the peak period of usage. Thus Stampede Park appears under-used to the casual observer for most of the year: an expanse of asphalted open space thriving with activity during the Calgary Stampede is transformed into what is essentially a large surface parking lot for the remainder of the year.

The first of the land use groupings consists of a 5/8 mile horse racing track and spectator grandstand, which are supplemented by an enclosed agriculture pavilion (called the Agriculture Building), horse barns and ancillary storage areas. The race track and grandstand have historically formed the centerpiece of Stampede Park in Stampede Park, and are most closely associated with the annual Calgary Stampede and the projection of the agricultural and 'wild west' imagery of the Calgary Stampede. Livestock exhibits offered for

[1]Approximate 1982 cost of construction.

competition judging and tourism attraction purposes are housed in the Agriculture Building during the annual Stampede event. Completed in 1919, the Agriculture Building is the oldest permanent structure in Stampede Park.

Table 1
Stampede Park: Land Use, 1991

LAND USE	HECTARES	ACRES	%
5/8 Mile Race Track, Spectator Grandstand and Barns	24.9	61.6	39
Indoor Exhibition Buildings: Round-Up Centre; Big 4 Building; Corral	3.8	9.3	6
Parking/ Midway	10.1	24.9	16
Parks/ Plazas, Buffers, Riverbank, "Indian Village" and "Western" Theme Areas	8.7	21.4	14
Calgary Olympic Saddledome	7.3	18	12
Agricultural Buildings	2.8	6.9	4
Administration, Storage, Roadways, Other	5.5	13.7	9
TOTAL	63.1	**155.8**	**100**

Source: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Ltd., 1991b.

The second primary land use grouping provides space for the trade, consumer and exhibition events that occur during the annual Calgary Stampede and on a year-round basis, and consists of the Round-Up Centre, the Big Four building, and the Stampede Corral. Stampede Park contains approximately 46,500 gross square metres of exposition space (CE&S, 1993). Most consumer, trade and business exhibitions are staged at the Round-Up Centre, which contains 260,000 square feet of gross floor space (of which 150,000 square feet (13,935 square metres) are net exhibit space) Completed in 1982, the Round-Up Centre is one of the most contemporary buildings at Stampede Park. The Big Four building was completed in 1959, and is named for the four men responsible for organizing and funding the first true 'Calgary Stampede' in 1912—George Lane, A.E. Cross, Patrick Burns, and A.J. MacLean. In addition to hosting smaller exhibitions and large, specialized consumer-

oriented events targeting the local population, the Big Four Building also houses the Frontier Casino, a popular local gambling venue. The Stampede Corral is a circa-1950 indoor hockey arena that is now used for some exhibition purposes.

The third large land use group is the open space that dominates Stampede Park. Surface parking is by far the largest component of open space (or of any land use), with enough parking for some 2,000 vehicles. Public parking at Stampede Park is required on a year-round basis primarily for events held in the consumer and trade exhibition buildings and for hockey games and other attractions at the Olympic Saddledome. A large portion of the parking area is given over to the midway entertainment venue during the annual Calgary Stampede. This results in a drastic shortage of parking space at Stampede Park and a significant overspill into surrounding areas—particularly into East Victoria Park—allowing owners of vacant land to annually reap substantial profits operating temporary parking lots. Other open spaces at Stampede Park, which include 'wild west theme' areas and rest areas are heavily utilized during the Calgary Stampede. As is the case with the midway/parking areas, however, usage of these open spaces dwindles during the remainder of the year.

The fourth and final major land use grouping consists of the Olympic Saddledome hockey arena, a local sports icon famous for its saddle-like shape. The Olympic Saddledome is a 17,000-seat ice hockey venue originally constructed for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, and has since been utilized by the Calgary Flames NHL hockey club as their home arena. Although the Olympic Saddledome is located within the physical boundaries of Stampede Park, the land occupied by this facility was removed from the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede lease area by the City of Calgary following its construction. Daily operation of the Olympic Saddledome, which is owned by the City of Calgary, was subsequently given over to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, while the building is overseen by the Saddledome Foundation, a joint provincial-municipal administrative body.

3.1.3 Roles and Functions

Stampede Park is the primary tourist attraction in Calgary. It is most widely recognized as the site of the Calgary Stampede, a ten day event held annually in early July. The Calgary Stampede is a hallmark event, defined by Ritchie (1984) as:

> Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and / or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention (p. 2).

Within this definition, Ritchie provides a classification of seven types of hallmark event: world fairs and expositions; unique carnivals and festivals; major sports events; significant cultural and religious events; historical milestones; classical commercial and agricultural events; and major political and personage events (ibid.). The Calgary Stampede fits within the 'unique carnivals and festivals' category of hallmark events as defined by Ritchie.

The first Calgary Exhibition was held at Stampede Park in 1886. After 1912 the Exhibition became increasingly commercialized under the aggressive promotion of an American circus and entertainment promoter called Guy Weadick. Weadick introduced the term 'Stampede' to the title of the event in 1912 and introduced bronco riding, bareback riding, calf roping, and other agriculture/ entertainment variations (Gray, 1985). The 'show business' aspects of the event initiated under the direction of Weadick continued as Stampede Park evolved as a tourist attraction, such that by 1941:

> "The Stampede promotional material could quote with pride the statement of J. C. Tracy of the NBC that the Calgary Stampede was one of the 'big three' annual events of the North American continent. (The other two were the World Series of Baseball and the Indianapolis 500 auto race). But it had also developed into Canada's most important livestock activities-center as well" (Gray, 1985, 114).

However, the orientation of the Stampede began to change again in the 1960s, as agriculture underwent a process of structural change in the context of the regional economy: farms were growing larger while the farm population shrank, in other words, polarization was taking place. Furthermore, oil was becoming more important as a local resource and as a driver of the local and regional economies. These factors—particularly the emergence of an energy-based economy—caused a major contextual shift for the Stampede as a tourist attraction, best summarized by Gray (1985):

> "[Calgary] would become a constituency less orientated toward bucking horse riding and rodeoing than toward rock and roll music...the percentage of the audience that could tell the difference between a poor ride and a good ride on a bucking horse dwindled and shrank" (p. 161).

The result was an expansion in the scope of Stampede Park as a tourist attraction in the 1970s, characterized largely by the movement towards becoming a year-round entertainment venue for popular music concerts, rodeo events, and higher-level hallmark events such as the 1972 World Figure Skating Championships (ibid.:163).

The contemporary relationship between the Calgary Stampede as a tourist attraction and the image of the city of Calgary is now well-established, and is summarized in the promotional literature: "In many ways the Calgary Stampede is synonymous with Calgary. It is the single [tourism] event that attracts attention around the world." (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1993). Ritchie (1994) summarizes the role of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede as a tourist attraction and civic booster: "The Calgary Stampede, touted since 1912 as "the greatest outdoor show in earth", [has] created a dynamic international image for the city. Perhaps more important, it has engendered civic pride and endowed the city with

a spirit of volunteerism" (n.p.). The 'western hospitality' theme often promoted in Calgary and Alberta—of which the Calgary Stampede is a central component—extends into many aspects of the Calgary society and its economy, and is linked directly to the promotion of Calgary not only as a tourist attraction, but of equal importance as an industrial and business investment opportunity as well (City of Calgary, 1994a).

The Calgary Stampede is now a ten day event, held in early July of each year. Although many Stampede festivities take place throughout the entire city of Calgary during the event, the nucleus of the festive activity is Stampede Park itself. Basically, three types of activity comprise the Calgary Stampede: a rodeo, midway and entertainment activities, and a range of exhibits and demonstrations. The rodeo is the central tourist attraction within the Calgary Stampede. The rodeo consists of bronco (bucking horse) and bull riding, calf roping, and the chuck wagon races, and forms a component of the North American professional rodeo 'circuit'. Rodeo is a professional sport, and approximately $500,000 in prize money is disbursed to the winning athletes who participate in the rodeo events at the Calgary Stampede (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1991a).

'Midway' refers to the traveling fairground, food and beverage concessionaires and games of chance which assemble temporarily for the ten day event. The midway consists of the mixture of thrill rides, dance and drinking halls, shooting gallery-type game stands, and so forth common to most traveling fairs. Additional entertainment venues at the Calgary Stampede consist of an evening variety stage show, casino gambling, dancing, and popular music concerts. The third major activity category consists of exhibitions and demonstrations. These are both promotional and educational, and relate to agriculture

(equipment, livestock, etc.), non-profit organizations, and various commercial vendors. Financially, the midway earned the second highest gross revenue in 1993, generating $3,329,374, while the evening grandstand variety show and rodeo events generated $3,079,608 and $2,724,716 respectively (Calgary Exhibition and Stamped, 1993).

The Calgary Stampede is popular and well-received by the Calgary and regional populations, which comprise approximately 70% of attendees at the annual event. However, the event also has a strong national and international profile, attracting many out-of-town visitors to Calgary (particularly from the United States) who comprise the remaining 30% of attendees. Attendance figures compiled by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede indicate that attendance at the annual Calgary Stampede in 1993 was 1,132,458 (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1993), with the highest recorded attendance to date of 1,190,671 having been recorded in 1989 (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1990). Gate admissions generated $4,353,104 in 1993 making them the highest gross revenue generator at Stampede Park.

In addition to the annual Calgary Stampede tourist event, Stampede Park serves as a venue for conventions and trade exhibitions, sports and leisure events, consumer-oriented events, and social and fund-raising events on a year-round basis.

Stampede Park is one of the two main convention facilities located in Calgary; the other is the Calgary Convention Centre, which is located in the CBD to the northwest of Stampede Park. The conventions and trade exhibitions held at Stampede Park currently take place primarily in the Roundup Centre, while the other exposition areas at Stampede Park are utilized to a lesser extent. Political, professional, trade and other types of convention are held at Stampede Park, as well as industry trade exhibitions such as oil and gas exploration,

computer technologies, and so forth. In addition to the conventions and trade exhibitions, consumer-oriented events aimed at the general public also take place at Stampede Park. These kinds of events include the car, boat, and home and garden shows commonplace in nearly all Canadian and other North American cities. Large-scale consumer purchasing events such as 'clearance' and 'wholesale' sales requiring a great amount of contiguous floor space are also held at Stampede Park.

Stampede Park serves as an important entertainment and leisure venue for the local population. The Saddledome arena, like most facilities of its kind, is used to stage popular music concerts, circuses, ice skating exhibitions, and so forth in addition to its primary role as an ice hockey arena. Gambling—an activity of growing popularity in Alberta—is also available at the Stampede Park Frontier Casino. Horse racing—which has a long tradition at Stampede Park—is the oldest form of gambling available here. More recently a casino, complete with video lottery and other video gambling mediums have been added to the offering at Stampede Park.

Consistent with the image and the historical theme of Stampede Park, agricultural events also form a component of the year-round activities. Such events include seasonal equestrian and livestock shows, agricultural production exhibitions and competitions, rodeo events, and the 'Calgary Bull Sale', a large livestock auction that is well-known within the local and regional cattle industries. For most of the local urban population, however, the agricultural events held at Stampede Park are overshadowed by the major-league sports and entertainment events found in many large Canadian cities. However, it is the agricultural and 'wild west' aspects of the Calgary Stampede which differentiate it from similar leisure,

tourism and consumer venues located in other Canadian and North American urban centres.

3.2 STAMPEDE PARK EXPANSION PROPOSAL

On February 28, 1991 the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited[2] submitted to the City of Calgary a proposal to expand Stampede Park. The expansion proposal contained two central requests. The first was that City Council approve in principle the expansion of Stampede Park in a northerly direction over the area occupied by a small neighbourhood called East Victoria Park to increase the size of Stampede Park from 63 hectares to 95 hectares. The second request was that the City of Calgary amend or remove any existing policies and legal agreements in place which would otherwise prevent the expansion from occurring. Essentially, these latter items consisted of two important documents: a special area plan adopted by City Council in 1984 designating East Victoria Park as an area for residential and commercial redevelopment; and a legal agreement made between the City of Calgary and a Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in 1968 prohibiting the expansion of Stampede Park into East Victoria Park.

The requests made by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede were submitted with a large volume of supporting information in a document entitled *The New Horizon 2000*

[2]The organization responsible for operating Stampede Park: Chapter Five provides an overview of this organization.

Vision: The Case For Expansion (hereinafter abbreviated as *Horizon 2000*).[3] The supporting information contained in *Horizon 2000* was intended to establish a case for permitting the expansion of Stampede Park into East Victoria Park, based primarily on the economic benefits of Stampede Park and Stampede Park expansion, and diametrically, the futility of attempting to revitalize East Victoria Park as a residential and commercial area. In addition to such arguments, *Horizon 2000* contains a concept plan detailing the mixture and size of the various land uses which would be incorporated in the expanded Stampede Park area.

The central goal forwarded in support of expanding Stampede Park in *Horizon 2000* is the need to significantly increase the profile and competitiveness of Stampede Park within the Canadian, North American, and global market-places. This central aim, in turn, is composed of two interrelated objectives. The first of these is to transform Stampede Park into a "world-class" tourist attraction (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1991b:2, 26, 44). It is argued in *Horizon 2000* that despite the high profile and current success of the annual Calgary Stampede event, Stampede Park is largely underused as a tourist attraction for the remaining 355 days in each year (ibid.:33; 34). The solution to this problem, therefore, and the key to heightening the profile of Stampede Park as a tourist attraction, is to completely transform Stampede Park so that it becomes a tourist attraction on a year-round basis instead

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[3]The official release of *Horizon 2000* was preceded by the completion of a draft version of *Horizon 2000* entitled *Horizon 2000: A Strategic Planning Study regarding the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede* in late 1989, and the official release of the draft in early 1990.

of a seasonal venue: "an expanded role for the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, and in some respects, a *new role*" (ibid.:26. Italics added).

The second objective is to bolster the competitiveness of Stampede Park as a convention and trade exhibition venue. Competitive advantage is viewed as vital to the future of the convention and trade exhibition components at Stampede Park and, by extension, to Calgary as a whole (ibid.:18, 30). In order to stay abreast of other Canadian centres such as Toronto, Vancouver , Edmonton and Montreal (ibid.:18), *Horizon 2000* calls for enacting the necessary measures, "as soon as possible" (ibid.:18, 32). For the most part, this entails expanding and refitting the Roundup Centre trade exhibition facility. However, making Stampede Park more attractive as a convention and trade exhibition venue is also linked to the revamping of Stampede Park as a better tourist attraction.

Indeed, the roles of trade and consumer venue and tourist attraction are intended to mutually reinforce each other under the central goal of tourism development in *Horizon 2000*. The vision of an expanded and remodeled Stampede Park in *Horizon 2000* is therefore one of a self-contained tourism and "entertainment landscape" (ibid.:128), combining tourist attractions, and leisure and entertainment activities for the local population with trade exhibition and consumer venues, all packaged inside "a distinctive western theme" park setting (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1991b:35). Passive park spaces, food and retail outlets, and a luxury hotel complete the vision, thus:

> "Stampede Park will become a year-round destination point for tourists and Calgarians alike, attracted by a world-class western theme park, and abundance of open space and amenity areas, and an expanded trade show facility (ibid., 2).
> ...live performances and exhibits representative of our aboriginal culture, restaurants, hotels, band attractions, Young Canadians productions, and other such activities

> which would promote a year-round western carnival, where conventions, trade fairs and tourists generally could visit the Park to enjoy a western theme of barbecues, rodeo, dancing, music, shopping and leisure activities" (ibid.:35).

Creating this enhanced tourism landscape proposed locating five major land use components in the expansion area, namely: a new agricultural exhibition complex; new park spaces; additional area for the traveling midway; a centrally-located entertainment and retail 'hub'; and expanded trade exhibition and convention facilities. Although a portion of this redevelopment process would occur within the existing Park boundaries, the vast majority of upgrading would take place on what is now the East Victoria Park neighbourhood (see Figures 6 and 7). The additional space, it is argued in *Horizon 2000*, is mandated to accommodate an additional 500,000 patrons during the annual Calgary Stampede[4], and to boost the profile of the Park as a major year-round tourist attraction and trade exhibition and convention venue (ibid.:33, 36).

The proclaimed tourism centrepiece of the expansion proposal is a mixed use theme area called 'Stampede Crossing' in the *Horizon 2000* proposal: a 5.5 hectare area consisting of gift and specialty shops, restaurants, drinking establishments, a dance hall, a "western movie house", and agricultural/western interpretive facilities arranged around a central plaza (ibid.:142). Stampede Crossing would be imbued with a wild west theme; a contrived sense of place drawing for conceptual formulation on established urban 'character areas' in North America such as Granville Island in Vancouver and Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco

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[4]An increase from 1.2 million patrons during the 1990 Calgary Stampede to a projected 1.7 million by 2006 (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1991b, 33).

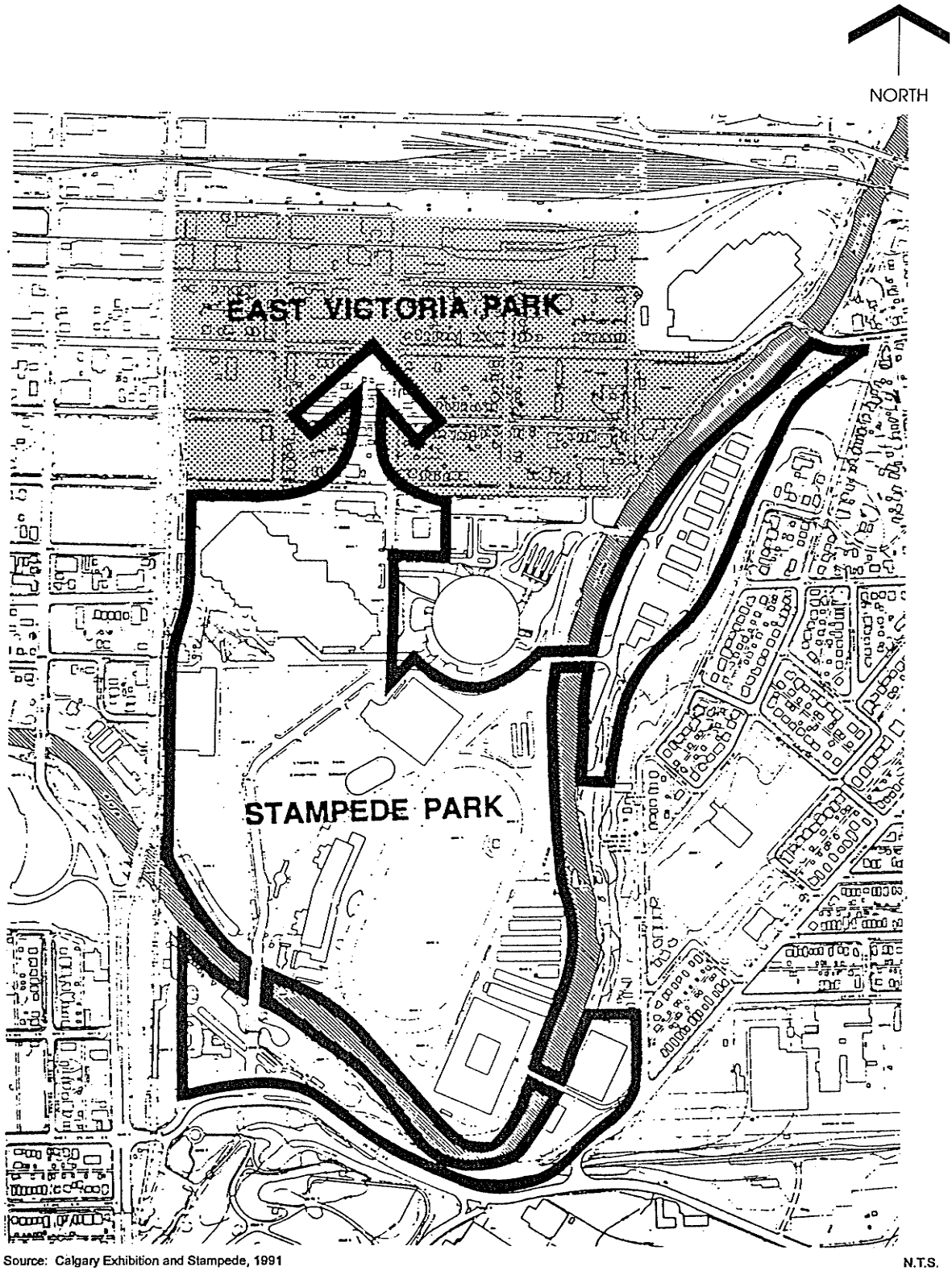
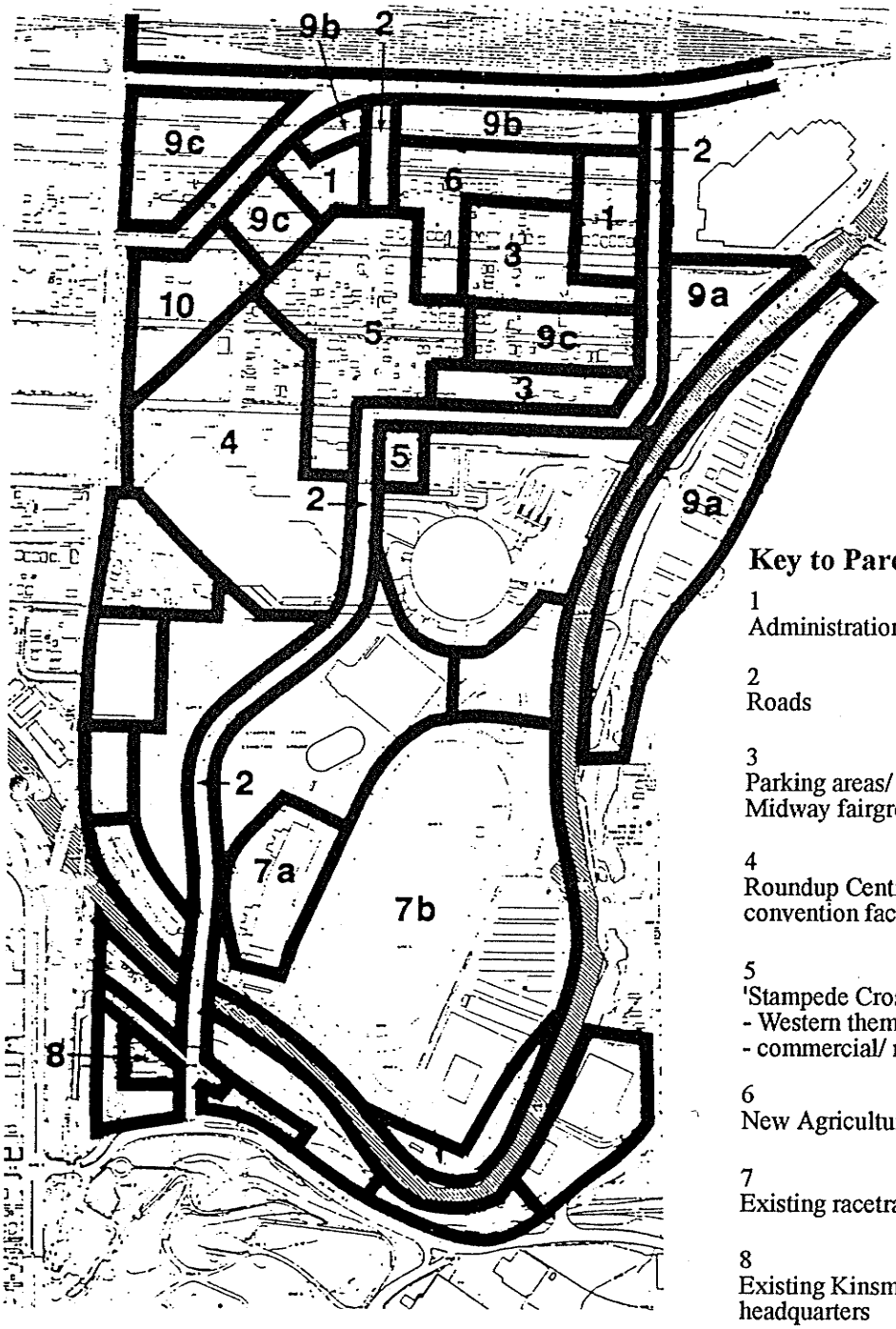


Figure 6

Stampede Park Expansion as Proposed by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in 1991



NORTH

Key to Parcel Areas on Map:

1
Administration/ storage

2
Roads

3
Parking areas/
Midway fairground

4
Roundup Centre trade exhibition/
convention facility expansion

5
'Stampede Crossing' theme area:
- Western theme/ interpretive sites
- commercial/ retail/ entertainment

6
New Agriculture Complex

7
Existing racetrack and Grandstand

8
Existing Kinsmen social charity
headquarters

9
Parks/ Plazas/ Buffers/ Rest Areas

10
Hotel/ Entertainment development

Source: *The New Horizon 2000: The Case for Expansion.* Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. 1991

N.T.S.

Figure 7

Stampede Park Expansion Components

(ibid.:27). Stampede Crossing would be open to the local public and to tourists on a year-round basis to act as the "flagship directed towards attracting more tourists to Calgary" during what is normally the off-season at Stampede Park (ibid.:75).

Horizon 2000 proposes expanding the area available to the midway from 10 hectares to 14 hectares to accommodate more tourists, as well as more and larger fairground attractions (ibid.:24, 25). Because midway space by its nature consists of large expanses of asphalt, the expanded midway space would be given over to parking during the off-season, which is seen as necessary to replace the 1,800 or so stalls currently located in East Victoria Park which would be eliminated by expanding Stampede Park. Approximately 2,500 parking stalls would be accommodated in the expanded midway area. Parks and open space comprise the third major land use category envisioned for the expansion area. These areas—consisting of green space, plazas, buffers, promenades, venues for festivals, outdoor concerts, and ice skating (ibid.:35, 37)—would increase significantly from 8 hectares to 21 hectares (ibid.:146).

The fourth land use category envisioned for the expansion area is a new agricultural exhibition complex. The new complex, to occupy approximately four hectares on what is the northeast corner of East Victoria Park, would be a replacement for the old Agriculture Building, which would be demolished to make way for parking and midway space within the existing Stampede Park site. The new facility would include a permanent "tourist-oriented" 3,000 seat livestock show ring and agriculture industry interpretive and educational facilities (ibid.:41, 42). This expansion is also required partly to provide more space so that the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede may host larger "regional, national and international

[agriculture] shows" (ibid.:23) in a cleaner, more efficient environment (ibid.:42).

The fifth component of the expansion concept is an expanded and remodeled Roundup Centre trade exhibition and convention facility. The existing facility, which consists of 13,935 square meters of net exhibit space, would be more than doubled in size to 32,515 square meters (ibid.:137). Due to the nature of consumer and trade exhibition shows, this space must be located on a contiguous, flat ground floor level. In addition to the exhibit space, the new Roundup Centre will require meeting rooms, new food service facilities, improved ventilation and lighting, audio-visual and teleconferencing capabilities, and larger loading and storage areas (ibid.:18, 31, 32). In addition to the Roundup Centre expansion, a privately developed hotel, with ancillary entertainment venues, retail shops and restaurants is envisioned attached to the expanded Roundup Centre (ibid.:144).

3.3 IMPACTED NEIGHBOURHOOD: A PROFILE OF EAST VICTORIA PARK

3.3.1 Location and Definition

East Victoria Park is a small neighbourhood located immediately to the southeast of the Calgary CBD (refer to Figures 3 and 4). As defined by the City of Calgary (1984), East Victoria Park covers approximately 46 hectares bounded by the Elbow River to the east, 1st Street SE to the west, a CP Rail line and switching yard to the north, and 14th and 17th Avenues SE[5] to the south.

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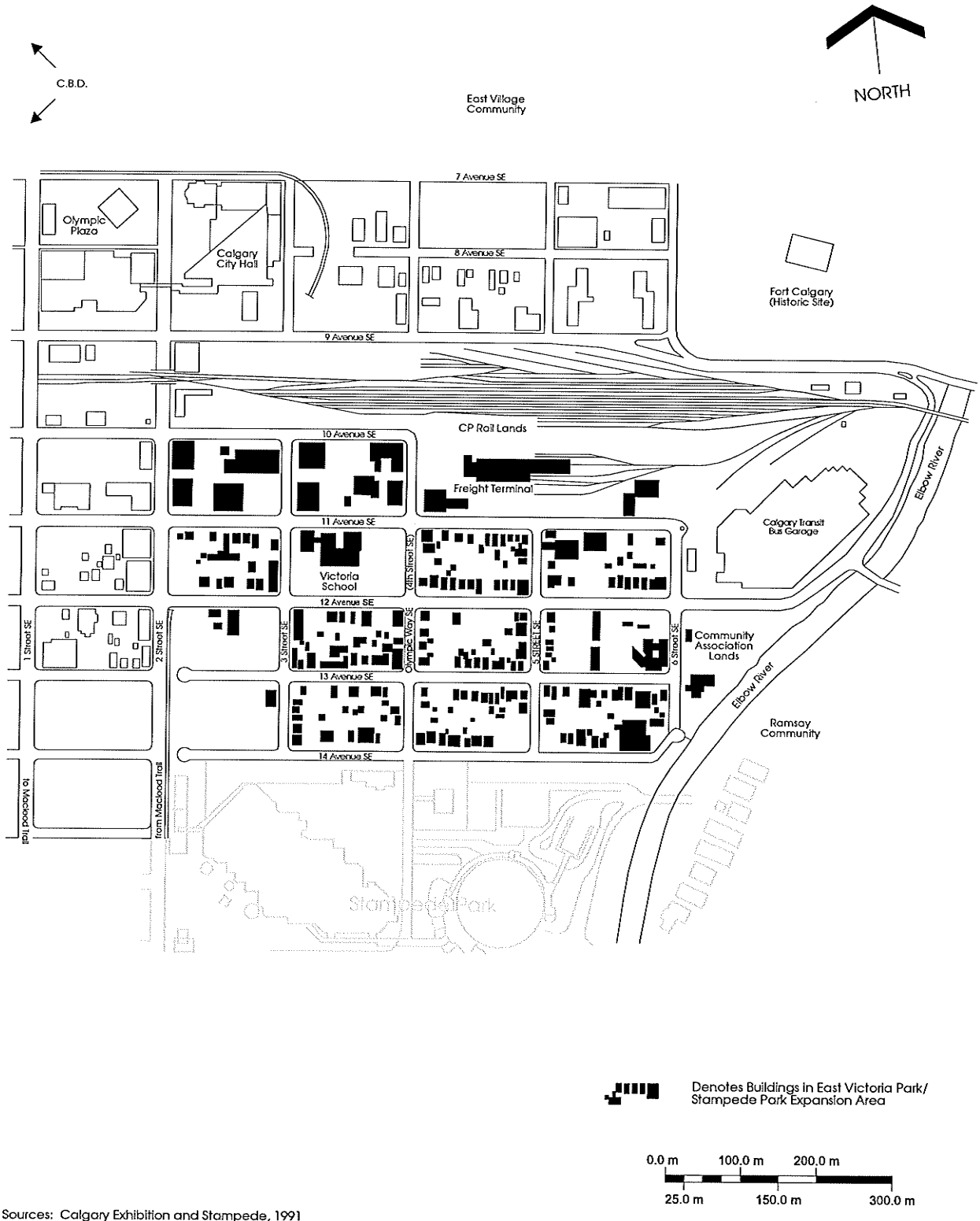
[5]Calgary is divided into four quadrants, or sectors, for the purpose of street addressing. The suffixes N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W. follow Calgary street names and numbers to indicate their location within this sector system.

The area directly threatened by the proposal to expand Stampede Park is somewhat smaller, consisting of approximately 32 hectares bounded by the Elbow River to east, 2nd Street SE to the west, the CP Rail line and 10th Avenue SE to the north, and 14th Avenue SE to the south, (see Figure 8). The focus of the case research is on the latter—ie. smaller—geographic area, and will be referred to variously hereafter as 'East Victoria Park', 'the neighbourhood' and the '[Stampede Park] expansion area'. Most of Stampede Park is located immediately to the south of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, from which it is separated by the 14th Avenue SE roadway and an earth berm. A smaller portion of Stampede Park, used for storage, is located to the east of East Victoria Park across the Elbow River, thereby effectively surrounding the neighbourhood on two sides.

In terms of land use, East Victoria Park is characterized by two primary areas: a mixture of light industrial and office/ commercial uses located in the north quarter of the neighbourhood; and a mixture of residential, community institutional, and local business uses in the south three-quarters of the neighbourhood. The result of this composition is that residential uses located in the southernmost portion of the neighbourhood abut the north edge of Stampede Park, with very little separation in terms of a buffer zone. Table 2 provides a detailed summary of land uses in East Victoria Park. Light industrial and commercial uses in the north end of the neighbourhood consist of a CP Rail inter-modal freight terminal, a small amount of modern office space and wholesale / distribution activities, and turn of the



Sources: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1991
City of Calgary, 1984

Figure 8

East Victoria Park Neighbourhood Area Map

century warehouses now occupied by retail activities or in a vacant state.[6]

Table 2

East Victoria Park: Land Use, 1991

LAND USE	HECTARES	ACRES	%
Single Family Housing	3.36	8.30	10.50
Multiple Conversion Units	2.52	6.23	7.89
Apartments	1.18	2.92	3.69
Mixed Residential / Commercial	0.18	0.44	0.56
Commercial	2.86	7.06	8.94
School, Church, Social Services, Senior Citizen Housing Complex	2.82	5.73	7.25
Open Space	1.62	4.00	5.07
Vacant	5.01	12.38	15.67
Utilities	1.10	2.71	3.44
CP Rail Freight Terminal	3.40	8.39	10.63
Roads	8.43	20.83	26.36
TOTAL	**31.98**	**78.99**	**100**

The residential area south of 11th Avenue SE consists of low-rise multiple family dwellings (apartments), converted rooming house units (single resident occupancy, or SRO), some single family homes, and a senior citizen's retirement complex which houses 45 people. In addition to its housing stock, this area contains the Victoria School (a community elementary school built in 1903), the Victoria Community Association hall, several small corner grocery stores, and institutional and social-service uses.

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[6]See Jamieson et al 1976, and Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993 for historical accounts of the brick warehouse structures in the north end of East Victoria Park, and for explanations regarding the historical significance of some of these structures.

The majority of the housing stock in East Victoria Park was constructed between 1906 and World War I on a gridiron street pattern established by the CPR in 1887 (City of Calgary, 1994:1; Jamieson et al., 1976; Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993). Much of this original stock has not been upgraded or maintained sufficiently to offset the effects of aging, which has resulted in the decline and/ or demolition of many structures, and the creation of a significant number of vacant lots scattered throughout the neighbourhood. Despite the apparent physical decline of East Victoria Park, however, there are individual properties and pockets of properties that have been well maintained and, in some cases, upgraded by their owners. This contrast between building conditions not only reflects past and ongoing changes in population, employment and income in the neighbourhood, but also derives from the historically inconsistent application of politics and policy to the area.

3.3.2 Socio-Demographic Profile

The following profile is based on 1986 Statistics Canada census data and statistical information compiled by the Corporate Resources and Social Services departments of the City of Calgary. East Victoria Park falls within a portion of Census Tract 042, Enumeration Areas 62, 63, 66, and 251. The population of East Victoria Park has experienced a net population loss since the 1920s which has been characterized by alternating periods of steady and rapid decline. More recently, the population of East Victoria Park has experienced a net loss from 1,482 people in 1980 to 956 in 1990. The actual population has fluctuated over this time period, however, from 933 in 1986 to 852 in 1989, and up to 956 in 1990. As an inner city neighbourhood, the trend of population decline is not unique to East Victoria Park.

However, several inner city neighbourhoods, some of which are in close proximity to East Victoria Park, have arrested and in some cases reversed population decline as a result of regenerative activity. Furthermore, while the population of East Victoria Park has steadily declined over time, that of the city as a whole has increased.

As Table 3 illustrates, East Victoria Park contained almost twice as many males as females in 1990 (almost two males to each female), compared to Calgary as a whole, which had a more balanced ratio (approximately one male to female). The City of Calgary Social Services department has concluded that this demographic characteristic likely stems from the availability of affordable housing stock in East Victoria Park which caters to the needs of single men (City of Calgary, 1991b:2). East Victoria Park also contains a large percentage of older people, while the younger age groups (to age 45) are under-represented compared to Calgary as a whole.

Family structure data for East Victoria Park has been compiled by the City of Calgary for 1986 only. A large percentage of households in East Victoria Park were composed of one person in 1986. Approximately 43% of people over the age of 15 have never married, while 9% are widowed and 10% divorced. Most families in East Victoria Park have children (67%, or approximately the Calgary average), and 20% of families are headed by a lone parent (see Table 4).

East Victoria Park is a relatively poor neighbourhood compared to the Calgary average. The City of Calgary Social Services department found that the average family income in 1986 was $16,338 (in 1990 dollars).

Table 3
East Victoria Park: Age & Gender Data, 1990

Age Group	East Victoria Park		Calgary	
	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 19	**164**	**17.1**	**192.800**	**27.9**
20 - 24	**120**	**12.6**	**57,100**	**8.2**
Male	79			
Female	41			
25 - 34	**194**	**20.3**	**154, 760**	**22.3**
Male	133			
Female	61			
35 - 44	**121**	**12.6**	**122,940**	**17.7**
Male	90			
Female	31			
45 - 54	**105**	**10.9**	**67,300**	**9.7**
Male	82			
Female	23			
55 - 64	**94**	**9.9**	**46,500**	**6.7**
Male	64			
Female	30			
65+	**112**	**11.7**	**51,600**	**7.5**
Male	59			
Female	53			
All Age Groups	**956**	**100.0**	**693,000**	**100.0**
Male	609		347,100	
Female	301		345,900	

Source: City of Calgary Social Services Department, 1991b

On average, men living in East Victoria Park earned $10,345 per year, while women earned $8,424. Approximately one quarter of the population receives various forms of income supplement or social assistance (City of Calgary, 1991a; see Table 5).

Table 4
East Victoria Park: Family Structure Data, 1986

Family Structure	East Victoria Park		Calgary	
	Number	%	Number	%
MARITAL STATUS (15+)				
Single	333	43.4	140,150	28.0
Married	287	37.7	311,710	62.3
Widowed	67	8.7	22,255	4.5
Divorced/Separated	80	10.4	25,850	5.2
TOTAL	**767**	**100.0**	**499,965**	**100.0**
FAMILY STRUCTURE				
Lone Parent Families	25	20.0	21,530	12.8
Families with Children	85	66.9	110,500	65.9
ALL FAMILIES	**127**	**100.0**	**167,770**	**100.0**

Source: City of Calgary Social Services Department, 1991b

City of Calgary Social Services data reveals a total of 424 occupied dwelling units in East Victoria Park in 1986, with an owner occupancy ratio of 9.7 percent (City of Calgary, 1991b). Recent (1991) owner-occupancy data is only available from the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, which has estimated approximately 472 dwelling units in East Victoria Park with an owner occupancy in the order of 15 percent (Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1991b, 63). Population groups of all housing tenures are considered to be impacted by the threat of Stampede Park expansion due to the totality of the proposed expansion.

Table 5
East Victoria Park: Income and Home Ownership Data, 1986 & 1990

Indicator	East Victoria Park		Calgary	
	Number	%	Number	%
Average Family Income (1986)	$19,475		$45,624	
Receive Social Assistance (1990)	191	20.0	35,342	5.1
Receive Guaranteed Income Supplements (1990)	67	85.7	16,296	2.6
Home Owners (1986)	41	9.7	135,360	57.0

Source: City of Calgary Social Services Department, 1991b

3.3.3 A Brief History

East Victoria Park is one of the oldest communities in the city of Calgary, and has played a central role in the early development of the city as an urban settlement. Such development was almost solely attributable to the activities of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which arrived in the Calgary region in 1887 (see Foran, 1978; Stelter and Artibise, 1977; Hodge, 1986). East Victoria Park was located immediately adjacent to the evolving wholesale and manufacturing area produced by the presence of rail in Calgary prior to the turn of the century. The spatial structure of the neighbourhood was "dictated" (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993, 3) by the CPR, which performed the initial subdivision and sale of land for residential purposes in 1887 (Jamieson *et al.*, 1976; Simpsons Roberts

Wappel, 1993). This initial gridiron street pattern remains in place today.

As with the city as a whole, the development of East Victoria Park was defined by early 'boom and bust' cycles in the local economy. The first economic and land development boom occurred between the years of 1902 and 1914 following the establishment of Calgary as a major rail distribution centre for southern Alberta in 1902. East Victoria Park was almost completely settled during this period (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993; Jamieson et al., 1976), and more than 80 percent of the existing housing stock was constructed. The population was composed almost entirely of skilled blue collar workers living in single family homes, more than 50 percent of whom were employed by the CPR (Jamieson et al., 1976:11). In addition to the working class population, East Victoria Park was populated by a smaller number of managers and professionals seeking proximity to the retail and wholesale districts located north and west of the neighbourhood (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993).

Employment characteristics and housing tenure structures began to change in East Victoria Park as the local economic boom generated a dramatic increase in housing demand and subsequent housing shortages. Higher density housing forms consisting of boarding houses and duplexes were constructed alongside single family homes in the neighbourhood (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993, 11). Housing densities and cheaper construction increased as housing demand evolved into a chronic housing shortage, and modest dwellings became the predominant form of housing by 1908 (ibid.:13). The percentage of residents employed in low skill occupations also increased in East Victoria Park over the first ten years of the 1900s (Jamieson *et al.*, 1976).

Although it had provided staple employment for neighbourhood residents, by 1908 proximity to the railway was becoming a disamenity. Rapid economic growth brought attendant increases in rail activity, generating noise and smoke from uncoupling and

shunting, and from the gradual intrusion of commercial land development in the form of warehousing and manufacturing into the northern portion of the neighbourhood (Jamieson *et al.*, 1976). More dramatic changes in the economic, social and physical composition of East Victoria Park occurred in 1909, when the CPR relocated its Calgary maintenance facility from north of the neighbourhood to Ogden, a suburban area located in southeast Calgary. The introduction of the electric streetcar to Calgary in 1909 exacerbated the changes brought about by relocation of the CPR maintenance shops, as more affluent residents could now move away from the environmental disamenities that were developing in the area (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993). The net result was an accelerated decline of skilled blue collar workers, such that by 1922 the percentage of skilled CPR labourers had dropped dramatically (Jamieson *et al.*, 1976:12).

East Victoria Park continued to experience decline following World War I. National economic depression during the 1920s brought an influx of transient labourers to Calgary, many of whom were temporarily housed at what is now Stampede Park (Jamieson et al., 1976). Subdivision of existing housing units accelerated, and non-residential land uses increased to approximately 47 percent by the 1920s, up from 10 percent in 1910 (Jamieson et al., 1976:13). Physical change was mirrored by a decline in employment and social and economic mobility in the population, which was increasingly being housed in rooming houses (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993:24). By 1935 East Victoria Park had lost most of the stability that had characterized the neighbourhood at the turn of the century.

By the outbreak of World War II East Victoria Park had experienced significant changes in ethnicity, socio-economic status, housing type and tenure, and population employment characteristics (Jamieson et al., 1976; Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993). Changes in housing tenure and socio-economic status continued after World War II. Post-

War housing shortages resulted in the further conversion of single family and duplex housing structures into higher density multiple family units and, increasingly, SRO units. The population continued to be characterized by single people with high unemployment rates and low occupational mobility (Jamieson et al., 1976 and Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993). In addition, the percentage of people involved in the white collar and skilled labour professions had declined dramatically by 1947 (Jamieson et al., 1976:14).

3.4 SUMMARY

The development history of the study area since the early 1900s can be divided into two distinct periods based on the interaction between the East Victoria Park neighbourhood and Stampede Park. The first period consists of approximately 40 years, from 1910 to 1950. During most of this period East Victoria Park experienced gradual decline in the physical fabric and socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood. This decline had been caused by a number of factors stemming largely from the neighbourhood's inner city location during periods of significant economic and spatial restructuring operating at the wider urban level, as Calgary evolved from a rail distribution centre to a post-War urban settlement. These factors are generally seen to have similarly affected the development of other inner city Canadian neighbourhoods, particularly in the rail-dependent west (Jamieson et al, 1976; Bourne, 1982).

The second period of development occured between 1950 and the present day—again, approximately 40 years. This period is distinguished from the first by two interrelated factors. Firstly, the latter period of development was marked by the emergence of conflict between East Victoria Park as a neighbourhood and the planning and development of Stampede Park. East Victoria Park and Stampede Park had coexisted as neighbours since approximately 1886. Local historical literature, public documents, and

interviews suggest that this coexistence was maintained, for the most part, without serious confrontation until the end of the 1950s (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993; D. Haddock, 1992). Secondly, the latter period of study area development was characterized by significant levels of municipal government intervention in the form of small-area planning and policy-making. Early civic involvement occured in the 1950s as a response to problems of immigrant settlement and other, primarily social, issues associated with a neighbourhood perceived to be in decline (Jamieson et al, 1976:15). Subsequent government intervention was far more intensive, focussing largely on issues of urban development and land use planning.

It was during the latter period of development—since the 1950s—that East Victoria Park appears to have incurred the most severe decline. This observation is supported by empricial evidence gathered by Jamieson et al (1976), and by written descriptions in the research of Dempsey (1980), and Simpsons Roberts Wappel (1993). For the most part East Victoria Park has not been able to recover from the periods of decline that have characterized its history, such that in the early 1990s the neighbourhood existed in a position of relative physical and economic stagnation compared to the City of Calgary as a whole. By contrast, the study area research alludes to the successful evolution of Stampede Park as both a tourist attraction and, in this capacity, as the city's most prominent urban icon and effective purveyor of urban imagery to the world beyond Calgary. It is in this historical context that the CE&S submitted the proposal to expand Stampede Park into the neighbourhood in 1991, juxtaposing the expansionist goals of the CE&S—a relatively powerful, high-profile and largely well-respected local institution—with a declining neighbourhood. Chapter Four addresses this juxtaposition as it relates to the historical evolution of city planning and development policies concerning the East Victoria Park neighbourhood.

4.0 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PLANNING POLICY CONCERNING EAST VICTORIA PARK: 1965 TO 1989

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate prior approaches and shifts in planning policy concerning the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, and the context in which these approaches have evolved. The 1991 proposal to expand Stampede Park into East Victoria Park is one of several such requests made to the City of Calgary by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede (CE&S) within the last 30 years. A successful bid to expand Stampede Park into East Victoria Park was made in 1965, and was followed by an expansion process which lasted approximately eight years. This initial incursion into the neighbourhood firmly established an ongoing threat of further Stampede Park expansion which remains in existence to the present day. This threat is not surprising: to the extent that the Calgary Stampede has unquestionably emerged over time as the most popular and important tourist attraction in Calgary, having, "created a dynamic international image for the city" (Ritchie, 1993), East Victoria Park, simply as a result of its proximity to Stampede Park, has experienced considerable stress as the evolution of Stampede Park in the aforementioned role has progressed.

The initial threat of Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park was co-emergent with the beginning of a succession of political and administrative interventions in the neighbourhood by the City of Calgary. This intervention was not consistent, and the vacillations in City policy concerning East Victoria Park from 1965 to 1989 can be classified into three distinct phases, each delineated by the outcome of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict (see Figure 9). The first policy phase, which began in the mid-1960s, consisted of policies designed to completely raze the neighbourhood. This approach was consistent with

Figure 9
East Victoria Park: Matrix of City of Calgary Planning
Approaches for East Victoria Park / Stampede Park, 1965 to 1989

	POLICY GOALS	IMPLEMENTATION AND FINANCING	IMPACT ON EAST VICTORIA PARK
POLICY PHASE 1: RENEWAL 1966 to 1975	• complete clearance and redevelopment to permit the expansion of Stampede Park over the entire neighbourhood area on a phased basis. • complete clearance and redevelopment to remove "blighted" housing from a highly visible portion of the inner city.	• failure of upper-level financing to materialize led to local municipal financing via a $4,000,000 grant to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede to purchase and clear property in a portion of East Victoria Park.	• clearance of approximately 8 city blocks in the south portion of the neighbourhood. • extended period of traumatic decline in the remainder of the neighbourhood precipitated by uncertainty regarding the potential of further Stampede Park expansion.
POLICY PHASE 2: NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING-REHABILITATION 1975 to 1980	• rehabilitation of the existing housing stock. • improvement / upgrading of community amenities, roadways, and infrastructure. • protection of low-income housing stock in the inner city through public assistance. • cessation of Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood.	• stabilization of land use by down-zoning to meet the requirements for federal funding. • financing under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the companion Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP).	• brief reprieve from the threat of Stampede Park expansion. • limited rehabilitation of existing housing stock. • approximately $1.7 million expended through NIP and RRAP. • down-zoning from high density residential land use classification (R-5) to medium density land use classification (R-3) in 1977.
POLICY PHASE 3: NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING-REDEVELOPMENT 1980 to 1990	• residential redevelopment geared towards singles and young professional couples markets. • commercial redevelopment geared towards capitalizing on new resident population and the leisure and tourism sectors. • prevention of Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood, particularly by the new Olympic Coliseum (Saddledome).	• private sector capital investment and construction. • incentives (density bonuses) for contributions to off-site public improvements to streetscape, pedestrian circulation systems, etc. • municipally-funded capital improvements (not forthcoming).	• up-zoning to high residential densities (i.e.. pre-NIP classifications, now revised under a new By-Law). • some land speculation and aborted mixed-use projects. • construction of only one new commercial venture (a drinking establishment). • potential increase in property values due to up-zoning. • No major physical improvements to the face of the neighbourhood as intended.

the redevelopment approach of the time, but was driven mainly by the desire of the CE&S to expand Stampede Park at the expense of East Victoria Park. The second policy phase entailed a complete reversal of the first, and was characterized by policies intended to preserve and rehabilitate the existing neighbourhood, while simultaneously protecting it from Stampede Park expansion. This phase evolved in the mid-1970s out of the widespread emergence of an emphasis on rehabilitation in Canadian inner cities.

The third policy phase entailed revitalizing the neighbourhood as a high density residential and commercial area through complete, private sector-led redevelopment; again, a reversal of the preceding policy approach. This phase stemmed directly from the bidding process entered into by Calgary in 1979 to host the XV Winter Olympic Games in 1988, which prompted several Stampede Park - East Victoria Park development issues to come to the fore. The most significant of these issues was that of Stampede Park expansion. A renewed effort to expand Stampede Park surfaced in the early 1980s in connection with the intention to establish the facility as the major urban venue for the Olympic Games. Although the expansion proposal was subsequently denied, it appears to have 'planted the seed' for the recent expansion proposal issue that forms the focus of this research, to be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2 URBAN RENEWAL POLICY: 1966 TO 1975

By the early 1960s the CE&S had matured into a well-known tourist attraction and civic booster. New land had been added incrementally to the lease area operated by the organization, and the physical plant within this area had grown progressively (Gray, 1985).

Following the failure of plans entailing expansion of the Park in a southerly direction across the Elbow River (*Financial Post* November 30, 1963, 34; Gray, 1985:149, 150), and

relocation of the entire Park to a suburban area, the CE&S decided to expand the Park in a northerly direction into the East Victoria Park neighbourhood in 1965 (Gray, 1985:52; Gunderson, 1965). Following a series of closed meetings with Aldermen and the Mayor, the CE&S announced the planned expansion of Stampede Park into most of East Victoria Park, labeling the proposal as a "downtown redevelopment project" (Gray, 1985:153). Expressing concern that it could not operate Stampede Park under existing conditions, the CE&S intended to seek provincial and municipal funding through the federal Urban Renewal programme in place at the time (Osler, 1965:1, 2).

The decision by the CE&S to expand into East Victoria Park coincided with the existence of the Urban Renewal programme in Canada and its emphasis of federal, provincial and municipal inner city policy on redevelopment and the removal of 'inner city blight'. Under the urban renewal paradigm, City of Calgary policy for East Victoria Park stressed the dual priorities of enhancing tourism by expanding Stampede Park and removing urban decay by razing East Victoria Park. Therefore, on one hand, East Victoria Park was characterized by the City of Calgary as an area of:

> "...overcrowded and rundown housing cheek-by-jowl with warehouses and workshops, inadequate play space, old fashioned schools, dangerous thoroughfares and a general untidiness [inhabited by a large number of] multi-problem families who are of continuing concern to the police, welfare and other civic departments" (City of Calgary, 1966:9, 73).

This image of East Victoria Park was juxtaposed with the role of Stampede Park as a significant tourist attraction in Calgary:

> "The Stampede plays an important role in the life of Calgary and has become recognized as one of the foremost annual events on this continent, with an average daily gate attendance in excess of 100,000 (1966); it can be expected to evolve to meet changing tastes, changing needs, and changing times. The Exhibition Grounds are already being used for many non-Stampede activities and it is to be expected that these year-round events, as well as the annual Stampede, will intensify as Calgary's

population increases" (ibid.: 73).

An urban renewal funding application was subsequently submitted to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Alberta Housing Authority by the City of Calgary, citing two reasons for razing East Victoria Park: (I) to remove the "blighted and substandard conditions" of the neighbourhood, which was viewed as a social goal; and (ii) to facilitate the expansion of Stampede Park, which was primarily an economic goal (City of Calgary, 1967:4-5). These two reasons are interconnected; removal of the neighbourhood would expedite the expansion of Stampede Park with a provision for further expansion in the future (ibid.), while at the same time clearing blight from a highly visible portion of the inner city.

However, the application to senior levels of government was unsuccessful, prompting the City of Calgary to finance the expansion itself by borrowing $4 million[1] to lend to the CE&S in order that it could acquire, clear and assemble the eight block expansion area in East Victoria Park (City of Calgary Board of Commissioners, 1968; Minutes of Calgary City Council, August 26, 1967; Memorandum of Agreement between the Corporation of the City of Calgary and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Ltd. July 22, 1968). As an attempt to establish some level of confidence in light of a seven month delay created by the rejection of the Urban Renewal application at the federal and provincial levels (Victoria Resident's Committee, 1967), City Council also established 14th Avenue SE as the north boundary, *ad infinitum*, of Stampede Park. In addition to this measure, City Council approved the remainder of the neighbourhood for early consideration for *rehabilitation* under the Urban Renewal Programme, in contradiction to the earlier policy statement that the entire

[1]1968 dollars.

neighbourhood would eventually be cleared for Stampede Park expansion.

Clearance of an eight block area in the south end of East Victoria Park began in 1968 and terminated in 1975, when the City of Calgary was forced to intervene by directly purchasing or expropriating property to speed up the slow pace of acquisition and clearance by the CE&S which was, "producing the appearance of a half-cleared slum" in the neighbourhood (Jamieson *et al.,* 1976:17). Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park triggered a rapid decline in the physical and social fabric of the neighbourhood:

> "The period from 1966 to 1976 can be viewed as the era in Victoria Park's history in which the area has suffered the most serious decline in its position relative to the rest of the city. Unemployment increased by 14%, the number of family households declined by 17% and the transient population increased by 11%. The most graphic difference can be seen when average household incomes for the neighbourhood ($3,631) are compared to those for the city as a whole ($10,291). This continued decline can be traced to two major factors: the plans of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede to extend its boundaries into the eight blocks of Victoria Park and the increasing gap between the perceptions of the homeowners and as to what their houses were worth and what potential buyers were prepared to pay" (ibid.:16).

Compared to the "evolutionary process" of industrial encroachment and city-wide structural changes which had been affecting the neighbourhood since the early 1900s:

> "...the decision of the Stampede and the city to expand into Victoria Park was a sudden and in many respects more consequential land use change. While the process of decline had been going on for fifty years, the Stampede expansion effectively dashed any hopes of community generated neighbourhood revitalization" (ibid.).

The threat of further neighbourhood clearance attributable to the expansion of Stampede Park exacerbated uncertainty and, in turn, prolonged physical decay in the neighbourhood. The possibility of further expansion was verified by the CE&S itself, which had concluded, "that the Stampede would stay in Exhibition Park, and that expansion of the premises was to remain the primary goal of the Stampede organization" (Gray, 1985:58).

4.3 NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: REHABILITATION POLICY: 1975 TO 1980

During the latter half of the 1970s, East Victoria Park received a temporary reprieve from the physical manifestations of the threat of continued Stampede Park expansion. Council policy and planning concerning East Victoria Park shifted dramatically during this period, replacing the existing renewal policy with an emphasis on rehabilitation and protection of the existing housing stock, funded by the 1973 Neighbourhood Improvement and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programmes (NIP and RRAP). Inherent in the protectionist aspects of this policy phase was the goal of shielding the neighbourhood from further encroachment by Stampede Park.

The impetus for protection of East Victoria Park as a low density residential neighbourhood was provided in large part by the Calgary Planning Department, which had begun to reverse its position of the late 1960s as early as 1971, attempting to cause a retreat in the advance of Stampede Park into the neighbourhood through reclamation of the eight blocks slated for clearance in 1968. In 1971 the Planning Department called for the CE&S to, "terminate the purchasing of homes in the area south of 14th Avenue", and that, "Victoria Park from 17th Avenue northwards [was] to be maintained as a residential area" (City of Calgary Planning Department, 1971:7-10).

Although City Council did not adopt this early policy drafted by the Planning Department, a milder version of it (maintaining Stampede Park expansion within the original eight block renewal area) was approved by Council in 1976. Rehabilitation of the neighbourhood north of the 1968 Stampede Park expansion area was supported by the Planning Department and actively pursued by the Victoria Park Community Association, which had itself lobbied for implementation of the NIP (Minutes of the Operations and

Development Committee October 4, 1976). In late 1976 City Council approved the addition of East Victoria Park to a list of inner city communities for which funding would be applied for under the NIP (Minutes of Calgary City Council, October 25, 1976).

In 1977 the Calgary Planning Department produced the *Victoria Park East Design Brief*, a neighbourhood policy report, in support of the application for NIP funding to senior levels of government. The *Design Brief* recommended a series of policies for the neighbourhood aimed at its rehabilitation, including widespread down-zoning from high to medium density residential development, the enactment of a minimum maintenance by-law, and the consideration of public housing projects for low-income residents. The *Design Brief* also forwarded a number of policies to alleviate external pressures on East Victoria Park, notably the requirement that the operation of Stampede Park cause a minimum of disruption to the neighbourhood, and that transportation routes be modified to reduce through-traffic (City of Calgary, 1977:1-2). Also, in direct contrast to the previous policy produced during the renewal era, the *Design Brief* argued the importance of East Victoria Park as a source of affordable accommodation for low income households with limited housing options (ibid.:16, 18).

Following ratification of the *Victoria Park East Design Brief* on March 15, 1977, as well as approval of a rehabilitation budget for East Victoria Park, City Council approved an application to senior levels of government for the designation of East Victoria Park as a NIP area. A controversial resolution was subsequently passed by Council on August 9, 1977 which 'down-zoned' the neighbourhood from the existing high density zoning (R-5) to medium density residential zoning (R-3) in order to stabilize the area to satisfy requirements set forth by the provincial and federal governments as part of the NIP approval process (Minutes of Calgary City Council March 15, 1977).

Rehabilitation policy for East Victoria Park was subsequently terminated by City

Council in 1980. During the period from 1977 to 1980 approximately $836,000 in NIP funds were allocated and expended on improvements in East Victoria Park. In addition to this sum, approximately $936,000 were spent on the implementation of the RRAP in Victoria Park during this period (City of Calgary, 1984:2 *Supporting Information*)[2]. Although it has been suggested that the NIP assisted the preservation of East Victoria Park by preventing the demolition of its historic building stock (Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993), in retrospect it appears more accurate to suggest that the threat of Stampede Park expansion was merely *temporarily suspended* under the administration of the NIP, leading to a likewise temporary suspension in the physical and economic decline of the neighbourhood.

4.4 NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: REDEVELOPMENT POLICY: 1980 TO 1990

Cessation of the NIP was not unique to East Victoria Park, since application of the NIP and RRAP in many Calgary neighbourhoods had largely drawn to a conclusion by 1980 following the failure of the federal government to renew the programme in 1978.[3] The planning and implementation of municipal policies concerning inner city regeneration in Calgary was subsequently passed on to a new planning mechanism after 1980: the area redevelopment plan (or ARP). An ARP is a neighbourhood-level special area plan[4] designed

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[2]1977 dollars.

[3]See Carter, 1991:20 - 22.

[4]See Hodge, 1986:161-163 for a definition of a special area plan.

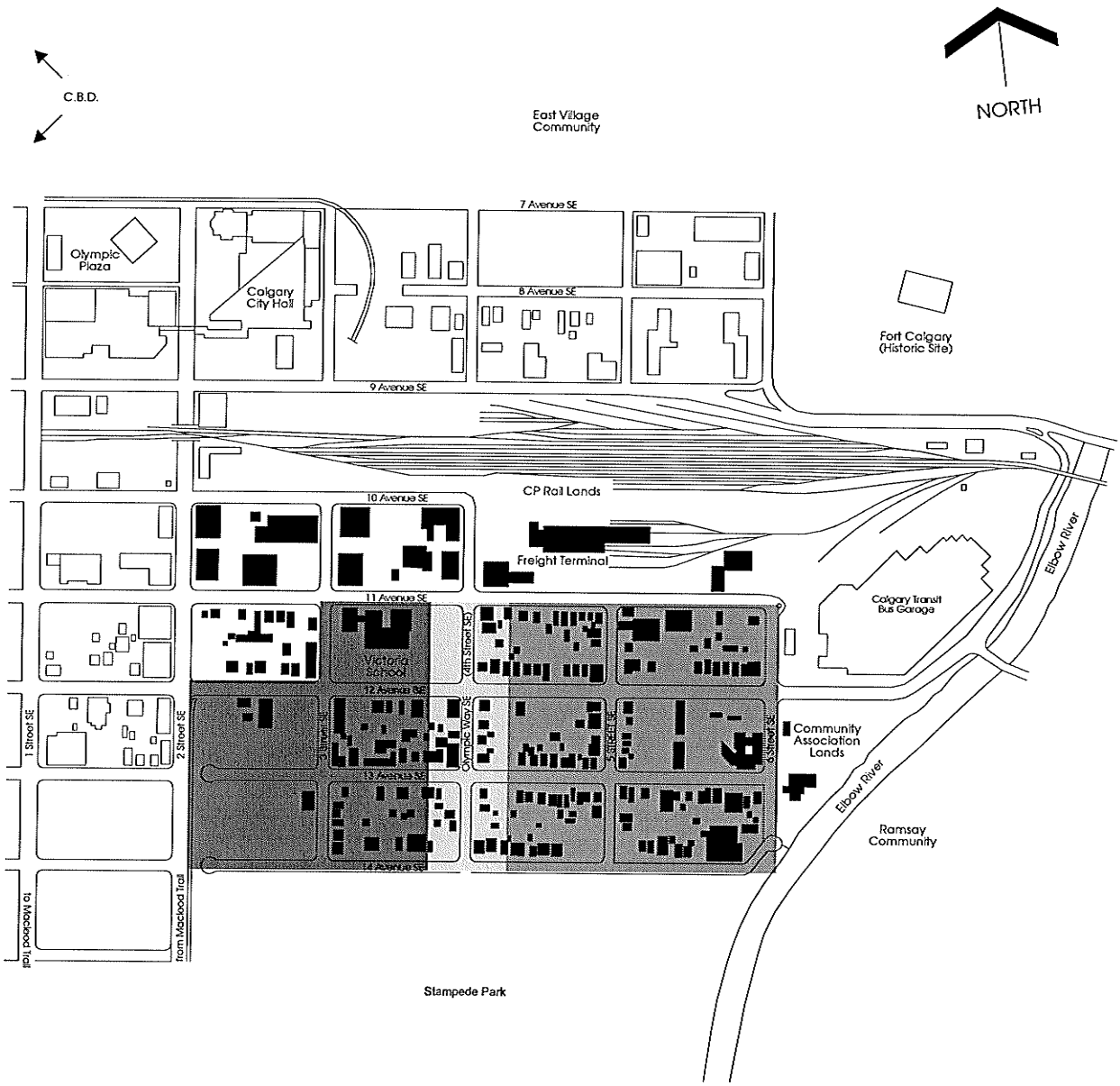
to establish medium- and long-term policies for established neighbourhoods.

ARPs approved to date in Calgary have not generally contemplated large-scale redevelopment of the neighbourhood to which they apply. The Planning Department has pointed out that, "The term "redevelopment" refers to the fact that ARP's address communities which are already developed, and does not necessarily suggest that major changes are proposed in the neighbourhood" (City of Calgary, 1993). In other words, *modifications* to land use, transportation, and community amenities are the norm; minor adjustments to the course of development rather than a complete overhaul.

An ARP was adopted for Victoria Park in October of 1984 as a replacement for prior policy. In contrast to the typical characteristics of an ARP pointed out above, however, the *Victoria Park East Area Redevelopment Plan* had as its central goal the near complete redevelopment of the existing neighbourhood by 2000. Also a direct contrast to the *Victoria Park East Design Brief* produced by the Planning Department seven years earlier, the *Victoria Park East ARP* not only removed NIP and RRAP as policy instruments, but reversed the broader rehabilitation policy framework within which NIP and RRAP had functioned.

Redevelopment was intended to occur on a large scale, phasing out most of the then existing neighbourhood and replacing it with residential units at high densities (including high-rise tower blocks), mixed use commercial/ residential areas, and a high density commercial spine running through the centre of the neighbourhood along its north-south axis. Only a small amount of the existing neighbourhood, consisting largely of the community school, community association building, and some historic buildings and facades, would be spared.

Three primary development cells are established for East Victoria Park in the *Victoria Park East ARP* (see Figure 10). A commercial-retail axis running through the centre of the



High Density Commercial and/ or Residential Land Uses

Vibrant Shopping/ Commercial/ Entertainment Street

High Density Residential Land Uses

0.0 m 100.0 m 200.0 m

25.0 m 150.0 m 300.0 m

Source: City of Calgary By-Law 18P83, 1984

Figure 10

1984 Area Redevelopment Plan:
Three Neighbourhood Development Cells, As Approved October, 1984

neighbourhood along 4th Street SE forms the first of these areas. 4th Street SE was intended to redevelop as a vital shopping, restaurant and entertainment thoroughfare; the commercial heart of the neighbourhood around which other redevelopment activity would occur (City of Calgary, 1984:16). Restaurants, shops and entertainment venues totaling up to approximately 440,000 square feet would be permitted in the commercial development area, catering to tourists and the local population (City of Calgary, 1984:xx).

The second redevelopment area consists of a high density residential enclave on the east side of the neighbourhood adjacent to the Elbow River. Approximately 2,850 units at a density of approximately 160 units per acre could be developed in this area (ibid.:5 *Supporting Information*). The third area calls for a mixture of commercial and residential land uses in proximity to the Victoria Park light rail transit station and other high traffic areas located on the west side of the neighbourhood. A range of redevelopment scenarios, ranging from pure residential to pure commercial, would replace the existing housing stock in this area with up to 800,000 square feet of commercial space and 1,050 residential units (ibid.).

In total, approximately 450 existing low to medium density residential units and local businesses were to be replaced with more than 1 million square feet of commercial floor space and 3,900 residential units, parks, community facilities, and infrastructure upgrading under the ARP policies. The *Victoria Park East ARP* sought to establish an amenity-rich landscape catering to the aesthetic, recreational, and locational requirements of young singles and professional/ managerial couples seeking accommodation in the inner city (City of Calgary, 1981; City of Calgary, 1984:iii). In this regard, states the *ARP*, East Victoria Park offers proximity to the Elbow and Bow rivers, the historic Fort Calgary site, bicycle and jogging paths, a major sports and recreation facility, and the employment and consumption opportunities of the CBD. Thus, while the *ARP* called for the complete redevelopment of East Victoria Park in the physical sense as its central goal, it also contemplated significant

alterations to the existing population as well. An assumed, wealthier population would therefore likely displace a great deal of the old, despite proffered social housing and low-cost senior citizen accommodation (ibid.:33).

However, despite its emphasis on residential redevelopment rather than preservation and rehabilitation, the ARP was significant for both tenants and property owners in East Victoria Park in that it was predicated upon the cessation of further Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood. In December, 1981, when setting in motion the process to prepare the ARP, Calgary City Council was explicit that the long term plans of the CE&S, "exclude the option of northerly expansion" (Minutes of Calgary City Council, December 7, 1981). Thus a reaffirmation of the 1968 legal agreement preventing Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood occurred in conjunction with the approval of an ARP for the area. Inherent in this action was the protection of the rights of those who owned property and would like to see it developed and/ or sold at free-market value and, in the interim, the protection of residency for tenants and resident-owners alike.

Implementation of the *Victoria Park East ARP* was to occur through four mechanisms, namely zoning, density bonusing, public sector initiatives, and municipal government leadership.

Zoning constituted the primary mechanism of implementation. Under the Alberta Planning Act, zoning is the only *statutory* means of implementing an ARP through the Land Use By-Law (City of Calgary, 1993). Thus high density zoning was approved for East Victoria Park, returning the land use classification to pre-rehabilitation densities. Extra residential and commercial density could be obtained by a developer in exchange for the provision of off-site public amenities or a cash-in-lieu payment to a public initiatives fund for improvements to the Elbow River banks, public street sculptures, pedestrian linkages to transit, and so forth (City of Calgary, 1984:30-31).

Public sector initiatives such as open space and streetscape improvements, infrastructure upgrading, and the provision of pedestrian linkages were also suggested to spur development. As well, more aggressive public involvement was suggested, such as funding of improvements to the Elbow River bank and the 4th Street roadway by the City of Calgary as an incentive for private development activity (as opposed to ad-hoc funding contributions by developers as improvements occurred); and the public purchase, assembly and development of commercial land in the neighbourhood (ibid.:35-36).

The resulting *Victoria Park East Area Redevelopment Plan* is highly ambitious and optimistic policy statement. Yet despite this ambition, by 1989 the *ARP* policies had yielded very little of the redevelopment activity envisioned in 1984. There has been no high-rise redevelopment in East Victoria Park since 1984, nor has there been any substantial upgrading of the existing housing stock. Similarly, commercial regeneration has remained largely absent with the exception of some marginal development activity on the west edge of the *ARP* area. 4th Street SE (now called Olympic Way) has remained in its original condition, save for a superficial treatment of worn housing façades and the hurried installation of brightly coloured light standards one year prior to the 1988 Winter Olympics. Essentially, these 'improvements' represented an attempt to 'clean up' a high-profile entryway to Stampede Park and the Olympic Saddledome by introducing some aesthetic measures in the absence of meaningful regeneration. In sum, the 1984 *ARP* had perhaps accomplished fewer of its goals than had the rehabilitation policy administered before it.

The catalyst for the emergence of the redevelopment policy contained in the *Victoria Park East Area Redevelopment Plan* was the Calgary bid to host the 1988 XV Olympic Winter Games. Specifically, a decision made by City Council to locate a large sports arena in the southeast corner of the neighbourhood as part of the Olympic bidding process triggered a series of events which led to a radical shift in planning policy for East Victoria

Park. Furthermore, in addition to the arena decision, the Winter Olympics bid precipitated a number of other decisions which affected the guiding principles of policy for East Victoria Park.

Bidding for the 1988 Winter Olympics was undertaken by the Calgary Olympic Development Authority (CODA), a specialized organization formed by civic boosters for the sole purpose of completing the Olympic bid process. CODA, which had re-formed in 1978 following a long period of dormancy, was awarded the right to represent the Canadian bid for the 1988 Winter Olympics by the Canadian Olympic Association (COA) in September of 1979. Upon receiving the bidding rights, CODA proposed to the COA that new facilities for all of the Olympic venues be constructed (OCO, 1988:51). It was felt a comprehensive programme of infrastructure development—particularly if sites were committed to by municipal and provincial governments or, better still, under construction—would enhance the Calgary bid.

Subsequent agreement to this proposal by the COA yielded $200 million in federal funding for Calgary—one-half of the projected combined cost of constructing the proposed venues and hosting the games themselves (OCO, 1988:50). Thus the groundwork for an extensive programme of Olympics-related construction within the Calgary urban area was laid. The urban Olympic venues would consist of a speed skating track, a ski jump, luge and bobsled facility, and a figure skating and ice hockey arena (non-urban venues for cross-country and downhill skiing were constructed in the Rocky Mountain range west of Calgary).

CODA proposed that the last of these urban venues—namely the ice hockey and figure skating facility—be located in Stampede Park very early in the bid process. Calgary City Council approved CODA's request in principle on June 4, 1980.

Following the urging of CODA's chairman that a firm commitment to this location was required by Council in order to improve the credibility of the Calgary bid, City Council

reaffirmed Stampede Park as the location for the new coliseum on November 3, 1980 (Minutes of the Calgary Planning Commission November 26, 1980). In addition to this decision, Council instructed the civic administration to undertake an application for the rezoning of land in the northeast corner of Stampede Park required to permit the accommodation of the arena within the parameters of the Land Use By-Law.

An application to re-zone 9.5 hectares of land for the arena site was subsequently submitted by the City of Calgary. Approximately one-half of the proposed arena site appeared to lay within the neighbourhood itself, as this was land only recently cleared by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and the City of Calgary during the expansion of Stampede Park between 1968 and 1975. The remaining portion of land existed within the pre-1968 boundary of Stampede Park, and would also require clearance to accommodate the proposed arena and parking areas.

The ensuing process by which the Olympic arena re-zoning application was approved caused a rapid shift away from rehabilitation policy for East Victoria Park on two fronts. The first of these was a direct impact caused by the decision to locate a large sports stadium in the area. The second, less direct, cause was that the arena decision acted as a catalyst for a renewed effort by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede to expand Stampede Park into the neighbourhood (Pratt, 1980a; Pratt, 1980b; Miller, 1980).

Property owners and tenants in East Victoria Park who had supported and helped facilitate the implementation of NIP in their neighbourhood protested that any continuation of rehabilitation efforts would be rendered futile if a large arena were to be located near the neighbourhood (Bakogeorge, 1980; Collins, 1980), as would be the case if Stampede Park were allowed to continue expanding into the neighbourhood, resulting in a waste of moneys spent through the NIP (ibid.).

The Calgary Planning Department was also in support of the continued rehabilitation

of East Victoria Park, and argued that the negative externalities of the arena would be in contravention to the goals and policy of the *East Victoria Park Design Brief.* Parking, traffic, and other impacts, the Planning Department argued, would jeopardize the integrity of East Victoria Park as a residential neighbourhood. Lastly, the Planning Department criticized the fast track approval process which had been instituted for the arena so as not to impede the Olympic bidding process, arguing that adequate impact assessments and public participation in the planning process were absent (Minutes of the Calgary Planning Commission, November 26, 1980). The Department concluded that the approval of re-zoning for the arena in Stampede Park would necessitate the abandonment of existing rehabilitative policies and a complete re-evaluation of the future of East Victoria Park.

The Olympic arena and Stampede Park expansion issues also caused a rift within the community itself concerning the future of East Victoria Park. At the outset of the Olympic arena/ Stampede Park expansion issue, two primary 'camps' emerged within the neighbourhood: one aggressively promoting a general up-zoning of the neighbourhood to increase land values; and another insisting on the continuance of rehabilitation policies (Bakogeorge, 1980; St. Laurent, 1981a). The central motive of the former camp, at least initially, was to secure higher land values for their property through re-zoning should the private sale of their land be possible or, to provide a hedge in case the City of Calgary were to expropriate their land to facilitate Stampede Park expansion (Warden, 1980). The pro-rehabilitation camp continued to oppose the Olympic arena and Stampede Park expansion, threatening to take the dispute beyond the municipal arena to the IOC, if necessary (St. Laurent, 1981b).

Property owners desiring the up-zoning of their land were able to exploit their wish as a condition of granting support for the Olympic arena application. To the initial request for up-zoning was added the demand that an Area Redevelopment Plan be approved for East

Victoria Park to establish guidelines for profitable redevelopment, and that a moratorium be placed on further Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood (Minutes of Calgary Planning Commission November 26, 1980).

Calgary City Council sided with property owners in East Victoria Park and approved the re-zoning of land in the northeast corner of Stampede Park to accommodate the Olympic arena in March, 1981 (Minutes of Calgary City Council March 3, 1981). The Calgary Planning Commission recommended to Council that the NIP be suspended in East Victoria Park, along with the commitment of further public moneys, and that the, "future viability of Victoria Park in its currently proposed residential preservation form" be re-examined. Upon giving third reading to the re-zoning by-law for the Olympic arena, City Council ordered a general up-zoning of East Victoria Park to allow high-rise residential redevelopment, and instructed the Administration to proceed with the preparation of an Area Redevelopment Plan to guide the future development of the neighbourhood (Minutes of Calgary City Council December 9, 1980; December 16, 1980; March 3, 1981).

4.5 1989 ONWARDS: RESURGENCE OF TOURISM IMPERATIVES

The 1988 Olympic Winter Games were held from February 13 to 29, 1988. In addition to the staging of the figure skating and ice hockey events in the Saddledome arena facility, Stampede Park also served as the media and administrative headquarters of the Olympics as well (OCO, 1988). While the redevelopment policies brought about by the Olympics in East Victoria Park had not proven successful, the Games themselves were widely considered as a success, especially at the local level. Generally, acclamation for the Olympics can be categorized using four measurements of success, namely: economic impact; the provision of sports and leisure infrastructure; psycho-social impact; and urban image-

making. While the first three measurements used to evaluate the success of the 1988 Olympics were quite tangible, the last—urban image-making—was less so. However, the imagery and promotional aspects of the Olympics held potential value over the longer run. This is especially true in terms of the urban economic development strategies which were formulated beginning within a year or so of the Games.

4.5.1 Success of the 1988 Winter Olympic Games

The economic impact of the Games forms the first and likely the most tangible measure of the event's success. Determined mainly in the form of projected impact prior to the staging of the event, economic impact was measured in studies undertaken by the federal, provincial and local governments. These studies forecast new economic activity such as person-years of employment, household income, tax revenues, and so forth (Government of Canada, July 31, 1986; City of Calgary and Alberta Tourism and Small Business (DPA Group), 1985). In addition to direct and indirect economic impacts, the Olympics were also economically successful in that they generated an operating profit of approximately $100 million, (CODA, 1992) which has been administered as a winter sports development trust fund by CODA since 1988.

In addition to financial gains from the Games, the physical legacies left behind after the event form the second area of positive impact. More than $225 million was spent on constructing or renovating Olympic event venues in Calgary[5], with an additional expenditure of approximately $14 million to upgrade other sports facilities and transportation

[5]These costs are as follows: Olympic Saddledome, $97.7 million; Speedskating Oval, $40 million; Canada Olympic Park, $72.2 million; McMahon Stadium upgrades, $16.3 milllion; and Olympic Plaza, 5.6 million (OCO, 1988: 11-167, 189).

infrastructure (ibid.). The major urban (Olympic Saddledome, Canada Olympic Park and the speed skating oval) and rural facilities left from the event are now managed in part or in whole by CODA. CODA utilizes these facilities—with funding from Olympic profit—as training facilities for Canadian athletes from across the country, and as recreation/ leisure facilities for the local population and tourists (CODA, 1992).

Although less tangible than economic impacts, literature produced following the event points to the third impact of the Olympics, namely the psycho-social impact created on the local population. This aspect of the Olympics' impact has been referred to by both academic and mass media writers. Hiller (1989) states that:

> "Olympic preparation had a psycho-social impact in providing a collective positive focus during a time of urban social and economic malaise. It is very difficult to prove this point except to say that Olympic activity (e.g. announcements of construction plans, corporate sponsorships, visits of foreign dignitaries, etc.) was in the news daily" (p.128).

Martin (1988) has made a similar observation, noting that the preparation and hosting of the Olympics, "instilled a sense of self-importance, a psychological lift of sorts" (p. 30). Various other writers have referred to the civic pride, a residual volunteer ethic, and a lasting spiritual impact created by the Olympics (Corbett, 1989; Winterscape, 1990; Hiller, 1990).

The spiritual impact of the Olympics and, in particular, the economic impacts, were seen as particularly significant in light of the economic context within which the Olympics took place. The bidding, preparation, and staging of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games occurred over a period of fundamental economic transition in Calgary and Alberta. Worldwide recession in the late 1970s coincided with a deep recession in the Alberta hydrocarbon economy which emerged in the early 1980s. This recession in the oil and gas sector—to which Calgary has been inextricably linked since the 1940s—continued throughout the 1980s, and a resultant restructuring of this sector continues today. Hiller

(1989) has observed a relationship between the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and this state of flux in the economy, placing the aforementioned economic and spiritual impacts of the Olympics in this context:

> "Preparation for the Olympics themselves, as opposed to the bid phase, took place in an economic environment quite the opposite of the years of bid preparation. If 1978-81 represented the years of most dynamic growth and boom in Calgary, the years following were years of recession and outmigration due to the collapse of oil prices. In this new milieu, the Olympics became very important for two reasons. First, Olympic preparation had a psycho-social impact in providing a collective positive focus *during a time of urban social and economic malaise*. It is very difficult to prove this point except to say that Olympic activity (e.g. announcements of construction plans, corporate sponsorships, visits of foreign dignitaries, etc.) was in the news daily. Second, capital project construction and other Olympic preparations (e.g. event planning and uniform manufacturing for thousands of volunteers) provided considerable employment opportunities" (p. 127-128. Italics added).

Again, Martin (1988) has also commented on the economic 'saviour' role played by the Olympics, "after the dramatic economic plunge that followed the abrupt oil industry collapse, the 1988 Winter Olympic Games became Calgary's economic bridge over very troubled water...It also instilled a sense of self-importance, a psychological lift of sorts", *during the emotionally draining recession* that engulfed Calgary for so long" (pp. 29-30. Italics added).

The economic context within which the 1988 Olympics occurred is central to understanding the fourth (and most significant here) impact of Calgary's hosting the event, namely the ability of the Olympics to create a high level of exposure for Calgary and to project a certain image of the city within this exposure. The worldwide media and corporate exposure which is an integral aspect of modern televised Olympic events is perceived as perhaps the most important promotional tool for a city hosting such an event, and has been termed the 'showcase effect' by Hiller. In the case of Calgary, Hiller (1989) has argued that the 1988 Olympics were a central device in the promotion of the city as a tourist attraction

and business investment location, arguing that, "the showcase effect was particularly important to Calgary because the heightened visibility was thought to enhance the City's future tourism and investment attractiveness" (p. 130). Numerous print media writers have also referred to this aspect of the Olympics' success. Often such writing takes the form of uncritical boosterism, reporting on local tourism and economic development official's perspectives regarding future tourism opportunities stemming from the event.[6]

4.5.2 Emergence of Urban Economic Development Strategizing

The impetus to develop further tourism infrastructure in Calgary emerged in mid-1988, first through the articulation of local tourism strategies, and subsequently through the incorporation of tourism into broader urban economic development strategies and policies. The successful staging of the 1988 Olympics in Calgary is seen as an important precursor, if not a catalyst, for the development and subsequent incorporation of tourism into UED strategies. This point is made by Michelmann (1991), who has argued,

> "The second factor that facilitated Calgary's international efforts was the visibility afforded the city by the 1988 Winter Olympics. Mayor Ralph Klein noted that one of the greatest problems facing him in his earlier efforts to represent Calgary's interests abroad was the almost complete lack of acquaintance with his city by both governmental and provate sector elites outsdie Canada. As a result of the worldwide television coverage afforded Calgary in February 1988, that problem has been largely resolved" (p.164).

Tourism infrastructure development and strategy-making began in Calgary shortly after the completion of the 1988 Olympics. The first steps were taken within the framework of the provinvial Community Tourism Action Plan programme, which had been launched by the Alberta government in the mid-1980s, (Alberta Tourism, 1988; Interview, Mary-Joe

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[6]For example see Corbett, 1989; Martin, 1988; Winterscape, 1990.

Romaniuk, 1994). Calgary city council instructed the Calgary Tourism and Convention Bureau (CTCB) to prepare a 'Community Tourism Action Plan' for Calgary.[7] The *Calgary Community Tourism Action Plan* (*CCTAP*) was prepared by the CTCB in 1988, and served as a precursor for tourism-related goals articulated in subsequent urban economic development strategies and—more importantly here—identified a programme of facilities construction deemed necessary to market Calgary more effectively as a tourism destination (CTCB, 1988).

The *CCTAP* was produced as a prescriptive strategy for tourism. It identifies numerous local tourism "assets"[8], juxtaposed with a series of "tourism concerns" relating to the undeveloped potential of the assets (ibid.:15-25).[9] From a discussion of assets and concerns, the *CCTAP* identifies 30 goals and objectives intended to develop Calgary's tourism sector. A number of these goals and objectives re-emerged and were articulated in

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[7]A Community Tourism Action Plan (CTAP) is a statement of tourism goals, objectives, and strategies prepared by a municipality and adopted by the local council as a policy (Alberta Tourism, 1988).

[8]Tourism assets listed in the *CCTAP* include tourist 'attractions'. Inner city sites and activities in the list of attractions included the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and Stampede Park, the various Olympic legacy facilities, and the Calgary Convention Centre (CTCB, 1989: 15-18).

[9]Facets of tourism infrastructure development which would later become associated to varying degrees with the Stampede Park expansion issue were ranked within the top ten tourism concerns in the *CCTAP*. These areas consisted of: limited convention centre and trade show space (ranked 1st); limited enhancement of tourism character areas (ranked 3rd); lack of a western heritage theme area (ranked 4th); the insufficient development of existing attractions (ranked 5th), and a lack of year-round 'western facilities', such as a permanent rodeo, aboriginal peoples displays, and interpretive centre facilities (ranked 6th) (ibid.: 24-28).

the context of the Stampede Park expansion issue from 1990 to 1992, namely:

- an examination of the requirements for developing additional convention and trade show/ exhibition facilities;
- the development of a western heritage theme area in the inner city;[10]
- the enhancement of existing tourist attractions; and
- the development of year-round western heritage facilities (CTCB, 1988: 30).

Urban economic development strategies began to develop in the mid to late 1980s in Calgary, supported and promoted into the early 1990s under the mayorship of Al Duerr, who was elected to office in 1989. UED strategies were developed by the Calgary Economic Development Authority (CEDA), a special-purpose organization founded in 1983 under the former mayorship of Ralph Klein (Crawford, 1994). CEDA is a joint venture between the Calgary Chamber of Commerce and the City of Calgary, and is chaired by the mayor. The Authority had been formed in response to a recessionary global economy, and severe downturns in the local energy economy, from which Calgary had experienced phenomenal growth throughout the 1970s (CEDA, 1989:56).

CEDA began preparing an economic development strategy in early 1988—coincident with the staging of the 1988 Olympics (Cooney, 1989: B5). The stated reason for preparing a strategy was to, "wean Calgary away from over-dependence on the energy and natural resource sectors and to enable Calgary to take advantage of the world-wide knowledge explosion and emerging situations and technologies" (CEDA, 1989:1). To this end, the core strategy entails establishing new "economic drivers"—core bases of economic

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[10]Originally, the site for such a theme area was to be the 8th (Stephen) Avenue pedestrian mall in the CBD (CTCB, 1989: 30).

production—intended to stabilize Calgary's otherwise cyclical energy economy in the future. Production of the strategy was overseen by a core group of 12 individuals attached to CEDA, the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, the Calgary Convention Centre Authority, and the Calgary Tourist and Convention Bureau (CEDA, 1989:2). This core group worked with approximately 100 local business leaders, bankers, education adminstrators, and City staff (notably Planning Commissioner Bob Holmes) to generate an economic development strategy in 1989 (ibid.:67).

Calgary's economic development strategy, entitled *Calgary Into the 21st Century*[11], was released in April, 1989. A key goal of the 1989 strategy is the *diversification* of the local economic base (ibid.:26). The goal of diversification is linked, in turn, to a requirement that Calgary be able to compete with other places in the context of a restructured global economy (ibid.:15, 27). Thus *adaptation* of the local economy to a conception of a post-industrial, service sector global economy is the second key goal of the strategy. As Michelmann (1991) has put it, the "new commitment by the public and private sectors [in Calgary] to an internationally-oriented economic development strategy", indicated that "Calgary had become a self-conscious, nascent international city." (Michelmann, 1991:163).

The latter goal articulated in Calgary's economic development strategy is germane to the tourism-neighbourhood conflict, in that the strategies forwarded to achieve this goal entail the development of tourism and related service sector industries.[12] Several interrelated

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[11]Many other Canadian municipalities have produced economic development strategies since 1980. The City of Vancouver produced one of the earliest economic development strategies in May, 1982 to provide guidance for economic development throughout the 1980s. Other Canadian centres have since produced economic development strategies, such as Toronto (1988), Winnipeg (1990), Edmonton (1991) and Regina (1991).

[12]See also Cooney, 1989.

tourism development goals are grouped under the objective of establishing Calgary as an eminent tourist destination, (utilizing both the urban and Rocky Mountain range attractions) and as a trade exhibition/ convention and education centre (ibid.:42-43)[13]. Of the urban-based facet of Calgary's tourism development, the strategy credits the 1988 Olympics with having, "put Calgary on the international map" (ibid.:42). However, in order to build on the profile of this event in developing a strong tourism base, the 1989 strategy identifies specific areas in need of further development, namely:

1) the expansion of, "convention, conference and trade show capabilities to international standards"; and

2) the development of, "tourist destination and character areas in and around Calgary (ibid.:43).

Support for the 1989 economic development strategy was later exhibited by city council in a separate statement produced by that body.[14] *Council's Strategic Plan* (1990)

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[13]The recognition and promotion of tourism development as a component of economic development became evident at the provincial government level in the mid- to late-1980s as well. Strategic planning of tourism development in this capacity stemmed from efforts in the early 1980s to formulate broad economic strategies following the recession, (Government of Alberta, 1985a) and have been articulated in written form (for example Government of Alberta, 1985b; Alberta Economic Development and Tourism, 1993).

[14]Support for the economic development strategy formulated by CEDA, and for the socioeconomic 'vision' of Calgary articulated in the *21st Century* report was also sought from the wider Calgary citizenry. The result of this process, which entailed gathering input from approximately 300 people representing various broad areas of special interests, was a parallel report to the *21st Century* strategy entitled *Calgary 2020: Calgarians Choosing their Future Today* (1989). *Calgary 2020* is a general statement concerning the future of Calgary on several fronts—a, "picture of a desired state for the future"—as opposed to a sole concern for economic development (City of Calgary, 1989:36).

was also borne out of the recession of the early 1980s, and a perception that imminent socioeconomic changes stemming from the recession should be anticipated and incorporated into a statement of important issues and possible guiding principles for political response (City of Calgary, City Council, 1990:3, 17). To this end, five areas of broad policy were identified, of which economic diversification was cited as one area, or issue.[15] The economic diversification goals identified by city council, as well as the rationale for pursuing them, mirror those articulated in the 21st Century strategy produced by CEDA in 1989 (City of Calgary, City Council, 1990:8; 9).

However, a significant difference between the two documents is that Council's Strategic Plan claims to be a, "written political agenda" intended to build on the strategic planning exercises of the late 1980s (ibid.:2). Therefore, the goal of, "identify[ing] major attractions, or expansion of existing attractions, that have significant long-term benefits to Calgary" (ibid.: 9) takes on considerable significance in light of the history of Stampede Park expansion and the tourism-neighbourhood conflict.

The 1989 *Calgary...Into the 21st Century* economic development strategy re-stated and reinforced tourism development goals which had been identified earlier on in the *CCTAP* process. As a follow-up to the economic development strategies produced in 1989 (CEDA) and 1990 (City Council), various implementation 'task forces' were established to translate the broad goals of these strategies into courses of action (CEDA, 1989:54). A special group, called the "Calgary: Host, Consultant and Educator to the World Task Force" was created under the auspices of the newly established World Tourism Education and Research Centre at the University of Calgary. The Task Force was represented by academics, business

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[15]Four other policy issues were identified, namely: accountability/communication; environment; intergovernmental relations; and social issues (City of Calgary, 1990: 3).

leaders, executive administrators in arts, sciences, education and business organizations, and the City of Calgary administration (WTERC, 1991). The Task Force's goal was to expand on the tourism and leisure aspects of the earlier economic development strategies.

The Task Force published its findings in February, 1991—the same month in which the CE&S submitted the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal to the City of Calgary. A stated mandate of the Task Force had been to, "identify and prioritize the major facilities that it will be necessary to put in place over the next twenty years as Calgary moves to establish itself" as a, "major host, consultant and educator to the world", and to, "identify and prioritize the development and/or enhancement of major [tourism] events" (WTERC, 1991: Appendix A). The work of the Task Force culminated, among other things, in the clear articulation of a programme of facilities and events development in the inner city area. This articulation stemmed from three of the "strategic imperatives" developed by the task force, namely "western heritage and native culture", "a hospitable environment of [information] exchange", and "major events and attractions" (WTERC, 1991:6), and consisted of the following:

- hosting "high profile" hallmark tourism events: namely the 2005 world's fair, conferences and trade shows, and an improved Calgary Stampede (ibid.:10, 14);
- constructing "world class" tourism infrastructure: namely a site for the 2005 world's fair, new/ expanded conference and trade exhibition facilities, and an expanded Stampede Park facility (ibid.:8-9, 13).

The plans and recommendations contained in the *CCTAP* and, subsequently, in the economic development strategies of the late 1980s and early 1990s regarding the development of tourism infrastructure in Calgary, began to emerge and solidify in conjunction with the Stampede Park expansion issue. Several of the recommendations contained in the economic development/ tourism development strategies were incorporated

into the *Horizon 2000* proposal itself: new trade exhibition facilities, an agricultural interpretive facility, year-round 'western heritage' theme areas, and the overall aesthetic and functional improvement of Stampede Park as a tourist attraction (CE&S, 1991b). However, two other tourism development initiatives—namely a bid to host the World's Fair/ Exposition in 2005, and the movement to construct a new convention centre in Calgary—were gaining momentum at the outset of the Stampede Park expansion issue as well. These initiatives created linkages of varying significance to Stampede Park expansion on the basis of geographical proximity, organizational ties, and broader tourism development objectives.

The movement for Calgary to submit a bid to host the 2005 World's Fair (or '2005 Expo') emerged in 1988, shortly after the completion of the Winter Games (City of Calgary Board of Commissioners, 1994:1), and was later reiterated as a goal of tourism and economic development strategizing in 1989 and 1990. A bid committee—similar to that which had prepared the 1988 Winter Olympics bid—was formed in 1989 (Canada 2005 World's Fair Corporation, 1994), and consisted of representation from local business organizations, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, CEDA, and other sports, hotel, arts and education organizations (ibid.).

Several alternative sites—both inner city and suburban—had been considered for the world's fair bid in the early 1990s (ibid.). However, it was not until the end of 1994—after the conclusion of the Stampede Park expansion issue—that the World's Fair bid committee revealed that it was considering Stampede Park as the site for the event (Collins, 1994). In 1995 it was reported that Stampede Park was actually a component within a larger site extending from the south end of the existing Park facility to the north end of East Victoria Park—covering approximately 400 acres (Braid, 1995; Bergen, 1995). Although it is difficult to demonstrate that Stampede Park was being considered as a site for the World's

Fair bid in the early 1990s—that is, in conjunction with the expansion of Stampede Park—the strong presence of Stampede directors on the founding bid committee (Canada 2005 World's Fair Corporation, 1994), and the inherent suitability of the site as a world's fair venue suggest that the concept had likely surfaced between 1989 and 1991.

Stronger ties between Stampede Park expansion and the movement to construct a new convention centre in Calgary were evidenced during the Stampede Park expansion issue. Following the completion of the tourism and economic development policies discussed above, the Calgary Convention and Visitors Bureau (CCVB)[16] established a 'Convention Facilities Study Group' to assess the feasibility of constructing a new convention centre in Calgary. The Study Group, chaired by the former chief commissioner of the City of Calgary, consisted of representation by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and the City of Calgary (the commissioner of Planning and Community Services), in addition to CCVB members, and viewed its mandate as preparing the study for the City of Calgary (Calgary Convention Centre Facilities Study Group, 1991)[17].

A large component of the work of the Convention Facilities Study Group entailed establishing the *market need* for a new or expanded convention centre facility in Calgary. This was done primarily by utilizing similar arguments concerning inter-regional and inter-municipal competition employed by the CE&S to justify expanding Stampede Park. The

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[16]The 'Calgary Convention and Visitors Bureau' is the new name of the Calgary Tourism and Convention Bureau (CTCB), which had produced the *CCTAP* tourism strategy for Calgary discussed earlier. The Convention Facilities Study was funded by the 1985 Community Tourism Action Plan, the same provincial program that had spawned the *CCTAP*.

[17]Based on this definition of the 'client', the CCVB directed its study to the mayor's office (Calgary Convention Centre Facilities Study Group, 1991).

Convention Facilities Study Group cited two main factors in this line of argument, namely that Calgary was losing convention business to other, more well-equipped cities, and that still other cities were currently adding more convention space to the existing stock by expanding or constructing new facilities (ibid.:2). In order to compete in the convention industry, the Convention Facilities Study Group recommended that Calgary expand the existing Calgary Convention Centre to 300,000 square feet of exhibition space, plus 60,000 square feet of meeting spaces and ballrooms (ibid.:3).

The Convention Facilities Study Group forwarded four expansion and/ or relocation options to improve or replace the existing Calgary Convention Centre, which is located in the Calgary CBD. All the development options referenced—in some form—the expansion of the Roundup Centre exhibition facility at Stampede Park as well, that is, expansion of Calgary's convention facilities was linked to the expansion of the exhibition facilities by the Convention Facilities Study Group. The Study Group intentionally treated the Calgary Convention and Roundup Centres as one entity in considering land development options for the Convention Centre, citing, "converging markets in the convention and exhibition business" (ibid.:4). Consequently the Study Group, having analysed eight development sites for the new convention facility, (including the existing one in the CBD)[18] concluded that inefficiencies in capital and operating costs which would be experienced with separate sites justified constructing a new convention centre in close proximity to the expanded Roundup Centre facility at Stampede Park (ibid.).

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[18]Two other site location options were located inside, or in close proximity to the East Victoria Park neighbourhood: one site option entailed re-using the CP Rail lands at the north end of the neighbourhood, while another considered developing the new convention centre inside the northwest portion of the neighbourhood (Calgary Convention Facilities Study Group, 1991:90).

The site selected by the Convention Facilities Study Group consists of two blocks located immediately west of Stampede Park on land the City of Calgary had then recently acquired from the Campeau Corporation. Thus the construction of a new convention centre in Calgary was linked physically and functionally to the expansion of Stampede Park in general and the Roundup Centre exhibition facility in particular.

4.6 SUMMARY AND OBSERVATIONS

Based on the research material available, it is possible to conclude that by 1965 the Calgary Stampede had emerged as the most significant tourist attraction in Calgary, and as an extremely important civic booster and promoter of the 'frontier town' imagery still associated with the city today. Internal spatial constraints and the increasing importance of the Stampede Park facility and the CE&S organization itself exerted a great deal of pressure on East Victoria Park, such that by the mid-1960s a threat of Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood was established. This threat continued from 1968 into the 1990s, during which period, "it was common knowledge that the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede hoped to expand into the remaining [East Victoria Park] lands north to the [CP Rail] tracks" (City of Calgary, 1991a:26). The threat of Stampede Park expansion after 1968 has been juxtaposed with efforts to preserve and/ or regenerate the neighbourhood, thus creating the central conflict of a tourism-neighbourhood conflict. This conflict was composed of a number of themes that emerged between 1965 and 1989, which have been reflected in the application of municipal policies concerning East Victoria Park and in the formulation of broader economic policies that have emerged since 1985. These themes are discussed below.

4.6.1 The Influence of Tourism Imperatives on Neighbourhood Planning

The first theme extracted from the historical research is that policy decisions have been intrinsically connected to the tourism-neighbourhood conflict. Not only has East Victoria Park had to contend with the threat of Stampede Park expansion since 1965, but all major policy-making concerning East Victoria Park has been shaped by the threat of Stampede Park expansion as well. At the root level, municipal decision-making—in particular the role of city planning—concerning the neighbourhood and the Calgary Stampede has centered around the conflict composed of tourism development on one hand and the regeneration and/ or preservation of an aging inner city neighbourhood on the other. With minor exceptions (see preceding paragraph), tourism and neighbourhood have been viewed as mutually exclusive elements: to forward one as a goal of policy was done to the detriment of the other.

The clearest intrusion of tourism-related goals into planning policies waw occured during the period of urban renewal planning in the 1960s. This 'dual goal' approach of linking tourism to urban renewal was not unique to Calgary during the same period. The Canadian Urban Renewal programme to 1968, while intended to remove and replace decaying inner city housing stock, was frequently utilized as a vehicle for the preparation of land to construct non-residential projects such as freeways, commercial structures, and institutional land uses (Carter, 1991:11; Bettison, 1975). More specifically, *tourism*-related imperatives were utilized as, and carried by, the urban renewal vehicle in Canadian and American cities.

In the US the demolition of housing and displacement of inner city residents to make way for the Yerba Buena Centre, a tourism, convention centre and hotel project, had begun in San Francisco in 1967 (Hartman, 1984). Describing preparation for the 1968 World's Fair in San Antonio, Texas, Montgomery (1968) also states the relationship between urban

renewal and urban tourism infrastructure development:

> "The two things fit beautifully: the urban renewal process provided the vehicle that made possible the land assembly and clearance necessary to get the fair up on time; at the same time the fair provided impetus that picked up the pace of public development action." (p. 85).

In Canada, the Drapeau administration in Montreal utilized urban renewal to clear inner city neighbourhoods to make way for large-scale tourism and CBD development projects aimed at making Montreal a leading tourist, financial, and communications centre during the 1960s and 1970s (Levine, 1989:143).

Although in the case of East Victoria Park Calgary City Council was not able to capitalize on the existence of the Urban Renewal Programme to finance the expansion of Stampede Park, the absence of federal funding resulted in a significant outcome, in that it caused City Council to make a financial commitment to Stampede Park expansion, in addition to the political commitment evidenced in the condemnation of East Victoria Park and approval of Stampede Park expansion.

The subsequent impact of the conflict between tourism objectives and neighbourhood revitalization objectives has been the creation of an extremely unstable foundation on which decisions affecting the future of the neighbourhood have been made. Since the 1960s, policy has vacillated between sacrificing East Victoria Park, to preserving it. Generally, it appears that these shifts in policy have done little to establish a background of solid municipal commitment to the successful regeneration of East Victoria Park. This is attested to by the tendency of policy approaches to swing with internal cleavages among neighbourhood residents regarding the appropriate tool of regeneration, the absence of municipal initiatives in implementing the *Victoria Park East ARP* since 1984[19], and the overall failure of

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[19]Two critical public initiatives suggested in the ARP were not forthcoming from the City of Calgary: the pedestrian crossing between East Victoria Park and the East Village

revitalization (NIP and RRAP) and redevelopment policies (the *ARP*) to achieve their respective goals. In almost every instance, policies aimed at regenerating East Victoria Park implemented since 1965 have been aborted and/ or have met with failure.

In 1991 East Victoria Park existed in a state of uncertainty and stagnation evidenced in the absence of meaningful regenerative activity, continued population loss and physical decline. In addition, the success of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games only three years earlier had advanced the perception that tourism would likely become an increasingly significant aspect of the local economy. As the main tourism/ trade exhibition infrastructure in Calgary, some evolution of the Exhibition and Stampede within this role could be anticipated. Furthermore, the Exhibition and Stampede would likely play some role in the staging of future hallmark events in Calgary. Thus the tourism-neighbourhood conflict which had emerged in 1965 could be expected to continue into the 1990s, and likely beyond, possibly until one side prevailed absolutely.

In practical terms, the continuation of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict suggested that the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede would continue to forward expansion proposals on a periodic basis, or when a conducive set of circumstances lent impetus to such a move, as was the case with the 1988 Winter Olympics. As a result, the City of Calgary would continue to face the choice between one of the two sides of the conflict. However, as the past 30 years have shown, the conflict itself has tended to cause significant shifts in policy direction, which has in turn contributed to the confusion and uncertainty experienced by East Victoria Park. Shifts in policy have been caused by the ongoing pressure of Stampede Park expansion and, of considerable significance, by broader shifts in both urban development paradigms and macroeconomic climate. Political and administrative vacillations could be

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neighbourhood north of the CP Rail tracks did not materialize, nor did meaningful civic involvement in the regeneration of the 4th Street commercial zone.

expected to continue into the future, largely due to the fact that any resolution of the conflict, however temporary, has stemmed from advancing one side of it while suppressing the other. This pattern would likely continue into the future, possibly until such time as one side of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict emerges victorious.

4.6.2 The Dominance of Tourism Development Objectives

A second major theme that has emerged from the historical research is that, compared to the objective of preserving and/ or revitalizing East Victoria Park, tourism has historically proven to be the stronger, more frequently articulated side of the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and tourism development. A significant aspect of this dominance has been the evolution of tourism development goals as an objective of urban economic development goals. Four interrelated findings of the research support this observation.

The first of these findings is that policies aimed at protecting East Victoria Park from Stampede Park expansion—even those enacted within the broader frameworks of federal government programmes—were unable to stem the threat of expansion. Implementation of the NIP and RRAP in East Victoria Park was partly due to influence from broader shifts in planning ideology concerning the inner city at the national level, rather than to any abatement in expansionist efforts on the part of the CE&S. Neighbourhood-centered conflicts over urban renewal in the late 1960s, the election of reformist councils and mayors in major Canadian centres, and the findings of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development in 1969 were some of the markers indicating the shift in national inner city regeneration philosophy which culminated in the passage of legislation enabling the NIP in 1973 and amendments to the National Housing Act introducing the RRAP the same year (Carter, 1991:11, 12).

As was the case in other Canadian cities, these broader activities translated into a shift in planning philosophy concerning the inner city in Calgary. 'Rehabilitation' became part of the language in those aspects of official municipal plans of 1973 and 1979 dealing with the inner city. The 1973 *Calgary Plan* forwarded as a central tenet the stabilization and protection of the inner city, particularly of residential areas, where protection and improvement of the existing stock was deemed paramount (City of Calgary, 1973:11). The evolution of rehabilitation policies for inner city neighbourhoods continued into the early 1980s with the adoption of the *General Municipal Plan* (GMP) by City Council in 1979:

> "Housing redevelopment on a comprehensive scale is a relatively new phenomenon in Calgary. The introduction in the early 1970's of the federal government's 'Neighbourhood Improvement Program' (NIP) and 'Residential Rehabilitation and Assistance Program' (RRAP) heralded a change in attitude. No longer is demolition and redevelopment considered to be the only solution to problems of housing decay. Now the rehabilitation of rundown housing is seen in many instances to be a preferable alternative. Rehabilitation can have several advantages over redevelopment" (City of Calgary, 1979:n.p.).

However, despite the widespread adoption of rehabilitative policies for Calgary's inner city neighbourhoods, such efforts in East Victoria Park were relatively weak and ephemeral. Rehabilitation policy for East Victoria Park ceased in 1980, and did not secure lasting effects on the built form of the neighbourhood, that is, it accomplished little towards stemming the physical decline of the neighbourhood following termination of the NIP and RRAP. The primary cause for the impotence and brevity of rehabilitative policies was the uncertainty that had become well established by proximity of the neighbourhood to Stampede Park. This uncertainty stemmed from the possibility of continued Stampede Park expansion into the neighbourhood, despite the 1968 agreement between the City of Calgary and the CE&S stipulating that such an event would never occur in the future (Interview: M. Giammarco, 1991). The CE&S had stated its intention to expand over the entire

neighbourhood in 1965 and a number of residents and potential investors in the neighbourhood believed this to still be the case in 1975 (City of Calgary, 1977).

Stemming from and contributing to this uncertainty was an ongoing division among East Victoria Park residents themselves concerning the best vehicle for the neighbourhood's regeneration. Some resident-owners and absentee owners who had advocated private redevelopment of the neighbourhood since the 1960s had not lost sight of their cause and would champion it when the opportunity later arose to do so in the early 1980s (Dempsey, 1980; Simpsons Roberts Wappel, 1993; City of Calgary, 1981).

This opportunity arose directly from the successful bid by Calgary to host the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, which forms the second finding of the research indicating that the tourism imperative was not only dominant, but actually evolved from 1965 to 1989. While several hypotheses could be forwarded to explain the inability of NIP and RRAP to effect the revitalization of East Victoria Park, the most probable stem from the emergence of the Calgary Olympic bidding process in 1979. The Olympic bidding process, preparation for the event, and the hosting of the Games themselves, added greater importance to the significance of tourism development in utilizing it as a tool to promote Calgary in the global marketplace. In this role, the Olympics—a tourism-related event—provided an opportunity for Calgary to perform, "in the international spotlight", to further the impression that Calgary was a city of, "rising international stature" (Hiller, 1990:123, 124).

The close connections established between the CE&S organization, Stampede Park, and the Winter Olympic bidding and preparation processes focused a great deal of the Olympic-related activity onto the Stampede Park/ East Victoria Park area, reflected in the construction of the Olympic Coliseum (the 'Saddledome'), and a renewed effort by the CE&S to expand Stampede Park into the neighbourhood. The urgency of preparing for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and the possibility of further Stampede Park expansion

combined to override the revitalization objectives in place at the time, causing the major shift in policy described above. Thus not only was tourism still a potent force in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but was shifted to two new qualitative and operational contexts; those of the international hallmark tourism event and the pursuit of, "an internationally-oriented economic development strategy" (Michelmann, 1991:163).

The third finding of the research which suggests tourism development objectives were gaining momentum within the conflict is their expression as a central component of the urban economic development strategies that emerged in the late 1980s. This evolution of tourism as a component of UED strategies can be seen as evolving in part out of the success of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games. The incorporation of tourism development objectives in the context of UED strategizing, however, represented a conscious effort to develop tourism beyond the success of the Olympics by linking it to broader themes of business and investment development and urban image: that is, tourism was being developed more thoroughly as a means, rather than simply and end product, after 1988. Furthermore, support for tourism objectives, expressed through economic development goals, were also articulated and adopted as a statement of general policy by city council, not simply by economic boosters.

The fourth finding of the research which indicates the ascendance of tourism development objectives over those intended to revitalize East Victoria Park is the ineffectiveness of the redevelopment policies in place from 1984 to 1994 to cause regenerative activity in the neighbourhood. Again, as is the case with the cessation of the NIP and RRAP in East Victoria Park, a number of hypotheses can be forwarded to explain the ineffectiveness of redevelopment policies throughout the 1980s[20], however, as had been

[20]For example, the absence of redevelopment activity under the *Victoria Park East ARP* was likely caused in part by the state of the economy, particularly at the provincial and

the case with rehabilitation policies, a major obstacle to the success of the 1984 *Victoria Park East ARP* was the continued threat of Stampede Park expanding into the neighbourhood.

Although some aspects of the ARP *process* had procured a commitment from city council and other bodies that the Stampede would not be permitted to expand north of 14th Avenue, such a firm position was not taken in the *ARP* itself (City of Calgary, 1984:4-5, 27). Adding to the vagaries in the *ARP* was the fact that some City Council Aldermen and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede had objected to limiting the future development options of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede—that is, sections written into the ARP precluding the northerly expansion of Stampede Park—which indicated ongoing, if latent, support for further expansion (Letter from CE&S to Alderman Bob Hawkesworth, April 16, 1982; Minutes of Calgary City Council, September 6, 1983).

Although it is nearly impossible to positively accredit a given portion of the responsibility for lack of development under the are redevelopment plan to the potential threat of continued Stampede Park expansion, the fears expressed by property owners that the mere announcement of a Calgary Exhibition and Stampede expansion plan in 1980

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municipal levels. The early 1980s had ushered in a period of prolonged downturn in the hydrocarbon energy economy in Alberta, leading in turn to sluggish activity in other economic areas, most notably in the residential and commercial land development industries. The *Victoria Park East ARP* did not ignore this reality, and cautioned that East Victoria Park would have to compete with other inner areas for redevelopment investment once the recession had passed (City of Calgary, 1984:4). However, foresight into the inner city housing market did not establish East Victoria Park in a position to compete with other inner areas; the neighbourhoods of Hillhurst/Sunnyside, Connaught, Crescent Heights, Eau Claire, Inglewood, and Ramsay have all witnessed revitalization and/ or redevelopment activity since the 1980s. Hillhurst/Sunnyside and Connaught had begun regenerating in the 1970s and early 1980s respectively, and were thus well on their way as revitalizing areas by the late 1980s. It would appear, then, that East Victoria Park has been overlooked by the agents of change (both vendors and consumers) that have operated in these more 'successful' neighbourhoods.

during the ARP process would stall redevelopment for at least ten years may have proven, to some extent, well-founded (Pratt, 1980b).

4.6.3 Emergence of Neighbourhood Planning

A third important theme which emerged from the historical conflict between East Victoria Park and the expansionist efforts of the CE&S was the articulation of neighbourhood revitalization goals by both residents and the Calgary Planning and Building Department. This articulation was reflected in two periods of planning, namely during the implementation of NIP and RRAP in the neighbourhood, and in the emergence of the 1984 area redevelopment plan.

Although tourism-related forces ultimately ended the implementation of NIP and RRAP in East Victoria Park, the period from 1975 to 1980 did represent a transitory triumph of neighbourhood development objectives over tourism development objectives. During this period, pro-rehabilitation camps in East Victoria Park and the Planning and Building Department successfully exerted influence on the future of the neighbourhood, if only for a brief period.

5.0 STAMPEDE PARK EXPANSION DECISION-MAKING PROCESS: 1990 TO 1994

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PLANNING PROCESS

This chapter describes the planning process concerning the contemporary Stampede Park expansion issue. The intent is to outline the dynamics of the shift away from neighbourhood planning concerning the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. The time frame of the planning process under study is delineated by the initial involvement of the City of Calgary Planning and Building Department in early 1990, to the forced removal of the planning staff by Calgary City Council in the latter half of 1992. As was demonstrated in Chapter Four, the issues addressed by the contemporary planning process are informed by a complex history, such that the most recent planning process forms another 'episode' within the larger continuum of events presented in Chapter Four. Understanding the historical evolution of the tourism - neighbourhood conflict permits a useful interpretation of its significance as both a contextual setting of, and major issue addressed by, the contemporary planning process. Similarly, establishing the historical context and resulting status of the city planning function and policy goals at the start of the planning process in 1990 permits the central analysis of why city planning has undergone shifts in philosophical approach and policy recommendations since the early 1980s.

5.1.1 Overview of the Planning Process

Forester (1989) broadly defines planning as, "the guidance of future action" (p. 3). Referring specifically to the field of city planning and the preparation of plans, Hodge (1986) cites two reasons for the need to plan: that, "a community may wish to achieve some ideal form of development that is presumably different, and presumably better, than it now has",

or that, "a community may wish to solve some problems associated with its development" (p. 6). The latter of these two reasons, the, "need to solve development problems" (ibid.), is seen here as the impetus for the planning process—the need to guide future action—concerning the Stampede Park expansion/ East Victoria Park neighbourhood issue.

The planning process described here can be broken into two main stages for the purpose of the case study analysis. An overview of the planning process appears in Figure 11, in which the administrative functions of the process are arranged down the left side of the flow chart, and the critical political decisions appear to the right. Administrative analyses, actions and recommendations are shown as prefacing a given political decision, while in turn each political decision is shown to cause a resultant administrative sequence. The delineation between the first and second stages of the planning process is made at the first major political decision shown in Figure 11, namely that to allow Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park *in principle*. Having made this critical decision on May 25, 1991, the remainder of the planning process entailed drafting policies and amending existing plans, so as to define the extent and form of Stampede Park expansion, ultimately leading to the adoption and implementation of later decisions as policies under municipal by-law in February of 1994.

5.1.2 Participants in the Planning Process

The East Victoria Park/Stampede Park expansion planning process involved a variety of participants holding diverse interests and ideological positions. Six core participants in the planning process are referred to in the case study research, namely: the Mayor and city council; the Civic Administration (more specifically, the Board of Commissioners); the City of Calgary Planning and Building Department; the Victoria Community Association; the East Victoria Park Property Owner's Association; and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede

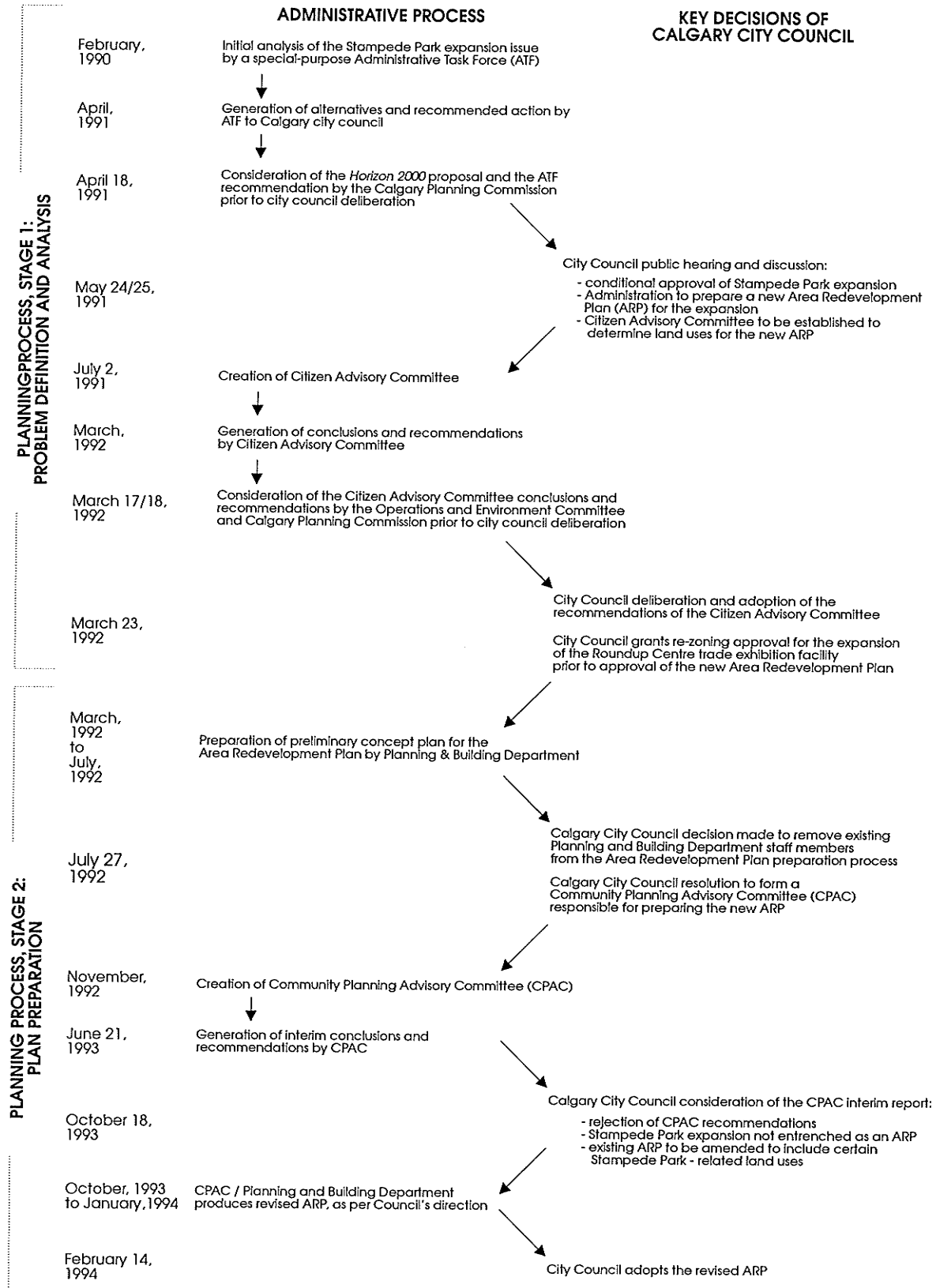


Figure 11
Chronology of the East Victoria Park -
Stampede Park Expansion Planning Process: 1990 to 1994

board of directors. Each of these participants is discussed briefly.

5.1.2.1 Victoria Community Association

The Victoria Community Association (VCA) is a volunteer citizen member organization which claims to represent the Victoria Community on matters affecting the neighbourhood, such as children's and senior citizen's programs, the Victoria School, and planning, land development, and transportation issues. The VCA is organized around a board of directors consisting of a president, vice president, treasurer, and secretary, all of whom are elected on a yearly basis by neighbourhood citizens at an annual general meeting (interview with Mike Giammarco, October 10, 1991). During the course of the Stampede Park expansion issue, the VCA formed special committees to focus resources on specific areas of concern. At the outset of the expansion issue the VCA formed the 'Victoria Park Task Force Committee' to coordinate resistance and make decisions in response to the threat of Stampede Park expansion, and to interact on the neighbourhood's behalf with outside participants such as the CE&S, municipal and provincial politicians, and the planning department. As such, the VCA, largely through the Task Force Committee, performed as an interface between neighbourhood interests and outside agencies.

5.1.2.2 East Victoria Park Property Owners Association

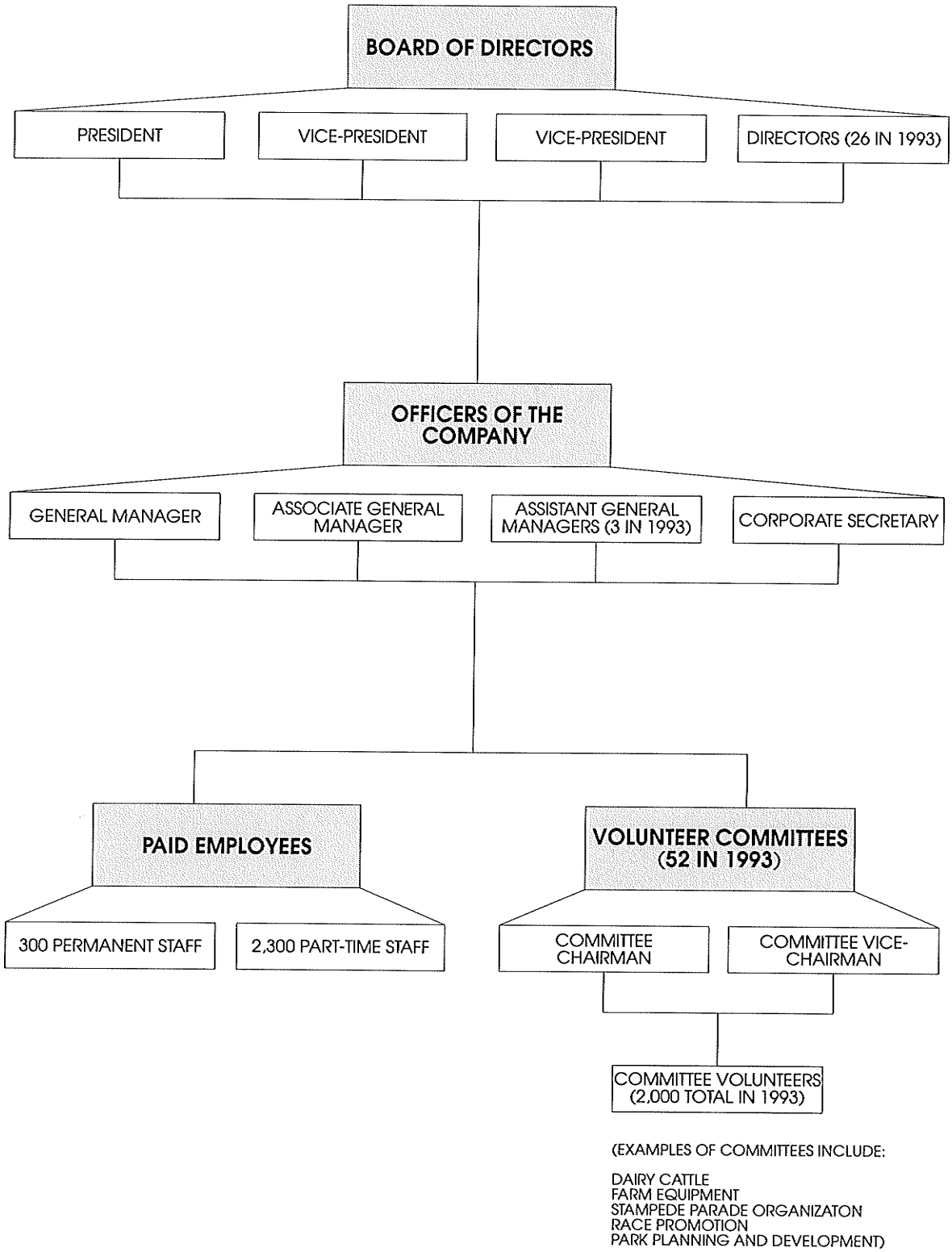
The East Victoria Park Property Owners Association (EVPPOA) was formed in early December, 1991 in response to concerns with the Stampede Park expansion issue in general and the direction of the planning process at that time in particular. The main issues around which the organization formed and subsequently acted related specifically to property interests, namely: uncertainty of use caused by the expansion proposal, the perception that rezoning may impact land use values, and the assertion that many property owners had a genuine interest in redeveloping their land under the guidelines of policies in place prior to 1991 (EVPPOA, 1991c).

Like the VCA, the EVPPOA had a formal organizational structure, consisting of a president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer. Although the EVPPOA was closely connected to, and often acted in concert with, the VCA, it was more limited in representation, being concerned only with the specific interests of certain resident and absentee property owners. However, as the Stampede Park expansion issue proceeded beyond early 1992, this group began to wield increasing political influence, mobilizing internally and hiring its own planning consultant to provide expert advice and lobby various groups and individuals (EVPPOA, 1991b).

5.1.2.3 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited:

The management of Stampede Park is performed by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited (CE&S), a non-profit public company incorporated under the Alberta Companies Act. Like most large companies, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede has a rigid corporate organizational structure, as shown in Figure 12. In addition to the paid staff of approximately 300 permanent and 2,300 part-time employees, the CE&S depends on approximately 2,000 volunteers who serve on some 55 committees, each with its own chairman, vice-chairman, and director (CE&S, 1993). Volunteer committees are utilized by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede for the extremely diverse array of functions and specialized concerns undertaken by the company, while the entire volunteer structure promotes the philanthropic image and activities of the organization. Aspiring Calgary Exhibition and Stampede directors and other board executives also utilize the volunteer structure by entering the organization at the volunteer committee level and attempting to work upwards through the prescribed hierarchy of committee vice-chairman, chairman and so on.

The CE&S has historically maintained strong linkages to the public and private sectors in both Calgary and Alberta, both of which have been central to the success of the



Source: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1993

Figure 12

Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Ltd.:
Corporate Structure

organization. Relationships with the federal, provincial and local levels of government were established in the early 1900s largely through capital improvement grants and loans, funding for master planning, and funding for land acquisitions and mortgage relief (Gray, 1985). The relationship with government has been particularly strong at the local level (more so in the past than today, however). Gray (1985) has commented on the relationship between the organization and the City of Calgary in 1920: "The City held title to [Stampede] Park and everything in it. The Exhibition held a dollar-a-year lease on the premises but functioned very much as an ordinary City department" (p. 58). Two Aldermen and the Mayor now represent the City of Calgary on the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Board of Directors. In addition, an MLA represents the Government of Alberta, and an MP the Government of Canada. As well as these administrative political connections, the CE&S continues to benefit financially from government relations. The CE&S currently receives a $5 million capital development grant through the Alberta Lottery fund administered by the Government of Alberta, as well as a tax rebate and Agriculture Grant (CE&S, 1993).

Political ties are complemented by ties to business and industry. Again, this facet of the organization has a long-standing historical precedent, established in 1912 when the first Exhibition and Stampede was backed by four prominent Calgary businessmen: A.J. Maclean, Pat Burns, George Lane, and AE Cross (Gray, 1985:36). The shift in focus from a ranching and crop economy to an energy-based economy in the 1960s was reflected in the sponsorship of the annual Stampede and the promotion in kind of the oil industry through the first oil show at the 1966 Calgary Stampede (Gray, 1985). The large energy companies with offices in Calgary continue to be some of the largest supporters of the CE&S through the contribution of cash, services and products (CE&S, 1990). Corporate sponsorship in general—composed of donations from a wide range of large (national and multinational) and small (regional and local) corporations and businesses—is now an integral component of the

operation of Stampede Park, contributing more than $2.5 million in 1993 (CE&S, 1993). In return for sponsorship of all kinds (ie. financial, volunteer human resources, services and products contributions), corporations gain exposure and recognition of varying degrees at the annual Stampede and on a year-round basis.

5.1.2.4 Mayor and City Council

Calgary City council consists of 14 aldermen elected through a ward system, plus an at-large Mayor, all of whom serve a three year term. Calgary City council is viewed here as the principal decision-maker in the planning process, as defined variously by Benveniste (1989), Feldt (1988) and Hodge (1986). Specifically, Hodge (1986) states that,

> "The council is the ultimate arbiter of what is acceptable to the diverse interests within the community as well as what is in the best interest of the community. It almost goes without saying that the process of resolution at this level takes place within the "political climate" that characterizes the community" (1986: 181).

City council made decisions at several stages during the course of the Stampede Park expansion issue, as shown in Figure 11. The first of these decisions—made on May 25 1991—is seen as the most critical because it granted the expansion of Stampede Park, in principle, and made provisions for rescinding the existing East Victoria Park neighbourhood plan. The May 25, 1991 council debate and voting patterns also revealed the most about the positions and roles of the aldermen and Mayor concerning the issue. Reid (1991a) has documented the discussion and voting patterns of Calgary City Council on May 25, 1991, from which he has defined three groups and their core representatives, namely a "Stampede supporter" group, an "independent" group, and a "reform" group. The positions of three individuals from this spectrum require some elaboration, namely Aldermen Smith and Scott, and Mayor Duerr.

Alderman Rick Smith, Reid comments, "acted as the lead voice of the Stampede...contingent" (1991a, 5). Smith appeared as the most vociferous proponent of

Stampede Park expansion on city council (both at council meetings and in the press), and also strongly denounced East Victoria Park as a suitable area for revitalized housing and commercial uses (Bergen, 1993c). Smith, whose ward lies adjacent to Stampede Park and East Victoria Park to the east, was also a City of Calgary representative on the Stampede board of directors during the Stampede Park expansion issue.

Alderman Barbara Scott appeared at the opposite ("reform") end of the spectrum identified by Reid. Scott, whose electoral ward included[1] both East Victoria Park and Stampede Park, is distinguished from the other 13 aldermen due to her unique responsibilities, conflicts, and pressures experienced as the direct link between her electors and the rest of city council. To some degree, then, Scott is seen as experiencing more so than other aldermen the, "inherent tensions" in the planning process, particularly those stemming from the neighbourhood/ city dichotomy, as defined by Hodge (1986). The dichotomy in this case stems from the fact that, "the final outcome of planning, the actual projects"—in this case the actual plans and decisions—"occur at the neighbourhood level of a community; thus, judgments arise regarding the status of the values of people in local areas against those of the entire community" (Hodge, 1986:183).

Scott appeared to largely support the East Victoria Park neighbourhood groups in their opposition to Stampede Park expansion, and was often first to denounce the Stampede organization for its methods in attempting to expand into the neighbourhood, which, she had suggested, constituted blockbusting (Harvie, 1990; Cope, 1991a). Scott spearheaded the May 25, 1991 council decision to allow Stampede Park expansion subject to certain

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[1]Scott has been a City of Calgary alderman since 1971. The past-tense reference to Scott's involvement in Ward 8 is due to her departure from City Council, when she declined to seek reelection in the October, 1995 council race.

conditions, such as the establishment of neighbourhood assistance offices to provide residents with information regarding the future of their community, and to assist relocating residents should they be displaced. An advocate of inner city housing, particularly for low income groups, Scott expressed concern about the displacement of residents from East Victoria Park (Ferguson, 1992a), and advocated mixing various housing types in a redeveloped version of the neighbourhood (Ferguson, 1992e, f).

Mayor Al Duerr presided over city council throughout the Stampede Park expansion issue. Duerr is a popular mayor, now serving a third consecutive three year term, winning the second and third elections largely without contest in 1992 and 1995. Duerr, who served on the Stampede Board prior to his initial election as Mayor in 1989, had known of the Stampede's plans to expand into the neighbourhood prior to them becoming public knowledge (Alberts, 1989).

Duerr managed to play a dual role in the Stampede park expansion issue: as a moderator between opposite camps (ie. the CE&S and East Victoria Park) on one hand (Alberts, 1989), yet also as a promoter of Stampede Park expansion on the other. Duerr's support for Stampede Park expansion stemmed from his support for—and apparent belief in—establishing Calgary as a 'world class' city by diversifying its economy (see Cattaneo, 1991a, b). Duerr has been centrally involved in the preparation of economic development strategies for Calgary, and has attempted to build on the 1988 Winter Olympic games in order to secure Calgary's position as a well-known global tourism and convention destination. He has done this through official involvement in the Calgary Economic Development Authority, and through close involvement in specific profile-building projects, such as bidding for the 2002 Winter Olympics and the 2005 World's Fair.

Duerr's strong support of economic development, aimed at developing the international profile of Calgary along these lines, has led Reid (1991b) to observe of the case

study that,

> "...if Mayor Duerr could sympathize with the residents [of East Victoria Park] he could not excuse himself from a higher duty to the well being of the city as a whole. Falling back on a study by the Calgary Economic and Business Strategic Plan group called Calgary Into the 21st Century, Mayor Duerr indicated that some sacrifices were necessary to secure the Tourist industry as a strategic sector for future economic advancement" (p. 37).

In a later article co-authored by Reid, Duerr is described as having used economic development arguments to "sacrifice" East Victoria Park, "on the grounds that Calgary's status as a tourist and financial centre was threatened by this neighbourhood's stubborn commitment to the principle of place and neighbourhood planning" (Gerecke and Reid, 1991:62).

In summary, then, Duerr can be seen as a clear supporter of Stampede Park expansion and, to some degree, as having played a leading—if publicly subtle—role on city council in this regard. However, Duerr also appeared as a moderator in the issue, lending his role a duality of purpose. Duerr's overriding support for the expansion of Stampede Park has prevented Reid (1991a) from classifying Duerr as playing a "reform" role in *this* issue, yet causes Reid to classify Duerr as a reform mayor generally. However, Reid (1991b) has argued that the reform culture in Calgary is weak and underdeveloped, specifically citing Duerr's inability to confront the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, and to support the demolition of East Victoria Park for Stampede Park expansion purposes. Advances in reform culture in Calgary, Reid argues, are only "symbolic", with, "Mayor Duerr taking strong principled stands on ethnic and ecological matters", but having "failed to realign the material interests represented on city council when it comes to the regulation of land" (Reid, 1991b:40).

5.1.2.5 Civic Administration/ Board of Commissioners

The City of Calgary civic administration is divided into some 21 departments, each

with specific areas of administrative and functional responsibility. The administration is controlled by a board of commissioners, consisting of a Chief Commissioner, and the commissioners of Finance and Administration; Planning, Transportation and Community Services; and Operations and Utilities. The Mayor also sits as a non-voting member on the board of commissioners (City of Calgary, 1994). The board of commissioners has specific duties and powers, primarily: leadership of all the civic departments of the administration, execution of policies and decisions made by city council, provision of information and advice to city council on policy matters, long range planning for the Corporation of the City of Calgary, and control of the City's operating and capital budgets (ibid.; City of Calgary By-Law 9017).

The Commissioner of Planning, Transportation and Community Services—Bob Holmes—was the commissioner most directly involved in the Stampede Park expansion debate. Commissioner Holmes, who oversees the Planning and Building Department (discussed below), and is the chairman of the Calgary Planning Commission, has also been centrally involved in local tourism and economic development initiatives. Holmes has represented the City of Calgary in the preparation of economic development strategies in the late 1980s, and acted as the Director of Olympic Liaison for the City corporation for the 1988 Winter Olympics. He has also been involved with the preparation of Calgary's bids for the 2002 Winter Olympics and the 2005 World's Fair.

5.1.2.6 Planning and Building Department

The Calgary Planning and Building Department is the civic department most closely involved in the Stampede Park expansion issue (both in the contemporary context as well as historically). This central involvement stems from its mandated responsibility of providing, "leadership to The Corporation [of the City of Calgary] in all matters related to planning, development and construction within the city" (City of Calgary, 1994:48). The Planning and

Building Department has been involved in virtually all aspects of the Stampede Park expansion/ East Victoria Park issue in the analysis, formulation, and recommendation-making stages concerning the broad policy and incremental decision-making facets of the issue alike. One specific planner, Roy Wright, was most closely involved in the expansion issue. Wright, who had also presided over drafting the 1984 area redevelopment plan, is the head of the Community Planning division within the Department. During the early stages of the Stampede Park expansion issue, Wright had acted as a mediator between the CE&S and East Victoria Park representatives. However, from the outset of the issue, the Department's shift away from the 1984 area redevelopment plan, and its corollary support of Stampede Park expansion caused neighbourhood groups to lose faith with Wright (interview with Michael Giammarco, December 10, 1991), and, later, to lobby for his removal from the planning process.

The analysis, conclusions and recommendations of the Planning and Building Department on various matters are transmitted to city council via the committees of council (ostensibly the Operations and Environment Committee), the Calgary Planning Commission[2], and the board of commissioners.

In addition to the core participants described above, however, a large number of additional groups and individuals played various roles in the Stampede Park expansion-East Victoria Park planning process. These participants consisted of both formal organizations

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[2]The Calgary Planning Commission is a special committee appointed to make recommendations on certain specified planning issues to City Council. Hodge (1986) provides an overview of the function of these boards and committees in the context of the Canadian planning process. The Calgary Planning Commission is chaired by the Commissioner of Planning, Transportation and Community Services, and is composed of representation from City departments, two aldermen, and citizen members (usually architects and other urban-based professionals).

and informal alliances, community groups and associations, professional planners outside the City of Calgary administration, architects, urbanists, and individual citizens: Stampede Park expansion was viewed as a significant city-wide issue, as well as a conflictual issue between Park administrators and the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. A number of individual citizens expressed opinions about the issue through the media and political process, while other community associations (especially those with their own area redevelopment plans in place), expressed sometimes strong opinions and support for East Victoria Park through the political process.

5.2 THE PLANNING PROCESS, STAGE 1: FEBRUARY, 1990 TO MAY, 1991

5.2.1 Administrative Analysis of the Issue

The City of Calgary Planning and Building Department initially became directly involved in the Stampede Park expansion issue as an intermediary/ facilitator at a series of meetings held between the Victoria Community Association and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede from March, 1990 to July, 1990 (interview with Michael Giammarco, October 10, 1993; City of Calgary, 1991a:2).[3] The purpose of these meetings had been to reach a compromise solution to the Stampede Park expansion issue, based on the premise that the two 'sides' could find some common ground. This negotiated approach failed, however, in July of 1990, due mainly to the entrenchment of each side in its respective position: the neighbourhood insisting that East Victoria Park be allowed to revitalize, and the CE&S in the position that it required the entire neighbourhood area to accomplish its expansion goals (interview with Michael Giammarco, October 10, 1993; City of Calgary, 1991a:3).

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[3]Approximately eight meetings were held between March, 1990 and July, 1990.

Meanwhile, the Planning and Building Department was also involved in a parallel process of evaluating the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal, following its preliminary unveiling by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in February of 1990. Under consideration at that time was the request made by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede that City Council approve the expansion in principle and amend existing policies to facilitate the crossing of the 14th Avenue boundary into East Victoria Park. As is normally the case[4], the civic administration was responsible for undertaking an analysis of the expansion issue to assist City Council in making its judgments.

An interdepartmental body was assembled specifically for the purpose of, "evaluat[ing] Horizon 2000 from the perspective of the Corporation [of the City of Calgary]" (City of Calgary, 1991a). The group—called the 'Administrative Task Force' (ATF)—was established under the auspices of the City's Commissioner of Planning and Community Services (Bob Holmes), and consisted of representation from the Planning and Building Department as well as five other departments in the municipal administration.

In addressing the Stampede Park expansion issue, the ATF first defined the problem as a conflict between the *Horizon 2000* proposal and the existing *Victoria Park East ARP*: The issue of resident displacement brought on by neighbourhood destruction—although addressed in the ATF analysis—was not identified as a central concern, but was treated as a foregone conclusion: "Both the Horizon 2000 and A.R.P. visions call for the removal of the [East] Victoria Park community as it presently exists, and therefore, the issue becomes a question of what *replaces* the present uses, and who does it." (City of Calgary, 1991a:27. Italics added).

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[4]The function of the administrative participants in the planning process is defined by Feldt (1988): "Urban planners themselves seldom make decisions; rather, they lay out major alternatives and recommendations for those elected or appointed to make such decisions" (p. 44).

Having defined the problem, the ATF undertook an analysis of the two development 'visions' by comparing them to each other under given criteria, and by comparing them to broader City of Calgary policies and objectives in place at the time. Establishing evaluation criteria is the second step following problem definition within a six-step process of planning policy analysis, as described by Sawicki (1988).

Comparing the two options against broad council policies introduced an 'interface' between urban economic development and neighbourhood development to the planning process. Tourism policies were viewed by the ATF as a subset of the urban economic development and diversification policies that had been produced within the two year period prior to the ATF analysis. Specifically, the ATF referenced three of the printed strategies which were discussed briefly towards the end of Chapter Four, namely:

- the *Calgary...Into the 21st Century* economic development strategy (1989/ 1990)
- the *Calgary Community Tourism Action Plan* (1989)
- *Council's Strategic Plan* (1990).

The main policies cited by the ATF consisted of:

- diversifying the local economy
- promoting Calgary as a tourism destination
- cultivating Calgary's "high international awareness" (City of Calgary, 1991a:10-11).

Housing and neighbourhood development policies—viewed as inherently contradictory to those of tourism/ urban economic development—were also listed as evaluation criteria, as follows:

- repopulation of existing communities
- more efficient utilization of urban land and municipal infrastructure

- offsetting negative environmental (air) qualities
- minimizing commuter impacts on inner city communities
- increasing the viability of public transit (City of Calgary, 1991a:19).

A second set of evaluation criteria was established by the ATF, which incorporated the 'housing' and 'economic development' criteria with nine other criteria, namely:

- provision of open space
- environmental impacts
- impact on adjacent communities
- transportation
- heritage retention
- impact on existing residents
- impact on existing business and property owners
- Elbow River floodway implications, and
- impact on community facilities (City of Calgary, 1991a:23)

Having establish the evaluation criteria, the ATF generated seven geographical alternatives for the expansion of Stampede Park, namely:

- the reconfiguration of Stampede Park within its existing boundaries
- Stampede Park expansion to the southwest (into the Erlton community)
- Stampede Park expansion to the south (into a cemetery)
- Stampede Park expansion to the southeast (into a city-owned public works yard and largely vacant industrial land)
- Stampede Park expansion to the east (into the Ramsay community)
- Stampede Park expansion to the west (into Victoria Park West)
- Stampede Park expansion to the north (into East Victoria Park) (City of Calgary, 1991a:14).

Each of these expansion alternatives was 'pre-evaluated' by way of a brief discussion of qualitative costs and benefits. A large number of these alternatives were eliminated on the basis that they would intrude into existing residential communities located to the southwest, west, and east of the Stampede Park site. Other alternatives were eliminated largely on the basis of cost or physical barriers (City of Calgary, 1991a:14-18). Eighth and ninth alternatives—those of partial expansion into East Victoria Park, and the decentralization of Stampede Park—were also raised and eliminated.

The result of the 'pre-evaluation' of Stampede Park expansion alternatives resulted in the selection of two alternatives for further evaluation, namely expansion into East Victoria Park—as proposed by the CE&S in *Horizon 2000*—and containment within the existing Park site (that is, the upholding of the 1984 Area Redevelopment Plan). Evaluation of alternatives comprises the fourth step in the process described by Sawicki (1988). The ATF employed the evaluation criteria established in the second phase to undertake a comparative analysis of *Horizon 2000* and the 1984 area redevelopment plan.

The ATF drew on general trends, national and provincial economic impact projections, and the importance of tourism to the Alberta economy as the analytical framework for the analysis of whether trends in the fair industry justified the expansion of Stampede Park. The ATF identified five trends within the fair industry itself that suggested Stampede Park expansion was justifiable, namely: the need to cater to an aging population; a North American trend towards developing fairs into year-round tourist attractions; the provision of more green space and resting areas at fairs; the trend for fairs to expand (and, in particular, to develop exhibition and convention facilities on-site); and the development of theme parks (City of Calgary, 1991a:10). "In summary", the ATF commented from its research,

"it can be said that tourism, which fairs can be seen as part of, is growing. Fairs

themselves, in order to remain attractive and financially viable, are attempting to increase the use of facilities for year-round events and to improve the quality of their grounds." (ibid.).

In concluding its analysis of the tourism development aspects, the ATF argued that.

> "As a result of the economic benefit associated with expansion, and the lack of other locations to achieve the benefits, it makes realistic sense to utilize the lands north of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede for expansion purposes." (ibid.:27).

Employing the same logic it had used to evaluate the rationality of Stampede Park expansion in the context of tourism development, the ATF analyzed the *Victoria Park East ARP* in the context of inner city housing and repopulation of the core. Again, the ATF drew from trends which supported the development of housing in East Victoria Park, namely a projected 30 year demand for inner city infill housing, increasing opposition to intensification in some communities (presumably increasing the demand in less hostile ones), and the overriding need to create a more energy- and cost-efficient urban form (City of Calgary, 1991a:19-20). Based on this analysis, the ATF concluded that:

> "In summary, there are clearly a number of benefits to the City of increasing residential development with the established areas and Victoria Park is one location that could contribute to the achievement of that objective" (ibid.:20).

Despite the theoretical and policy support evidenced for promoting the Area Redevelopment Plan, however, the ATF analysis countered such positive aspects by citing a series of factors which it perceived as negatively impacting the likelihood of the plan's success. For the most part, these factors stemmed from the existing proximity of the neighbourhood to Stampede Park, and consisted of negative externalities such as traffic, parking intrusion, the unruly behaviour of Stampede Park patrons, and continued uncertainty regarding the potential expansion of Stampede Park (ibid.:24). Consideration of these negative influences concluded in a critical appraisal of the economic (market) viability of the 1984 Area Redevelopment Plan and of the future livability of the East Victoria Park

neighbourhood.

Having evaluated the *Horizon 2000* proposal and the existing 1984 *Area Redevelopment Plan* policy options in the framework of tourism/ urban economic development and housing/ neighbourhood development, the ATF chose to support the expansion of Stampede Park, and so recommended to Calgary City Council (City of Calgary, 1991a:29). In doing so, the ATF had implicitly chosen to promote tourism and economic development objectives over neighbourhood development objectives. Thus, tourism/ economic development objectives had not only entered into the planning process in the early 1990s, but had gained ascendancy over those of neighbourhood development.

The final report of the ATF, entitled *A Technical Evaluation of "The New Horizon 2000 Vision: The Case for Expansion"*, was completed in April of 1991. In it, the administration had reached three significant sets of conclusions regarding the Stampede Park expansion issue. The first of these concerned the ATF's interpretation of the nature of the problem it sought to analyse and make recommendations upon:

> "In comparing the Horizon 2000 vision with the Victoria Park East ARP, it is apparent that a conflict between the equally sound, broad Council policies of housing/densification and economic diversification competing for the same piece of land is occurring" (City of Calgary, 1991a:27).

The second group of conclusions reached by the ATF concerned the administration's judgments regarding the viability of revitalizing East Victoria Park as a residential area. Based on its analysis, the ATF concluded that, "[East] Victoria Park is no longer a suitable or viable area for housing", and that a number of alternative sites on which high density housing could be constructed existed in the inner city, whereas alternative sites were deemed to be unavailable for the expansion of Stampede Park elsewhere (City of Calgary, 1991a:26-27). The conclusions regarding the unlikelihood that East Victoria Park would revitalize were juxtaposed with a third and final set of conclusions regarding the importance of tourism

and the role of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede as a facet of its development:

> "In summary, it can be said that tourism, of which fairs can be seen as part of, is growing. Fairs themselves, in order to remain attractive and financially viable, are attempting to increase the use of facilities for year-round events and to improve the quality of their grounds... (City of Calgary, 1991a:10).
>
> As a result of the economic benefit associated with expansion, and the lack of other alternatives to achieve the benefits, it makes realistic sense to utilize the lands north of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede for expansion purpose"s (ibid.:27).

Based on its analysis, the ATF then recommended that City Council give approval to the request of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede board to expand Stampede Park into East Victoria Park, subject to a set of conditions concerning administrative matters, such as the preparation of a revised Area Redevelopment Plan, resident relocation, public riverbank access, and heritage impact (ibid.:28).

Although the Calgary Planning and Building Department had been involved in the ATF analysis as the key administrative participant, it had nonetheless expressed its judgment and opinion largely through the *collective* voice of the civic administration via the ATF analysis. The official position of the Planning and Building Department *per se* was expressed more distinctly in April 1991 when the Stampede Park expansion issue was presented to the Calgary Planning Commission prior to going before City Council later in the spring. As a matter of procedure, the Planning and Building Department presents, "planning recommendations" to the Calgary Planning Commission for each issue being considered (City of Calgary, 1993). In its report to the Calgary Planning Commission on April 18, 1991 concerning Stampede Park expansion, the Planning and Building Department voiced agreement with the conclusions of the ATF analysis, and recommended that the Calgary Planning Commission and City Council should approve the expansion of Stampede Park into East Victoria Park (Minutes of Special Meeting of Calgary Planning Commission,

April 18, 1991).

The Planning and Building Department, acknowledging that in supporting the expansion of Stampede Park it was simultaneously reversing policies it had produced to facilitate the revitalization of East Victoria Park in 1981, argued that it, "believes it has sound reasons in changing its opinions as to the future of [East] Victoria Park" (ibid.). Ostensibly, these reasons were contained in an admission that the Department had been over-optimistic in the early 1980s when it had supported the revitalization of East Victoria Park, and had predicted the potential of the neighbourhood to overcome various negative influences stemming from proximity to Stampede Park. In addition, the Department argued that it had not had to face a serious examination of these negative influences until the Stampede Park expansion proposal was brought forward, thereby creating a new analytical perspective:

> "The Department, in supporting [Stampede Park expansion] did not come to the conclusion easily. However, as a result of examining the potential for housing under the harsh light of reality, the [Planning and Building] Department is of the opinion that it is not desirable nor the best use for those lands" (ibid.).

On April 18, 1991 the Calgary Planning Commission voted to recommend that City Council approve the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede request to expand Stampede Park into East Victoria Park, subject to the conditions previously laid out in the ATF report. The Calgary Planning Commission also voted to add a new condition that a senior citizen housing complex in the neighbourhood (the 'Rundle Lodge') be relocated at the expense of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede (ibid.).

As we have seen in Chapter Three, the position of the Victoria Community Association entering the conflict in early 1990 was that the City of Calgary should deny Stampede Park expansion on the basis of upholding plans to revitalize the neighbourhood, as entrenched in the *Victoria Park East ARP*. As the issue developed through the spring and

summer of 1990, the VCA had become disillusioned and frustrated with the negotiated settlement process. Following the strategy of the CE&S—which hired a professional lobbyist and spokesman in August of 1990 to lobby potentially supportive groups and politicians—the VCA embarked on a separate process of public campaigning, primarily targeting other community associations to build support (interview with Michael Giammarco, October 10, 1993; Spearman, 1990).

This lobbying process—by both the CE&S and the VCA—continued into early 1991. Throughout this process the VCA had lobbied its ward alderman (Barbara Scott) other city aldermen, and the Mayor (Al Duerr), holding small meetings and arranging guided tours of the neighbourhood. In addition to lobbying local politicians, the VCA approached provincial politicians as well (interview with Michael Giammarco, August 23, 1995). By early 1991 the VCA had ceased discussions with the Commissioner of Planning and Community Services and the Planning and Building Department; expending effort in this area was deemed futile, as the Department was perceived as having reached an immutable position in favour of Stampede Park expansion (ibid.; interview with Michael Giammarco, August 23, 1995).

5.2.2 The Political Decision-Making Process

A pivotal political decision—that to approve or deny Stampede Park expansion in principle—was made on May 25, 1991 by Calgary City Council. Two principal organizations—namely the CE&S and the VCA/ East Victoria Park neighbourhood—attempted to exert influence in the political decision-making process concerning Stampede Park expansion. The formal channel for public arguments forwarded by these two groups and other interested parties to Calgary City Council was through a lengthy public hearing process held on May 24 and May 25, 1991. To summarize, the two

'sides' forwarded the following arguments in support of their respective positions:

Calgary Exhibition and Stampede arguments:

- tourism is a significant growth industry in Calgary and Alberta;
- tourism has been identified by the Calgary Economic Development Authority as the most significant area of local economic diversification;
- the Calgary Stampede is, "the engine" driving local tourism development;
- the success of tourism and the economy in general in Calgary depends upon Stampede Park expansion (Ron Ghitter, 1991).

Victoria Community Association arguments:

- the 1984 Victoria Park East ARP must be upheld both as an instrument of neighbourhood revitalization and as an instrument affirming a moratorium on Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park;
- the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede should re-assess the land use planning assumptions contained in the *Horizon 2000* proposal with a view to evaluating the possibility of re-organizing the present site, rather than expanding;
- tourism impact and economic feasibility studies should be conducted prior to considering Stampede Park expansion;
- "the decision-making process is questionable"—neighbourhood rights had not been taken into account in the administrative evaluation of the *Horizon 2000* proposal (Victoria Community Association, 1991a; Victoria Community Association, 1991b).

In addition to the opposing views forwarded by the CE&S and the VCA themselves, a polarization of two principal types of *groups* attempting to wield influence over the political decision concerning Stampede Park expansion had occurred by the spring of 1991.

These were divided among CE&S supporters, consisting largely of 'community service' clubs, civic booster organizations and private sector business interests[5], versus supporters of the VCA, consisting largely of other community associations, labour and tenant rights groups, non-government health/ social service agencies, and urbanists, architects, and planners.[6] A total of 70 briefs were presented to council representing the two positions, in addition to 74 in-person oral presentations (Minutes of the Special Meeting of Calgary City Council , May 24-25, 1991).

City Council closed the public hearing on May 25, 1991, and entered into debate on the Stampede Park expansion issue. In making the decision concerning the expansion, city council took into consideration the conclusions and recommendations of the ATF analysis, the decision and recommendations of the Calgary Planning Commission and the Planning and Building Department, as well as a separate report prepared by the Board of Commissioners. The 'Commissioner's Report' to council supported the conclusions and recommendations of the ATF analysis and the Calgary Planning Commission decision. The Commissioner's Report also recommended to council that the parallel issue of locating a new convention centre facility immediately to the west of Stampede Park (as discussed above) be resolved shortly, so that it could be taken into account as part of the Stampede Park expansion planning process (City of Calgary, Board of Commissioners, May 24, 1991).

On May 25, 1991, Calgary City Council voted 12-3 in favour of approving Stampede

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[5]For example, the Calgary Chamber of Commerce (letter from the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, May 8, 1991) and the Calgary Economic Development Authority (letter from the Calgary Economic Development Authority, May 7, 1991).

[6]For example, Federation of Calgary Communities (Letter, October 22, 1990), The Calgary John Howard Society (Letter, May 24, 1991); Oxfam Canada (Letter, October 29, 1990); John Sewell (Letter, May 6, 1991).

Park expansion into East Victoria Park. The approval was given *in principle*, however, and was subject to a number of implementing conditions. These conditions were contained in a 'compromise' motion put by alderman Barbara Scott following the failure of her previous motion to deny expansion (minutes of the Special Meeting of Calgary City Council, May 24-25, 1991; interview with Alderman Barbara Scott, October 16, 1991). The three most significant conditions of the motion to approve Stampede Park expansion are summarized as follows:

- Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park be permitted, subject to the provision of housing in the expansion area, "where residential and Stampede uses are compatible", and, "the investigation of methods to provide housing in the area immediately adjacent to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede";
- that City Council establish a citizen advisory committee to define the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede uses that will be permitted in East Victoria Park adjacent to residential areas in the neighbourhood;
- that the Civic Administration prepare a revised/ new Area Redevelopment Plan for the expanded boundaries of Stampede Park and the East Victoria Park neighbourhood (minutes of the Special Meeting of Calgary City Council, May 24-25, 1991).

In approving the expansion of Stampede Park, City Council effectively nullified the existing revitalization concept for East Victoria Park, thereby—within the historical context discussed in Chapter Three—dramatically altering the direction of policy concerning the neighbourhood for the third time. However, the May 25, 1991 decision did not appear to give the entire East Victoria Park neighbourhood to the CE&S for Stampede Park expansion on a *carte blanche* basis, as requested by the CE&S in the *Horizon 2000* proposal. Rather,

by including the condition that the Stampede Park expansion must prove compatible with housing—leaving the exact *form* of expansion open to further discussion—the momentum of Stampede Park expansion appeared to have been slowed somewhat. Determining and implementing the exact form and scope of the expansion constituted the second stage of the planning process (the concept proposed by the CE&S's consultants in *Horizon 2000,* was not approved by council).

5.3 THE PLANNING PROCESS, STAGE II: MAY, 1991 TO OCTOBER, 1993

Following the May 25 decision to allow Stampede expansion, the Civic Administration prepared a set of recommendations to City Council concerning the composition of, and terms of reference for the proposed citizen advisory committee, as well as the sequence of events leading to the preparation of a new Area Redevelopment Plan for the expanded Stampede Park/ East Victoria Park area. The administration recommended that the composition of the citizen advisory committee should be as non-partisan as possible, that is, it should not contain representation from special interest groups: the roles of the CE&S and East Victoria Park would be limited to "ongoing consultation with the citizen advisory committee" (City of Calgary, Board of Commissioners, July 2, 1991).

Three objectives were defined for the advisory committee, grouped under a central goal of achieving, "a vibrant mixed use environment in the expanded Stampede Park area", (ibid.) namely: to determine how, and in what form to incorporate housing into the expansion area; to explore the possibility of retaining some land in the expansion area under private ownership for market-sector development; and to determine what land uses and activities would generate year-round usage of the expanded Stampede Park by tourists and local citizens (ibid.). The administration recommended that the advisory committee not be

a wholly independent entity, but that it work with the administration in undertaking its tasks.

Deliberation by the advisory committee and civic administration to determine the general mixture of land uses would form the first phase of the planning process, while actual preparation of the ARP (entailing largely technical matters such as determining the specific location, form, and density of the land uses, transportation and pedestrian networks, public amenities, plan implementation techniques, financing, and so forth) would form the second and final phase (ibid.). The administrative recommendations concerning the citizen advisory committee and the process of preparing a new Area Redevelopment Plan were contained in a Board of Commissioners report, which was approved by City Council on July 2, 1991.

5.3.1 The Citizen Advisory Committee Process

Calgary City Council established a 10 member Citizen's Advisory Committee (CAC) on July 15, 1991, following a call for membership in the print media. As a result of the selection process, both the VCA and CE&S were represented in the CAC membership[7]. The CAC extracted a central problem and the objectives of its analysis from an interpretation of the city council resolutions of May 25, 1991 concerning Stampede expansion. In defining the central problem to be addressed, the CAC cited a perceived conflict between tourism development and neighbourhood revitalization:

> "The [City] Council vision of the expanded Stampede Park included a mixed-use area comprising entertainment areas and activities characteristic of the Calgary

[7]Although the call for membership to the citizen advisory committee was made through the mainstream media, implying the possibility of broad, citizen-based membership, the final composition of the committee did not actually reflect the 'average' individual. Chairing the committee was a prominent development industry lawyer and lobbyist, with membership consisting of other development industry lawyers and lobbyists (one of whom was a former ex-alderman), and other members of the local land development industry (CAC, 1992).

> Exhibition & Stampede together with commercial and retail uses (i.e. shops and restaurants) below, beside or interspersed with residential uses. Through its vision, *Council sought to meld two apparently irreconcilable policies, being: 1) the enhancement of tourism; and 2) the increase in residential units in and near the downtown* " (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992:8. Italics added).

In translating this problem into the task of creating a land use concept plan for the expansion area, the CAC viewed its objective as being to, "carefully consider every opportunity for the incorporation of housing within the [Stampede] expansion area" (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992:8).

The CAC began deliberations in August of 1991, and held some 24 internal meetings before concluding its analysis and producing a formal report in March of 1992. The CAC relied primarily on three sources of information for its analysis, namely:

1) information gathered by the Planning and Building Department concerning residential uses in the context of other North American fair sites;
2) the results of a housing feasibility study prepared by Clayton Research Associates Ltd. of Toronto;
3) information solicited from East Victoria Park, the CE&S, and other interested parties.

The Planning and Building Department provided two planners as administrative 'resource people' and facilitators attached to the CAC. Based on site visits to other North American fairground sites, the Planning and Building Department staff provided the CAC, "with extensive information indicating that residential uses were incompatible within major North American fairs and theme parks similar in use to that envisioned within Horizon 2000" (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992:9).

Initial input was received from the CE&S and East Victoria Park via preliminary consultations on September 1991. The initial consultation with the CE&S and VCA on

September 24, 1991 served to illustrate that the two entities were still entrenched in their respective positions entering the CAC process: the VCA favouring revitalization of their neighbourhood as a residential and commercial district, with the CE&S desiring the expansion of Stampede Park with no possibility of housing redevelopment in East Victoria Park (Dudley, 1991). The EVPPOA, which had not formed until December 1, 1991, also made a presentation to the CAC on December 3, 1991. At that time the position of the EVPPOA was that, in contrast to the problem as defined by the CAC, tourism development and neighbourhood revitalization *could* occur simultaneously and in close proximity to one another. The solution proposed by the EVPPOA was to permit Stampede Park expansion along the western portion of East Victoria Park (ie. west of 4th Street SE), while facilitating the development of medium to high density housing and commercial activities in the eastern portion of the neighbourhood (ie. east of 4th Street SE), thereby allowing residential development to take advantage of the nearby riverfront amenity (EVPPOA, 1991b).

To supplement its own analytical process and provide additional information, a housing market consultant—Clayton Research Associates Ltd. (Toronto)—was retained by the CAC, and given the mandate of determining if housing could be included in the Stampede Park expansion plan, and how such housing may be developed given existing and future market conditions and opportunities and constraints represented in the East Victoria Park instance. Citing incompatibility between domestic and Stampede-related environments, market competition from other inner city neighbourhoods, the possibility that a future housing component in East Victoria Park would be physically isolated, and that, "it simply would not be prudent to compromise the economic success of the Stampede Park plans to create year-round activities by being **excessively** innovative on the housing and community side", the housing feasibility study was not supportive of housing in East Victoria Park (Clayton Research Associates Ltd., 1991. Emphasis in original.).

The housing feasibility study concluded that, "We are unable to find support for a significant component of housing in the [Stampede] expansion area" (ibid.:19). The study recommended to the CAC that, besides hotels, extremely limited residential opportunities were possible in the form of a small but 'upscale' loft-style housing component in some of the warehouse structures located in the northwest portion of the neighbourhood (ibid.).

Additional input from the CE&S, East Victoria Park groups, and other interested parties was gathered through two public hearings held on November 5 and 6, 1991, and through the solicitation of responses to the Clayton Research Associates housing feasibility study in January, 1992. Opinions gathered through these processes by the CAC can be placed into three general groupings concerning the tourism development/ neighbourhood revitalization conflict:

1) Tourism development should prevail: Stampede Park should expand into the entire East Victoria Park area, with replacement housing located elsewhere. This view was expressed by the CE&S (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992).

2) Tourism development should not be allowed to rescind the policy of neighbourhood revitalization or the aspirations of the community concerning its future state: Stampede Park should expand elsewhere (to the south of the existing site), leaving East Victoria Park intact for future revitalization. This view was expressed by the VCA, EVPPOA, architects, a special interest group called the Spirit of Stampede (SOS), and other groups and individuals (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992; Spirit of Stampede, January, 1992; Stavro Melathopoulos Architect, January, 1992).

3) Tourism development and neighbourhood revitalization are compatible, (or, at least, can be made compatible through thoughtful planning and design)

and can occur simultaneously: Stampede Park expansion should occur only in the west portion of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, while housing and community infrastructure should develop in the east portion of the neighbourhood. This opinion was espoused by groups who may have had an economic interest in seeing residential redevelopment in East Victoria Park, such as property owners and architects (Stavro Melathopolous Architect, January, 1992; EVPPOA, January, 1992; The Boga Group, January, 1992; also see Citizen's Advisory Committee 1992). This opinion was also expressed by groups advocating housing in principle, or as a potential solution to affordable housing supply in Calgary. Such groups included architects, the VCA, and a tenants advocacy organization (The Boga Group, January, 1992; Downtown Business Revitalization Zone, January, 1992; Victoria Community Association, January, 1992; Spirit of Stampede, January, 1992; Calgary Association of Renters, 1992; Ferguson, January 16, 1992 and January 20, 1992; also see Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992).

Despite substantial input from advocates of housing, and the acknowledgment of continued widespread support for a mixed use concept in general and residential uses in particular, (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992:10)[8] the CAC's analytical process clearly favoured Stampede Park expansion, while giving housing a secondary status or discounting it altogether in some instances:

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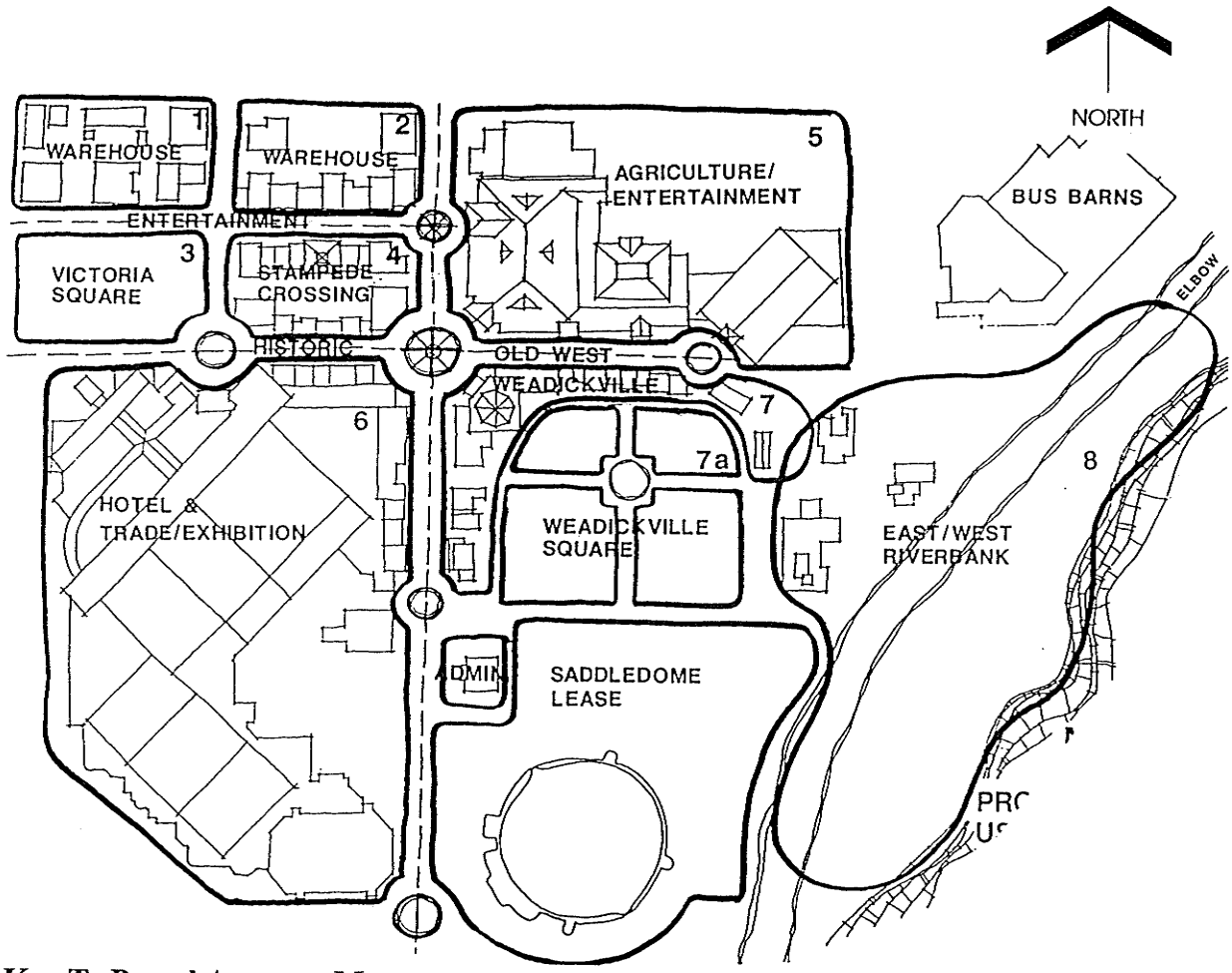
[8]The promotion of housing, led by the VCA, EVPPOA and their close supporters, was expressed not only through the formal channels established by the CAC, but also through continued lobbying and the local print media throughout the duration of the CAC process.

> "...the Committee felt the need to determine whether and to what extent this mixed-use environment was pragmatic and realistic, given the needs of the Stampede and the experience with this type of a mixture elsewhere. ...*Where the two uses (Stampede/ residential) were in conflict, the Stampede use should prevail as being the most appropriate land use.* Throughout this exercise, the Committee was mindful that the possibility of trading off or significantly reducing the land requirements of the proposed Stampede expansion was limited due to the Committee's desire to preserve the integrity of the [Stampede] expansion plan" (ibid.:10-11. Italics added).

Based on the conclusions reached in the Clayton Research Associates Ltd. housing feasibility study and from its own subsequent analysis of the issue, the CAC concluded in early March, 1992 that it,

> "...was not able to reconcile the incompatible aspects of Stampede uses and land requirements with a more conventional housing enclave/ precinct within the [Stampede] expansion area. ...If Council wishes to provide a more conventional housing enclave, particularly for existing resident owners, a number of better sites are available in adjacent communities. ...the Committee finds that there are only limited opportunities for housing within an expanded Stampede Park and therefore the animation and vibrancy will need to come from the people attending Stampede and on-site activities" (Citizen's Advisory Committee, 1992:14-15).

The final land use recommendations of the CAC were largely a reiteration of the land use concepts contained in the original *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal submitted by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in 1991, with the exception of two significant modifications (ibid.:44. See Figure 13). The first modification recommended by the CAC concerned the inclusion of housing in the expansion area. To this end, the CAC recommended the removal of 2.6 hectares of land (two city blocks) from the northwest portion of the *Horizon 2000* plan, which had been suggested as the only possible area for housing in the Clayton Research feasibility study. In place of the entryway plaza and storage areas proposed by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede for this area, the CAC recommended removing the 2.6 hectares from the expansion plans altogether to retain the land in private ownership "for comprehensively designed redevelopment of residential, retail, commercial



Key To Parcel Areas on Map:

1 & 2
- removed from Stampede Park expansion area
- retention of private ownership
- residential/ retail/ commercial development

3
- retained in Stampede Park expansion area
- plaza/ retail/ entertainment/ 'festive theme'
- possible historic buildings

4
- retained in Stampede Park expansion area
- plaza/ retail/ commercial/ entertainment
- residential and hotel
- possible retention of Victoria School

5
- retention in Stampede Park expansion area
- Agriculture Complex as originally proposed by the CE&S in *Horizon 2000*

6
- retention in Stampede Park expansion area
- Roundup Centre expansion/ hotel development
- as proposed by CE&S

7
- retained in Stampede Park expansion area
- 'western theme area'/ 'stage set'
- retail/ commercial/ entertainment
- possible bed and breakfasts

7a
- retained in Stampede Park expansion area
- open space/ midway/ open air exhibits
- parking during off-season

8
- retained in Stampede Park expansion area
- possible private/ public housing
- more likely an open space/ park area

Source: *Citizen's Advisory Committee Report on Stampede/ Victoria Park East Planning Issues.* 1992.

Figure 13

Citizen Advisory Committee
Land Use Concept for Stampede Park Expansion Area/
East Victoria Park

and entertainment uses." (ibid.:17). The CAC foresaw special needs and low-income, largely single occupants mixed with young renters and "artisans" as tenants in the upper floors of the old warehouse structures in this area, with assistance in the form of public-sector subsidies to build and manage the low-income units (ibid.). In addition, the CAC also recommended that residential uses be included in the 'Stampede Crossing' mixed-use entertainment parcel proposed by the CE&S in *Horizon 2000*—that is, to insert housing directly into the expansion area (ibid.:23).

The second, less significant modification to the *Horizon 2000* proposal recommended by the CAC was to rearrange the land uses in the concept plan to conform to the existing grid street layout in East Victoria Park. The original *Horizon 2000* concept had proposed diagonal and curvilinear flows of pedestrian activity and land uses through the expanded Stampede Park area—in disregard to the existing street pattern—and uses were arranged around this flow. The CAC recommendation sought to keep these uses in their original proposed locations, modifying their arrangement and orientation only slightly to roughly conform to a grid. The amount of land dedicated to each component of the Park expansion proposed in *Horizon 2000* was, for the most part, retained in each case as a result of the CAC process (ibid.:44).

The final report of the CAC was submitted for city council approval in March of 1992. The report was transmitted to City Council via two planning decision making bodies—namely the Operations and Environment Standing Policy Committee (a committee of Council composed of 7 aldermen) and the Calgary Planning Commission. Based on recommendations made by the City's Board of Commissioners, the Operations and Environment Committee voted on March 17, 1992 to recommend to Council that it accept the conclusions of the CAC report, but that all areas designated for housing by the CAC should be returned to the original Stampede Park expansion area to be utilized for Stampede-

related uses, as opposed to residential and other privately developed ones (Minutes of the Operations and Environment Standing Policy Committee, March 17 1992; City of Calgary, Board of Commissioners, March 17 1992).

The Calgary Planning Commission subsequently assessed the CAC final report on March 18, 1992. As part of the information presented to the Planning Commission, the Planning and Building Department prepared a report outlining its position with respect to the CAC report, as well as providing its own analysis, conclusions, and recommendations to City Council concerning various issues related to the CAC report, in particular those concerning housing.

The planning department supported the majority of CAC findings, but generally opposed those which recommended housing in, or adjacent to, the original expansion area proposed by the CE&S in 1991[9] Specifically, the planning department stated opposition to the exclusion of the northwest warehouse area from the expansion plan, arguing that market demand, developer interest, and private financing for residential conversion in this area would not be forthcoming in the future. Furthermore, the planning department argued that excluding this area may have a negative impact on the viability of the Stampede Park expansion plan endorsed by the CAC, and in particular on the success of the 'Stampede Crossing' component (Minutes of the Calgary Planning Commission March 18, 1992). In rejecting the inclusion of housing in the Stampede Crossing parcel itself, the planning department argued—as had the Clayton Research housing feasibility study—that traditional residential (ie. domestic) and commercial/ entertainment uses would be incompatible.

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[9]This position by the Planning and Building Department was a reiteration of findings and opinions it had made available to the CAC at the beginning of the housing feasibility process, namely that residential uses are not compatible with land uses found in major North American theme parks and fairs (CAC, 1991:8).

However, short-term residential uses, such as hotels and bed and breakfasts, were deemed appropriate for this area by the planning department (ibid.:3).

In its summary, the Planning and building Department argued that:

> "the removal of Parcels 1 and 2 from the expansion area will have a very negative 'ripple' effect on the entire northwest quadrant of the [expansion] plan. Put simply, the [Planning] Department feels that the successful planning and development of the northwest area requires Parcels 1, 2, 3 and 4 to be part of the overall Stampede Park area" (ibid.:4).

This summary was incorporated into the planning department's recommendations to City Council concerning the adoption of the CAC report. Thus the planning department recommended that the CE&S expansion plan include the northwest warehouse area for its original proposed use as an entryway plaza, and that references to long-term housing in relation to the 'Stampede Crossing' component of the expansion plan be deleted (ibid.:6).

The Calgary Planning Commission voted to recommend that City Council approve the CAC report. Like the Operations and Environment Committee, the Calgary Planning Commission determined that the two blocks previously removed from the Stampede Park expansion area for housing purposes by the CAC should be re-inserted into the expansion area. However, *un*like the Operations and Environment Committee, and contrary to the recommendations of the Planning and Building Department, the Calgary Planning Commission voted to recommend that City Council designate these two blocks to allow for mixed use development which *could* include residential development (Minutes of the Calgary Planning Commission, March 18, 1992:5).

Three decision-making arenas—namely the CAC, Operations and Environment Committee, and the Calgary Planning Commission—had permitted varying degrees of public participation through 'official' channels (ie. instances when information was solicited from affected parties and the public). Potentially the CAC had existed as the most effective

channel for direct, possibly influential input from the East Victoria Park groups via the membership of a neighbourhood representative on the committee itself. However, despite the efforts of the two neighbourhood groups and a large number of outside supporters, by the end of the CAC process tourism development arguments had come to dominate the neighbourhood revitalization goals forwarded by these groups. A fourth—and final—arena of the CAC process permitting input from these groups was the March 23, 1992 City Council deliberations concerning the CAC.

In making use of this latter forum, the two East Victoria Park groups, their supporters and other opponents of the CE&S expansion plan organized efforts around two principle objectives:

1) re-inserting a significant housing component into the Stampede Park expansion area after the CAC process largely rescinded neighbourhood revitalization objectives and had subsequently resisted their promotion by various participants; and

2) ensuring strong community participation (ie. by the VCA, EVPPOA and supportive groups) in the forthcoming stages of preparing a new Area Redevelopment Plan for the expanded Stampede Park/ East Victoria Park area.

The former objective was approached through two means. The first entailed a formal, voluntary disassociation from the CAC body by three dissenting members who felt community revitalization objectives (ie. housing) had not been given fair examination by the committee.[10] The second method involved a lobbying process by the VCA, EVPPOA, and

[10]The three dissenting CAC members were Sally Bagley, an active East Victoria Park resident; David Marshall, community association president in the neighbouring Inglewood community; and Sheldon Goldenberg, a University of Calgary Sociology professor.

the ward alderman. The latter objective—of securing meaningful community participation in the next phase of the planning process—was also approached through a lobbying process by the two neighbourhood groups and the ward alderman.

The dissenting CAC members produced two 'minority' reports which were circulated to the City of Calgary administrative and political arenas. These reports paralleled the release of the official CAC final report in March of 1992. The first report attacked both the analytical process and end product of the CAC deliberations. It argued that the CAC had operated from an erroneous interpretation of its mandate that led to a severe bias against housing, was not able to explore the possibility of alternative Stampede Park expansion options, viewed the economic success of the Stampede as a tourist attraction as paramount, and commissioned an equally biased and limited housing feasibility study (Bagley & Marshall, 1992). The second minority report focused on similar issues as the first. Deferring to a broader planning context by arguing the merits of inner city population versus the problems associated with suburban expansion, the second minority report argued from the principle that inner city land should be preserved, wherever possible, for future residential development (Goldenberg, 1992). Specific criticism of the CAC process and conclusions was similar to that of the first report; faulting the narrow mandate of the CAC, the inability to address alternative Stampede Park expansion solutions, the perceived fear of jeopardizing the tourism-related objectives represented in the *Horizon 2000* expansion plan, the assumption that Stampede Park expansion demanded all of the land located in East Victoria Park for success, and the fact that the CAC report was basically an endorsement of the original *Horizon 2000* proposal (ibid.).

Both minority reports forwarded similar recommendations as alternatives to those generated by the main CAC process. Firstly, the minority reports recommended that housing and related land uses be located in the east half of East Victoria Park (that is, east of Olympic

Way (4th Street SE). In order to accomplish this goal, it was suggested that the *Horizon 2000* proposal, as endorsed by the CAC, be substantially modified by relocating the proposed agricultural complex component and large parking lot/ midway area to free approximately 10 hectares for housing uses (Goldenberg, 1992; Bagley and Marshall, 1992). While acknowledging the validity of expanding tourism infrastructure as an economic goal, the reports recommended re-examining altogether the *form* of the expansion with a view to incorporating housing and community-related land uses into, or adjacent to it (ibid.). Ostensibly, then, the reports concluded that, in physical (land use) terms, the goals of neighbourhood revitalization and the goals of tourism development could be accomplished in close physical proximity to each other, contrary to the conclusions expressed by the CAC as a whole.

In addition to the preparation and circulation of the CAC minority reports, the VCA and EVPPOA groups attempted to promote the inclusion of housing in East Victoria Park by lobbying city council and expressing their views, whenever possible, through the print media (East Victoria Park Property Owners Association, 1992; Ferguson, 1992a 1992b; Megrath, 1992). In promoting housing, the efforts of the community groups were assisted by their ward alderman, who lobbied fellow aldermen in support of housing and expressed her views through the print media as well (Ferguson 1992a, b, c; Megrath, 1992; Martin, 1992b).

Paralleling the efforts to promote housing, East Victoria Park and its supporters attempted to seek a significant measure of control in setting the terms of reference for and participating in the second phase of the plan preparation process—scheduled to follow the CAC process—namely the actual preparation of a new Area Redevelopment Plan for East Victoria Park. The objective here was to ensure neighbourhood interests concerning revitalization and housing were re-inserted into the planning process, as had been suggested

in the minority reports produced by the CAC members. Again, lobbying by neighbourhood groups to secure a participatory planning process was assisted by political and administrative lobbying by the ward alderman (Ferguson, 1992a, 1992b; East Victoria Park Property Owners Association, 1992).

5.3.2 The Plan Preparation Process

Calgary City Council discussed the recommendations made by the CAC, along with those made by the Operations and Environment Committee and the Calgary Planning Commission on March 23, 1992. City Council voted to approve the CAC report, and adopted the March 18 Calgary Planning Commission recommendation which turned over the entire East Victoria Park area to Stampede Park expansion, rather than excluding this two-block parcel from the northwest corner of the expansion area as had been proposed by the CAC (Minutes of Calgary City Council, March 23, 1992). However, council resolved that the warehouse area would be zoned so as to allow for the development of residential and commercial uses, and instructed the Planning and Building Department to prepare a feasibility study of converting the old warehouse structures in this area into special needs and market housing forms (ibid.).

Having approved the CAC report, city council set in motion the preparation of a new Area Redevelopment Plan for East Victoria Park, "based upon Horizon 2000 as modified by the Citizen's Advisory Committee Report and any other supporting documentation" (ibid.). In addition, council also gave approval in principle (subject to a standard public hearing process) to the expansion of the Roundup Centre trade exhibition facility, "in order to allow a speedy application on the Land Use Redesignation"—that is, to allow expansion of this facility in advance of the preparation of the new Area Redevelopment Plan (ibid.). Preparation of a new East Victoria Park ARP was ordered to proceed in two phases by City

Council; phase one would entail drafting the actual document, while phase two would entail drafting an implementation plan. In summary, the new ARP was to accomplish the following:

a. establish the land use plan;

b. establish the basic transportation plan and impact assessment;

c. develop a detailed phasing plan;

d. initiate a historic buildings and sites evaluation;

e. recognize and consider the impact of Stampede expansion on adjacent communities;

f. initiate an environmental audit of the entire site (ibid.).

The subsequent implementation portion of the ARP would consist of a resident relocation plan, the establishment of architectural and development guidelines, and legal arrangements to modify the lease area of Stampede Park (ibid.).

As a result of lobbying efforts by the East Victoria Park groups and alderman Barbara Scott prior to the council meeting, Scott was able to pass a motion that:

1) Sought to provide for a linear park along the west edge of the Elbow River on the east side of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood; and

2) Sought to make provisions, "for population in the order of 1,200 accommodated in conventional housing, with the standard appropriate buffers between residential development and the parking/midway or other Stampede functions" in East Victoria Park. The residential component was to be located east of Olympic Way, as proposed by the East Victoria Park groups and their supporters, and would require the CE&S to remove all or part of its proposed agricultural complex and parking/ midway area (ibid.:18).

Scott's motion concerning housing was referred to the administration for review and action within the framework of the Area Redevelopment Plan preparation process. Despite this referral, however, (as opposed to an order given to the administration that it include housing in the Stampede Park expansion area) the re-insertion of the possibility of housing was viewed by observers as a surprising victory for the East Victoria Park neighbourhood groups, alderman Barbara Scott, and other proponents of housing, as seen in the words of a local political columnist:

> "The script called for Stampede executives to find council with its hands in the air, political peashooters on the table and their Victoria Park takeover enshrined in the meeting minutes. They'd bought the rights to that movie with six-digit dollars for consultant Ron Ghitter, a top civic lobbyist and sometimes aldermanic campaign fund raiser... They had respected local architect Wade Gibbs in the supporting cast who, it can be noted in passing, has a very close personal friend named Al Duerr... [Scott's] motion...was so unexpected the blue suited cowboys had to rush into a post-decision huddle with Ghitter for a political translation... Scott singlehandedly turned the tables on the Stampede—after decades of inflicting future uncertainty on Victoria Park residents, [Scott] has handed the Stampede itself some uncertainty in its future. It's a new ending to a very old movie" (Martin, 1992b).

Although the March 23 council resolutions had initiated the process of preparing a new ARP for East Victoria Park and the Stampede Park expansion area, these resolutions were unclear as to who would prepare the plan, and what specific planning process would be employed. This confusion was subsequently acknowledged by the East Victoria Park groups and the civic administration, both of which responded by procuring their own notions of how the ARP preparation process would proceed, and by formulating separate visions of the goals, objectives, and contents of the final plan (Victoria Community Association, 1992; City of Calgary, Board of Commissioners, March 3, 1992).

Based on Scott's initial proposal to accommodate housing for 1,200 people in the east half of the Stampede Park expansion area, the East Victoria Park groups and their supporters organized a group of professionals, business, interest and social service agency

representatives, and community members[11] to articulate and promote the neighbourhood's position regarding: a) the conceptualization of the Stampede Park expansion plan and housing mixture; and b) a preferred methodology for preparation of the ARP. Regarding the former, the group argued that Stampede Park and housing/ community uses should be accommodated in the expansion area, and that mixing the two land uses would not jeopardize the economic success of Stampede Park (Calgary Downtown BRZ, 1992; Victoria Community Association, 1992a, 1992b). Regarding the latter issue, the group sought a, "conciliatory and consensus building process amongst all of the stakeholders" (Victoria Community Association, 1992a:1). In demanding this process, the group was opposing the preparation of the ARP by the Planning and Building Department, seeking instead to empower varied participants in the planning process to prepare the plan and deliver it to city council (ibid.; Victoria Community Association 1992b; Albert Bell Development Consultants Ltd., 1992).

In interpreting the March 23 council decisions, the civic administration concluded that the Planning and Building Department should prepare the ARP, headed by the staff members that had been involved in the issue since 1990. Public participation would be limited to consultation with interested parties, however the administration felt that many

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[11]These were largely people who had been involved in the issue since 1991. In addition to VCA and EVPPOA representatives, the professionals consisted of an architect, two planners, a landscape architect, a consulting engineer, and the planning and development consultant retained by the EVPPOA. Also, members of the Calgary Association of Renters, the Calgary Downtown Business Revitalization Zone (BRZ), and the John Howard Society formed part of the group. The Spirit of Stampede, (SOS) a special interest organization formed initially in 1991 around the Stampede Park expansion issue to promote public participation and the consideration of alternative expansion options, was also represented, and was a major force in organizing the movement to promote community interests in the ARP planning process.

critical issues regarding land use had already been resolved by the CAC and council and, therefore, preparation of the plan would essentially be a speedy administrative task (City of Calgary, Board of Commissioners, March 3, 1992). Under this scenario, the Planning and Building Department would prepare two draft ARP documents—one containing housing to accommodate 1,200 people, as proposed by Scott, and the other containing purely Stampede Park uses, as decided by the CAC—and present them to council as alternatives (ibid.). In fact, the Planning and Building Department had already begun to prepare the alternative plans following the March 23 council meeting, but had halted work upon being, "informed that both the proposed planning process and the staff to be used completing it were of concern to the Ward Alderman and certain community groups" (ibid.:2).

In order to resolve outstanding issues concerning the ARP—namely: a) the ARP preparation process and; b) the composition of the body responsible for preparing the plan—city council heard the matter at a meeting on July 27, 1992. Alderman Scott forwarded a motion which reflected the concerns of the East Victoria Park groups concerning a perceived bias by the Planning and Building Department against the *Horizon 2000* proposal and the inclusion of housing in the expansion area. These concerns were reflected within the basis of Scott's motion put to city council, as follows:

> "Whereas the Planning and Building Department staff involved to date have strongly resisted even the minor proposals of the Citizen's Advisory Committee for an increased residential presence in the area in which the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede proposes to expand...And whereas the Planning and Building Department are not viewed by some interest groups as objective facilitators of to the ARP process, and therefore to involve them directly will likely result in a continuing resistance to the plan and continued controversy, whatever the ARP recommends" (Minutes of the Nominating, Agenda and Personnel Committee. July 13, 1992: 3).

The substance of the motion rejected the planning process proposed by the civic administration, and forwarded an alternative one based on the principle of direct community participation. The motion, which was approved by council on July 27, 1992, sought to:

1) remove the planning staff involved in the issue since 1990 by designating, "Planning and Building Department staff not previously involved in the Stampede Park-Victoria Park processes to date...to prepare the ARP" (Minutes of Calgary City Council, July 27, 1992: 12);
2) functionally sever the selected planner from his/ her regular unit to act as an independent consultant reporting to both the civic administration and a citizen-based community planning committee which would be established to participate in the plan preparation process;
3) allow the East Victoria Park groups and the ward alderman input into the actual selection of the planner, based on an evaluation of professional skills and absence of involvement with the Stampede Park expansion issue to date (ibid.).

A Community Planning Advisory Committee (CPAC) was subsequently appointed by city council, and a new planner selected to act as a facilitator for the CPAC (with input from East Victoria Park and its supporters); preparation of a new ARP for East Victoria Park/ Stampede Park expansion then began in November of 1992. The ARP preparation process continued until June of 1993, during which time CPAC was plagued by the housing issue—as had been the CAC before it—and reached a deadlock among its members on the issue in June (CPAC, 1993). Unable to resolve this issue internally, the CPAC chose to shift responsibility for a resolution of the housing issue to City Council.

On October 18, 1993, Calgary City Council voted against amending the existing (1984) ARP to set aside or reserve *any* specific areas within East Victoria Park for the sole

purpose of Stampede Park expansion. One of the main causes of this decision was the discovery that under the Alberta Municipal Government Act the City of Calgary, by designating privately-held land for the sole purpose of Stampede Park expansion, would be financially obligated to compensate the owners of such property (Minutes of Calgary City Council October 18, 1993; Bergen, 1993d; Climengha and Ferguson, 1993; Memorandum from Alderman Barbara Scott October 18, 1993).

5.4 SUMMARY

5.4.1 Shift in Policy Approach

The approval of Stampede Park expansion by Calgary City Council on May 25, 1991 constituted the third major shift in policy approach concerning East Victoria Park since 1965. As the fourth phase of policy approach, this most recent episode in the history of planning policy for East Victoria Park was reminiscent of the urban renewal policies enacted some 25 years earlier in terms of its potential for deleterious impact on the neighbourhood. A major difference in 1991, however, was that the approval of Stampede Park expansion not only constituted a threat to the existing neighbourhood, but to the potential future revitalization of the neighbourhood as well. A central basis of support for the Stampede Park expansion proposal was the city-wide economic gains to which it was frequently linked. Such gains had become more significant in the context of recent urban economic development strategizing, which, in turn, lent further support to the expansion proposal.

Support for the expansion of Stampede Park came from various participants in the planning process. As a whole, Calgary City Council supported the expansion of Stampede Park, although the original intent to demolish the entire neighbourhood for expansion purposes was tempered by the ward alderman and other members of Council. Support for

expansion was also exhibited by the Mayor, and by the City Commissioner responsible for planning matters. Following the initial approval of Stampede Park expansion, efforts to blend neighbourhood-based objectives with those of tourism development were largely resisted, as evidenced in the CAC process and plan preparation stages of the issue between early 1992 and late 1993. In short, it would appear that tourism development/urban economic development objectives were seen by many participants and observers to outweigh the potential benefits of revitalizing East Victoria Park as a residential neighbourhood. As Gerecke and Reid (1991a) have commented on this issue, Mayor Al Duerr justified the sacrifice of East Victoria Park "on the grounds that Calgary's status as a tourist and financial centre was threatened by this neighbourhood's stubborn commitment to the principle of place and neighbourhood planning" (p. 62).

5.4.2 Role of City Planning

The City of Calgary Planning and Building Department expressed full support for the expansion of Stampede Park into East Victoria Park and, more significantly, argued against housing and the compromise solutions proposed by East Victoria Park and others as the debate progressed. This observation stems from the position of the Department as expressed through the following four stages of the planning process between 1990 and 1993:

1) As a central member in the Administrative Task Force, the Planning and Building Department determined that Stampede Park expansion was preferable to retention and eventual implementation of the existing neighbourhood redevelopment policies contained in the *Victoria Park East Area Redevelopment Plan.*

2) In making its presentation to the Calgary Planning Commission during the initial political decision-making stage, the Planning and Building Department

supported the conclusions of the ATF analysis and indicated that it no longer supported the existing area redevelopment plan.

3) The Planning and Building Department facilitators in the CAC process submitted the opinion, based on first-hand observation, that fairgrounds and residential areas were incompatible land uses.

4) In making its presentation to the Calgary Planning Commission during the plan adoption phase of the CAC process, the Planning and Building Department rejected the removal of the northwest (warehouse) area from the original *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal as modified by the CAC. The Department also recommended that references to long-term housing in the Stampede Crossing expansion component be deleted from the CAC report.

Within the historical context of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict described in Chapter Four, these instances indicate that the planning department had reversed its position of 1984 with respect to the regeneration of East Victoria Park. Since 1971 the Planning and Building Department had authored policies which simultaneously attempted to protect East Victoria Park from Stampede Park expansion, while laying out plans for the revitalization of the neighbourhood: through government-assisted rehabilitation in the 1970s, and market-led redevelopment in the early 1980s. These protection and revitalization objectives were ostensibly abandoned by the Planning and Building Department position which emerged in 1990.

In justifying the reversal of its previous position, the planning department forwarded two main arguments: (a) that existing revitalization policies contained in the 1984 area redevelopment plan had not produced significant results, and (b) that tourism development—as a significant aspect of broader economic development strategies and their objectives—should therefore be promoted over the neighbourhood revitalization objectives.

This logic was employed most clearly in the Administrative Task Force analysis of the expansion proposal. At later stages in the planning process this logic was expressed more clearly by other agents, namely the CE&S itself and other supporters of Stampede Park expansion, some CAC members, and in the Clayton Research Associates Ltd. housing feasibility study and the CAC report. This argument was also evidenced in the administrative analyses performed by the board of commissioners, and in the voting and approval patterns of the Calgary Planning Commission, City Council and its committees.

The planning department also re-iterated the position that economic development objectives—expressed through the development of tourism—had become more significant than the goal of revitalizing East Victoria Park at later stages in the planning process. Two interrelated arguments were forwarded to support this argument at various stages in the CAC process, and in the early stages of the Area Redevelopment Plan preparation process, namely: that a comprehensive design was required to ensure the success of the Stampede Park expansion plan and, therefore, the success of the tourism development objectives it represented; and, secondly that housing, in addition to jeopardizing the economic success of Stampede Park expansion, was likely unfeasible in the context of a tourism landscape.

In supporting tourism objectives and reversing revitalization policies, however, the planners lost objectivity and credibility in the eyes of the East Victoria Park groups and their supporters. Several opponents of Stampede Park expansion came to perceive particular Planning and Building Department staff as biased in their analysis of, and proposals for solutions to, the conflict at hand, and that they had in effect abandoned a commitment to community revitalization. As the planning process proceeded, this perception gelled into an area of strong concern and manifested in the political action taken by the East Victoria Park neighbourhood groups and their supporters. Ultimately, this political action resulted in the removal of planning staff from the issue in the latter half of 1992.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The central purpose of this research was to explain the dynamics of a substantial shift in planning policy direction concerning an inner city neighbourhood. On the surface, the shift in planning policy consisted of a movement away from promoting the revitalization of the neighbourhood through small-area (neighbourhood) planning, towards support for demolishing the entire neighbourhood to expand a large urban tourism facility. The research has set out to explain this shift within the context of a growing emphasis placed by municipal governments on promoting urban economic development (UED) within a broader context of economic restructuring.

In determining if the aforementioned shift in planning could be explained by turning to the emergence of UED, the research is exploring the link—or *interface*—between planning at the neighbourhood level and UED planning at the city-wide scale. Although the concepts of neighbourhood and economic development are by no means necessarily exclusive, they—or, more frequently, certain principles used to define them—have been viewed in the literature as being in conflict under certain circumstances involving (physical) urban development. As a central participant in processes of urban development—especially in the arenas of land regulation and allocation issues—city planning has been placed both theoretically and pragmatically in this conflict.

The rationale for evaluating the case study in the context of UED stems from two observations: first, the extent to which UED arguments were employed by various participants—notably council members and city planning staff—in the case study itself and, second, the pervasiveness of UED as a facet of post-modern municipal administration in

Canada and elsewhere. The terms 'economic development' and '*urban* economic development' have become commonplace in both the practical administration of cities and in the academic literature concerning such administration. UED is frequently viewed as a necessity for cities in the context of a so-called 'economic restructuring' at the national and global levels. In this context, UED is therefore viewed as having a direct and positive impact on urban economic systems by diversifying the scope and level of economic activity and, consequently, on social structures, by improving the overall quality of life for citizens.

However, support for economic development activity has been tempered by critical appraisals of its widespread emergence since the early 1980s. Academic concern in the literature rests not necessarily with the need for cities to maintain or increase local economic viability, but with how the *meaning* of success is defined, and with the *manifestation* of UED in municipal government ideology and policies. Examination of the latter aspect of UED often centers on the linkage made by municipal governments between deregulation of urban development—specifically the promotion of large-scale inner city and CBD redevelopment—and UED. Questions concerning the success of UED in this context have probed the possibility that subsidies, government investments and general promotion of highly visible, large-scale projects undertaken to make cities more attractive places to invest increasingly mobile capital, have occurred at the expense of certain demographic groups and their neighbourhoods, and at the expense of social investments.

These issues have formed a backdrop for academic discussions that link the practice and theory of city planning to the phenomenon of UED. Viewed as a traditionally central participant in the regulation and decision-making processes concerning urban development—particularly in issues of cost-benefit distribution—city planning has become implicated in the discussion of UED, insofar as UED is seen to have emerged as a powerful aspect of municipal government as a whole, and more specifically, insofar as public sector

city planning is seen to operate under ideological and theoretical underpinnings which may be influenced by the emergence of UED.

In the example of the case study selected for this research, the potential conflict between UED and the neighbourhood is thought to have manifested as a conflict between tourism development and neighbourhood revitalization. In explaining the recent shift in planning that has emerged from this conflict, the following research questions were posed:

1) What are the dynamics of the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and urban economic development imperatives observed in the case study?
2) What has been the nature of the shift from neighbourhood planning to support for urban economic development in the case of East Victoria Park?
3) How can the shift in planning approach concerning East Victoria Park be explained in the context of:
    a) The emergence of urban economic development as a policy stream in the case-specific context of the research?
    b) Broad shifts in the administration of cities by local government brought about by the widespread concern for economic restructuring and the resultant pursuit of urban economic development as a major policy stream?
4) What lessons, questions, and requirements for further research can be derived from the findings of the case study evaluation?

6.2 DYNAMICS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFLICT

The historical perspective of the case study presented in Chapter Four has shown that the East Victoria Park neighbourhood and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede (CE&S) board had not always co-existed in conflictual terms regarding the development of Stampede Park. However, the 1965 Park expansion process posed a direct threat to the neighbourhood, thus dramatically altering this relationship by initiating a 30-plus year period of conflict between the two entities. Furthermore, the long-term threat of Stampede Park expansion into East Victoria Park spawned internal rifts within the socio-political structure of the neighbourhood itself.

Two central themes can be drawn from the history of the confrontation between East Victoria Park and the CE&S organization which explain the dynamics of this conflict as it has evolved over time and, more importantly, as it relates to the contemporary situation concerning planning policy. These themes are the evolution and dominance of urban economic development imperatives, and the dynamics of the neighbourhood's reaction to the threats which economic development objectives created.

6.2.1 Evolution of Urban Economic Development Imperatives

Although the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede has become a well-known urban festival and hallmark tourism event, it is—and always has been—an economic development tool of sorts. Linkages between the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and, specifically, plans for its expansion, cannot be applied exclusively to the contemporary time period. In fact, from its inception in the 1800s to promote agriculture, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede has evolved as a highly visible and effective promoter of Calgary and its region, to the extent

that it is now a defining urban icon; its name is virtually synonymous with Calgary, and the image it cultivates is central to the larger imagery projected by the city, in both tourism *and* business environments. However, the argument made here is that this role has *evolved* over time and, in its most recent stage, has been firmly incorporated into the dialogue of UED strategies that have been developed since the late 1980s. This evolutionary condition is seen as central to the explanation of the shift in planning approach concerning East Victoria Park which subsequently occurred in the early 1990s.

The changing role concerning the value of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede as a tourist attraction and exhibition-convention facility is seen as part of a broader incorporation of tourism into UED strategies. Within the evolution of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict since the initial expansion of Stampede Park in 1965, tourism appears to have consistently evolved and matured as an aspect of urban social and economic life in Calgary, as discussed in Chapter Four. Four findings in the historical context of the case study were used to illustrate the ascendance of tourism objectives in relation to neighbourhood development objectives since 1968. Two of these findings were that the policies initiated to first rehabilitate, and, later, to redevelop East Victoria Park, were largely unsuccessful in the face of continued pressure for Stampede Park expansion. The other two findings related specifically to the *evolution* of tourism development objectives. Two phenomena are seen as representative of evolution of tourism development objectives, namely the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and, subsequent to the Games, the emergence of UED strategies and policies for Calgary in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The bidding, preparation and staging phases of the 1988 Winter Olympic Games are viewed as key events in the evolution of tourism development in Calgary, lending importance to the goal of redeveloping Stampede Park in terms of its capacity as a significant tourism facility during the late 1980s. Hiller (1989) has placed the urban showcase effect

of the 1988 Olympics in the context of a conscious effort by Calgary promoters to utilize the event for the purpose of *global* recognition: "the more dominant impact of the Olympics is not contained in the Games themselves or in the facilities constructed, but in the attempt by the city to *redefine* itself on the world stage" (p.129. Italics added). Michelmann (1989) further established a linkage between the early 1980s recession, the evolution of the development of Calgary's economy with an emphasis on adapting the local economy to the global context, and the 1988 Olympics:

> "The economic reverses suffered by Calgary [in the 1981-82 recession] provided the impetus for concerted efforts by both the public and private sectors aimed at finding new markets for the city's products and diversifying the local economy...The decision to 'go international' was facilitated by important factors. The first of these was the orientation of Alberta's government...*The second factor that facilitated Calgary's international efforts was the visibility afforded the city by the 1988 Winter Olympics*. Mayor Ralph Klein noted that one of the greatest problems facing him in his earlier efforts to represent Calgary's interests abroad was the almost complete lack of acquaintance with his city by both governmental and private sector elites outside Canada. As a result of the worldwide television coverage afforded Calgary in February 1988, that problem has largely been resolved" (p. 163-164. Italics added).

It is difficult to positively assert that the 1988 Olympics was a component of a clearly defined economic development strategy at the time of the Olympics *bidding* stage in the early 1980s.[1] However, towards the end of the 1980s—and the preparatory stages of *hosting* the event—the Olympics were emerging as a significant aspect of an evolving urban economic development strategy in Calgary. This is evident in the perception cited here that

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[1]It is difficult to link the 1988 Olympics to a distinct economic development *strategy* in existence in the early to mid-1980s, that is, a formalized, written statement of intentions and actions (Donald Getz, 1995). However, it can be argued the Olympics were a key aspect of an economic development *movement* that emerged at this time, signalled by various indicators such as the establishment of the Calgary Economic Development Authority in 1983 (CEDA, 1992), the creation of international relations positions within the Calgary Economic Development Authority, as well as the Olympics bid itself.

the Olympics was a flagship hallmark event in the evolution of tourism which, in turn, was a component of the broader evolution of urban economic development strategizing. Ritchie (nd) has argued that within the broader context of urban economic development, "the games were a *turning point* in the City's efforts to develop as a major business centre and international tourism destination" (np. Italics added).

Co-emergent with, and following the staging of the 1988 Games, tourism development goals—which utilized the Games in large part as a foundation for further tourism development planning—were entrenched as a key component of broader urban economic development strategies produced in 1989. These goals were supported by local boosters, politicians (most notably Mayor Al Duerr), and parts of the civic administration (most notably the Commissioner of Planning and Community Services, Bob Holmes). These economic development statements were subsequently supported and re-articulated by local politicians in the preparation of a special-purpose "political agenda" (*Council's Strategic Plan*), and in repeated media references during 1989 and into the early 1990s.

In the most recent episode of the history of the case study, UED has emerged more clearly as a strategic objective, articulated in written policy documents and through other outlets, such as the news media and other popular printed sources. In this framework, tourism has been clearly linked to UED as a means of implementation, especially in the adaptation of Calgary to an emerging global economy and in the diversification of the local economy. The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, and the expansion of Stampede Park, have been supported as merely one, albeit a central, component of these developing economic development strategies. Thus, the role of the CE&S as a tourism and exhibition-convention facility since the mid-1980s has emerged as *qualitatively* different from the civic booster role which characterized it earlier. Furthermore, the incorporation of Stampede Park expansion as a component of broader economic strategizing has given it greater credence.

The co-development of tourism and UED strategies has led in turn to the construction of tourism facilities in the inner city area surrounding East Victoria Park, and to the preparation of plans to further develop this infrastructure in the future. The recent impetus to create a substantial tourism infrastructure in the inner city area surrounding East Victoria Park began with the preparation for the 1988 Winter Olympic Games (the construction of Olympic Plaza, the awards venue for the Games now used as a festival and leisure facility; construction of the Olympic Saddledome; and the upgrading of the Olympic Way (4th Street SE) roadway through East Victoria Park). Plans to construct a future convention centre adjacent to Stampede Park[2] and the possibility of hosting a world's fair in the Stampede Park/East Victoria Park area have been added to the existing Olympics-related facilities.

Taken as a whole, the existing Olympic legacy facilities, plans to host a world's fair in 2005, and the convention centre plans created the potential for a large-scale tourism *landscape* along an axis extending from City Hall and Olympic Plaza in the northwest to Stampede Park in the southeast. In this context, Stampede Park expansion had also emerged as one facet of a broader impetus towards the *physical* development of a concentrated node of tourism infrastructure in the inner city in 1991, as seen graphically in Figure 14. In turn, the impetus to develop a substantial tourism infrastructure had evolved as part of the broader economic development policies, goals, and objectives developed in the late 1980s and early 1990s by booster organizations, the business sector and the City of Calgary. Both the latter

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[2]City council voted to acquire the land for the future construction of a new convention centre from Campeau Corporation in October, 1990, prior to the release of the Convention Facilities Study Group report in March, 1991. Alderman Barbara Scott argued at the time that purchasing this site would severely bias the site selection process for a new convention centre, and would prevent Stampede Park from expanding in a westerly direction: an option which had been forwarded by some groups as an alternative to expanding into East Victoria Park (Keer, 1990).

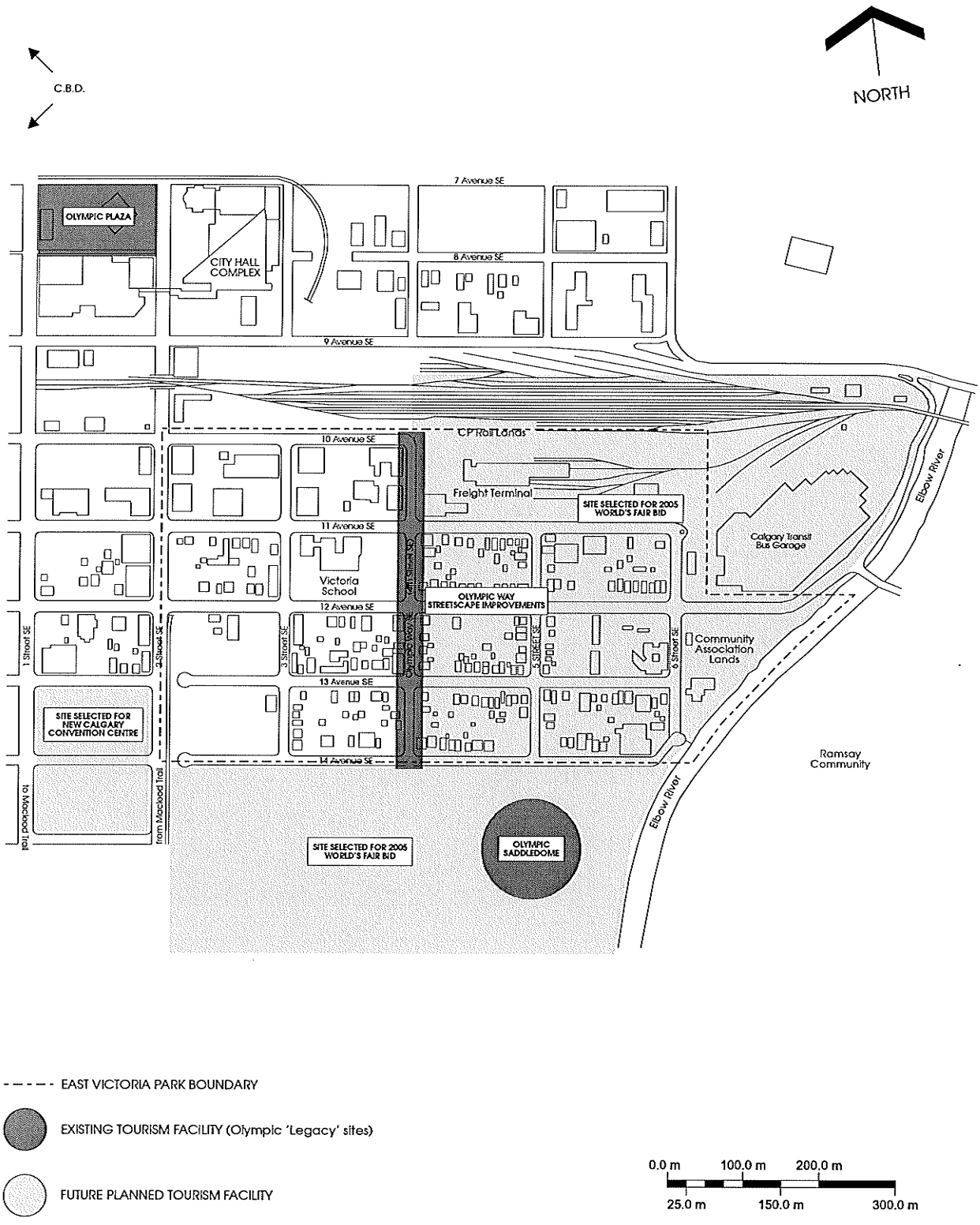

Figure 14
Major Tourism Development Activity
Influencing East Victoria Park

aspect of tourism development—its importance as an economic development tool and its ability to focus the efforts of certain groups and individuals—and, more directly, the translation of general tourism development objectives into physical land development in close proximity to Stampede Park, characterized the tourism side of the tourism-neighbourhood conflict in 1990.

It was within this broader context of urban economic development that the CE&S board of directors submitted the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal in 1991. In this context Stampede Park expansion can be viewed as one facet of the broader development of tourism in Calgary which emerged in the late 1980s. As an issue of *physical* urban development, Stampede Park expansion can be seen as a manifestation of a broader plan to develop a significant tourism *infrastructure* in the inner city/ CBD aimed at facilitating tourism development and, therefore, urban *economic* development.

The immediate threats perceived by East Victoria Park are viewed as having stemmed from, and as having been reinforced by, the larger context of tourism development discussed above, such that the neighbourhood was threatened not only by Stampede Park expansion, but by the operation of a larger movement to transform a portion of the surrounding urban landscape to facilitate the achievement of broader-based tourism goals and objectives.

The result of the evolution of tourism and economic development imperatives, and their expression through the expansion of Stampede Park, has been to place extreme pressure on the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. This pressure has persisted since 1968, during which time the threat of Stampede Park expansion has loomed over the neighbourhood. The constant threat of Park expansion has had two interrelated effects on the neighbourhood. Firstly, it has transformed the neighbourhood from a 'normal' community into a contested piece of land, over a period of approximately 25 years. The second impact has been the creation of an ongoing and dynamic neighbourhood reaction to the threat of expansion.

6.2.2 Neighbourhood Response to Economic Development Threats

Throughout the history of the case study—including the contemporary Stampede Park expansion issue—the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and tourism development has created a sometimes bitter conflict over the use of the land occupied by the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. This situation is tentatively called a neighbourhood development-economic development conflict. This conflict has been caused by the development of tourism—most recently as an objective of UED—which has exerted pressure by threatening to absorb East Victoria Park into an evolving tourism landscape. On the neighbourhood development side, East Victoria Park residents have historically attempted to revitalize their neighbourhood since 1968, while simultaneously resisting the advancement of Stampede Park.

As the literature has shown, UED manifests in various aspects of the utilization of urban land, particularly in the arena of inner city/ CBD redevelopment. Notwithstanding the 'intrusion' of senior government agencies into local affairs, the control and promotion of development locally is often at the root of academic discussion concerning the facilitation of UED. This is logical: municipal governments are able (to various degrees) to exert control over the use of land through statutory and non-statutory mechanisms such as zoning, taxation, the granting or withholding of planning permission, and general policies guiding development.

Predominance of the redevelopment of land to achieve UED applies cross-nationally, specifically to Canada, the United States, and Britain. This phenomenon can be found in linkages formed between large-scale redevelopment projects and UED in the various countries: Portage Place and False Creek North in Canada (Artibise and Kiernan, 1989; Leo and Fenton, 1990), Harbourfront and Rennaissance Centre in the United States (Levine, 1987, 1989; Hill, 1983), and Canary Wharf and the Mersey docks in Britain (Fainstein, 1991;

Adcock, 1984). Although the scale of these projects varies considerably cross-nationally, and between cities in the same country, a central intent—economic development—is viewed as consistent, if not predominant.

In fact, the preponderance of land development issues in UED is often seen as the antagonist for disaffected citizens and their neighbourhoods, and as both a cause and symptom of government retreat from social programming and other forms of redistributive action created and delivered locally. In cases in the literature, debate centres on the 'spinoff' effects of large-scale commercial-entertainment-office redevelopment projects on the housing markets in nearby communities (Fainstein, 1991; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1987; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). In the case of East Victoria Park, however, matters of land use have been direct in their impact on the neighbourhood, and have therefore historically been at the centre of the issue.

East Victoria Park became contested land in 1968, when Calgary city council designated the then southernmost eight blocks of the neighbourhood for Stampede Park expansion, while simultaneously paving the way for rehabilitation policies to occur in the remainder of the neighbourhood to the north. Despite the promise by city council, and the eventual implementation of rehabilitation and conservation policies in the northern portion of the neighbourhood, it has been illustrated that subsequent demand for the remainder of the neighbourhood by the CE&S was well known.

Attempts by the neighbourhood to promote revitalization—via rehabilitation and conservation in the late 1970s, and subsequently via redevelopment in the 1980s—can be seen as stemming from two motives. The first motive was an intrinsic desire for revitalization, which can be seen as having emerged out of resident commitments to improving the use value and/ or the exchange value of their neighbourhood (Logan and Molotch, 1987). The second motive was more important, and entailed the use of

revitalization as a means to prevent the expansion of Stampede Park into the neighbourhood.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, rehabilitation and conservation were favoured by community representatives in East Victoria Park as the means of revitalizing their neighbourhood. Rehabilitation was based on such goals as improving residential stability and the quality of life for residents (especially those who were non-English speaking), and on maintaining and enriching social networks and neighbourhood amenities (Victoria Resident's Committee, 1967). Smith (1990, 1991) has pointed to the use of neighbourhood rehabilitation as a means of defence against wholesale redevelopment (residential or other forms of redevelopment). Rehabilitation and conservation supported by East Victoria Park representatives in the late 1960s and early 1970s were clearly employed as mechanisms to prevent further expansion of Stampede Park into their neighbourhood. This was evidenced most clearly in resident opposition to the construction of the Olympic Saddledome in Stampede Park during the late 1970s which, they argued, would destroy efforts to rehabilitate the neighbourhood.

The subsequent shift away from rehabilitation towards redevelopment as a vehicle of neighbourhood revitalization in the early 1980s indicated that the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and UED also caused internal shifts in the ideological and political expression of neighbourhood representation. The movement towards redevelopment, ultimately entrenched in the 1984 area redevelopment plan, represented an internal shift in who controlled and articulated revitalization objectives for East Victoria Park. With the ascendance of a pro-redevelopment neighbourhood group in the late 1970s, the emphasis shifted away from seeing housing as a social issue, towards consideration of the rights of private property ownership. Thus, conflict over the use of land took on another dimension by cleaving neighbourhood-level political expression.

Despite these shifts, however, Stampede Park expansion remained the 'enemy' of the

neighbourhood, and the prevention of Park expansion has been the consistent goal of neighbourhood revitalization since 1968. Thus, in 1991, the sanctity of the 1984 area redevelopment plan—specifically, the goal of providing housing which was contained in the plan—was initially forwarded as the basis of opposition to Park expansion, which threatened to eradicate the entire housing stock contained in the neighbourhood. Later on, the perception that housing objectives were being progressively diluted during the Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC) process, and possibly faced complete eradication once again, caused another significant mobilization of neighbourhood residents towards the end of 1991. The emergence of a second group from within East Victoria Park—the Property Owners Association—with financial resources to hire its own planning consultant, as well as the mobilization of outside agents—most of whom were recognized professionals in urban development areas—were indications that the neighbourhood was prepared to seriously challenge Stampede Park expansion on the grounds of its own revitalization objectives.

Resident opponents of the Stampede Park expansion were able to form a cohesive opposition group by linking the East Victoria Park representatives, social service agencies, small developers and land holders, and a range of professional expertise to form articulate, well-structured arguments in opposition to the Stampede Park expansion plans. Furthermore, this group was able to employ its various resources to express its position through political channels, facilitated in large part by the representative ward alderman, but also through direct neighbourhood representation in the local political arena.

By the latter half of 1992 the pro-neighbourhood development group had asserted its position concerning housing revitalization and won certain concessions regarding that position at the political level. The granting of concessions was most clearly articulated in the March 23, 1992 council decision to seek the possibility of including a significant, quantifiable housing component in the Stampede Park expansion area which simultaneously

contemplated an equally significant replanning of the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal forwarded by the CE&S in 1991. This articulation was significant because at the outset of the planning process tourism goals had taken clear precedence over those of revitalizing the neighbourhood; a housing component was not quantified in the May 25, 1991 decision to allow Stampede Park expansion, and the CAC process struck in part to determine the future of housing in East Victoria Park was widely viewed as a way to, "ease the expansion through the community" (Reid, 1992: 38). By late 1993, however, housing and community revitalization objectives were formally re-inserted into the new East Victoria Park redevelopment policies, after having been largely repressed.

Although the prevention of the wholesale removal of East Victoria Park in 1993 was likely equally as attributable to a shortfall of required financial resources available to the City of Calgary as it was to neighbourhood opposition, support for neighbourhood revitalization objectives nevertheless eroded the sanctity of UED imperatives linked to Stampede Park expansion. This was due to two primary, interrelated factors: first, the ability of neighbourhood groups in East Victoria Park and their supporters to recognize and understand the UED arguments on which support for Park expansion rested and, second, resultant attempts to forward a compromise between neighbourhood revitalization and Stampede Park expansion.

A key strategy in the mobilization of the anti-expansion group, expressed outside the arguments based on housing and revitalization, was to promote a compromise solution which sought to combine Stampede Park uses with housing in East Victoria Park. Emergence of the compromise solution may have been attributable to recognition by neighbourhood groups that UED had become a very important—and, politically, an easily defensible—argument in support of Stampede Park expansion. Thus, by 1993, the position expressed by the Victoria Community Association was expressed as follows:

> "The Victoria Community Association is not opposed to Stampede expansion. It seeks to find a win / win situation for all parties, including the Calgary Exhibition & Stampede and all citizens of Calgary. To some people, there appears to be a conflict of City policies regarding tourism (economic development) and inner city housing (neighbourhood and community) in Victoria Park. These two policies <u>are not</u> mutually exclusive" (Victoria Community Association, 1993. Emphasis in original).

By acknowledging tourism development as a valid and necessary goal, but also insisting that housing was equally important, the neighbourhood group presented itself as offering a reasonable solution to a difficult problem. As a land use issue, this position had evolved by mid-1992 into the articulation and promotion of an "urban cultural tourism" district (Calgary Downtown Business Revitalization Zone, 1992b), which sought to intermingle certain aspects of a reconstituted Stampede Park expansion with housing and commercial uses. As a central tenet, this solution rejected the comprehensively designed, insular theme park concept contained in the original *Horizon 2000* proposal, but expressed support for expansion (and economic development), so long as tourism-related land uses could be absorbed sensitively into the *existing* urban fabric where possible.

Thus, a *convergence* of the tourism and neighbourhood landscapes has occurred in the Stampede Park expansion debate since the early 1990s. Whereas initial neighbourhood opposition to Stampede Park expansion had been firm, with the neighbourhood simply opposing any form of expansion into East Victoria Park between 1990 and early 1991, this position became more 'moderate' around 1992, during the CAC process, and was developed further during the 1993 CPAC process.[3] In some ways, the compromise position had its

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[3]More recent manifestations of the neighbourhood-tourism issue, which have emerged in the Calgary bid to host the 2005 World's Fair (outside the scope of the research time frame), tentatively suggest a further convergence of tourism and neighbourhood development goals. Recent newspaper articles point to a "cooperative approach" to the site planning process for Expo 2005 between East Victoria Park representatives and the CE&S (Adams, 1996a). However, the tenacity of this relationship is unproven (Adams, 1996b).

roots in the 1984 area redevelopment plan. In abandoning rehabilitation as a means of revitalization in the late 1970s, neighbourhood groups not only introduced a more commercial emphasis to neighbourhood revitalization, but also made such commercial development somewhat dependent on the neighbourhood's proximity to Stampede Park for thematic identity and commercial gain.

Whether the emergence of a compromise solution was borne out of a public relations effort (to appear less radical), or out of resignation to the fact that Stampede Park would expand anyway (to gain at least some input into the form of expansion), or as a means of subverting expansion (by dismantling the comprehensiveness of the *Horizon 2000* expansion plan), it represented a convergence of economic development and neighbourhood development in the contest for East Victoria Park. This may prove to be a positive development within the historical conflict between Stampede Park expansion and the revitalization of East Victoria Park. However, the partial intrusion of Stampede Park into the neighbourhood—or, specifically, into the neighbourhood's revitalization plan—is also nonetheless a partial victory for the CE&S: from 1968 to 1991 the CE&S had no legislated means of expanding into the neighbourhood of East Victoria Park. The revised area redevelopment plan approved by City Council in early 1994 has eroded the protectionist mechanism inherent in the area redevelopment plan of 1984, even if attempts to remove all barriers to Park expansion have proven unsuccessful in the latest round of this issue.

6.3 DYNAMICS OF THE SHIFT IN PLANNING APPROACH CONCERNING EAST VICTORIA PARK

As the historical perspective of the case study in Chapter Four has illustrated, City of Calgary policies concerning East Victoria Park have stemmed from, have been defined

by, and have themselves defined the conflict between neighbourhood revitalization and tourism development / UED. City policies crafted and implemented within this conflict have not been historically consistent, and this trend has continued into the contemporary phase of the case study. Including both the historical and contemporary time frames, then, four distinct types of policy concerning East Victoria Park can now be identified: urban renewal, from 1966 to 1975; neighbourhood revitalization via rehabilitation, from 1975 to 1980; neighbourhood revitalization via redevelopment, from 1980 to 1990; and mixed urban renewal and neighbourhood revitalization, in place since 1994.

As a regulator of land, advisor and creator of policy, and as an arbiter, the Calgary Planning and Building Department has played a central role on the "contested terrain" (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982) which has stemmed from the neighbourhood revitalization / tourism development conflict surrounding Stampede Park expansion. Shifts in policy have entailed corresponding shifts in approach by the Calgary Planning and Building Department. The most recent shift—exhibited in 1991—is the focus of the case research, but an earlier shift of equal significance had also occurred around 1971. This section reviews and discusses the dynamics of the 1991 shift, and its relationship to the history of city planning concerning East Victoria Park.

6.3.1 The Contemporary Shift in Planning

The Calgary Planning and Building Department was responsible for undertaking analyses and making recommendations to the Calgary Planning Commission and to the city council concerning Stampede Park expansion at three critical stages of the case study issue between 1990 and 1994, namely: the Administrative Task Force (ATF) process prior to the April 18 May 24 / 25, 1991 hearings and decisions of the Calgary Planning Commission and Calgary City Council respectively; the Citizen Advisory Committee process prior to the

March 18 and March 23, 1992 hearings and decisions of the Calgary Planning Commission and Calgary City Council respectively; and during the preliminary preparation of a new area redevelopment plan following the March 23, 1992 decision of Calgary City Council to allow expansion, based on the CAC recommendations.

The case study research has shown that the shift in approach by the Planning and Building Department was illustrated most clearly during the first stage of the planning process, that is, during the Administrative Task Force process and in the presentation by the Department to the Calgary Planning Commission on April 18, 1991 The case study research has illustrated that this shift entailed abandoning neighbourhood revitalization policies in favour of supporting the expansion of Stampede Park, thereby committing the Department to the demolition of the East Victoria Park neighbourhood (the original position of the Department in 1967), and the displacement of approximately 1,000 people living there.

During the ATF process, the expansion issue was explicitly framed as one of neighbourhood revitalization (providing housing and related neighbourhood uses), versus UED (assisting the growth of tourism). The ATF defined the problem facing it as a conflict between broad, largely socially-neutral City policies of housing densification and economic development, rather than emphasizing the real, human conflict between disenfranchised residents facing dislocation and replacement of their physical and socioeconomic reality with a large tourist attraction.

Deemphasizing the 'plight' of East Victoria Park was accomplished by treating resident displacement as a 'given' by the ATF. The ATF / Planning and Building Department took the view that the existing 1984 Area Redevelopment Plan policies—with their reliance on market forces for implementation—would likely not make provisions for the incumbent population, and would therefore result in large-scale resident displacement in any case. "It has always been understood that the Victoria Park ARP is first and foremost,

a true redevelopment plan", the ATF states:

> "The [area redevelopment] Plan basically calls for the total redevelopment of the existing community. With that as a given, the next step in the analysis was to gain an appreciation of the importance of a major housing precinct in the central part of the city" (Administrative Task Force, 1991:19).

In taking the view that the destruction of East Victoria Park was a given, the problem became one of supporting the provision of housing in the inner city, versus supporting the development of Calgary's tourism economy, thus:

> "In comparing the Horizon 2000 vision with the Victoria Park East A.R.P., it is apparent that a conflict between the equally sound, broad Council policies of housing / densification and economic diversification competing for the same piece of land is occurring" (ibid.:27).

Absence of the language of neighbourhood revitalization, and the corresponding deferral to broad housing policies in the ATF analysis, raises two important questions. First, did the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal indeed pose a threat to the East Victoria Park neighbourhood, if the neighbourhood was in fact 'already' threatened by residential and commercial redevelopment, as the ATF analysis implied? Second, was the 1984 area redevelopment plan a 'neighbourhood' plan to begin with?

The argument that the 1984 area redevelopment plan contemplated large-scale redevelopment and was, therefore, equally as potent as the *Horizon 2000* expansion proposal as a potential instrument of neighbourhood destruction served to justify abandonment of the plan. However, although the 1984 area redevelopment plan envisioned the redevelopment of East Victoria Park to a far greater density than that which existed, two factors prevent a direct comparison between *Horizon 2000* and the 1984 ARP as instruments of change. First, neighbourhood revitalization and the prevention of Stampede Park expansion were central goals of the ARP, despite the high densities envisioned in the plan. Furthermore, it is unlikely, due to inner city revitalization trends since the early 1980s, that the redevelopment

of East Victoria Park would have achieved the densities originally planned for: a more modest variant of the original plan would likely have emerged, given time (Albert Bell Development Consultants Ltd., 1991.

Social housing policies and other social considerations are not included in the 1984 area redevelopment plan (explicit social policies are rarely, if ever, included in *any* area redevelopment plans (City of Calgary, 1993)). Thus, it is possible that the revitalization of East Victoria Park under the 1984 plan may have caused resident displacement due to redevelopment and/ or residential upgrading. However, this form of revitalization would not necessarily have excluded the consideration of housing for various socioeconomic groups, which could have been introduced as the neighbourhood was revitalized.[4] In contrast, the *Horizon 2000* proposal guaranteed rapid resident displacement (within 10 to 15 years); furthermore, Stampede Park expansion would have created a land use *tabula rasa* in East Victoria Park, on which the consideration of housing for *all* groups would be eradicated.

Second, neighbourhood residents possessed ownership of both the creation and implementation of the 1984 area redevelopment plan. As discussed above, the need for, and the texture of, community representation in East Victoria Park has been heavily influenced by the ongoing contest over the neighbourhood since 1967. In this sense the 1984 area redevelopment plan was the most recent expression of neighbourhood interests within a progression of reactions to neighbourhood threat. The 'corruption' of rehabilitation policies which existed prior to the area redevelopment plan was precipitated by Olympics-related decisions concerning Stampede Park, and by cessation of the NIP at the federal level. The

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[4]Eva Ferguson, a local civic politics reporter, authored several articles during the Stampede Park expansion issue which aired the views of local architects, planners, renter advocacy groups, and Alderman Barbara Scott concerning the ways in which housing for various socioeconomic groups could be developed in East Victoria Park (for example, Ferguson, 1991a, 1991b; Ferguson, 1992d, 1992e).

most vociferous advocates of neighbourhood redevelopment have been neighbourhood residents. Thus there exists a clear community-based commitment to revitalization, as well as a financially-based one, in the area redevelopment plan.[5] To use Logan and Molotch's (1987) terminology, the 1984 area redevelopment plan promoted both 'use' and 'exchange' value gains for some—admittedly not all—neighbourhood residents. Thus, the 1984 area redevelopment plan did not constitute a threat to East Victoria Park or, more accurately, it did not constitute the same *kind* of threat as that posed by Stampede Park expansion. However, to suggest that the area redevelopment plan precluded resident displacement—through upgrading or redevelopment—would also be erroneous. Yet resident participation in the preparation of the plan, and especially ongoing support from residents for more than five years, suggest that it was indeed a 'neighbourhood' plan for revitalization.

Once the initial rejection of the 1984 area redevelopment plan and support for Stampede Park expansion had been articulated through the ATF process, the Planning and Building Department was obliged to support its position at subsequent stages in the planning process. Thus, in its report to the Calgary Planning Commission on April 18, 1991, the Planning and Building Department concurred with the ATF conclusion that tourism / economic development imperatives should take precedence over the revitalization of East Victoria Park, and that the neighbourhood area should therefore be dedicated to Stampede Park expansion (City of Calgary Planning and Building Department, April 18, 1991). Furthermore, the Department concurred with the ATF conclusion that the existing area redevelopment plan would result in community displacement on the same scale as the Stampede Park expansion proposal, and therefore the issue of razing the neighbourhood was,

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[5]In fact, the strongest neighbourhood-based advocates of the area redevelopment plan were also the most outspoken opponents of Stampede Park expansion.

in fact, null (ibid.).

However, in addition to supporting tourism and economic development goals over the revitalization of East Victoria Park to support its shift in position, the Planning and Building Department cited the lack of neighbourhood revitalization evidenced under the 1984 area redevelopment plan policies. Lack of revitalization, the Department argued, was due to developer uncertainty caused the omnipresent threat of Stampede Park expansion since 1981. Impacts caused by Stampede Park, the Department concluded, had been underestimated in 1981, and that under the "harsh light of reality [housing] is not desirable, nor the best use" for East Victoria Park (City of Calgary Planning and Building Department, 1991).

Support for tourism development goals by the Planning and Building Department during the Citizen Advisory Committee process entailed forwarding the argument that excluding certain areas from the Stampede Park expansion area—as the CAC had recommended—may have had a negative impact on the viability of the Stampede Park expansion plan, and in particular, on the success of the 'Stampede Crossing' component (City of Calgary Planning and Building Department, 1992). Working under direction from the Commissioner's Office, the Planning and Building Department's shift in position regarding the neighbourhood began incorporation into a new area redevelopment plan for East Victoria Park. However, this path of action was ultimately aborted by the political conflict which arose from the issue in July of 1992. The shift in position exhibited by the Planning and Building Department had led to mistrust of the Department by the Victoria Community Association, the East Victoria Park Property Owners Association, and other opponents of Stampede Park expansion, the mistrust having been expressed throughout the planning process. Ultimately this mistrust contributed to the removal of planning staff from the project in July, 1992, and initiated the search for a city planner who would appear less

biased (Office of the Commissioners, 1992. Barbara Scott, 1992).

6.3.2 Historical Significance of the Shift in Planning

Examination of the historical context of planning policy concerning East Victoria Park reveals the full extent of the contemporary shift. The initiation of planning policies concerning East Victoria Park has historically been in response to a planned action which threatened the viability, character, or actual existence of the neighbourhood: that is, it has been a response to the neighbourhood - tourism conflict. The initial threat to East Victoria Park came with the 1965 proposal to expand Stampede Park. At that time, the Planning Department drafted an urban renewal scheme to facilitate the expansion: the urban renewal scheme was the reaction to the threat of expansion and, thus, contributed to the threat. In this regard, the stance of the Planning and Building Department in the contemporary context represents the coming of a full circle: the contemporary position concerning the neighbourhood is not materially different, in terms of neighbourhood threat, than that which existed in 1967.

In the early 1970s, however, the stance of the Planning Department shifted radically. Emerging from the late 1960s, the Department appeared to lead efforts to rehabilitate East Victoria Park. This shift in planning is most evident in the position of the Department expressed in 1971 that the former city council decision to approve Stampede Park expansion be rescinded, and that the expansion process be *reversed.* Such a radical departure from urban renewal policies drafted by the Department only four years earlier was not approved by City Council, but demonstrated that the Department was likely spearheading the interests of neighbourhood representatives seeking rehabilitation through City Hall.

The defence of East Victoria Park from the adverse effects of development at Stampede Park occurred again in the late 1970s, when the Department opposed the principle

of the Olympic Coliseum (Olympic Saddledome) being placed adjacent to East Victoria Park, as well as the political process which had secured this location in the first place. Coupled with the powerful forces promoting tourism development via the 1988 Olympics, and the pro-redevelopment voice which emerged from within East Victoria Park itself, however, the Planning Department's efforts to rehabilitate the neighbourhood were ultimately defeated. Following this defeat, the principles of neighbourhood protectionism and neighbourhood planning articulated so strongly by the Department during the 1970s were replaced by a position of 'ambivalence' in the early 1980s. From 1981 onwards, the Department's role consisted of facilitating the incorporation of revitalization goals of neighbourhood groups, who had gained representative control as a result of the Olympic Coliseum issue, into the 1984 area redevelopment plan.

Only in the most recent episode of the Stampede Park expansion issue has a strong position once again been taken by the Department, except in this instance it is once again in support of expansion at the cost of the neighbourhood. If principles of neighbourhood planning and resident opposition to Stampede Park expansion—which led the Department to advocate so strongly the rehabilitation of East Victoria Park—were informing the Department in 1971, what principles and forces were informing and influencing the Department exactly 20 years later, in 1991?

6.4 EXPLANATIONS OF THE SHIFT IN PLANNING APPROACH

The question posed above returns the discussion to the central purpose of providing an explanation of the shift in planning approach exhibited in 1991. Firstly, it can be concluded that a shift did indeed occur, and that it can be characterized as a departure from neighbourhood planning towards planning which supports economic development through the growth of tourism, not only at the expense of the revitalization policies, but at the

expense of the existing neighbourhood as well. The dynamics of this shift entail two central components. First, a rejection of the existing revitalization policies on the grounds that they had failed to accomplish their objectives, and that they would have caused widespread neighbourhood disruption had they been implemented. The second component of the dynamic is the basis of the shift on the importance of tourism as a component of urban economic development priorities. It is this latter component which is of greatest interest here.

6.4.1 Local Contextual Explanations of the Shift in Planning

The research illustrates that Calgary has been pursuing an economic development strategy aimed at diversifying the local economy since at least the mid-1980s. As this strategy has evolved it—as have other Canadian examples of such strategies—has emphasized the requirement that the local economy become adaptive to macro-economic trends, notably economic restructuring (ie. deindustrialization and the development of a service-sector economy), and the global economic context in which cities are seen to increasingly operate. Thus, a significant aspect of Calgary's economic development strategy is the *transformation* of the local economy, such that it is able to compete in an emergent 'global economy'. A key component of this strategy has entailed development of the services sector, of which tourism is seen as a component industry of central importance and potential. In its pursuit of this particular economic development path, Michelmann (1989) has credited Calgary with having achieved some success, labeling Calgary as a "nascent international city".

A central observation about the nature of urban economic development in Calgary concerns its evolution, as discussed above. Technically, urban economic development is not a new concept in the historical development of Calgary—nor is it to virtually *any* city. In

the 1960s, references were made to the tourism and economic benefits of the Calgary Stampede in the 1967 urban renewal study prepared for East Victoria Park by the Planning Department (City of Calgary, 1967). Indeed, it would be difficult to remove economic development from any discussion about the benefits of the Calgary Stampede during any time period since 1912. However, it is important to note that, as the historical perspective discussed in Chapter Four has shown, the role of the Calgary Stampede as a tourist attraction and local booster has clearly evolved over time. In its most recent stage of development, Stampede Park expansion has been inserted into the framework of objectives established by the new emphasis on UED.

In its analysis of the expansion issue, the ATF process stressed this economic development framework, ultimately placing economic development as a priority ahead of revitalizing or preserving the East Victoria Park neighbourhood. The Calgary Planning and Building Department, in its support of the ATF decision to rescind the 1984 area redevelopment plan, subsequently stated concurrence with economic development arguments.

In addition to this expression of economic development planning over neighbourhood planning, however, consideration may have been given to the wider tourism development context, of which Stampede Park expansion can be seen as one component. Not only has urban economic development emerged with a clearly articulated strategy in Calgary, but the groundwork for its implementation has been laid in the inner city area surrounding East Victoria Park. The convention, hallmark event, and trade exhibition components of physical development have been articulated in this geographic area within the last five year. Thus, when the ATF and the Planning Department referred to tourism/ economic development arguments, it is likely that the success of this broader program of physical tourism development--of which Stampede Park expansion is a central component--may have been

taken into consideration as well.

The economic development framework also provided an expedient for a political move away from supporting the revitalization of East Victoria Park, and a parallel shift towards economic development as a more 'appropriate' use for the area. As noted in Chapter Five, Mayor Al Duerr and Commissioner Bob Holmes--who were both closely involved with the Stampede Park expansion issue--appeared as supporters of Stampede Park expansion. These figures had also been--and continue to be--actively involved in the promotion of economic development in Calgary, particularly that which is directed at tourism development and the belief that the city must adapt to global economic trends.

Thus, despite the prevalence of the language of urban economic development in the planning process concerning Stampede Park expansion, the possibility—indeed the likelihood—exists that the planning function was subject to certain systemic pressures which would have been operating in any case. Although it was not possible to elicit a sufficiently explicit answer on this matter[6], the influence of politicians and senior bureaucrats (ie. commissioners) must be assumed to have entered the planning process at various stages, as described by Hodge (1986; 1991) in the six-sided triangle of planning participation.

Yet even if power was exercised over the planning apparatus, it was done so in the context of urban economic development, either through a coalition which supports and promotes the economic development of Calgary as expressed in the formal strategies, or through a coalition which was able to employ these strategies without necessarily feeling

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[6]Attempts were made by the author to interview the principal planner involved in the issue, Mr. Roy Wright, in the summer of 1995. However, Mr. Wright declined an interview regarding the Stampede Park expansion issue in general, and the possibility of discussing economic development issues in particular. The assistant to Mr. Wright (Mr. Phillip Dack), provided the author with a short telephone interview in the summer of 1995, however this interview could not elicit a sufficient answer on this matter.

ownership in them. The point is, however, that the political aspect of the decision-making process cannot be ignored or substituted for the urban economic development thesis. The literature shows that city politics is intrinsically connected to urban economic development and the formulation and expression of strategies and actions. The economic development framework, clearly articulated in documented form, has provided a relatively coherent and tangible basis on which to rest a controversial decision to demolish an inner city neighbourhood, both politically *and* by the planning bureaucracy.

6.4.2 Literature-Based Explanations of the Shift in Planning

As discussed in Chapter Two, references have been made in the literature concerning city planning practice and theory that the emphasis on neighbourhood planning has been gradually replaced by new objectives. Ostensibly, the argument is made, these objectives have been defined by economic, rather than social imperatives, as a result of concern over economic restructuring. Calgary has clearly exhibited a concern for economic development since the mid-1980s. Furthermore, unlike some other Canadian cities, such as Winnipeg and Regina, Calgary appears to have achieved some success in promoting itself in a global context: Calgary has hosted one international hallmark event, the 1988 Winter Olympics, and is currently well into the bidding process to host another, the 2005 World's Fair. In addition, plans are in place to integrate the 'soft' components of the strategy (marketing, promotion, bidding for events, etc.) with 'hard' components, in this instance tourism and convention-related infrastructure.

Development of tourism and leisure infrastructure has been focused in the inner city: this is seen in the literature as part of a broader trend in which urban redevelopment has emerged as a central component of urban *economic* development. This trend has found some expression in the Stampede Park expansion issue. However, while most case studies

examined in the literature have revealed that contemporary CBD and inner city redevelopment projects do not directly threaten neighbourhoods, the Stampede Park expansion case exposes a direct conflict between urban economic development and neighbourhood development. This contemporary conflict has returned the planning agency responsible for providing guidance to the political decision-making process to a position which it faced some 30 years ago.

30 years ago, the Calgary Planning Department, faced with the same issue, was able to justify the demolition of East Victoria Park by deferring to the rational-comprehensive framework from which planning in general was drawing theory. Both Stampede Park expansion and the classification of East Victoria Park as a blighted neighbourhood were incorporated into a comprehensive planning strategy for the inner city in 1966. Thus, the preparation of an urban renewal scheme in 1967, which would have acted as the vehicle for Stampede Park expansion, was justified simply by referring to the comprehensive nature of downtown redevelopment planned for Calgary.

In the 1990s, both the planning and political agencies in Calgary were without a comprehensive master plan firmly grounded in land use rationality, on which they could base the use of East Victoria Park for a potentially destructive use. However, in place of a comprehensive land use plan, these agencies *did* have a variant of the master plan, in the guise of broader economic development strategies. Thus, in keeping with arguments made by Fainstein (1991), rational-comprehensiveness has been abandoned as a basis for decision-making in the case, to be replaced by a sole concern for economic issues.

However, within the historical context of planning theory, the contemporary decisions made by the Calgary Planning and Building Department concerning East Victoria Park illustrate a shift away from the theory and practice of neighbourhood planning which had emerged in the 1970s. The position of the Calgary Planning Department concerning

East Victoria Park in the 1970s was in keeping with the broader theoretical context, in which planning is now seen as having played a leading role in bringing about a shift away from redevelopment practices. Furthermore, the conformity to broader-based observations and theory has been maintained in the contemporary situation, as evidenced in the shift away from neighbourhood-based planning, towards a concern for "global aspirations" as they relate to urban development (Wolfe, 1994:10).

Returning to Friedmann and Wolff's conception of the "contested terrain" (1982:309), it is evident that in making its decision concerning the future of East Victoria Park in 1991, the Calgary Planning and Building Department was in effect balancing locally-grounded objectives of neighbourhood development against much broader-based economic development objectives. Such objectives seek to articulate Calgary's economy to a conception of the global framework within which cities are increasingly seen to operate and compete with one another.

Wolfe, in her analysis of Canadian planning history in the Twentieth Century, refers to two kinds of major planning activities that have emerged in the neoconservative decade from 1980 to 1990, namely "large-scale multi use projects", and "community development" (Wolfe, 1994:10). Placed in the same socioeconomic framework by Wolfe, these activities appear to be primarily contradictory: although both are geared towards some kind of improvement, the former--urban development--is seen elsewhere to possess negative side-effects for certain groups and areas in cities in the pursuit of economic development. The latter planning activity--community development--possesses an inherently social perspective and, in its socio-spatial manifestation of neighbourhood development, is more reminiscent of the neighbourhood planning approaches which emerged in the 1970s.

Deference to a large scale project geared towards economic development in the case of the Stampede Park expansion issue reflects Hodge's lamentation that "The notion of

'community' has long been used to characterize planning for Canadian cities and towns, but it seems to have little currency in today's practice" (Hodge, 1991:387). "Perhaps", states Hodge, "the solution lies in redeeming and regenerating *community* planning" (ibid.). In the Stampede Park expansion issue, however, any movement towards community development issues had to be forced upon a reluctant planning administration by neighbourhood groups and their supporters. Community development objectives, which had been articulated historically by the planning department, was not forthcoming from public planning in the contemporary debate concerning Stampede Park expansion. Furthermore, the ultimate defeat of the original Stampede Park expansion proposal stemmed not only from this political pressure, but also from a lack of public financial resources required to entrench the expansion into municipal bylaws. Indeed, it is ironic that the financial position of the City of Calgary, which sought to promote economic development through Stampede Park expansion, was perhaps the strongest impediment to economic development objectives.

6.5 QUESTIONS AND BASES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The purpose of this research has been to explain a shift in planning approach concerning a small inner city neighbourhood. In doing so, the research has focused on the emergence of urban economic development as a significant component of municipal administration. Although it is generally agreed that economic development is necessary and good in the context of cities, concern has frequently arisen out of the uneven patterns of urban development and, in particular, in the uneven distribution of costs, both economic and social. These concerns, although dissimilar in both context and content, are reminiscent of concerns raised approximately 30 years ago as a result of urban redevelopment practices. Therefore, a central question raised here is: Should city planning, as a profession that has

become increasingly concerned with social equity issues, turn to economic development as a framework within which to find relevancy and efficacy, as some authors have suggested (Fainstein, 1991; Seasons, 1994; Kiernan, 1990).

The pervasiveness of urban economic development implies that planners will continue to face decisions in which economic development imperatives will appear in conflict with other goals, such as the provision of housing, social equity considerations, and locally-based (economic *and* human) development objectives. However, economic development not only contributes to these potential conflicts, but also appears to be competing for influence on the theory of planning. Where economic development imperatives are successful in this competition, they may manifest as central informants in the theory and, therefore, the practice of planning. In this scenario, there appears to be a danger that official city planning, at least, has moved (and may continue to move) further away from consideration of local-scale, participatory planning approaches (Gerecke and Reid, 1991a; Fainstein, 1991). In practical terms, this may result in the subordination of a social agenda for planning, as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s.

This is not to say that the pursuit of urban economic development is necessarily a bad or wrong objective: as Seasons (1994) has suggested, the economy is a pressing issue in our time, if not the central concern. Furthermore, planning and planners should not abandon concern for their local economy. However, it is the *manifestation* of that concern in municipal government policies and strategies, in power structures, and in the patterns and impacts of urban development of which planners should be wary. The East Victoria Park case study has shown that economic development imperatives can be employed to override planning for locally-based, small-scale urban development objectives which, even with their inherent economic facets, are nevertheless rooted in local interests and have the potential to provide local improvements in terms of housing, community amenities, inner city population densification, and so forth.

Being wary of the undesirable manifestations of economic development, however, implies the need for both critical thought and the provision of viable alternatives to the influence of economic development on theory itself. One such alternative are the streams of thought which have emerged out from the sustainable development movement, and which are penetrating planning theory and practice. Economic development is often critically examined, and actively challenged, in the context of environmental issues. Indeed, economic development and the environment are the parallel foci at the centre of the sustainable development movement itself. In the urban development setting, a manifestation of sustainable development is seen in the 'new urbanism' movement, although in Calgary this movement has penetrated the language and policy of suburban development most clearly, while its application to the inner city context is much less thoroughly articulated.

The East Victoria Park issue suggests that additional critical examinations of urban economic development need to be undertaken in the context of social issues, notably in the field of city planning literature. Furthermore, the potential conflict between local community (neighbourhood) development and urban economic development must be recognized for its ability to manifest in lower-order urban settings, and should be studied in this context. In particular, the ways in which urban economic development imperatives have penetrated the apparatus of municipal governments, notably via quasi-public organizations (economic development, tourism, research, and development, etc.) which can influence power relationships and the outcomes of decision-making processes concerning urban development, requires further research.

Turning specifically to case study researched here, further research could be undertaken to explore the relationships between local quasi-government organizations or organizations with close but informal ties to government, such as the local economic development authority, its spin-off agencies and groups, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, hallmark event organizing, promotional and bidding structures, and so forth. The

dynamics between these groups and both the political (ie. City Council) and administrative (ie. city planning) bodies of municipal government may be useful.

In keeping with the theme of dynamic interaction among groups and ideologies, the case research has exposed the need for a study of the internal neighbourhood dynamics of the East Victoria Park community. Two formal groups from within the neighbourhood were centrally involved in the Stampede Park expansion conflict and in fact worked closely together. However, these groups did not necessarily represent the same interests via a vis property ownership and tenancy, that is, to use Logan and Molotch's (1987) terminology, there existed a potential internal conflict between the realization of 'use' and 'exchange' values. Such a study could be extended to include the relationships between East Victoria Park groups and those representing adjacent and nearby neighbourhoods in the inner city.

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