

A QUALITATIVE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT
OF THE FORKS, WINNIPEG:

A SEARCH FOR MEANINGFUL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
IN PLANNING FOR MAJOR PUBLIC PROJECTS

BY

ELIZABETH L. SANDERS

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning
Faculty of Architecture
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Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ABSTRACT

Using qualitative research methods, forty-eight individuals were interviewed to gain their insight on public participation for a major public development project, now referred to as 'The Forks', in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The purpose of the study was fourfold: (1) to gain insight into the complex interactions of powerholders and stakeholders in the planning and development of public development projects, (2) to identify different beliefs and values regarding public participation in the planning of a public development project, (3) to examine how the process that evolved affected the outcome, and (4) to identify any implications for the planning profession.

The results of this study demonstrate that there are significant differences among the powerholders and stakeholders concerning perceptions of appropriate roles and expectations of public participation. A typology representing the different perceptions of public participation is presented in this paper as a continuum; the two poles of this continuum are elaborated in detail as the 'Proponents' and 'Challengers' of the Forks Renewal Corporation's consultation activities. The Proponents and Challengers each have distinct views of the role and reasons for public participation, in addition to differing levels of power and influence over the decision-making process that created the opportunities for public input into the development of The Forks.

This reality of different perspectives concerning public participation, and different degrees of power associated with each perspective, is a reality that is value-laden and must be embraced by the planning profession as they create and manage public participation processes. The Proponent - Challenger continuum provides for planners a framework with which to reflect on both their own practice and on the actions and beliefs of others.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARC	Agreement for Recreation and Conservation on the Red River Corridor
CAG	Citizens' Advisory Group
CAI	Core Area Initiative
DRS	Developmental Research Sequence
FRC	Forks Renewal Corporation
NPDC	North Portage Development Corporation

GLOSSARY

Activist - An activist is an individual who publicly voices her/his opinion in an attempt to change and challenge decisions that have already been made.

Actor - Actors are part of the dramaturgical metaphor employed in this study. They are the people in The Forks 'production' who must respond to the directives of the Directors and Producers. They may, from time to time, raise their opinion on the nature of the production, but rarely carry a great deal of influence on the Producers and Directors' decisions. The majority of Actors are Positive Explainers; none are Challengers.

Challenger - The Challengers are one the cultural themes that emerged from the study. They hold an extreme position that contends that the public participation process employed by the FRC was closed and served the interests of Winnipeg's economic elite.

Citizen - Citizens are people who are members of the general public. As individuals, they may or may not desire to be part of public participation processes.

Director - The Directors are second in command in the dramaturgical metaphor employed in this study. Directors are primarily Proponents and Positive Explainers of The Forks. They have a lead role in making decisions about The Forks. They must respond to the direction given to them by the Producers. The Directors consist primarily of Proponents and Positive Explainers. A few Directors are Negative Explainers.

Extra - In the dramaturgical metaphors used to describe the different players in The Forks development, the 'extras' are the marginalized players. Extras are excluded from the Producers' and Directors' decisions about the direction the production will take, and are constantly trying to make their voice heard. The majority of extras are Negative Explainers and Challengers.

Greening the Forks - A lobby group formed to prevent commercial development on The Forks site, and ensure that a public participation process was used that would allow citizens to make decisions regarding The Forks. Members of Greening the Forks that were interviewed for this study were Challengers.

Negative explainer - Negative Explainers in this study had many of the same qualities of the Challengers, however, their insistence on challenging the FRC, its structure and its public participation model was less persistent. Negative Explainers acknowledge some positive aspects of the FRC's activities.

Observer - Observers were individuals who did not take a position about The Forks or the FRC. They either chose not to take a position, or were unable to comment because of a lack of familiarity with the FRC's public participation model.

Outsider - Outsiders are stakeholders who are not powerholders. In effect, their name says it all: they are excluded from decision-making that affects them.

Player - A player is an individual who was somehow involved in or affected the decisions made by the Producers and Directors of the FRC and its activities. Powerholders, such as political leaders are players, as are stakeholders who attempt to influence decisions. Actors and extras are also players, however the audience, or observers, are not players.

Positive Explainer - The Positive Explainers have many of the same qualities of the Proponents, however the difference lies in the Proponents' insistent support of the FRC and its activities. Positive Explainers acknowledged areas of improvement, i.e. things they would do differently if given another chance.

Powerholder - A powerholder is an individual who is in a decision-making position, or in a position to clearly influence decisions. Powerholders are stakeholders.

Producer - As part of a dramaturgical metaphor, the producers are the individuals who represent the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government, who funded the FRC, are the FRC shareholders, and gave the FRC its fundamental operating principles.

Proponent - Proponents are a category of informant that emerged from this study. They support the public participation activities of the FRC, and maintain that all that was done was more than sufficient. On a continuum, proponents are at one end, and the challengers at the opposite end

Public - The 'public' refers to all citizens as a whole. Many informants referred to the 'public will' as a reflection of the collective desires of the public.

Stakeholder - Stakeholders are those that have a stake in the decision being made. They may or may not have power; powerholders are all stakeholders, but all stakeholders are not necessarily powerholders.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It is contended by many that the goals for public participation in public decision-making, and the roles played by participants vary to a great extent (Arnstein 1969, Connor 1988, Friedmann 1987, Potapchuk 1991, Thornley 1977). In terms of the goals of participation, two extremes emerge from the literature. One extreme purports a 'top-down' process where accommodating the needs and desires of elites is the primary concern. In opposition to the first extreme is a second that is often characterized as 'bottom-up', where respecting the needs and the desires of citizens are the primary concern. These two poles appear to place powerholders and stakeholders in opposite camps. Thornley (1977) presents two opposing theories, consensus and conflict theory, which highlight another significant pair of extremes. The former places an emphasis on stability, and places a low degree of importance on participation and social change. The latter, conflict theory, emphasizes change, and places a high degree of importance on participation and social change. Using the narratives of people who participated, or attempted to participate according to their terms, in the planning of a major development in Winnipeg, this study identifies and describes two opposing perspectives on public participation.

This chapter will first introduce The Forks, the development project used as a point of reference for the study, and the Forks Renewal Corporation (FRC), the tri-level public agency responsible for its development. The second section of the chapter introduces and elaborates on the purpose of the study, while the third section elaborates on the research methodology employed for the study. The fourth section presents the results of the research in broad terms:

1.1. Background

To date, the development and revitalization of cities has been considered primarily a task to be undertaken only by the expert in real estate development. Members of the general public are marginalized because they do not have the ability or knowledge to participate in decisions that affect them. Local knowledge and interests are voicing their criticisms and demanding the right to participate in decisions that affect them (Etzioni 1993, 1968; Jacobs, 1992, 1961; Nozick 1992). Perks and Jamieson (1991) identify an evolutionary character of public participation in the planning process in Canada:

eventually a formal incorporation of citizen participation into the Canadian public planning system was obtained. It was no longer sufficient, or legitimate, for planners to produce plans and present them fait accompli to the public; urban residents were heard and allowed to provide direction to the development policies that affected their neighborhoods and the city in general (p. 505-6).

The result of such a trend is that the role of professional planner is challenged to become more sensitive, and the planning process more democratic: "democratic politics or planning requires true consent, and such consent grows out of uncoerced collective criticism, political argument, and dialogue, not from silence or a party line (Forester 1989, p. 141)." This evolution indicates that there seems to be a greater emphasis on process, and in accommodating the needs of people affected by change, not simply those who effect it.

The development project employed in this study to serve as a focal point to examine public participation is The Forks, a former railway yard at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in downtown Winnipeg (Photo 1; Map 1). The site is now popularly known as 'Winnipeg's meeting place', a continuation of the theme of the use of the site by the Algonquin, Cree and Saulteux as far back as 500 AD.¹ Nozick (1992), of Winnipeg, describes the rich history of the site:

The Forks is a very special and unique place, not just to Winnipeggers but to all of Canada and North America. What makes it unique is that the Red and Assiniboine

¹ "The Forks Wall Through Time Historical Fact Sheet" no date. The Forks Public Archaeological Association.

Photo 1.--Rail use of The Forks in 1986

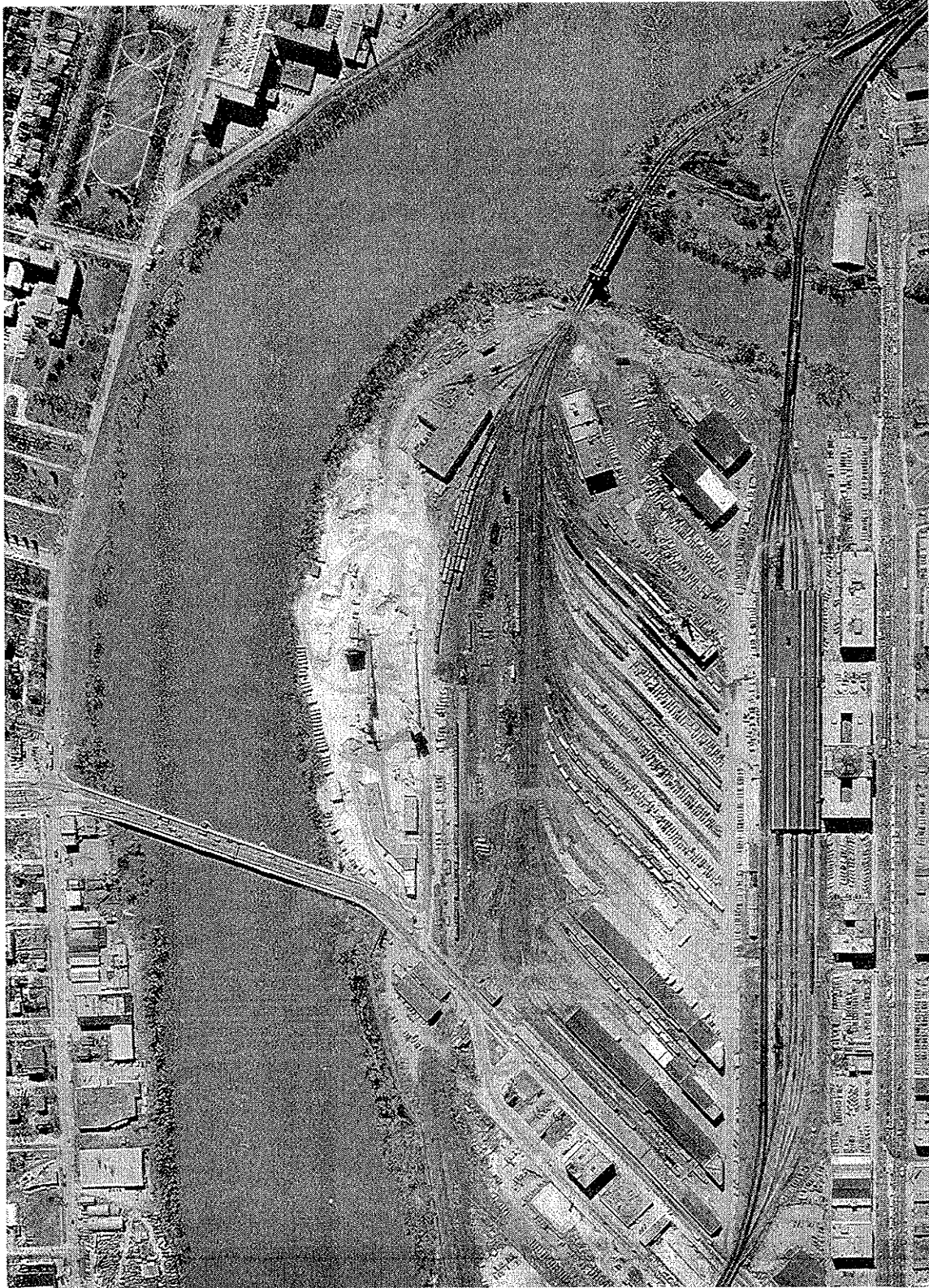


Photo by Airquest Resource Surveys Ltd.

Rivers come together here and nowhere else, right in the heart of the continent. Because of the confluence of these two rivers, the forks became a natural meeting place for humans as far back as the receding of the glaciers. In fact, this site is the birthplace of all western North American exploration and settlement and the crossroads of native North American and European cultures in the region. Archaeological finds date its use back 6,000 years. The site was the center of native tribal politics and struggles in the West; the location of five fur trading forts; a settlers' village; the first experimental agricultural farm in western Canada; the original railway terminus for the Northern Pacific Railway; the transfer point for new immigrants to Canada moving West (p. 189).

* Development of the 85 acre site to date includes mainly redevelopment of existing buildings on the site, dating as far back as 1889, to create a shopping and recreational experience that includes a market, shopping, a plaza and boat basin, restaurants, and a Children's Museum. Adjacent and complementary to the lands referred to as The Forks is 8.8 acres developed by Parks Canada into a National Park, and the Riverwalk, which extends from the Manitoba Legislature, along the Assiniboine River, to the Amphitheatre on the north end of the Parks Canada site on the Red River.

A series of proposals for development of The Forks site, from both the private and public sectors, were developed from 1974 to 1986. They included proposals for park space, housing, office space, and mixed use. It was the early Core Area Initiative (CAI) discussions that finally led to the current development of the site.

The CAI was a major initiative funded by the federal, provincial and municipal government to revitalize Winnipeg's inner city. Operating from 1981 to 1991, the then East Yards was a target for redevelopment for the CAI from the start; in 1981 a CAI document targeted the CN East Yards as a possibility for development (Winnipeg CAI 1981, p. 12). In the spring of 1986, a tri-level task force was established to complete the preliminary steps that would lead to the redevelopment of the CN East Yards. In December of 1986, their report was made public, and a Preliminary Concept and Financial Plan was approved by Canada, Manitoba and Winnipeg by the Spring of 1987. Map 1 illustrates the land holdings of the Forks Renewal Corporation (FRC) at the time of its creation in the summer of 1987 (Winnipeg CAI 1987b, p. 76) as a subsidiary of North Portage

Development Corporation (NPDC), another arms-length-from-government organization that emerged from the CAI in 1983.

Map 1.--The Forks

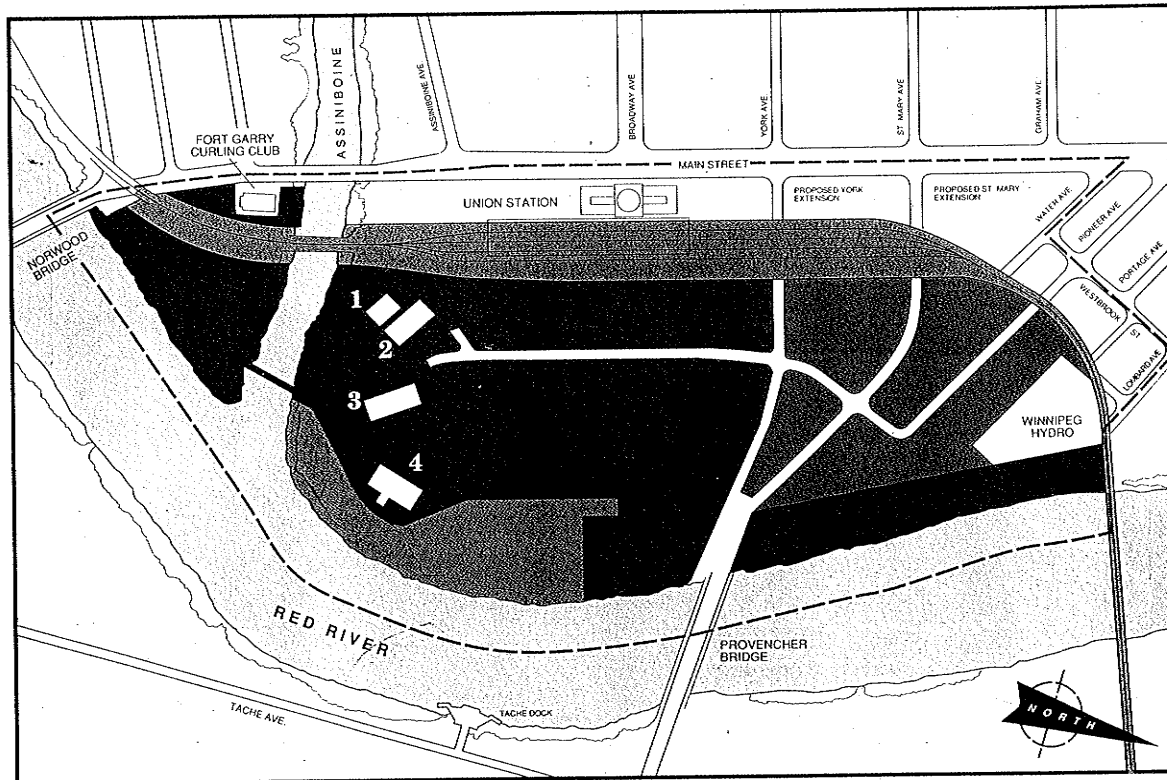


Fig. 1 EAST YARD AREA

EXISTING BUILDINGS:

- 1 GARAGE
- 2 TRAINING / FITNESS
- 3 JOHNSON TERMINAL
- 4 B & B BUILDING

- LAND OWNED BY THE FORKS RENEWAL CORPORATION
- LAND RETAINED BY CN
- PARKS CANADA SITE
- CN MAIN LINE
- EAST YARD AREA

Source: *The Forks Renewal Corporation, 1987, p. 11, Figure 1.*

The creation of both the NPDC and the FRC illustrate a trend in Canada highlighted by Kiernan (1990): "the *real* planning in Canadian cities today tends not to be done by city planning departments at all but by the new public corporations, which are generally not even creatures of *local* government in the first place (p. 70-1)." Undeniably a public

undertaking, the Forks Renewal Corporation has been both praised and criticized for its participatory model.

1.2. Purpose

The purpose of the study is to examine the participatory model employed by the FRC for the development of The Forks. There are four specific goals of this exploration: (1) to gain insight into the complex interactions of powerholders and stakeholders in public development projects, (2) to identify different beliefs and values regarding public participation in a public development project, (3) to examine how the process that evolved affected the outcome, and (4) to identify any implications for the planning profession. Specifically, the study focuses on the powerholders and stakeholders, where stakeholders are those trying to influence the program for development of The Forks and may or may not have power, and powerholders are those who clearly dictate the decisions regarding The Forks.²

The above objectives can be described as a search for the 'drama' that occurred at The Forks, i.e. defining the roles of the many actors, and the setting in which they perform. Grant (1994) describes how the drama of democracy emerges from planning disputes:

Proposals to change the use of land in . . . [a] community commonly trigger civic action from citizens concerned about their interests. The battles that ensue may turn vicious and ugly. They offer fascinating insight into the way our society uses planning activities to manage conflicts over resources. Planning disputes expose episodes of the drama of democracy (p. 7).

To find and describe the 'drama' of The Forks, qualitative research methods are employed to allow narratives, or patterns, to emerge from informants' experiences and perceptions of stakeholders and powerholders. The study represents a search for patterns in the drama

² The 'public' differs from 'stakeholders' in this study in that there is no basis in this study to gauge what the 'public' wanted in terms of participation, while 'stakeholder' perceptions are easily gathered and identified as individuals voice their opinions.

that relate to the following question: What qualities of public participation constitute meaningfulness for the individuals involved and implicated?

Perks and Jamieson (1991) state that: "planning can be seen . . . as a process of thinking ahead to accommodate a city's growth and renewal, and then regulating developments as they are about to occur (p. 490)." Planners have a significant role to play in the regulation of land and property redevelopment. Perks and Jamieson continue:

planners now play an influential part in managing a public planning process. In all jurisdictions of Canada, public participation in planning is now required, although prior to the 1960s, planning was mostly left to city politicians and their expert staffs. Canadian cities have been very successful in assuring that all parties with an interest in planning issues or development proposals can make known their desires and objections. Public participation typically continues throughout the 'life' of the plan-making project (p. 490-491).

This study tests whether the opportunities for participation are sufficient for those who are not decision-makers, but are interested in participating, as well as testing the perceptions of those who allow participation. Politicians, government administrators, FRC officials and citizens describe the process, identify its qualities, and identify how it could, if deemed necessary, be transformed into their definition of a more meaningful means of involving citizens in decision-making. Opposing perspectives regarding the involvement of the public in the development of The Forks emerge as narratives that reflect differing roles, reasons and mechanisms for public participation. Forty-eight informants were given an opportunity to define the role of broad-based city-wide community participation in a major redevelopment of public property.

This study searches for explanations of why things happen the way they do. Grant (1994) highlights the mystery of the planning drama:

This is the mystery of community planning: why do citizens in some communities feel they have so little control over changes in the use of the land? As we seek to solve this mystery, we find the drama of community planning compelling. Sometimes the mystery takes unusual twists. No white knights and villains here. Good guys have skeletons in their closets. Bad guys have alibis. Following our leads, we discover a complex cultural drama emerging (p. 4)

The dramaturgical metaphor that Grant uses to describe planning in her work can also be used to describe the public participation process employed by the FRC. Using a

dramaturgical metaphor, it is possible to identify producers and directors of public participation processes. Similarly, it is possible to identify actors who spend a lot of time on stage, and the extras who remain on the fringe.

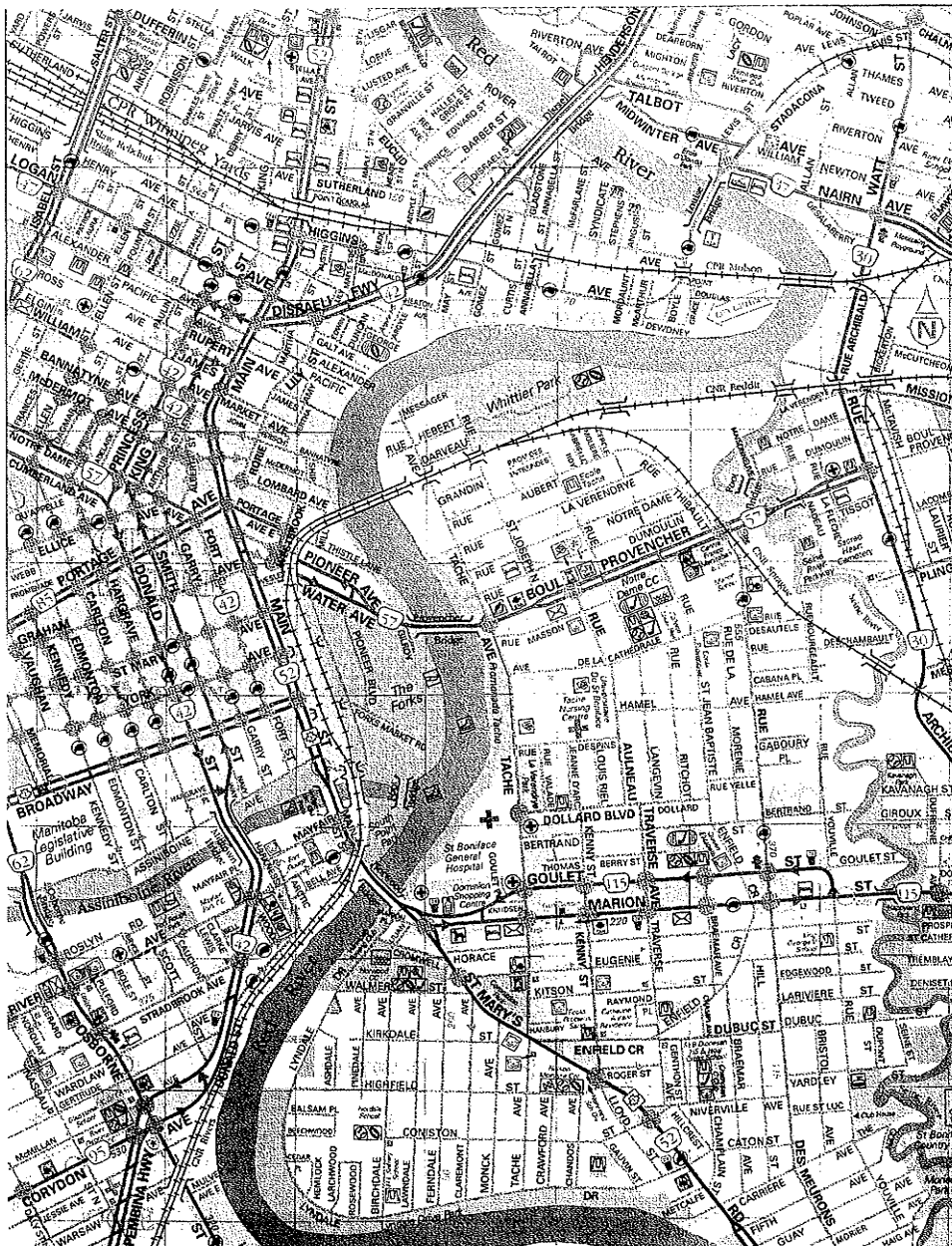
In essence, the search for the drama is a refinement of Schon's 'reflective practitioner' (1983). It provides for professional practitioners -- for those affected by the professional practitioners, for politicians and for the three levels of government's representatives of the FRC -- a series of reflections of a development process that allowed public participation. The study highlights the presence of different goals and expectations of public participation, and the conflicting planning ethics that emerge as a result.

1.3. Chapter Outline

This paper is divided into three parts. Part I sets the stage for the research. Chapter Two provides a background to the events at The Forks, including the natural and cultural heritage of the site, the events that led to the creation of the FRC, and also documents the consultation activities of the FRC. Chapter Three elaborates on the research methodology employed for this study. It presents the reasons for the choices of method and describes the procedures applied. Chapter Four presents a review of pertinent literature that framed the study questions and informed the analysis of the data gathered during the study. It also describes and defines the consultation methodologies that are referred to throughout this paper. Part II presents the findings of the research. Chapter Five presents the broad findings of the research, while Chapters Six and Seven elaborate on the narratives of the Proponents and the Challengers, the two opposing perspectives on the consultation activities of the FRC. Part III consists of a concluding chapter that discusses the power imbalances that are highlighted in the results of the study, and their effect on public participation. Chapter Eight also discusses the implications of the presence of Proponents and Challengers, and their differing views on the role of public participation, for planning practitioners.

Part I: The Stage

Map 2.--Context



Source: *Sherlock's City Map: Winnipeg, 3rd ed., 1993, Map 19.*

CHAPTER TWO

CASE STUDY CONTEXT

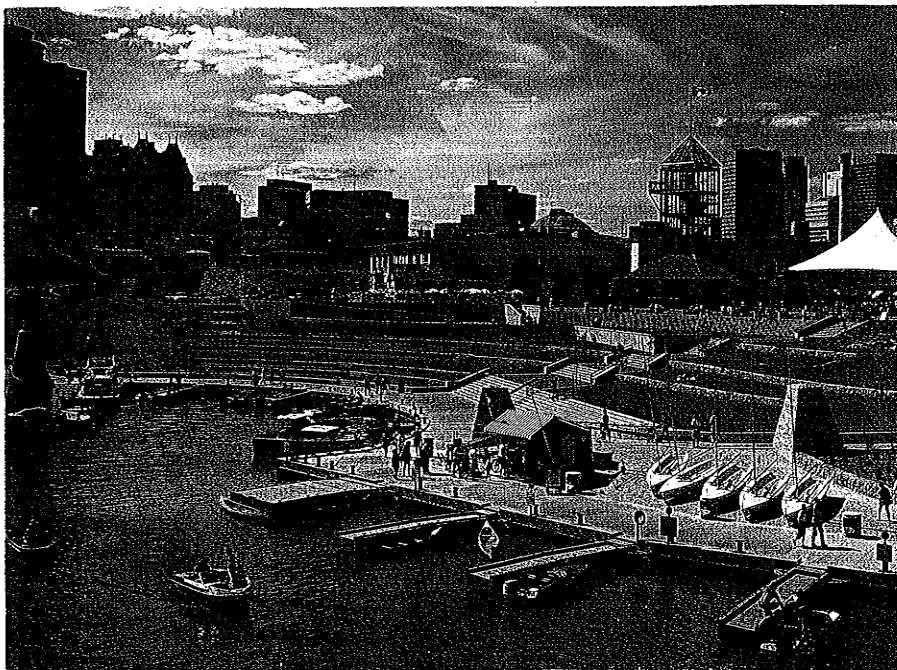
The purpose of this chapter is to provide a context for this case study of The Forks development in Winnipeg, Canada (Map 2). First, the history of the site is presented in terms of its natural and cultural heritage, followed by a brief documentation of events that preceded the creation of the Forks Renewal Corporation. The second section presents the public consultation activities that took place for both the Phase I and Phase II Concept and Financial Plans. The information presented in this chapter is intended to provide a base set of irrefutable events to provide a context for the study. It is from this context that the narratives presented in Chapters Five and Six depart.

2.1. History

The development now known as The Forks has a significant history in terms of natural and cultural heritage. The natural heritage of the site includes land forms, drainage features, living animals and animal remains, living plants and plant remains, buried soil layers, and geological deposits. 750-year-old bison bones and deer bone believed to be older than 3000 years old have been found, as well as geological deposits and plant remains that define Lake Agassiz. Cultural heritage resources include several archeological findings: 6000-year-old hearths, a 3000-year-old Archaic-period culture, the 1200-year-old Blackduck Culture, the 800-year-old Rainy River Culture, possibly the 450-year-old Sandy Lake Culture, the fur trade as represented by Fort Gibraltar I and II, and railway, immigration and industrial history. Given The Forks' central location, it lies within the ranges and territories of numerous other pre-contact (pre-fur trade) Native cultures; the potential for finding remains of them is significant. It is also possible to find remains of post-contact use of the land (FRC 1993, p. 12-13).

The site was first used in approximately 4000 BC for Native camps. This use continued until the fur trade and the establishment of Fort Rouge in 1738. In the 1800s the site had several uses (Appendix One), including Métis farmsteads, an experimental farm, British military installations, and a flour mill. By the late 1800s, the site became a significant part of Winnipeg's rail history, leaving several historic buildings and structures on the site (Appendix Two). Since the creation of the FRC, the stable buildings, built in 1909 and 1910 for the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways, were renovated as The Forks Market (Photo 2), a seventy-five thousand square foot market with restaurants, fresh produce, crafts, etc. The Johnston Terminal building (Photo 3), built in 1928-30 as a warehouse, has been renovated to include office space on the upper two levels, and shops on the lower two. The B&B Building, built in 1889 as the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad engine house, and considered to be the oldest standing railway building of its type in Western Canada, has also been renovated and recently opened as a Children's Museum.

Photo 2.--The Forks Market and Marina



Source: Courtesy of Winnipeg 2000.

Photo 3.--Johnston Terminal



Source: Courtesy of Ted MacLachlan.

Structures on the site that have not been redeveloped include the steam plant, built in 1947, and the low line bridge, constructed in 1890, to accommodate the line of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad (FRC 1993, p. 20).

The CN East Yards site, now known as The Forks, was the object of several development proposals beginning in the early 1970s. From 1974 to 1986 nine different development proposals or concepts were developed by both the private and public sectors, ranging from hotels and housing, to commercial and park space (Winnipeg CAI 1987a, p. 2-1). Of these plans, the most influential for The Forks as it exists today was the 1980 Agreement for Recreation and Conservation on the Red River Corridor (ARC), which set the stage for use of the site as a regional park with historical, interpretive significance. The most significant proposal for the CN East Yards was derived from the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, a multi-million dollar, tri-government project designed to improve the economic, social and physical conditions in Winnipeg's core area (Winnipeg CAI 1987b). The

objective of the CN East Yards program of the CAI was to "facilitate the redevelopment of the major historic, scenic and recreational resources at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers (Winnipeg CAI 1981)." The development of the CN East Yards as a CAI program was intended to complement the ARC project, with the goal of forming a "continuous riverbank park stretching from the forks of the rivers north to the Alexander Docks (Winnipeg CAI, 1985)."

In October of 1986 CN agreed to relinquish seventy acres of land in a deal where CN acquired a \$12 million federal government office building in downtown Vancouver and retained 18 acres at the Forks for commercial development; this arrangement was finalized late in 1987 (Levine 1988, p. 15). After having acquired the land in principle, a Ministers' Task Force was established to identify options for development of the site.

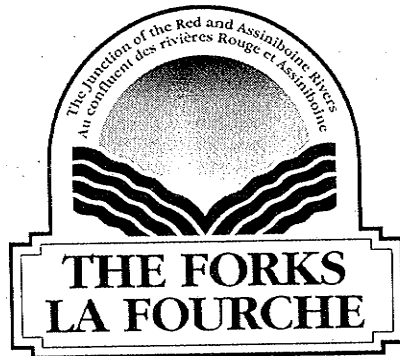
In 1986 it was suggested that a public agency be established to oversee the final planning, development and operations of the CN East Yard site as a "multi-purpose area potentially involving parks, mixed-use facilities, housing, and commercial activities, among others (Winnipeg CAI 1986)." A tri-level task force was established in March 1986, with the objective to "complete preliminary steps leading to the redevelopment of the CN East Yard area." Their report was made public in December 1986, and a Preliminary Concept and Financial Plan was approved by the three levels of government in the spring of 1987 (Winnipeg CAI, 1987b, p. 76; FRC 1987, p. 13). A local politician, involved in early discussions about The Forks, highlighted the need for the three levels of government to cooperate: "no one government could come up with that money in their own budget."

The result of the Ministers' Task Force was the Unanimous Shareholder Agreement, which created the Forks Renewal Corporation, and the Preliminary Concept and Financial Plan. The role of the Preliminary Plan was to guide the Corporation's activities by requiring them to submit a Phase I Concept and Financial Plan to the three levels of government by November 12, 1987 after completion of initial public consultation (Phase I Financial and Concept Plan, p. 7).

A consultant who worked with the Task Force clarified that there was no public involvement in the Task Force deliberations:

The task force [did not have] public consultations. The task force was an in-house group of consultants put together to try and set up a framework for the development of the site and to establish how the site might be developed, what priorities, what criteria we should have for the development of the site. What vision we would have for the site.

2.2. The Forks Renewal Corporation



The Forks Renewal Corporation was created on July 29, 1987 by the federal, provincial and municipal governments according to the Unanimous Shareholder Agreement (Phase I Financial and Concept Plan, p. 13), at which point "a public consultation process was undertaken to obtain suggestions and proposals for redevelopment of The Forks (Winnipeg CAI 1987b, p. 76)." The responsibility for the Corporation was to take "the preliminary concept plan put forward by the Task Force and to conduct public consultations leading to a Phase I Concept Plan to be submitted to the shareholders of the Corporation, namely Canada, Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg (MacDonald 1988)."

The FRC was established in 1987 with a budget of \$20 million from the three levels of government through the CAI (Winnipeg CAI 1989). From then on referred to as 'The Forks', the entire CN East Yards area, approximately 56 acres, was to be owned and redeveloped by the FRC; the term 'renewal' in the title of the corporation appears to be synonymous with redevelopment. The objective of redevelopment was to adhere to a "Meeting Place" theme that evokes The Forks as Canada's new cross-roads, the meeting of old and new, the meeting of diverse peoples, and a place for people to meet, work and play

throughout the year (Phase I Financial and Concept Plan, p. 7). The operational objectives of this redevelopment program included:

- to stimulate redevelopment of the historic and scenic area through a mix of historical, cultural, residential and commercial uses that replace the previous rail activity;
- to stimulate specific components that attract people to The Forks river front areas on a year round basis, and that enhance tourist and recreational activity for Winnipeg and Manitoba;
- to encourage developments in the East Yard that complement existing activities and initiatives in the remainder of downtown Winnipeg;
- to encourage effective coordination of the redevelopment to be carried out by the various public sector parties who will retain land in the East Yard; and
- to encourage the participation of the private and voluntary sectors in the East Yard projects to complement public initiatives and to stimulate new private investment of the overall development (Winnipeg CAI 1992).

The FRC was responsible, according to the terms of its creation in the Unanimous Shareholders Agreement, for conducting public consultations. The operational objectives reflect a requirement to encourage public investment and support, which indicates that the requirement for public consultation is somewhat subordinate. There have been, however, two phases of consultation, each of which coincides with one of two phases of development ; the FRC is required to submit five year plans to its shareholders, and for each of those plans the public must be consulted. The subsections below outline the consultation activities of the FRC for the Phase I Plan and Phase II Plan respectively.

2.2.1. Phase I Consultations - 1987

In 1987, the FRC's Board of Directors "launched an extensive consultation and evaluation program with developers, community groups and organizations, and individual members of the public to obtain responses, ideas, suggestions and proposals related to the redevelopment of The Forks (FRC 1987, p. 14)." The activities included in this program, as described by the FRC, included the following elements:

- preparation of brochures, pamphlets and other briefing documents to ensure public and developer participation;
- an initial public meeting at the site to 'Discover The Forks' which was attended by some 150 citizens and groups;
- newspaper advertisements, extensive mailings, and participation in radio call-in programs to solicit public comment and responses;
- review of responses to a 'Call for Developer Interest' sent to a wide range of local, national and North American private, public, and institutional organizations;
- four general public meetings in June, July and September to hear briefs from over 60 community groups, proponents and interested individuals;
- a special heritage group meeting with over twenty groups in July to discuss heritage and cultural aspects of site redevelopment;
- over twenty individual meetings with developers, proponents and government groups interested in specific projects for the site;
- consultation with a number of government agencies, institutions and leading development consultants;
- review in late October of the Board's initial conclusions with groups which had participated in the program to date;
- on site visits to inspect and analyze downtown waterfront development projects in other North American cities; and
- review and evaluation by technical consultants of certain aspects of the Phase I Plan (FRC 1987, p. 14).

The Appendices of the Phase I Concept and Financial Plan indicate that 71 citizens, 39 special interest groups, 13 developers, and 26 proponents were consulted. These consultations contributed to the development of the Phase I Plan, which was approved by the three shareholders in December, 1987 (Winnipeg CAI 1991). The next consultation activities began with the development of the Phase II Plan five years later.

2.2.2. Phase II Consultations - 1992-1993

The most exhaustive consultation activities of the FRC occurred in conjunction with the Phase II Plan, the second five-year plan mandated by the Unanimous Shareholders Agreement, to cover development from 1992-1997. To ensure the Phase II Plan accurately

reflected the needs and interests of the community, the FRC "chose a consultation process designed to maximize opportunities for all citizens to participate (FRC, 1993, p. 3)." The FRC identified three broad objectives for their consultation methodology:

- to build community consensus for the future;
- to allow the public to consider new ideas; and
- to emphasize the perspectives of site users.

At a media conference held on April 15, 1992, the Phase II program was officially launched, along with an outline of the public consultation process (Figure 1). A series of advertisements was placed in local daily and weekly newspapers to invite public participation. These advertisements were repeated in May, 1992, along with distribution of informational brochures. The consultation process was also the topic of two ninety minute open-line radio shows (FRC 1993, p. 4). The nature of this consultation process can be described as reflecting Potapchuk's (1991) second and third levels of decision-making: government consults with individuals and decides; government consults with a representative group and decides.

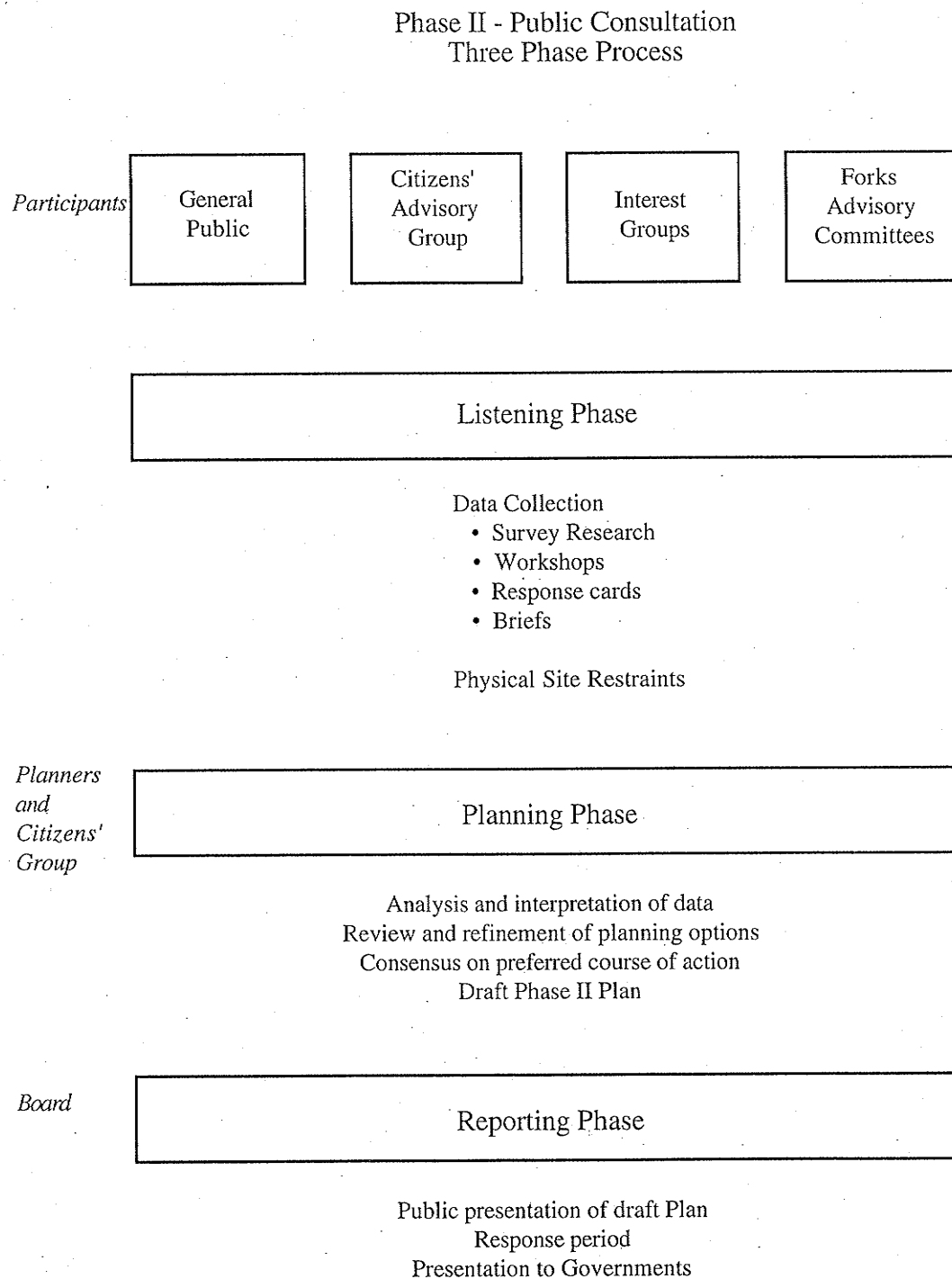
The Forks Renewal Corporation identifies three stages in their consultation process that led to the creation of the Phase II Concept and Financial Plan: listening, planning, and reporting. Each of these stages is elaborated in the sub-sections below.

2.2.2.1. Listening Phase

The consultation process began with a 'listening phase' that was designed to allow maximum participation by the broadest range of 'publics' (FRC 1993, p. 5). The listening phase consisted of four main elements: (1) two independent public surveys were conducted to measure broad community opinions about The Forks, future expectations and preferences; (2) a series of discussion workshops was conducted; (3) informational brochures were distributed that included a mail-in response card; and (4) interested individuals and organizations were invited to submit briefs (FRC 1993, p 5-7). Each of

these elements is described in this subsection. The last part of this section deals with specific public participation opportunities.

Figure 1.--Phase II Public Consultation



Source: Forks Renewal Corporation, 1993, p. 4.

Two independent public surveys were conducted over the telephone for the FRC. The first, by Angus Reid and Associates, conducted in January 1992, was a random survey of 1125 households to collect information about site visitation and preferences. One hundred in-depth interviews were conducted in each of the following three categories: frequent, moderate and occasional visitors of the site. This survey also identified users that were willing to serve on the Citizens' Advisory Group (FRC 1993, p. 5). A second survey was conducted by Dennis McKnight 2051 Inc., in June 1992, and involved 500 in-depth telephone interviews. The purpose of this survey was to "investigate the awareness, perception and attitudes of the public about renewal of The Forks site (FRC 1993, p. 5)."

Ten discussion workshops were held in May and June, 1992. Invitations to participate in the discussion groups were sent to 474 organizations. In addition, several newspaper advertisements invited groups to participate. The workshops were facilitated by independent consultants and structured to allow both individual reporting and group discussion. Four key questions were posed to the participants of the workshops:

- In your opinion, what are the strengths of The Forks site as it is currently developed?
- In your opinion, what are the weaknesses of The Forks site as it is currently developed?
- What is your long range vision of what The Forks could and should become?
- In your opinion, what changes should occur at The Forks over the next five years?

Following the public launch of the public consultation process, informational brochures were distributed that outlined the opportunities for public participation. The brochure included a tear-off mail-in response card and was distributed in early May, 1992, in local newspapers, through the public library and other community agencies, by direct mail and in the Forks Market and Pavilion. The same four questions, mentioned in the above section, appeared on the response cards as were discussed in the workshops.

Respondents were also invited to include their name and address in order to add their name to the mailing list. A last component of the listening phase was the submission of briefs, where "interested individuals and organizations were invited to submit written briefs outlining their suggestions for future development of the site. Briefs were requested to be no more than two pages in length (FRC 1993, p. 7)." Eleven briefs were received between October 1991 and October 1992 (FRC 1993, p. 12).

Specific public participation opportunities varied depending on the target group. For example, response cards and opportunities to present briefs were reserved for interest groups and the general public to make use of, and workshops were reserved mainly for advisory groups and established interest groups. Table 1 illustrates which participation techniques were used for the general public, the CAG, interest groups and the advisory committees.

Table 1.--Public Participation Opportunities

	General Public	Citizens' Advisory Group	Interest Groups	Forks Advisory Committees
Surveys	X	X	X	
Workshops		X	X	X
Response Cards	X		X	
Briefs	X		X	
Options Conference		X		X
Public Presentation	X	X	X	X
Response to Draft Plan	X		X	

Source: Forks Renewal Corporation, Phase II Public Consultation Process: Preliminary Report, September, 1993, p. 5, Figure 2.

2.2.2.2. Planning Phase

The planning phase of the Phase II Public Consultation Process consisted of three elements: a volunteer Citizens' Advisory Group (CAG), four advisory committees and the Options Conference. The CAG was created to provide citizen advice on preparations for the Phase II Plan. None of the individuals were previously known to the Corporation. They were invited, at random, to participate directly in the development of the Phase II Plan during the Angus Reid telephone survey conducted in January, 1992. An official with the FRC interviewed for this study stated how the information gained by this survey was used to create the Citizens' Advisory Group:

This initial survey was done to determine who used the Forks, and how they used it, and when they came here and why and those kinds of things Who were light medium and heavy users? What we did with this information was create a list - everyone who was surveyed was asked if they would be interested in participating in a greater way on the future development of the Forks. All of those that said yes I might be interested, were invited to come to an orientation session and . . . consider whether they would like to join an advisory committee. We sent out letters explaining what this was all about and information packages to them trying to explain what the requirements would be. We had two sessions to try and hit everybody at their convenience. People were also phoned We had sixty or eighty come, of the original three, four hundred and fifty. . . to these orientation sessions. Of those, recognizing the commitment that was involved as a volunteer Twenty people self selected. We didn't choose them, we had no role in specifying who should be on this committee at all. It was completely a self selection process. Twenty people agreed. Most interesting, if we had tried intentionally to find a group of people that adequately represented the cross section of Winnipeg's demographic community, I doubt we would have been as successful as this.

In February, 1992, one hundred thirty nine interested respondents were provided with information materials and invited to orientation sessions held in March and April. Twenty individuals agreed to participate on the Citizens' Advisory Group and spend seventy to ninety hours reviewing data collected, formulating advice to the Board and planners, and be involved at every step of the planning process (FRC 1993, p. 3-4).

The role of the CAG was to act as a 'jury' for the broader community interest, to review historical information, site planning, and financial information as well as public input. All the information and data collected in the consultation process was shared for a

review by the CAG. The CAG monitored the interpretation of data into physical site design, and provided comments and direction for site planners. The CAG reviewed six site planning options and reviewed the final Phase II Plan prior to public presentation (FRC 1993, p. 7-8). An official with the FRC elaborated on the role of the CAG during the interview:

That citizens group worked with us, and with the planning team, in reviewing all of the information collected from the workshops, the survey results and the discussion groups. Everything. They got everything. They reviewed all the planning ideas, that the planners had come up with. They reviewed the Phase I Plan and looked at six alternatives to the Phase I Plan, from a very heavy dense kind of development closer to what Phase I was all about, right up to the completely green less dense development. And actually what they found was something not quite in the middle as what they felt would be most appropriate. And it matched very close of course what came through in the public consultation. Their role was specifically to ensure that the public's views were being heard and adequately being used within the planning process. And that was their role, and I was telling you on the phone that they chose to be anonymous, that's the way they wanted it, and they chose to. . . act as consensus. That's how it went. They worked very closely with the planning team in examining different planning options, providing their input, and asking questions about different things . . . and being citizens. They all felt very strongly that in spite of the fact that they had different liaisons they should not be representative of a particular group and it I think was a highly successful consultation process.

Four advisory committees provided the Board of the FRC with advice for five years, since the approval of the Phase I Plan by its shareholders, on various issues. The composition of each committee was tailored to meet the specific objectives of each discipline (FRC 1993, p. 8). The four advisory committees are briefly described below:

- Site Planning Consultative Committee - This committee consists of architects, engineers, urban planners and others in related professions. The committee's role is to provide a critical review of all development projects and site planning elements;
- Heritage Advisory Committee - Representatives from a broad range of heritage disciplines are on this committee: archeology, historic buildings, national parks, natural history, historical interpretation, education etc. A sub-committee of the Committee produced The Forks Heritage Interpretive Plan;
- Aboriginal Planning Committee - The goal of this committee is to explore concepts for a permanent celebration of Aboriginal peoples at The Forks. The Committee also provides guidance in areas of Aboriginal concern or interest, i.e. archaeological investigations, handling of heritage resources and public

programs. Representatives on this committee are selected by Manitoba's Aboriginal and Métis community.; and

- Leisure Centre Advisory Committee - This committee was formed to explore the feasibility of developing a leisure facility at The Forks. Members of this committee broadly represent recreation and leisure disciplines in Winnipeg and Manitoba (FRC 1993, p. 8-9).

The Options Conference, the third and last element of the planning phase, was held in October, 1992. The goal of the conference was to bring together all advisory committees to review planning materials, to select a preferred course of action and provide final advice to the Board regarding the Phase II Plan. The participants included:

- Citizens' Advisory Group;
- Aboriginal Planning Committee;
- Heritage Advisory Planning Committee;
- Site Planning Consultative Committee;
- Leisure Centre Advisory Committee;
- representatives of Manitoba Multicultural Development Inc.;
- representatives of the Board of the FRC; and
- FRC planners.

All participants of the Options Conference were provided with the results of the consultation process and other information materials, i.e. leisure centre feasibility report, Aboriginal centre concept presentation, multicultural centre consultation and concept report, Phase II Survey results, and comment card and workshop synopses. Six planning options were reviewed by these participants (FRC 1993, p. 9-10).

2.2.2.3. Reporting Phase

The reporting phase consisted of two components: a public presentation of the Phase II Plan proposal, and a submission of the Phase II Plan proposal to the FRC's government shareholders. The former component provided an opportunity for the public to review and comment on the proposal. A verbal and visual presentation by the Board at a

public meeting was followed by a six day open house. Response cards were available for comment. The second reporting phase component was the final step in the public consultation process. All public comments received were appended to the Phase II Plan proposal report and forwarded to the shareholders for their final review (FRC 1993, p. 10).

2.2.3. Ongoing Participation

Opportunities are still available for the public to comment since the three levels of government have not yet, as of February 1995, given their approval of the Phase II Plan. An official with the FRC explained that there are still venues available for the public to voice their opinions:

Basically it comes in the form of comments over the telephone, or it might come in the positions ultimately that politicians make, that's probably the greatest way it would be heard right now.

At present, it is primarily through politicians that the public has an opportunity to influence decision-making with respect to The Forks. Another way for the public to participate is via the Annual Meetings held by the FRC.

The Forks has a significant natural and cultural history not only for Winnipeg and Manitoba, but for North America as well. This historical aspect of The Forks was one of the sources of opposition to the development that was proposed by the FRC. The events described above concerning the FRC and their consultation activities were intended to provide a framework of irrefutable events upon which the findings in Part II reflect. The informants' differing interpretations of these events are the basis of Part II: The Reviews. The following two chapters review the research methods employed for this study, and the theory that has informed the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to guide the reader through the research methods chosen to complete this study. Qualitative methods in particular were employed for this study since they allow the researcher to focus on an evaluation of a development *process*. For Patton (1990), who explores the use of qualitative inquiry applications as a means for program evaluation, a process study is especially appropriate when the following kinds of statements are made about some intervention, relationship, organization or program:

- We take people through a developmental process made up of a series of steps or phases;
- The nature of our process is what makes us 'unique'
- We are a very process-oriented place;
- We need to spend more time processing what's going on;
- I'm having trouble getting a handle on the process; and
- What is the process? Is it the same for everyone? Is the process working for people (p. 96)?

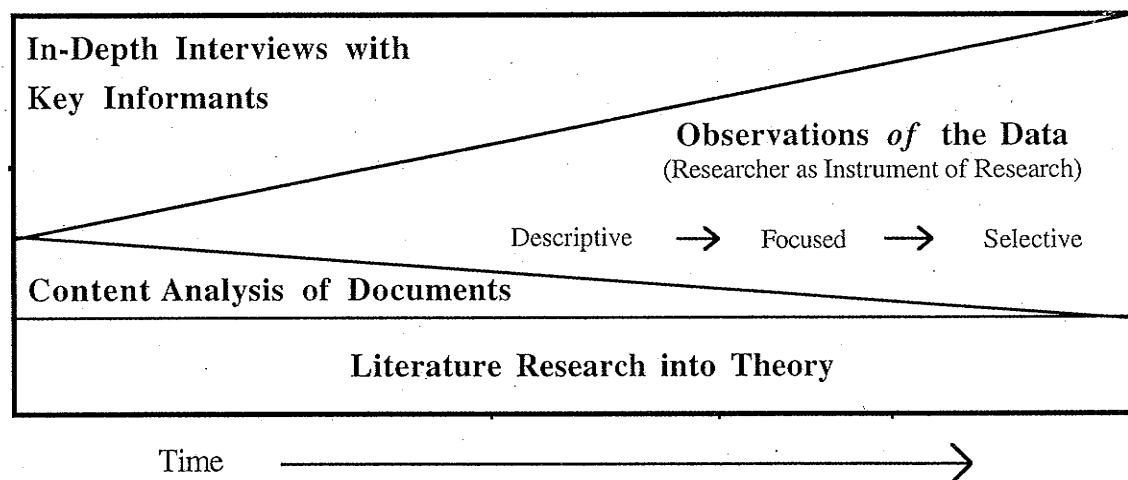
All the above statements and questions were made by people involved in some way in the development of The Forks, indicating that qualitative methods are an appropriate means to study the public consultation activities employed to inform the development of The Forks.

As an inductive methodology, qualitative methods require "immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover important categories, dimensions, and interrelationships; [it will] begin by exploring genuinely open questions . . . ; [it] avoids getting locked into rigid designs that eliminate responsiveness; [it] pursues new paths of discovery as they emerge (Patton , p. 40-41)." The nature of the methods used for this study can be described as ethnographic or phenomenological in nature, where the following questions are asked during data interpretation and analysis: What are the different patterns

of experience among these people? Are there different groups of patterns? Do these patterns result in different groups of people? What is the culture of those groups of people?

Research for this study consisted of a series of interviews and content analysis of news media coverage and documents³. Making observations of the data and interpretation of the data comprised the analysis. Figure 2 depicts the relationship between elements.

Figure 2.--Research Methods



Over the course of the study, time spent gathering data decreases while the time spent on analysis of the data increases, and becomes more focused and selective. The role of the researcher evolved to become increasingly involved in the interpretation of the data gathered. It is important to note as well that research into the theory that is presented in the following chapter occurred simultaneously. There are two sections in this chapter. The first section describes the methods for data collection, while the methods employed for data analysis and interpretation are presented in the second section.

³ A list of the newspaper and magazine articles collected is included at the end of this document.

3.1. Data Collection

The general objective of the research was to gather the experiences and stories of individuals who were involved and/or interested in the development of The Forks. To gather this information, two kinds of data collection were employed: (1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; and (2) document analysis. The data from interviews consisted of direct quotations from interviews with forty-eight informants about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. Document analysis in qualitative inquiry yielded excerpts and quotations from official publications and reports, memoranda and correspondence, and written news media coverage.

A series of informal conversational interviews was conducted with forty-eight individuals:

The informal conversational interview is the most open-ended approach to interviewing. The conversational interviewer wants to maintain maximum flexibility to be able to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate, depending on what emerges from. . . talking to one or more individuals in that setting. Most of the questions flow from the immediate context. . . . No predetermined set of questions is possible under such circumstances, because the evaluator does not know beforehand what is going to happen or what will be important to ask (Patton, p. 281).

As a result of the unstructured nature of this type of interview, the data gathered will differ from informant to informant, but most importantly, it will reflect the specific experience and perceptions of those individuals.

Each conversation began with an introduction of the researcher, and a letter of introduction (Appendix Three) from the thesis advisor. Each informant was advised that their comments would remain confidential, and they were asked if they would be comfortable if the conversation was tape-recorded. Every informant, with the exception of one, agreed immediately to recording the conversation. The one informant that expressed concern about recording the conversation agreed after a brief explanation of the intent of the research and assurances that all comments made were to remain confidential. Tape-recording each conversation was invaluable. Not only did a recording allow the researcher

access to the entire conversation when it was time for analysis, but it allowed the researcher to maintain eye contact with the informant and pay attention to the comments made and concentrate on where the conversation was going. Recording the conversations allowed the naturalness, or humanness, of the data to emerge, which makes the patterns that emerge from the analysis that much more plausible.

Each conversation began with a more specific explanation of what the researcher was expecting from the informant:

I am a student in the Master of City Planning program out at the University of Manitoba, and I am talking to a number of people about their experiences about The Forks. Specifically, what I am looking at is how the public was involved in the decisions made about The Forks. What are your comments about your experiences with The Forks?

Often, other comments were included that specifically addressed what the researcher knew about the informant's experience. For example, if an informant was intensely involved in the first phase of consultation conducted by the FRC, probing questions about that experience were asked; if the informant was a politician who was involved in the creation of the Corporation, probing questions about their knowledge in that area were posed. As such, questions emerged from the discussion and the individual experiences of each informant. No predetermined, standardized questions were used, but rather a mental list of things that needed to be explored evolved as more and more people were interviewed and themes began to emerge. For example, after approximately twenty informants were interviewed, the issues of the FRC's mandate and accountability to the public emerged, so the remaining informants were asked specifically about these issues. Unlike standardized open-ended interviews, questions and their wording were not determined in advance. Informal conversational interviews are less systematic, and were more appropriate given the diversity of the informants.

This unstructured interview methodology was very effective in that it enabled me to tailor the discussion to each stakeholder and her/his experiences. A structured interview guide would not have enabled me to address the diversity of individuals and their

experiences. In effect, this methodology ensured the relevancy of the questions to each informant and her/his experiences. The unstructured nature of the discussion aided the emergence of each informant's priorities.

Whyte and King (1984) describe a good research interview: "The good research interview is structured in terms of the research problem. The interview structure is not fixed by predetermined questions, as in the questionnaire, but is designed to provide the informant with freedom to introduce materials that were not anticipated by the interviewer (p. 97)." The following rules were followed during each interview:

- Listen more than you talk;
- Listen with a sympathetic and lively interest;
- Occasionally rephrase and reflect back to informants what they seem to be expressing and summarize their remarks as a check on your understanding;
- Avoid giving advice and passing moral judgments; and
- Don't interrupt *accidentally* (from Whyte and King, p. 98).

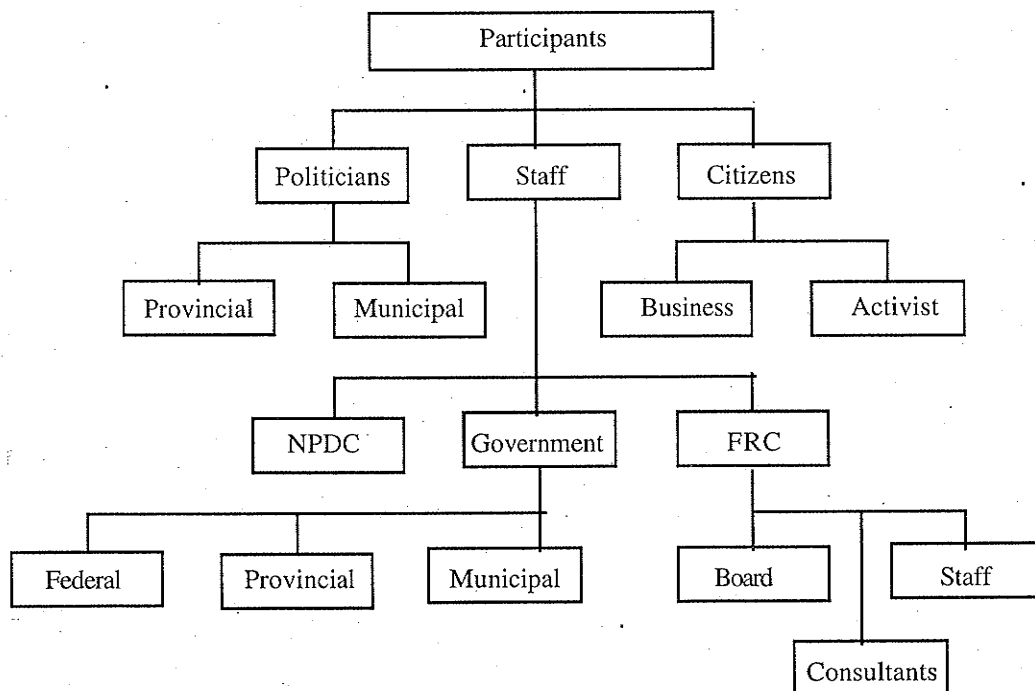
A preliminary list of key informants that would cover a broad range of interests was identified. Using the snowball technique, each participant was asked at the conclusion of each interview for the names of other key individuals she/he thought should be interviewed. As the names provided by the informants became repetitive, the list of key informants became complete. The purpose of a broad range of perspectives is to challenge any preconceived (and developing) understandings of the phenomenon under study. Maximum variation sampling is an essential part of critical inquiry, in that the views of the powerful, as well as of the disenfranchised, are represented (Kuzel, p. 37-39).

The first interviews were conducted with people that were involved directly with The Forks. Identifying informants beyond those introductory interviews was done primarily through the snowball technique; at the conclusion of each interview, the informant was asked for names of other individuals who would have something to contribute to the research. The list of names that emerged from this list was exhaustive. It

was impossible to interview all of these people, so those mentioned most frequently that had something to do with, or an interest in, public participation were chosen.

The individuals interviewed for the study can generally be placed in one of three general categories that reflect their involvement in the development of The Forks: politicians, staff, and citizens. Politicians from the provincial and municipal levels of government were interviewed. 'Staff' includes employees and contract consultants of the federal, provincial and municipal governments, North Portage Development Corporation and the Forks Renewal Corporation. Members of the FRC Board are included in the staff category, as are consultants contracted by the FRC, and representatives of both the Downtown and Exchange Business Improvement Zones. The 'citizen' category is composed of community activists and local business people. While the interviews were being conducted, an effort was made to contact people who represented each of the three primary categories (Figure 3). The distribution of informants in the three broad categories is as follows: ten politicians, twenty-one staff, and seventeen citizens.

Figure 3.--Origin of Informants



The above figure represents the categories of interview participants that the researcher was successful in scheduling an interview; for example, despite attempts to interview a federal politician, it was not possible to schedule an interview. The 'business' category denotes business-people from The Forks and the Exchange District. The 'activist' category refers to heritage, aboriginal and social activists in Winnipeg, some of which formed an interest group to lobby for change at The Forks (Greening the Forks).

Many informants shared the documents, newspaper clippings, correspondence, and videotapes of television coverage they had collected. Secondary sources were consulted in this study to allow for a broader understanding of the development now referred to as The Forks. The following sources were consulted: Winnipeg Free Press, The Winnipeg Sun, Inner-City Voice, The Lance³, Links⁴, Winnipeg Real Estate News, Uptown⁵, The Globe and Mail, Currents⁶, citizens' briefs to City Council, correspondence between the Forks Renewal Corporation and the City of Winnipeg, Core Area Initiative documents, and City of Winnipeg Council Minutes.

3.2. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The method of data analysis employed was inductive, meaning that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis came from the data (Patton, p. 391). The essence of inductive analysis is: identifying patterns in the data; developing category systems: comparing patterns: and interpreting the data by considering causes, consequences and relationships. The result of this method is to transform particular qualitative features into generic statements (Eisner 1991). This section elaborates the steps taken to find the

³ The Lance is a newspaper in St. Vital, in the South end of Winnipeg.

⁴ Links is a community newspaper in Winnipeg.

⁵ Uptown is a small newspaper that focuses on Winnipeg's downtown.

⁶ Currents is a newsletter published by the Forks Renewal Corporation.

patterns within the information gathered from the interviews, and through simple content analysis of documents and news media coverage.

Data analysis was conducted following Spradley's (1980) Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)⁷, an ethnographic research methodology (Figure 4). Spradley describes this sequence as follows:

The DRS steps begin with a wide focus, surveying many possible social situations. When one is selected, the research included the entire social situation from Steps 3 through 12. However, there is a dual focus, one narrow, the other broad and holistic. The ethnographer continues to use the skills learned in Steps 4 and 5 while at the same time focusing observations on selected cultural domains. Toward the end of the project the focus expands again to make a holistic description of the cultural scene (p. 103).

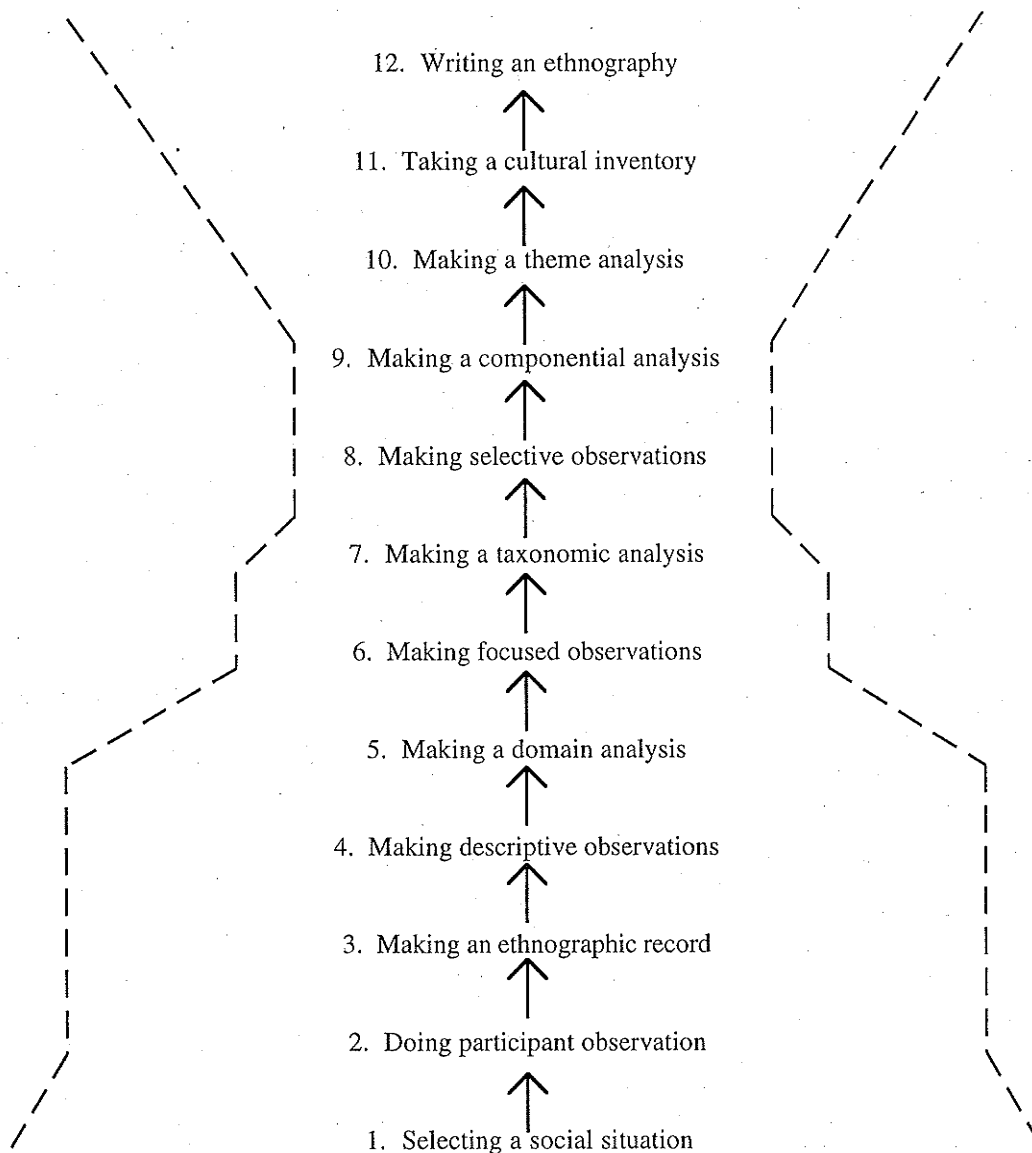
The first five steps in Spradley's sequence are general, and move toward the specific. By step nine, componential analysis, the focus widens, to accommodate a holistic description of the cultural scene. Before describing the precise process used for this study, it is important to define more clearly the premises of Spradley's approach.

Analysis is a search for *patterns*. . . . As you have recorded what people. . . say, you have been able to make inferences about what they know. But, in order to move on and describe the *cultural* behavior, the *cultural* artifacts, and the *cultural* knowledge, you must first discover the patterns that exist in your data (p. 85).

For Spradley, culture refers to the patterns of behaviour, artifacts, and knowledge that people have created. Within every social situation there are cultural meanings (p. 86-87). He refers to these cultural meanings as cultural domains, and it is the analysis of these domains that constitute step 5 in his sequence: domain analysis.

⁷ Spradley's sequence focuses on data collected from participant observation rather than data collected from interviews. However, the latter can be examined using the same sequence of steps.

Figure 4.--Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence

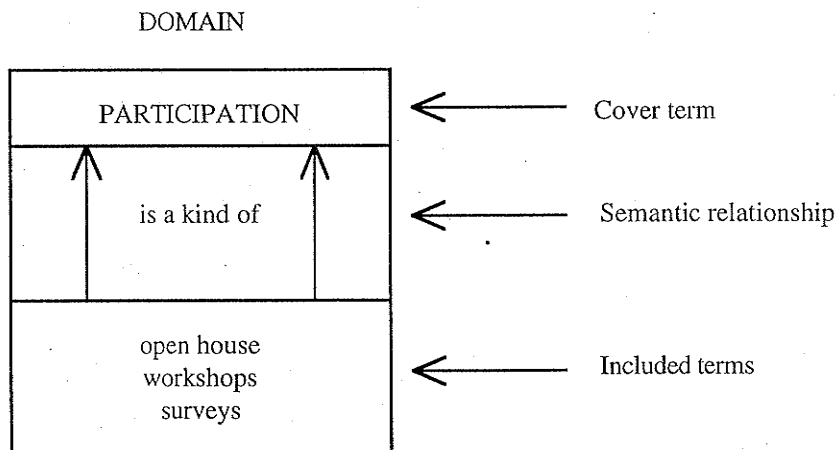


Source: Adapted from Spradley 1980, p. 103, Figure 12.

Cultural domains are categories of meaning, and they are made up of three basic elements: cover term, included terms, and semantic relationship (Spradley, p. 89). The cover term is the name for a cultural domain. For example 'participation' is the cover term for a domain identified from data about The Forks. The included terms are the names of the smaller categories that fit inside the domain. 'Open house', 'workshops', and 'surveys' are examples of included terms for the domain 'participation'. The semantic

relationship is how the two previous elements are linked. In this example, the semantic relationship is one of strict inclusion: 'is a kind of'. Figure 5 illustrates an example of a cultural domain in the present context.

Figure 5.--Cultural Domain Illustration



Source: Adapted from Spradley, p. 89.

Analysis of the interview data began by transcribing the tape-recordings of each interview. As the conversations were transcribed, some passages were marked as important. Once approximately seventy percent of the data was transcribed, and a hard copy of the transcript was printed, they were read looking for conversations that dealt with participation. These passages were underlined. The transcripts were then re-read, making notes on a separate sheet of paper for each informant using the domain analysis technique. Following the comments that the informants made, many cultural domains, included terms and semantic relationships were identified. Then, using file cards, the domains were collapsed, allowing all the domains to be listed together according to their semantic relationship. The purpose of listing all the identified domains is to identify the cultural categories and to gain an overview of the cultural scene being studied (Spradley, p. 96-97). Domains were most often listed with the following semantic relationships:

- Strict Inclusion -- X (is a kind of) Y
Example: Self-sufficiency mandate (is a kind of) problem;
- Means-End -- X (is a way to do) Y;
Example: Citizens' Advisory Group (is a way to) consult the public;
- Rationale -- X (is a reason for doing) Y
Example: Tri-level agency (is a reason for) lack of public accountability;
- Cause-Effect -- X (is a result of) Y
Example: A successful development (is a result of) genuinely reflecting the public will; and
- Attribution -- X (is a characteristic of) Y
Example: Closed (is a characteristic of) the consultation process.

An integral part of domain analysis is the creation of a list of domains, which helps create an overview of the cultural scene. The list of domains resulting from the above relationships are included in Table 2 below.

Table 2.--List of Domains

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>X is a kind of Y</i>
 kinds of roles / players
 kinds of process
 kinds of problems / issues
 kinds of controversy
 kinds of participation
 kinds of control
 kinds of positive things
 kinds of phases of consultation</p> | <p>2. <i>X is a way to do Y</i>
 ways to control process
 ways to consult the public
 ways to assure public they've been heard
 ways to avoid controversy
 ways to create controversy
 ways to gauge public interest
 ways to create better discussion</p> |
| <p>3. <i>X is a reason for doing Y</i>
 reasons for participation
 reasons for criticism
 reasons for lack of constituency
 reasons for (lack of) accountability
 reasons for success
 reasons for debate
 reasons for tripartite arrangement</p> | <p>4. <i>X is a result of Y</i>
 results of arms-length corporations
 results of public participation in planning
 results of such a broad constituency
 results of special interest groups
 results of public participation
 results of reflecting the public's will
 results of criticism
 results of bad decisions
 results of awareness of the site</p> |

5. *X is a characteristic of Y*
- characteristics of public processes
 - characteristic of public decision-making
 - characteristics of focus groups
 - characteristics of CAGs
 - characteristic of annual meetings
 - characteristics of the FRC
 - characteristic of the public
 - characteristics of critics

The list of domains provides an overview of the cultural scene being observed. To make focused observations, specific domains are examined by asking structural questions which make use of the semantic relationship between a specific domain and a cover term (p. 107). For example, for the domain 'participation', and the semantic relationship 'is a reason for doing', the structural question would be: 'what are all the reasons for participation?' Focused observations require that specific domains from the list of domains (Table 2) be selected for further investigation. The working structural questions that guided the early focused observations of the data, and enabled the researcher to pursue the objectives of the study, were:

- What are all the reasons for participation?
- What are all the parts of the process?
- What are all the reasons for lack of public involvement?
- What are all the attributes of the public consultation process?
- What are all the kinds of public participation?
- What are all the kinds of problems associated with The Forks?
- What are all the kinds of roles people played?

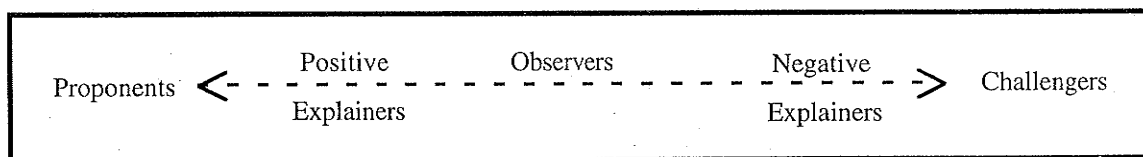
The pertinent answers to these questions are incorporated in the narrative data reported in Part II.

Answering the structural questions listed above provided a complete list of all the different observations made from the data collected. A taxonomy of this list shows more about the relationships between the things inside the cultural domain than would be seen by

just identifying the things inside the cultural domain (Spradley, p. 112). A taxonomy reveals the relationship between all the included terms in a domain. An example of a taxonomy is the kinds of roles that people play in the development of The Forks (Figure 3 - Origin of Informants): politician, staff/bureaucrat, and citizen. Within each of these categories, there are sub-categories, for example, politicians can be divided in to Federal, Provincial and Municipal politicians. Taxonomic analysis was conducted for each of the domains indicated by the structural questions listed above, resulting in the emergence of cultural patterns. Responses to these structural questions resulted in taxonomies that depict various categories of perceptions. The next step in Spradley's sequence offered an opportunity to explore these categories further.

Selected observations, the eighth step of Spradley's DRS, involved taking the social situation that has been described in terms of similarities only until this point, and begin to look for differences between specific cultural categories (Spradley, p. 128). While looking at the categories in each taxonomy, it became evident that there are distinct kinds of informants for this study. The categories of participants are: Proponents, Positive Explainers, Observers, Negative Explainers, and Challengers. Their relationship, on a continuum, is illustrated in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6.--Categories of Informants (Cultural Themes)



A brief componential analysis of the data, i.e. a search for attributes, revealed the characteristics associated with each of these cultural categories. An elaboration of the two

poles of this continuum, the Proponents and the Challengers, is found in Part II of this study.

Throughout the analysis of interview data, the news media coverage of events at The Forks was reviewed simultaneously. This information served mostly as a means to gauge the chronology of events to which the informants had referred. A content analysis of newspaper coverage, for example, was done primarily by observation. Analysis of the data accumulated through the informants was more appropriate because of the ease of gauging its representativeness. News media coverage also helped to gauge the magnitude of the problems and issues highlighted in discussions with informants. Documents and correspondence often originated from study informants, or from individuals that were not interviewed for the study in an effort to maintain a more manageable number of interviews. They were essential in trying to see the larger picture of events.

The scope of the research for this study reached Spradley's tenth step, 'discovering cultural themes,' and touched on the eleventh and twelfth steps, 'taking a cultural inventory' and 'writing an ethnography.' The cultural themes, as elements of patterns that make up a culture, were identified; however, a detailed list of themes and in-depth confirmation of themes was not conducted for this study. Although this study allowed the emergence of two 'polar' cultures, the Proponents and the Challengers, it does not elaborate to a significant degree on the qualities of them. Further research in this area should focus on more clearly defining who belongs to each of these cultures, and the patterns and universal themes that define the Proponents and Challengers.

The use of qualitative methods was successful in allowing the informants' perceptions to emerge. Three key theoretical models of public participation in planning provided a framework for domain analysis, focused observations, taxonomic analysis and a brief componential analysis (Arnstein 1969, Thornley 1977, and Potapchuk 1991). These theoretical models are elaborated in Chapter Four. The narratives of the Proponents

and the Challengers, the two most distinct categories of informant perceptions, are presented in Part III.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORY AND PRECEDENTS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of the literature on public participation, with an emphasis on literature that discusses public participation processes and power imbalances associated with those processes. Information presented in the review has been organized into three sections. The first section explores current issues in public participation, and includes a subsection that presents three continuums of power-sharing in public participation, and a second subsection that explores reasons for power imbalances. The second section identifies several consultation-based methodologies available to decision-makers, each varying in degrees of power-sharing between process implementers and participants. The techniques of public participation mentioned in this thesis are described here.

4.1. Current Issues in Public Participation

Planners are often intensely involved with citizens and citizens' groups (Lauffer 1978), and, as with any planning process, there is often debate regarding the role of stakeholders in the decision-making process. The central issue in stakeholder participation is power and control (Potapchuk 1991), and there is a growing interest in involving stakeholders in decision-making processes that affect them (Beresford and Croft 1993). This sub-section attempts to define public participation in broad terms.

Public participation is an interactive process that considers the ideas of citizens and encourages their involvement in decision-making in the areas of vision, issue resolution, design and delivery. Effective public participation is characterized by the following values: inclusive, flexible, accessible, humane in process, and listening and understanding (Environment Canada 1992, p. 3). Constructive participation of stakeholders therefore involves an ongoing process that provides stakeholders early and convenient opportunities

to make contributions. Such a process is often characterized as a learning process for both stakeholders and decision-makers and planners (Friedmann, 1987). Individuals, interest groups, and agencies identify their own positions, recognize those of others, and work toward a win-win solution cooperatively (Connor, 1988). Such a process is also characterized by its consensual and collaborative approach.

Collaborative and consensus strategies, as an alternative to traditional, centralized problem-solving methodologies, are better equipped to tackle the intricacies and complexities of solving social problems. Collaborative and consensual approaches to public participation are components of a power-sharing continuum, as is consultation. The continuum situates power and decision-making authority with stakeholders at one end, and those that decide for them at the other.

The following sub-sections explore power imbalances involved in public participation. The first sub-section explores three continuums of participation: Arnstein's ladder of participation, Connor's ladder of participation, and Potapchuk's levels of shared decision making. In the second sub-section, the reasons for power imbalances are explored. The theory introduced in this section was a primordial part of the analysis and interpretation of data gathered for this study.

4.1.1. Continuums of Participation

Degrees of stakeholder participation in planning and decision-making can reflect degrees of power and control. Power may be shared with stakeholders to different degrees according to the needs of the decision situation and the disposition of those in control of making decisions. In its most modest form, citizens are informed of proposals and asked for a response. More power is shared when, for example, citizen advisory committees are employed in the planning process, and still greater power is shared when citizens are delegated to make plans (Hodge 1991, p. 364-365).

The degree of power shared with stakeholders is determined by those in control of decision-making. Below are three continuums which illustrate varying degrees of power

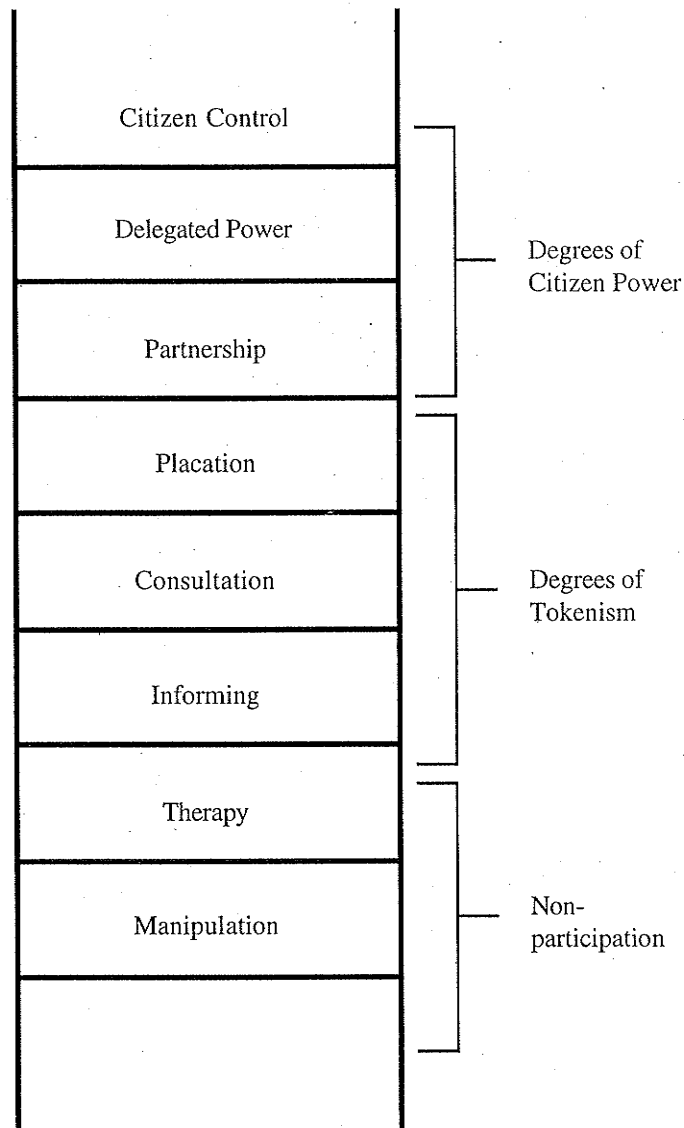
that determine stakeholder participation practices: Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), Desmond M. Connor's ladder on resolution and prevention of conflict (1988), and William R. Potapchuk's levels of shared decision-making (1991). These three continuums were critical in informing the analysis of data because of their focus on power imbalances and the degrees of participation. This is demonstrated in Chapter 7, where the findings of the research are discussed and comparisons are made between the two cultures that emerged from the study: the Proponents and the Challengers.

4.1.1.1. Arnstein's Ladder

A pivotal article in planning theory relating to public consultation is Sherry Arnstein's *A Ladder of Participation*. In her article, Arnstein identifies eight degrees of citizen involvement in decision-making processes, and characterizes the mindset that accompanies each rung (Figure 7).

Each rung of the ladder corresponds to the extent of stakeholders' power in determining a plan or program for public involvement. Climbing the ladder, results in increased stakeholder power, and likewise, descending the ladder results in diminished stakeholder power. The first two rungs of the ladder, manipulation and therapy, are what Arnstein refers to as 'nonparticipation'. Informing, consultation and placation are degrees of 'tokenism,' while partnership, delegated power and citizen control are degrees of 'citizen power.'

Figure 7.--Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Arnstein (1969)

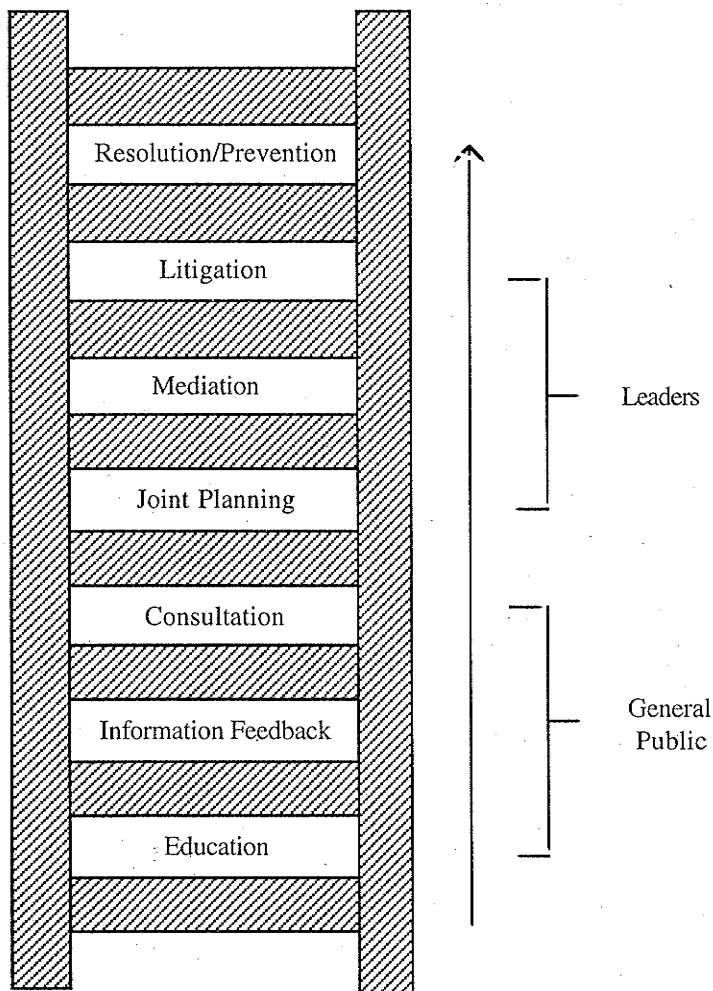
Arnstein's metaphor was particularly useful in describing the different expectations of public participation that emerged from the study. For example, it was useful to describe the Challengers as people who expected degrees of citizen power, while the Proponents find participation methodologies lower on the ladder more appropriate. This ladder is also employed in categorizing different methods of participation in the concluding section of this

chapter. The eight rungs of Arnstein's ladder are described in more detail in Appendix Four.

4.1.1.2. Connor's Ladder

A second continuum of participation is from Connor (1988), who builds from Arnstein's ladder, and creates another ladder that aims to provide a more systemic approach to preventing and resolving public controversy about specific policies, programs and projects (Figure 8).

Figure 8.--Connor's Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Connor (1988)

As a means to prevent controversy in the first place, education, information feedback and consultation are three steps to ensure that the public is 'on side' with the initiatives, programs or policies of an organization. Education is a first step in preventing and resolving public controversy. Information-feedback is required when the publics affected by the proposed change do not understand or accept it, while consultation is required if education has not engendered enough informed support, or if information-feedback has not developed understanding and acceptance, or the possibility of acceptance seems too great to be resolved through education or information-feedback. A more in-depth description of Connor's ladder is included in Appendix Five.

Connor contends that if a project or proposal is not accepted despite the efforts of the first three rungs, there are three remaining possibilities that occur only if legally required: joint planning only occurs if a party has legal jurisdiction over some aspect of the area affected; mediation leads parties with legal jurisdiction through a conflict resolution process; and litigation occurs between parties with legal jurisdiction in an adversarial context. In contrast to Arnstein, Connor does not address the issue of power sharing. He simply alludes to power-sharing between parties with legal jurisdiction. For example, when shifting from consultation to joint planning on Connor's ladder, there is an increase in power sharing such as could be found in Arnstein's typology, but he makes a shift in the players he is referring to. The first three rungs address the relationship between the general public and decision-makers, while the others address the relationship between various decision-makers. Connor's approach is one that offers ways to prevent and resolve controversy involving the public in general, and does not express ways to involve the public to a degree greater than Arnstein's 'consultation'.

4.1.1.2. Potapchuk's Levels

Recently, planners have made attempts to reframe the purpose of citizen participation from identifying opposition to building consent (Potapchuk, 1991).

Potapchuk contends that neither Arnstein's nor Connor's ladders stretch "to the new broad-based forms of participation that have emerged to build community vision and structure strategic plans. New approaches to citizen participation strive toward these lofty goals (p. 162-163)."

Potapchuk proposes a typology where levels of shared decision-making are examined. The essence of power is considered, i.e., who decides or who supports the outcome. The typology focuses on government and its involvement in decision making. However, it can be just as effective when considering levels of shared decision-making with other agencies or organizations. Below is a summary of Potapchuk's levels of shared decision making:

- government delegates decision to others (e.g. privatization of decision making);
- government works with a representative group and they jointly decide (e.g. negotiations, collaborative planning processes, consensus-building processes);
- government consults with a representative group and decides (e.g. task forces, citizen advisory groups, blue ribbon committees, charettes);
- government consults with individuals and decides (e.g. public hearings, written comments, hotlines, lobbying, consultations); and
- government decides (e.g. legislative or administrative decisions).

Upward movement in this typology results in an increase in the level of public involvement, much like climbing Arnstein's ladder. In the lower two levels, government is seeking support, analogous to what Arnstein identifies as 'nonparticipation' and 'tokenism.' Consultation with representative groups can serve to bridge the differences in the larger community, but the citizen is excluded from the decision making process. Consensus building plays a role in the higher two levels, which are citizen-driven. If a particular process is unsuccessful, the actual decision-making may revert back a step or two (Potapchuk, 1991).

4.1.2. Power Imbalances

In order to reach an assessment of the effectiveness of participation techniques it is necessary to have a clear conception of the role and purpose of participation itself (Thornley 1977, p. 3).

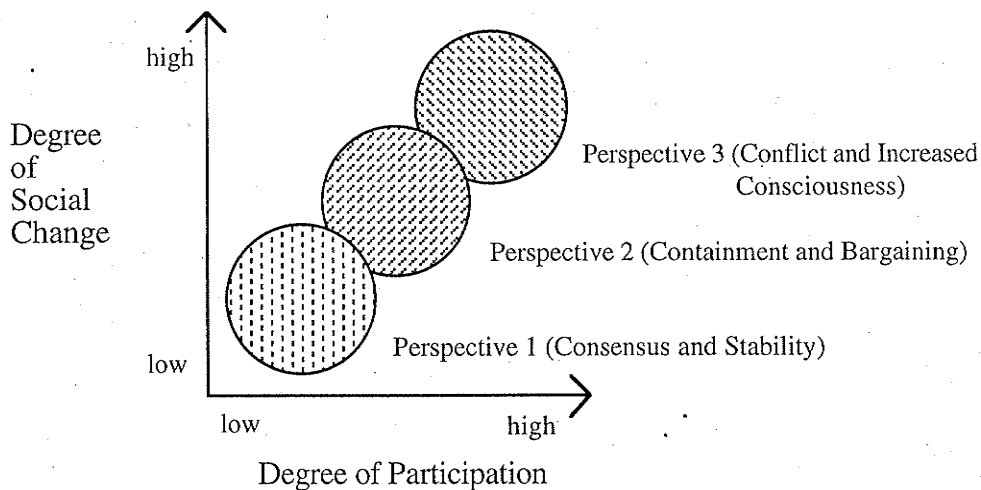
Thornley implies that different perceptions of the roles of participation will result in various assessments of participation techniques. This appears to be the case with development of The Forks and the consultation mechanisms employed by the FRC. Thornley proposes that there are three types of theory that illuminate these differing perceptions and assessments of participation in planning: conservative, liberal and radical theory. The characteristics of conservative theory are: the perpetuation of the status quo; it is descriptive of existing social relations; and human nature is seen as in need of protection and control, a belief that is based on a system of hierarchy and domination. Liberal theory holds that 'man' can never be master of his own fate, but existing social relations suppress human potential. Liberal theory rarely leads to an analysis of society as a whole, while radical theory consistently takes a total view of problems. Radical theory holds that the nature of human potential is unlimited and develops theory from practical experiences (Thornley, p. 4).

Thornley also offers a typology which focuses on consensus and conflict and their impact on change and stability. Three perspectives emerge again: consensus, containment, and conflict. Consensus places emphasis on stability and integration; socialization contributes to the maintenance of system balance. The goal of the second perspective, containment, is to find synthesis; change is gradual and a product of institutionalization; conflict is contained according to universal norms. Conflict, the third perspective, places emphasis on change and dissent, which are the necessary conditions of social change (Thornley, p. 6-7).

The dimensions of stability/change and no participation/full participation help position his theoretical typology (conservative, liberal and radical) and his consensus/conflict typology (consensus/containment/conflict) in his theoretical framework.

A graphic representation of these two dimensions and the 'location' of the three theoretical perspectives are found in Figure 9.

Figure 9.--Theoretical Framework



Source: Thornley 1977 (an adaptation)

The first perspective, an iteration of conservative and consensus theories, is based on consensus and stability. The second perspective, a reflection of liberal theory and a synthesis of consensus and conflict theories, is based on containment and bargaining. The third perspective, a reflection of radical and conflict theories, is based on conflict and increased consciousness. Each perspective is briefly described in the text that follows. A more detailed description of the three perspectives is included in Appendix Six.

Perspective One contends that in order to achieve stability, there must be consensus over general values. In this perspective, information exchange occurs rather than involvement of people in decision-making. Plans are adapted to public attitudes, but are not formed by them. Planners see themselves as guardians of the public interest and their work is evaluated on the basis of their ability to benefit society as a whole; there is a direct

relationship between the amount of information gathered and the legitimacy of the concepts and plans proposed. (Thornley, p. 43-44).

The preferred methods for participation are aimed at the "individual rather than methods that might foster group solidarity against system-wide norms (Thornley, p. 44)." Methods used at present include pre-paid reply questionnaires and opportunities to make comments at exhibitions. A more recent method used at public meetings is the grouping of participants into discussion groups where each individual can express opinions, and reach some form of consensus after some debate. The goal of this method is "to prevent the audience being swayed by convincing orators or public spokesmen of particular interests (Thornley, p. 44)." The measure of success of participation in this perspective is that the 'common' view that emerges can be identified with the public interest (Thornley, p. 44).

In Perspective Two, the management of conflict is central, since conflict arises because an 'interest' is somehow not represented, which indicates a lack of balance within the democratic system which should be rectified by government, provided it is financially capable of doing so. In this perspective some formal means of dealing with opposition must be available, such as appeals to the Minister and public inquiries (Thornley, p. 48). A second necessary condition for ensuring a framework for bargaining is in place is that the local authority must acknowledge positions taken other than their own. The goal of participation techniques in this perspective is to contribute to the aim of gradual reform (Thornley, p. 48).

Thornley describes Perspective Three as one which demands structural change, power equality, and increased consciousness. A high degree of participation is a means for achieving a high degree of social change. Thornley implies that the problem of participation in government does not lie within the attitudes of the public that do not want to participate, but within the structures, processes and values of the government system. This perspective defines necessary conditions for power-sharing and participation in decision-making: power inequalities of decision-making must be eradicated. Increased

consciousness of individuals, that develops from direct experience, is the only means to accomplish the structural changes required (Thornley, p. 46), and participation is a way of raising that consciousness.

Thornley suggests that the following three questions should be asked to determine in which perspective someone or something fits:

- 1) What view of social order is taken? What is the implication of that view for treatment of social change?
- 2) Within this perspective of change for social order, what role is given to participation and what form does it take?
- 3) As a result of questions 1) and 2) where can the author be placed in the framework (p. 10)?

These questions were valuable while analyzing the data gathered for this study.

4.2. Participation Techniques

Several techniques for stakeholder participation have been identified while conducting the literature review. The list below demonstrates the variety of methods or techniques available to decision-makers and stakeholders, many of which were used by the FRC. The purpose of this section is to indicate where various techniques relate to the rungs of Arnstein's ladder. Each is briefly described below, listed in increasing degrees of power-sharing, and placed in one of three general categories describing Arnstein's ladder of participation: non-participation, limited power-sharing, and stakeholder power sharing. A summary outline of these techniques is included below for quick reference:

- 4.2.1. Non-Participation
 - 4.2.1.1. Mail-Outs
 - 4.2.1.2. Community Forums / Public Meetings
 - 4.2.1.3. The Responsive Publication
 - 4.2.1.4. Open House
- 4.2.2. Limited Power-Sharing
 - 4.2.2.1. Charettes
 - 4.2.2.2. Surveys
 - 4.2.2.3. Focus Groups

- 4.2.3. Stakeholder Power-Sharing
 - 4.2.3.1. The Planning Workshop
 - 4.2.3.2. Citizen Advisory Committee

4.2.1. Non-Participation

Non-participative methods are primarily used for informing stakeholders of decisions made, upcoming issues, or positions taken. Generally, information is conveyed to stakeholders to let them know something is happening, or has already occurred. The direction of information-sharing is one-way, and feedback from stakeholders is often not expected or desired. The examples included below are examples of activities employed by the FRC.

4.2.1.1. Mail-Outs

Mail-outs generally provide an opportunity for an agency or organization to inform stakeholders or clients about issues that they feel will affect them. Information is provided to stakeholders, but no response or discussion is expected;

4.2.1.2. Community Forums / Public Meetings

Community forums, or town meetings, are a public approach in terms of public consultation (Hagerdorn, et al., 1976). Forums are used more to build support than counter skepticism, and can be useful if a wide cross-section of the community is involved, if an experienced leader is available, and if the purpose of the meeting is made clear (McKillip, 1987). There are four ways to use a community meeting: 1) educate the public; 2) seek input from the public; 3) seek a reaction from the public, or 4) make decisions (Potapchuk, 1992). Community meetings are distinguished from public hearings in that two-way communication between citizens and staff, or between citizens, is present.

A critical element to an effective forum is adequate advertising of the session that raises awareness of the forum, and clearly indicates the purpose of the meeting. Public meetings and forums are scheduled usually by an organization or agency to present a particular project to the public. Public meetings are held at a specific time. Limited one-on-

one discussion occurs since public concerns are voiced by individuals in front of everyone attending the meeting. According to Connor (1988), the public meeting has become a venue for unconstructive community controversy, and therefore problematic.

4.2.1.3. The Responsive Publication

The primary means by which most public information and participation programs is gained is in print (Connor, 1988). As such, he proposes that publications such as newspapers or householder mail, or a detachable postcard, be used to gain information about people's beliefs and feelings.

4.2.1.4. Open House

Unlike the public meeting or community forum, an open house allows visitors to come and stay for as little time or as long a time as they like. Instead of lasting only a few hours, the open house lasts for several, allowing people with different schedules to attend. As public meetings became increasingly problematic, the Open House was developed as a more constructive vehicle by which a diversity of interested people could obtain information and register their views. The quality of the exchanges is usually much higher in an open house venue (Connor, 1988). Participants are able to pose second and third order questions and wrestle with alternative solutions. It is possible to solve problems, unlike what usually occurs in a public meeting.

4.2.2. Limited Power-Sharing

Power-sharing techniques discussed in this sub-section reflect a desire to involve stakeholders to a greater extent than those mentioned in the above sub-section. The techniques described in this subsection were used by the FRC and Greening the Forks. The degree of power-sharing for each of the techniques below varies according to stakeholder involvement in the development and implementation of the method.

4.2.2.1. Charettes

Charettes are used to bring a number of stakeholders together for an intense session, or sessions, to work through issues. They are often scheduled for a two to three day period, and require participation during the entire event. Most often they are used for issues that are best represented visually, i.e., site plans, building designs, etc. A significant commitment by the sponsor is required in terms of staff support and covering participants' expenses. It may be difficult to get key decision makers to attend because of the significant time commitment required (Potapchuk, 1992). Power is shared if the results of the charette are implemented. Greening the Forks used charettes to gather ideas from the public about what they thought should happen at The Forks.

4.2.2.2. Surveys

A wide range of information on varied topics can be gathered through questionnaires, telephone surveys and personal interviews. Often this information can be gathered relatively quickly and can be used to gauge public sentiment (Potapchuk, 1992). If included in the decision-making process, this method can lead to power-sharing, especially if implemented by an agency and its stakeholders. The purpose of the community survey is to provide a basis of research to direct planning to meet the needs of the community residents (Kelsey, 1986, p. 2). The survey can: provide direction that excludes personal opinions or special interest group biases; provide short-term and long-term planning directives; and be a resource for other community organizations. The community survey can be an effective tool for identifying the interests, desires, priorities and awareness factors of randomly selected citizens (Kelsey, 1986, p. 1).

4.2.2.3. Focus Groups

Traditionally used by market researchers, focus groups are an effective means to determine a target group's perspective on needs. Focus groups are similar to open-ended interviews, yet the grouping of participants allows for quicker data collection than

individual interviews (McKillip, 1987). In the focus group's purest form, conversation is recorded and the conversation is analyzed to assess how people frame issues, whether solutions emerge, and the strength of interest in the issues or any particular outcome (Potapchuk, 1992). Stakeholder power-sharing occurs if stakeholders are involved in the development and implementation of the focus group, as well as if the conclusions drawn from the session are implemented. The results of focus groups are qualitative in nature. The involvement of people in this process is much higher than that employed in surveys, and their involvement reflects an interest and a commitment to the task at hand. The FRC's Citizens' Advisory Group was often described as a focus group, as opposed to the "citizens' advisory committee" that is described below in sub-section 4.2.3.2..

4.2.3. Stakeholder Power-Sharing

Stakeholder power-sharing is analogous to the upper rungs of Arnstein's ladder: degrees of citizen power. The methods identified below denote avenues to meaningfully include participants in decision-making and planning processes. Similar to the previous sub-section, *Limited Power-Sharing*, these methods will vary in the degree of power-sharing according to stakeholder involvement in the development and implementation of the method.

4.2.3.1. The Planning Workshop

Organized groups in a community, which often play vital roles in determining how the community manages itself, can have an opportunity to obtain information and respond to it in a planning workshop (Connor, 1988). Ideally, a broad mix of leaders from organizations with a stake in the issue participate (Connor, 1988). The goal is to work toward solutions which are technically sound, economically attractive, generally understood and accepted by most of those affected by them, and are thus politically viable (Connor, 1988). Usually a one-day event, the planning workshop is sometimes two or

three days in length if the project is in the development process. The FRC held several workshops to which the leaders of several community organizations were invited.

4.2.3.2. Citizen Advisory Committee

The citizens advisory committee can serve many roles (Bonner, in Connor 1988):

- a barometer or pipeline;
- a sounding device for proposed actions before their adoption;
- a watchdog to keep the agency doing the best possible job (a conscience);
- a change agent asked to examine the role, procedures and programs of the agency and to recommend modifications to improve them;
- an independent study group to verify or check positions of the agency before or after they are generally stated;
- a policy recommending group; and
- the final decision-making body on specific issues.

The amount of decision-making power possessed by a citizen advisory committee varies. It can be used as a sounding device or as a decision-making body. The fact that the citizen advisory committee consists only of selected individuals in the community can be both negative and positive. Particularly if performing the latter roles referred to above, the citizens' advisory committee can have a significant impact on decision-making. The FRC's Citizens' Advisory Group was described by the 'Proponent' informants as fitting this description, with the exception of performing the role as a decision-making body. The 'Challenger' informants felt that the CAG's role was equivalent to that of a focus group, which is described above in sub-section 4.2.2.3..

This chapter has presented three theoretical 'ladders' of public participation which were an integral part of the analysis of data gathered for this study. Discussion of these models will also arise in Parts II and III, where the results of the study are presented and

discussed. A brief discussion on power imbalances in urban decision-making was also presented, to inform later discussion about power inequities between the Proponents and the Challengers. Several public participation methods or techniques have also been presented in the last section of this chapter. Divided into three categories that reflect varying degrees of power-sharing between decision-makers and stakeholders, this section described some examples of public participation techniques mentioned in this study. The following chapters in Part II more fully elaborate on the results of the study.

Part II:

The Reviews

CHAPTER FIVE

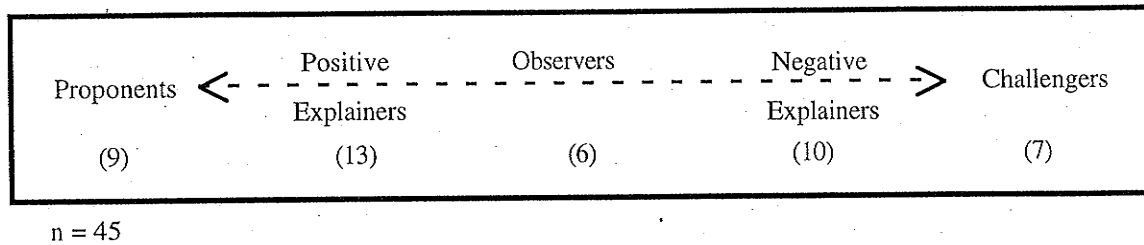
RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

Analysis of the data gathered for this study resulted in the identification of five cultural themes that describe the informants' perceptions as players in the development of The Forks. The five cultural themes exist on a continuum, and the two poles of this continuum, the Proponents and the Challengers, are elaborated upon in this study. The present chapter serves as a broad description of the research findings, before proceeding to the specific narratives of the Proponents and Challengers in Chapters Six and Seven respectively. This chapter first presents the broad findings of the research, and second, the two key cultural themes are described and compared, applying the theory presented in Chapter Four. Third, a dramaturgical metaphor is employed to explore the power-relationships between the five cultural themes that have been identified in this study.

5.1. Broad Findings

Analysis of the data gathered for this study revealed five cultural themes on a continuum. This continuum, first identified in Chapter Three, is reintroduced here in Figure 10 and includes the numbers of informants that were found in each category. A polarization of views regarding public participation in development of The Forks indicated the presence of two distinctly different perceptions: the Proponents and the Challengers. Of the forty-eight individuals interviewed for this study, forty-five were placed in the five cultural themes; three interview tape-recordings were lost or destroyed. The number of informants in each of the categories is as follows: nine Proponents, 13 Positive Explainers, 6 Observers, 10 Negative Explainers, and 7 Challengers.

Figure 10.--Distribution of Informants by Categories of Cultural Themes



Between the two extremes are the Observers, who quite neutrally described the events they witnessed or participated in. Some 'Observers' indicated that they were not very knowledgeable about the consultation activities of the FRC, and therefore not able to draw conclusions. Between the Observers and the Challengers are the Negative Explainers, who described the process fairly objectively, but with an emphasis on criticizing the process; they acknowledged the positive aspects of the FRC's activities. Between the Observers and the Proponents are the Positive Explainers. Similar to the Negative Explainer, this category of informant described the process fairly objectively, but with a tendency to praise the process; unlike the Proponent, the Positive Explainers found some fault in the FRC's consultation activities. The Explainers openly criticized Proponents and Challengers, but took a side without the enthusiasm seen from their 'polar' counterparts.

Among the comments that the informants made during the study, there were several elements that many of them agreed upon, despite their 'perspective'. In particular, the evolution of the Corporation's consultation activities was identified. As time passed, the following trends were noticed by many informants:

- there was increased education of the public by both the FRC and critics of The Forks;
- there was an increased awareness of the site;
- there was an increased sense of ownership of the site by citizens;
- there was a broader constituency concerned with and interested in the Forks; and

- there was an increased polarization of opinion regarding the use of the site.

Many of the informants also indicated that there has been a significant evolution of the Corporation's consultation activities. The methods for public participation used by the FRC have evolved to become more intense and elaborate; there have been more opportunities for the public to participate to a greater extent as time has passed. For example, Phase I Plan consultations included open houses, public presentations, submission of briefs and proposals to the Board of Directors by members of the public. The Phase II Plan consultations offered greater opportunities for public involvement: workshops, advisory committees, a Citizens Advisory Group, public meetings and presentations, and response cards. The list of public participation methodologies in Chapter Four, which illustrates the level of stakeholder power in decision-making for each of these methodologies, supports this conclusion that the FRC's consultation activities have evolved to be more inclusive. If the methods of seeking public input used by the FRC have increasingly sought more public input over the course of time, this may appear as a step up Arnstein's ladder. However, the reasons for participation, and the methods that coincide with that rationale, differed between the Proponents and the Challengers, indicating that the extent, or numbers of steps, up the ladder was problematic.

Informants universally agreed that the site has become one of great significance for Winnipeg and Manitoba; however, the opinions with respect to what is appropriate development for the future varied greatly. As development has progressed there has been an increase in the polarization of opinions about the FRC's activities. The problems associated with the development of The Forks that were identified in this study fall under the following four headings: (1) the public participation process; (2) the mandate of the FRC; (3) accountability of the Corporation to the public; and (4) specific issues that resulted in public debate. Each of these headings was characterized by a polarization of views that guided the surrounding debate about the involvement of the public in decisions determining the nature of development at The Forks, in addition to the attempts and

demands of some stakeholders to participate. A description of the Proponents and the Challengers is presented below.

5.2. The Proponents and the Challengers

The Proponent/Challenger dialectic that has emerged from this study is illustrated in Thornley's three perspectives (Figure 9). The Proponents' narrative exhibits the value of stability and the maintenance of consensus. Consistent with Perspective One, the Proponents often made comments about those who criticized the FRC's public consultation, and how that critical element is always present and has a function in maintaining stability. The Corporation's surveys constantly searched for consensus from the 'public at large', while the Challengers, acting in a manner consistent with Perspective Three, emphasized change and reflected dissent through their public criticism. The Challengers suggested participation methodologies that were framed within a sense of need for social change.

The Proponents of the level of public involvement incorporated into decision-making processes concerning The Forks focused on the necessity of doing things the way they did. They justified their actions constantly, volunteering very little to indicate that anything would have been done differently if given the opportunity. The Proponents' position is much like Thornley's conservative element in Perspective One, where the status quo is maintained according to a belief that human nature is such that people need to be protected and controlled through domination and hierarchy. The Challengers, however, reflect the other end of Thornley's continuum, the radical theory present in Perspective Three. The Challengers believe in unlimited human potential and reject the need for protection and control, and hierarchy and domination.

The ladders of participation presented in Chapter Four are very useful in describing the expectations the Proponents and the Challengers have of public participation. Connor's (1988) ladder best describes the Proponents' expectation that public participation should perform a controversy prevention role. Connor presents the first few rungs of Arnstein's

(1969) ladder, then offers higher rungs only if legally required. Participation that involves the public in decision-making by choice, as in the upper rungs of Arnstein's ladder, is demanded by the Challengers, but is not part of the Proponents' expectation, and understanding, of the role of public participation. Potapchuk's (1991) ladder also involves an increase in stakeholder involvement in the decision-making process. Similar to Arnstein's ladder, the Proponents' definition of participation is lower than that of the Challengers.

As indicated earlier, emphasis is placed in this study on the two extreme themes that emerged from the data as opposites: the Proponents and the Challengers. A description of these two primary themes is presented in Table 3. The headings of this description, in the right column, are a reflection of the focused observations (structural questions) mentioned in Chapter 3. A componential analysis of the two opposing themes led to the description of Proponents and Challengers that appears in Table 3 below.

Table 3.--Primary Cultural Themes

	<u>Proponents</u>	<u>Challengers</u>
Reasons for Citizen Participation:	• to avoid controversy, to get people on side, public relations • check to see what the public wants, to make sure the project is a success	• to allow people to make decisions on issues that affect them • it is public money and land, therefore the public should be making these decisions
Appropriate Kinds of Participation:	• open houses, public meetings, forums or presentations • low on Arnstein's and Potapchuk's ladder • minimal participation until legally required (Connor)	• community land trust, community-based decision-making bodies • high on Arnstein's and Potapchuk's ladders • participation should be automatic

Goals of Public Participation:

- to ensure that the public is on side (public relations)
- to give people a chance to make the decisions that will affect them

Attributes of the FRC's Consultation Activities:

- everything done was more than required
- great, fantastic
- a wonderful experience
- no real participation, rubber stamp, manipulated
- lack of public accountability
- self-sufficiency mandate flawed the consultation
- subordinate to developer agenda

Kinds of Players at The Forks:

- key players and decision-makers; most Proponents are powerholders.
- outsiders, not in positions of decision-making power or strong influence

The Proponents and Challengers have distinctly different perceptions concerning public participation. Table 3 indicates that there is significant difference between the Proponents and the Challengers in terms of their power to make or influence decisions. This power to make and influence decisions is addressed via a dramaturgical metaphor in the section below.

5.3. The Producers and the Extras

Forester (1989) instructs planners, in order to be effective practitioners, to acknowledge power structures. The series of decisions that resulted in The Forks and the FRC, and the individuals who made those decisions, is quite clear. Using the analogy of a movie production, it is possible to identify the kinds of roles played by the individuals involved. This section uses dramaturgical metaphors to discuss the power structures in relation to the development of The Forks.

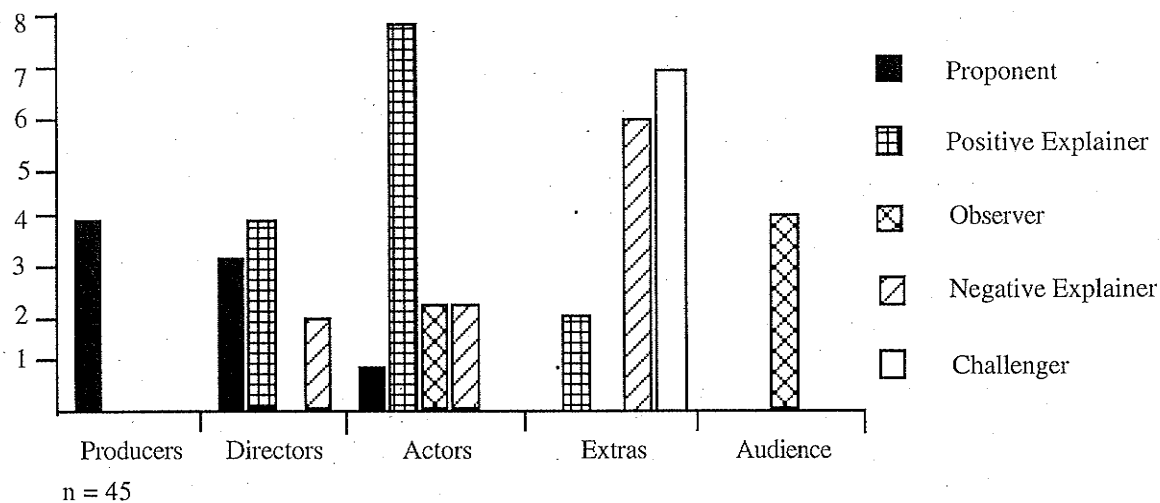
The production of The Forks required 'producers', who provide the money for the project and the guiding principles that must be followed. There are also 'directors', who ensure that the desires of the producers are accomplished, while adding their own vitality to

the project, and 'actors' are hired to accomplish the desires of the directors and the producers. In addition to these three elements, there are also extras, who are constantly hoping to be noticed, and must settle for an appearance that is determined by the producers and the directors. Lastly, there are the observers, or the audience, who are not part of the production at all, but consume the final product.

This analogy of movie production can be employed to analyze who makes decisions, who acts out those decisions, and who is trying to be noticed by the decision-makers and the audience. In the case of The Forks, the producers are the individuals who represent the three levels of government. For example, during the early stages of setting up the Forks Renewal Corporation, the Honorable Jake Epp, the Honorable Jerry Ducharme and His Worship Bill Norrie are the producers, while those who comprised the Ministers' Task Force would be considered the directors. After the establishment of the FRC, political leaders remain the producers, while members of the Board, and major consultants engaged by the FRC, are the directors. Actors include the various consultants employed by the FRC to develop the site, and employees of the three levels of government directly involved in some way with development of the site. Members of the citizens' advisory group are also actors, in that they appear to have had a significant impact on the decisions made by the directors and the overall quality of the production. The extras are those individuals who were trying to impress their values on the decision-makers from outside. With little power to get the attention of the producers, directors or the powerful 'lead' actors, they try to make the value of their views known. The dominant plot of the production is one of societal guidance, with the competing sub-plot favouring social transformation (Friedmann 1987).

The composition of each of these dramaturgical categories is distinct when compared to the Proponents, Challengers, Explainers and Observers. Figure 11 illustrates the composition of each of the dramatic metaphors.

Figure 11.--Composition of Dramaturgical Categories by Number of Informants



The producers are Proponents, and are therefore likely to maintain that development of The Forks has more than adequately involved the public in decisions about The Forks. The directors, for the most part, also tend to support the decisions made regarding the process of development of The Forks and the involvement of the public in making those decisions. Actors are less likely to praise the process of development of The Forks, and the degree to which the public is involved, although there is still a significant presence of Proponents and Positive Explainers making up this category. The "headline-grabbing" extras in the drama of The Forks' development are noticeably in opposition to the plots and goals of the Producers and the Directors; as Challengers and Negative Explainers for the most part, they strongly believe that they have been left out of the process, if not purposefully excluded by the Producers and Directors. Lastly, there is the audience, who are individuals who were not particularly or actively involved with the development of The Forks, yet use and visit the site, and often had some comments to make about the outcome of development, rather than the process of development.

Proponents of the process of development of The Forks are in positions of control over the development of the site. For example, most Proponents are producers, and it

should be noted that there are no producers that are not Proponents. Challengers consist exclusively of extras; the people trying the hardest to change the decision-making process respecting the development of The Forks all have no power to influence the decisions concerning the production of The Forks. A large number of Negative Explainers are also extras. They too, although they are not as adamant about changing the decision-making process that affects development of The Forks, are able only to influence the producers and directors.

The broad findings of the study have been identified in this chapter, including a description and comparison of the Proponents and the Challengers, the two primary cultural themes explored in this study. A dramaturgical metaphor has been used to introduce the different degrees of power possessed by the Proponents and the Challengers. This chapter has provided a context for the following two chapters, which present the distinct narratives of the Proponents and the Challengers. The following two chapters present a detailed exposition of the Proponents and Challengers prior to Part III, the concluding chapter of the study, which addresses the implications of this study for the planning profession.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PROPONENTS

The Forks Renewal Corporation, and the participation of stakeholders in the development of The Forks, are described in this chapter from the point of view of those who support and praise all efforts of the Corporation to include the public in their decision-making process. This chapter presents the narrative the Proponents of the participation process employed by the FRC. Their explanation and description of the process that eventually led to the creation of what is now a site of great significance for Winnipeggers is put forth here in their words. The Proponents⁸ of the Corporation's consultation activities include: Dave, a consultant employed by the Corporation; Pat, a Corporation official; Don, a provincial government official; Stan, a member of the Corporation's Board of Directors; and four politicians - Bob, Tracy, Mark and Cathy. In an attempt to maintain confidentiality, the names of informants have been changed. It should also be noted that comments from all the Proponents identified in this study are included here.

This chapter first explores the issues and controversies that emerged from analysis of the data gathered through the interviews and the news media. The Proponents' views on reasons for little participation in the early stages of the process, the structure of the FRC, the FRC's mandate and accountability to the public are presented. The second section of this chapter presents the Proponents' general remarks about public participation and consultation in a development project such as The Forks.

6.1. The FRC's Consultation Activities

The success of The Forks speaks well for the consultation activities of the Corporation according to the Proponents. The popularity of The Forks as a major

⁸ The names used here have been fictionalized in order to conceal the real identities of the informants.

attraction for Winnipeggers, Manitobans and tourists indicates that the Corporation has succeeded in its task to produce something that the public wants. Tracy, a politician in the Winnipeg area, for example, concludes that the Board has successfully picked ideas from the public: "you can see that by the way the public goes down there." This notion of success due to popularity is a primary factor used by the Proponents to measure success. Other measures of success are identified in the sections below dealing with the consultation activities of the Corporation.

6.1.1. Phase I Consultations - 1987

As indicated in the previous chapter, prior to the Phase I consultations in 1987, a task force was created in the spring of 1987 to explore development possibilities for the CN East Yards site, now known as The Forks. Dave, a consultant hired by the Corporation, described how the plans proposed by the Task Force were related to the initial consultation activities conducted by the Corporation. An excerpt from the interview is included below:

Beth: So you took the broad principles that were developed with the Task Force, and then there was some public consultation?

Dave: That's right.

Beth: OK, how does that work?

Dave: If you remember the first phase of consultations [was] . . . in 1987 when the corporation was set. They took the Task Force studies and said yeah, that's an interesting project, but we've got to consult, find out what people think. So what they did is they took the Task Force recommendations and conclusions, put it to the people, and they asked for submissions. And they had consultations, and briefs and the whole thing.

As a result of the Task Force, and a recommendation of the Task Force, a requirement of the Phase I Plan, according to the Unanimous Shareholders Agreement, was that the Corporation must consult the public regarding development of The Forks site. This is the first occasion when the public was involved.

This first phase of public consultation was difficult because the site was not very well known to the public. For this reason the amount of consultation that occurred for the

Phase I Plan was much less than for the Phase II consultations. Pat, an official with the FRC, states that:

There was, I think for the time, fairly extensive public consultation. There were hearings at that time, which is sort of the way things were done. The problem was quite frankly, that this land was completely unknown to the greater public. People now will say well there was no consultation. In fact, there was fairly involved consultation. I mean those that were involved in the consultation were very active in it, its just that the greater number of people didn't know enough about this site to either recognize there was a purpose to being active or to care. . . . [T]hey didn't know what was here, they didn't understand the scope of the site or the potential for the site. Nobody had seen it. . . . No one even had an undertaking of the amount of land that was here or what the potential for it would be.

Because of a lack of public awareness of the potential of the site, let alone its existence, the opportunities for public involvement were not taken advantage of by the public, despite the attempts made the Corporation to include the public. There was a distinct lack of constituency. As a result of this lack of constituency, a small number of people emerged as visionaries, according to Pat:

Certainly they advertised publicly, regarding these public hearings, certainly made printed information materials available, they did try genuinely hard to encourage people to participate, to let them know what this was all about. The three levels of government were involved so certainly politically it was well known . . . and had been talked about for some ten to fifteen years, sort of in a visionary way by . . . very high profile people and politicians.

Bob, a local politician, described the vision and the dealings required to get The Forks project off the ground:

It started in November of 84 [We] went to Ottawa. We made appointments with several people. We went to see Mazankowski. We explained to Mr. Mazankowski what a sweet dream it would be to remove the rails and dedicate the Forks property to the citizens of Winnipeg and the people of Manitoba. We knew that they had other plans, we knew that it would be a good idea to start on it Then a few months went by, we met with Mr. Epp being the senior minister for Manitoba. Not only was he enthusiastic, but he took it in hand and said lets get going on it One thing led to another and . . . we decided we were going to proceed with The Forks. There was public hearings, there was quite an outcry from people involved. The newspapers, of course, unfortunately were against it.

Aside from newspapers voicing their opposition to development at The Forks, the major challenge for Phase I development of The Forks was public discovery. As a result of the lack of general knowledge of the site, or lack of understanding of the potential of the site, it was necessary for a number of individuals to be the visionaries of the project, and be the

project's proponents. Tracy, a local politician, confirmed the importance of visionaries to get things started, especially for a project as large as The Forks, but indicated how vital it is to check with the public to ensure that your vision is on track:

You see in your mind the type of thing that could be done, but how do you get from that vision, the way it really is, that cluttered place, to making a vision a reality, a first, I really think you do have to check to find out if the people you do represent will opt into your vision. So public meetings at that stage are good things to have in terms of trying to blue-sky and brainstorm, but they have to have some kind of structure so that they are effective. You just can't walk in there and say 'what do you think we should do with this?' or 'do you think we should do anything?' You need to present the vision, say 'we see these two [rivers] meeting, we think this could be a wonderful area in the heart of the city that would be a place for people to come and wander, shop in little specialty stores, enjoy the water, bring in tourists, etc.' and then check in these broad consultations to see what people think. 'That's a great idea,' is the response they must get, or 'that's a ridiculous idea' is another response they might get, or something in-between - 'a good basis for an idea, but I think you should do this, this, and this with it.' Once you go through that stage, and you have the thing up and running, and now you have a known entity. . . the kind of input [you] get is . . . suggestions. . . Unsolicited suggestions. People will go down to the Forks and say, 'you know what we really need down here is _____'.

A key factor for increasing the participation of the public was an increased awareness of the site, which encouraged better communication between the Corporation and the public. Pat commented that:

Once people began to come here, and began to understand what some of the issues and potential issues were . . . , what some of the potential was for the development of the site, what it would mean to the city, what it would mean economically, all those kinds of things, then there was a real opportunity for communication with the public.

For the Corporation, it was impossible to discuss The Forks with the public until there was something physical on the site to be discussed. This is one of the reasons that there was more involvement of the public later, in the Phase II consultations. Dave also alludes to the evolutionary character of the Corporation's public consultation:

There was criticism in regards to that consultation process. People complained that they hadn't been given a fair opportunity to [be] consult[ed]. And there may be some basis for that criticism. . . . We were perhaps more naive at that time, more. . . . We were beginning. . . . How do you consult people in such a very complex issue?

When the issues are as complex as they are for development projects such as The Forks, it is difficult to communicate the nature of the issues involved and the relationships between

these issues. Complexity makes consultation complicated, and at times not practicable. This relates to Pat's comment that the abstract nature of the concepts presented to the public in the early planning stages, likely a reflection of the complexities that Dave referred to, also contributed to the low degree of participation on behalf of the public.

6.1.2. Phase II Consultations - 1992-1993

Proponents found that the experiences they gained in consulting the public for the Phase I Plan were extremely valuable when planning and conducting the Phase II Plan consultations. Dave made the following observations of the Corporation's consultation activities for the Phase II Plan:

So, this last year, when the five year plan [for Phase I had ended] . . . we had to go back to the public. It was part of the agreement that we would go back for consultation for the next five years. There are five year envelopes. So we are going back. This time around we are more knowledgeable, having had all this five years [of experience], having developed the site . . . People have discovered the site now. It is a completely different situation. Much more enlightened people, involved in what's happening and a lot of positive comments with some criticism.

Public awareness for the Phase II consultations was not a problem inhibiting constructive discussion about what to plan for The Forks. Pat also indicated that the Phase II consultations were much more significant because of an increased public awareness of the site:

The biggest consultation was this consultation leading up to Phase II. . . . And a much different scenario this time around because the public did know the site and was beginning to feel possessive of the site. The public had clearly taken ownership of The Forks. They feel its their place, it belongs to the people of Winnipeg and Manitoba and they are proud of it. And we needed to determine very clearly what people wanted here for the future. We had to test what was put out in the first plan and confirm whether or not that was still viable, and whether we had development proposals here that were suitable and according to the wishes of the public.

The key to the success of the Phase II consultation was that the public could comment on the development that had already taken place; the public was inherently more aware of the site and its potential once it was possible to visit and experience the site. This was vital to ensure that valuable discussion could occur about future development.

As a result of the public awareness problem being alleviated, the consultation activities for the Phase II Plan were much more open and offered more specific ways for the public to participate. Dave made the following comments:

We set up a consultation process that was much more sophisticated, much more - I shouldn't say more open but I think it appeared more open. I think the other [process] was open but this one was really very open. We opened this to the public, so we had public meetings Everybody is invited. Then from this we asked people to express their interest in participating in further dialogues and discussions. So from that we had developed a citizens' advisory committee. And this committee is the one that helped us finalize the second phase five year program.

Pat also described the numerous ways in which the public could be involved in the development of the Phase II Plan:

There are a variety of ways people could be involved. We had workshops, specifically inviting the special interest groups to attend and provide us, in two or three hour sessions, what their specific comments, about what their concerns were, where they thought it should go in the future. We had ten workshops. We invited by letter and follow-up phone calls [to] over four hundred organizations, and we had good participation at the workshops. I think everyone had an opportunity to come. There were opportunities for people to submit written briefs - 11 were received. They were all published as part of documentation, they were all put on display. The response cards - we sent out over 25 000 response cards and allowed the public to participate, and more would have been made available at any time. So that information was collected and then we did the two broad surveys as well. And of course those are always a good gauge We took great pains to ensure that those with special interests had an opportunity to speak and that others that had . . . vested interests would . . . have a part in the consultation as well, and that also the public was honestly canvassed about specific things.

The above comments indicate that there were abundant opportunities for anyone who was interested to participate in the activities offered by the Corporation. Another source of public involvement not mentioned by Pat was through the Board of Directors of the Corporation. Tracy indicated that the Board is itself a form of public participation since the Board consists of members of the public:

The Forks Board is the formal public participation, and it is a public participation process. People should recognize that it is. That board and other boards like it are set up by governments to ensure that the public is having input and ability to influence. . . . The Board itself is a form of public participation because those are members of the public, that the politicians have asked to be in constant watch over their project. . . . The three levels of government said, 'we have created this wonderful thing called The Forks. We love it, we think it's great. We are too busy with our daily tasks to look after it every day, so we will ask selected members of the public to look after it for us on a daily basis. We set up the board.' It is public

participation looking after our thing for us. They still have to account to us. We are still the authority.

The key to this form of public participation lies in accountability; at the end of the day, the ultimate authority is with the three levels of government, who have the authority to appoint and remove members of the Corporation's Board of Directors.

The difficulty of setting up the Board as a mechanism for participation is that it is not often perceived as a form of public input. Tracy identifies a misunderstanding that has occurred with respect to the public's perception of the Board as a form of authority, not public participation:

So often people don't see these boards as public participation. After a while the citizens at large, on certain boards, on high-profile boards, will ask the board for public participation, thinking that the board has itself somehow ceased to be a public participation event in and of itself. In one sense the board has become the authority. . . .

Because [the Board is] now an intermediary, so to speak, between us and the larger public, for the larger public, the Forks [Renewal Corporation] itself becomes an authority. So [people] come to the Forks board. . . thinking of it as the authority which may or may not welcome public participation, not recognizing that the board itself is public participation.

For Tracy, the Board is a form of participation because it is made up of citizens; those that see the Board as an authority have misinterpreted the role of the Board.

To ensure that the Board can represent the public at large, they must seek out a more objective opinion than that of just the Board members. The wider public is what can provide that objective opinion. Below is an excerpt of my conversation with Tracy:

Beth: It sounds like that kind of activity would be the use of focus groups and advisory groups that they used for their Phase II consultations.

Tracy: Yeah. That type of thing. So they go out, the Board itself, seeking input from that wider perspective, that they represent, to find out if they are on target, or to pick up new ideas and suggestions. They bring it back and they develop a plan, which they then bring to the three levels of government.

The most important thing about consultation is accepting that there will always be opposing viewpoints. Tracy offers the following advice:

Any kind of public participation you allow, you are going to have conflicting points of view. I think you have to go through the common things through all the things you hear. The decision-makers have to look for the common theme. Some of the

things may not be as opposed as people may think... . You look for the common thread.

To ensure that the public's wishes are being met, it is vital to seek out the common elements in the statements and comments being made by the public in order to reach a consensus. Searching for common threads can be done through the formal consultation activities mentioned previously, or informally. For example, when politicians receive unsolicited suggestions, they can begin to sense a pattern of suggestions. For Tracy, politicians must be receptive to these ideas,:

The politician can at that point, if he or she chooses, put that idea into the mix, run it through all the red tape and committees and the endless things government has to go through, to see if its viable and if it should be done. It may or may not end up with something done. . . . That's another way for the public to participate.

A receptive politician, according to Tracy, will fulfill the following conditions to constitute a successful positive means of informal public participation :

The politician has to (a) let the people know that he or she is willing to listen, if unsolicited ideas come forward, (b) that the idea won't be mocked, or made fun of, or the person be treated rudely, (c) if the idea does have any merit, that it be explored with the appropriate decision-makers. If the people have a feeling of confidence that those three things will happen, they will be more likely to offer unsolicited ideas and you will get more ideas, many of which will not be worthy of serious consideration, but some will. That's an informal process, but I think it's a very real one. I truly believe that a lot of decisions in government are made just that way, by politicians listening and responding to what the person on the street is saying.

A very real part of the consultation activities for The Forks and other public development projects, consists of this kind of informal participation.

6.2. General Remarks

Pat also acknowledges the presence of criticism and the need to make decisions that are best for the community at large:

You know what, with these things you're never ever going to please everybody... . but the idea is to do what's best for the community and pleases the most people and isn't going to create problems in the future, I mean that's important too.

Pat also highlights the nature of those that criticize, and the role the consultation process plays in balancing critics' opinions with what the greater public wants:

There are those that, I mean they make it their business to sort of be the conscious opposition for the public, and it doesn't matter if its The Forks, or something in the inner city or its somewhere else, they're probably always sitting in the front row. You see some of the same faces . . . and that's fine. Those people are the minority, I think its all very positive because it allows another view to be stated and it means you do your homework and you do this, you do this to find out what the greater public wants . . . I think we took the approach that yes, we're going to get that kind of feedback from individuals who are perhaps of a special interest area, who are . . . definitely a minority, do not speak for the greater public. What our challenge was, in this consultation process, was to ensure that that information was . . . honestly taken into account, but that it was balanced with what the wider public did think. Frequently what happens is these special interest groups, they pack the council chambers, put a lot of pressure on councillors, and it isn't necessarily what the public wants, but they make themselves heard. They get their names in the media, they get it in the paper, they get people talking about it; it isn't necessarily what the greater public wants, but that's sometimes what happens. We were challenged to ensure that that did not happen. So we tried to put together a consultation process that would allow for that kind of input and would allow also for ensuring that there was balance.

Allowing input of special interests is important to the process, but it must be balanced with what the general public wants.

Generally, the consultation process revealed that the public trusted the Corporation and their efforts in developing the site. Pat made the following comments about the success of the consultations:

So first of all, some level of trust had been developed. They feel that yes, we've done a good job, and they like what's here. Really what they were telling us is we want you to do more of the same, and just no ugly surprises. . . . The response to the future developments I would have to say is enormously positive. There's been very little negative feedback and concern. About some specific things, but you're always going to get that, but in general terms, the long range vision for the Forks, much less dense development than was originally proposed, far less aggressive in terms of development, far more green space, public amenity space, and all of that was absolutely a result of the consultation. Absolutely. I would have to say the consultation worked and worked well for us.

For Proponents, therefore, the listening phase had been very effective in determining what the larger public wanted at The Forks. This was valuable because it informed the planning phase of the Phase II Plan.

When asked what her reaction was to criticism of the Corporation and its organization on the basis that there was a lack of accountability to the public, Pat had the following response:

Many of those that were saying those kinds of things are the ones that are inclined to show up at city council and voice their opinion when things are being discussed. Well, you don't do that in a board room when you are making a construction deal. . . . I think part of the problem for especially those people, was that the Phase I Plan didn't specifically have [what was going to be done to each building] That was intentionally so. How could you, why would we do that . . . when we knew that the public had to come down here. We thought about that when the Phase I Plan was developed. Lets plan in the broad term for this kind of development, but lets do it in chunks so we can achieve some [goals] and make adjustments if we need to. So we are still committed to five year planning Every possible bricks and mortar [project] wasn't lined up, and that 's what some wanted, and you couldn't do that We're not even suggesting that you should absolutely do that now. Yeah, we've got a long range plan, but we're saying we should still work at it in chunks and keep checking back to see how development is going and what's happening . . . and go at a pace that the public can absorb and that we can continue to go back and check with them to see if we're still right.

The delicacy of deal-making can not be done publicly, and that is the basis for the Corporation being autonomous from government so it can behave like a private developer. Unlike a private developer, the Corporation is consulting with the public to see what the public wants for the site, hence the continuous "checking" with the public to see if they are on track.

Bob had the following remarks about opportunities for public input:

There [were] lots of hearings. They interviewed groups I forget how many there was. I'm talking about in the twenties and thirties. I'm talking about not of people but of groups. Every cross section of people you could ever want If anybody had an interest, they would talk to The Forks office. And the Forks would generally have a public meeting each year, explaining the process again. . . . And there was a process for public hearings for buildings. There has never been a building built there and added to the property. They have always built an old building up.

The accessibility of the FRC to the public is a key element in successful public consultations at The Forks. It is important as well to consider that there will always be someone who says that they are not being listened to. The Proponents contend that it is impossible to please everyone, yet someone must be the visionary and make the decisions to make great things like The Forks happen. Bob stated that the process was more than adequate to take these realities into consideration:

You do need the public process but there's always going to be someone there, even after the public process will say you're not hearing me. They're hearing you, but . . . you're not telling them what they want to hear. Understand what I'm saying? And unfortunately someone has to make a decision [You are] elected to make

decisions, bureaucrats are here to work, and if that's the case then you do what you want to a politician when you do not take his vision I think The Forks is the greatest thing that has happened to this city in a long time Sure there are things we might have done wrong . . . but we listened. The process was there There's always someone going to come to you with an idea. So you float the idea. Unfortunately its only an idea, but in everyone else's mind you're doing it. Understand what I'm saying?

Bob maintains his position that there was more than adequate opportunities for public input when he speaks of some critics:

I really think that the consultation process was as clear. I know one group said they didn't have a hearing. They either didn't approach the Forks or they didn't come to the public hearing process, because . . . there definitely was a public process.

So the criticism of Greening the Forks - don't get me wrong, you have to have those kind of people, to watch over people like ourselves in government, or people who are bureaucrats, to make sure that they aren't ruining the environment, and there are a couple of accidental things. There was the discovery of the Indian ruins, so we said let's incorporate that into The Forks itself. Lets have diggings every year. That was a fluke, and it worked out very very well.

Tracy states that there could always be a little more participation, but questions whether or not there should be:

There comes a point when you have to say this is the end of the formal consultation. You can always phone me, write me a letter and I'll always listen and I'll always read but this is the end of the formal consultation because now we have to take action. . . . You can listen to the point where you have people coming in to dot the Is and cross the Ts, very lengthy and time consuming process, and if you want to go that full route, why bother having politicians. You don't need them. I think there has been lots of consultations on the Forks. As far as the formal consultations is concerned, I think it has been just great, and I don't think they need a lot more formal consultation. They may want to have the occasional round table where they invite certain areas of expertise in to discuss a particular topic, but there was so many visions for The Forks already presented and there is so much material and so many ideas from which the board can choose that unless they've got other great plans I don't see a need for great consultations at this point.

6.2.1. Controversies

The most controversial issues in the news media regarding The Forks development appeared to be the German Cultural Centre proposal, hotel proposals and the boat basin.

Around these issues, and others, there were charges that the FRC was not being open with the public about its development dealings. Pat, an official with the FRC, had the following comments about such charges:

There was a time about four years ago when we were challenged by some special interest groups that we were not telling the public enough in advance about future developments. Quite honestly, I'm not so sure that that's the case Perhaps the public may have felt that way, or certain parts of the public may have felt that way, [but] I'm not so sure any of the information we could have shared with them would have enlightened them terribly or that it would have made any big difference No developer is going to divulge information before the deal is signed, I mean you just can't operate that way. You have to make your deal and then you announce it.

Several important issues are highlighted in the passage above. First, Pat indicates that the FRC was challenged by special interest groups, not the public at large. Second, she acknowledges that these 'interest groups' may have *felt* that the FRC was not public enough, but since the information she could have shared with them wouldn't have made a difference, how the 'interest group' felt doesn't matter. This situation indicates that the FRC is the information gate-keeper, which may in part be due to the last issue raised in this passage: that the FRC is required to act as a private developer in order to be effective and, as such, their dealings must remain private to a certain extent.

Controversy, for the Proponents, is a means by which the public may be educated.

For Pat, the boat basin controversy is an example of such an opportunity:

The controversy over the boat basin gave us an extraordinary educational opportunity in terms of sharing information with the public, and I think that's why you always have to look for those opportunities I'm not sure that that education could not have been achieved without costing the taxpayers . . . but that's the democratic process.

6.2.2. The FRC's Self-Sufficiency Mandate

The FRC's self-sufficiency mandate is a factor that weighed heavily on the decisions made by FRC officials. Discussion about residential development on the site reveals the impact of financial self-sufficiency. Stan, a member of the FRC's Board of Directors, thought the public consultation process was "great" since it allowed the public's opinion about what should happen on the site to emerge. For example, it revealed the public's opinion with respect to housing development on the site:

You'll find out that we were told in not uncertain terms that there [should be] no more housing [included in the Plan]. Drop the housing. . . . We've cut the housing way down because . . . the main thing was I think that it belongs to the

people and there should be no one group have any more control over the Forks. They think people living there might think they have The Forks should be accessible to everybody, the rich or the poor, and they get treated the same.

The public, according to Stan, has clearly indicated that housing is inappropriate for the site on the basis that it should be accessible to everybody, but he also states that there could still be housing on the site:

We still think there could be some. . . . Against the railway track we have to have a parkade, but there could be some commercial areas on top or some housing. . . . People don't think that it is part of the park anyway.

Maintaining a residential element to the plan, despite the public's opposition to housing on the site, is a dilemma that Pat mentioned as well.

Pat also acknowledged that the public did not want residential development on the site, and, much like Stan, Pat noticed that the reason was because the public felt that no one segment of the public should live there; it should be a place for everybody:

It [housing] was the greatest one [controversy]. It was the one where people definitely said, "no, we're not interested." There was some tolerance for the idea of seniors housing. A lot of people said, "well, yeah, if its seniors housing it might be OK." You know what it was though? . . . The reason was hands down, no one wanted to see any one segment of the population having special ownership of The Forks The bottom line was this place had to be for everybody. It had to be a special place, but available to all. Those were the words that came out of the consultation.

There is a significant conflict between opposition to residential development and the mandate for The Forks to be financially self-sufficient. Although Proponents acknowledge that housing is not a desirable kind of development for The Forks, they must consider the revenue-generating ability of residential development:

The public said they didn't want residential here, but we didn't take it out altogether because economically its foolish to do that. What we did say was that, lets look at it again in five years. We won't do anything for 5 years Lets not dismiss it altogether, lets maintain that component for future use, and as the site develops lets continue to check back and see if its still appropriate because the revenue base is important.

Residential development, even though the public is in opposition to this kind of development on the site, is considered by the FRC because of its need to generate revenue in order to accommodate their mandate for self-sufficiency.

For Don, a government official, there is a conflict between what the public wants and the need for The Forks to be self-sufficient:

The public doesn't want to put housing there 'cause it seems to be privileged access to a public good. And so they don't want to have that, although housing was an integral part of the concept plan because it was that component that was going to deliver some of the profits needed to sustain the other public interest amenities out there. So it is a complication that still hasn't completely resolved itself.

The need for revenue-generating development on the site, in this case housing, is not supported by the public and is in conflict with the mandate of the FRC.

Three politicians found the self-sufficiency mandate to be a very important issue for The Forks. Don, a provincial politician, expressed concern that The Forks is not yet self-sufficient, a factor that is essential to the success of the development:

The big problem we're facing now is that the cost of running it is significant. The expectation I think from the city's perspective. . . was that ultimately The Forks would be self-supporting, that they would get enough revenue from land leases and other types of activity to fund the kinds of things that they want to do there.

Bob, a provincial politician, also stated that the self-sufficiency mandate wasn't strong enough:

It's not self-sustaining I guess the message wasn't there enough that "hey, it has to be self sustaining or the whole thing can't work." Maybe there could have been a long range plan on taxes for instance.

Cathy, a local politician, suggests that future debate over The Forks will have to include resolution of what the public wants and what the public is prepared to pay: "the next part of the process will have to include two areas: development and affordability."

6.2.3. Structure

The primary benefit of the FRC as being arms-length from government was the authority and autonomy it provided the Corporation to ensure it was a successful developer, while remaining responsive and accountable to the public sector:

* The benefit is really that we have had the authority to do the job and we have had the autonomy to be able to do it. Frankly, there isn't a developer in the world that could afford to be enmeshed in the constant bureaucracy of any government, in that bureaucratic kind of environment, and hope to achieve that sort of bottom line. I mean that's why we have public and private sectors. The private sector operates differently Governments aren't developers in those terms. And we have

operated more as private sector, in those terms, while still responding to the public sector.

The FRC, as arms-length from three levels of government, reports to three levels of government. One disadvantage relates to how the different levels of government are organized. The structure of the City of Winnipeg was a source of some difficulty for the FRC:

One of the problems we have wrestled with is the perception that we are more a product of the City than any of the other governments, and that's locational more than anything. One of the things that has been a problem has been a couple of city councillors and their view of their involvement . . . but you're always going to have that kind of thing. Those are perceptual kinds of things. If its not in one area its going to show up in another It's as much a product of our organization as it is a product of the City's organization or the Province's organization We respond directly to the mayor, but the mayor can only do so much without approval of council, so its more a matter of their organization, and of course each of the three bodies is different . . .

The Mayor's need, from time to time, to have approval from council was made difficult on occasion because of councillors with different views.

6.2.4. Public Accountability

The primary way the public can question the activities of the FRC is at their public annual meetings. Pat commented that:

For the most part, the public has had an opportunity to question what's happened, over the years, at an annual public meeting. It's right in there in the Phase I Plan that the Corporation is committed to do that, [to] be very public about their activities.

In addition to the public annual meetings, the Corporation, according to Pat, must also be accountable to the three levels of government:

We have to separately answer to three levels of government , we go to City Council and various committees of council, we go to the legislative committees and cabinet presentations on our activities, so its all on public record And clearly, any time we have to do any work, we have to get permits and approvals just like anybody else. In fact we probably have to get more than most others because we are a body of three levels.

6.2.5. Measures of Success

Stan felt that there were very few mistakes made by the Corporation and its Board of Directors. His response, when asked if he would have done anything differently, was:

I don't think so. You're going to make mistakes anyway, but you are going to learn by making mistakes.

When asked about the mistakes that were made, he responded:

It is hard to say. There are always mistakes. You weigh them back and forth. Nothing very serious. To think what we wanted we got. It is a meeting place and everybody likes it. Nothing very serious that I would have changed I don't think. When you go down there and look around and you see the skyline of the city . . .

Criticism, for this Proponent, is par for the course. It is impossible to please everybody, so the real gauge for success lies in surveys to test the popularity of the site. The fact that seven million visits a year are made to the site was a common proof offered by Proponents that The Forks is a great success.

The Proponents are best represented in the continuum presented by Connor (1988), which is geared toward the prevention of controversy, and the resolution of controversy only if legally required. The upper levels of Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk's (1991) models are not part of the Proponents' expectations of public participation. The dramaturgical metaphors presented at the end of Chapter Five indicate that the Proponents have decision-making power, or influence on the decision-makers, concerning The Forks. The following chapter explores the Challengers' narrative, after which the concluding chapter will address how the power imbalances introduced in Chapter Five affected public participation at The Forks.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CHALLENGERS

This chapter presents the narrative of the Challengers, who reflect a view of social order that differs greatly from that of the Proponents. The Challengers would find themselves in the upper right hand corner of Thornley's typology; they are operating from a sense of need for a high degree of social change through a high degree of participation. Their narratives express an expectation for public participation methodologies that delegates decision-making power to citizens, a kind of participation that would be located high on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation.

Grant (1994) observes that most residents in our communities do not participate actively in planning matters. Her description of citizens who become activists is parallel to the origin of the Challengers in this study:

A small minority engages regularly in discussions of land-use issues. A larger minority emerges to play roles in significant local disputes. People who learn that their local government has decided to make some change in their community may adopt the role of 'citizen.' Citizens who decide to become 'activists' put their days as tennis nut or couch potatoes temporarily behind them as they devote their energies to some form of civic action. Citizen activists depart the anonymous comfort of 'the public' or the 'silent majority' for the stage of real politics. They put their ideas of local democracy to test (p. 6-7).

Grant's notion of citizen activist is what best characterizes the Challengers; they are citizens that have strong opinions about development on The Forks site, and about how the FRC arrives at its decisions. They are activists who have made their opinions publicly known. Kim, John, Anna, Sean and Terry are members of Greening the Forks, a group of citizens that proposed a quite different future for The Forks, that fit this 'activist' role. Kate, a local heritage activist, and Todd, a local politician, were also vocal and active Challengers. All Challengers that were identified in this study are included in this chapter. In addition, two Negative Explainer's comments are also included.

Jim, a member of the Citizens' Advisory Group (CAG), is a Negative Explainer whose remarks are included as part of the Challenger narrative because he describes the consultation activities of the FRC in much the same way as the Challengers, despite not being publicly vocal about his opinions. Jean, a local politician, also contributes to the narrative of the Challengers as a Negative Explainer. Her perceptions are not the same as the Challengers in terms of what should be accomplished with participation, but her critique of the FRC, and the processes by which it was created are worth mention as part of the Challengers⁹ narrative.

Three kinds of problems emerged from analysis of the interview data. They are: (1) the process of involving stakeholders and the public, (2) the mandate of the Forks Renewal Corporation, and (3) public accountability of the FRC. Each of these problem areas are intrinsically linked to each other, and the latter two define the public process that has evolved to date. Each of these problem areas are explored in the sections below. A final section presents the alternatives offered by the Challengers.

7.1. Involvement of Stakeholders

The participation process employed by the FRC is harshly criticized by the Challengers. They often describe it as a process of 'non-consultation' and 'non-involvement'. It is characterized by a one-way information route from the FRC to the public. For example, there were no expectations of feedback from those attending public meetings and open houses. Kim describes her experience at one of the first public presentations made by FRC officials for the Phase I Plan:

They had the panel in a row, or semi-circle in the centre of the stage. They had a table with a chair and a microphone and you went and sat there as though you were at a hearing at the Senate or something. It was an incredibly intimidating experience. I have a fair amount of experience in public speaking and I was totally intimidated They didn't ask any questions afterward [after citizens' comments]. They said "thank you very much, we'll go on to the next ." . . . We thought we would be able to comment on it . But we couldn't.

⁹ The names used here have been fictionalized in order to conceal the real identity of the informants.

Challengers continuously emphasize what they perceive as a lack of public process at the Forks. The agenda of the FRC, and those who created, supported, and benefitted from it (the powerholders) results in selective consultation according to Todd, a local politician. Even as an elected representative of the public, there was little opportunity for him to participate:

I have been a councillor in the area now for five years and the ward councillor for half of that time. I have had no input or involvement at all in the development of The Forks.

When they were looking at development models, they held those meetings. The only one I was aware of, apparently there were a number of them, was at Hotel Louis Riel I wasn't even invited to it. The people who were invited to it were very much of one point of view. It was a self-fulfilling prophecy. They picked who they wanted to talk to. They didn't announce the meeting publicly, they held it on private property without involving people.

I am so kept out of it its not funny because they know I don't agree with the fundamental directions they take You talk about the planning committee here they go off the deep end every time the Forks comes up They say they respect the planning authority of the City and the city's job in having . . . to protect the overall rights of citizens [and] the City has a right to be involved in determining the future of their downtown and the Forks. They don't.

Challengers contend that not inviting members of the public, or even representatives of the public that they expect will be in opposition, to these earlier meetings is a manifestation of the FRC and its creators' efforts to restrict the public's 'interference'. The implication of this is that the FRC, and its supporters, would be able to maintain control of the process in order to preserve their agenda of economic growth and commercial profit.

Criticisms of the participatory model at The Forks express the Challengers' conviction that the process was subordinate to the interests of economic growth and commercial profit. The quality of the FRC's consultation activities was characterized as selective; the Corporation choose who would participate, when, and to what extent, to suit their own purposes. It was not an open process on the basis that not just anyone could participate; the decisions about development at The Forks were made behind closed doors. Any mechanisms that were in place to provide opportunities for the public to participate were merely opportunities for the public to comment, not participate. As such, the

participatory model, such as it was, was created to enable the managers of it to maintain control. The creation of opportunities for public input was designed to achieve a rubber stamp for the initiatives proposed by the FRC, and to help them prove their legitimacy to their shareholders.

'Secret' was a description often made of the FRC and their development plans.

Anna describes her visits to the FRC to discuss her organization's plans :

And the other thing we found out right in the very beginning was that when we went to their offices, they say "oh we're available to you any time, you can come any time you want to discuss your ideas with us." But it was us going to them. It wasn't out in the public. It was private. They would meet privately with anyone who wanted to talk to them about their plans. It never went any further than their Board members, you talk to them privately and they say now that we've listened to you, we'll take your ideas into consideration and it was never out there in the public.

Not only did the Board's intentions seem hidden, Anna was concerned that since The Forks was a public project, that those interested in the site were required to go to FRC's office, which helped the FRC keep things secret. Another description of the FRC that relates to secrecy alludes to the Corporation's lack of openness and accessibility. Kate described her experience:

Well, my experience with the FRC was totally frustrating, and as a person who cares deeply about the City, I was upset on many issues. I felt almost beat, because you'd have to almost chain yourself to Nick Daikiw's¹⁰ leg to be heard. He'd have to drag you around with him. . . . That was the only way. Mr. Epp was never here, he was in Ottawa. How could you get a hold of him?

For Challengers, and many Negative Explainers, the inaccessibility of the FRC and the politicians representing the three government shareholders was unconscionable, and done on purpose to exclude those citizens with some criticisms.

The schedule and the nature of the annual public meetings held by the FRC often came under the Challengers' fire. Anna and John made the following comments about one of the FRC's annual public meetings:

¹⁰ Nick Daikiw was the Chairman of the Board and CEO of the Forks Renewal Corporation from November 1988 to 1994.

Anna: They were supposed to have an annual meeting, and that kept getting postponed and postponed.

John: We went to their first annual meeting and we asked those hard questions, and they had set up their public relations exercise.

Anna: It's supposed to be a forum for public participation, their annual meeting.

John: So we publicly participated in it. We handed out pamphlets with an opposing view . . . and we were giving them a hard time. Not that it changed anything. It drove them underground. It made them be careful and made them make a few concessions toward public consultation on some of these issues.

Anna and John indicate that the purpose of the annual public meeting, from the Corporation's view, is to provide an opportunity for public relations, not for real discussion about the issues relating the development at The Forks. Todd had the following comments about the Corporation's annual public meetings:

I've attended most of their annual general meetings, and they've never produced, until this past year, a financial statement that is less than two years old. . . . I went to their annual general meetings and it was a show and tell, not a consultation: "we've come up with these great plans! Don't you like them? Tell us how you feel." You know, the open house approach, which means basically you want somebody to rubber-stamp something you've done rather than go to the community.

The annual meetings, from Todd's point of view, are an opportunity for the FRC to inform the public on its activities. There is little opportunity for the public, or interested citizens, to contribute to the decisions made regarding The Forks since the consultation activities offered are analogous to Potapchuk's (1991) second level of decision-making (government consults with individuals and decides) or the third rung of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, informing, which emphasizes a one-way flow of information, from officials to citizens, with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation.

Jean, a local politician, criticized the FRC for their minimal efforts to publicize the annual meetings:

What happened is they advertised meetings. Well how many see those advertisements. I didn't even know where their last annual meeting was. You would think they would have a special invitation to [City] Council, to the MLAs and MPs in the area. We are the three levels that paid for it. There isn't [even] that kind of basic courtesy.

At the very least, according to the Challengers, the FRC should have specifically invited the public's representatives to their public meetings.

Several Proponents commented that the FRC's annual meetings were not held on an annual basis. From the news media coverage of activities at The Forks, it was possible to determine that annual meetings of the FRC were held on the following dates:

- January 17, 1989
- April 17, 1990
- June 10, 1991
- 1992 - not held
- September 20, 1993
- 1994 - not held

In 1990, the City of Winnipeg's Committee on Planning and Community Services conducted a series of hearings concerning The Forks. These hearings were considered very effective by Challengers for the effort made to hear the public's concerns. John had the following comments to make about New Directions for the Forks (City of Winnipeg, 1990), the report and recommendations produced by the Committee:

[The city had public hearings] and that was a very good process. It came out with a very good report which got watered down in the EPC That whole process was very useful in raising consciousness, but it didn't in fact have an impact. There were only cosmetic changes made.

* Reese, Murray, McKee - they did that they could. Even if they had all of city council on side, they would not have been able to make changes because the feds and Province had to be involved. And of course that is why its set up that way. What you have actually is a corporation who's function is to co-opt public land and public money, in the service of private developers.

The last three lines of the above comments are indicative of the Challengers' perception of why the FRC is set up arms-length from three levels of government; this structure inhibits the ability of one level of government to change the direction of the FRC, thereby strengthening the power of private developers.

Terry also spoke of the Planning Committee's report. Referring to the second iteration of it, Future of the Forks (City of Winnipeg, 1992), after it passed through Executive Policy Committee, Terry comments that:

It stated all kinds of principles that should guide the development of the Forks, including that there should be green space, and park space; the idea of looking to having it as a heritage land trust even came out in there; to review the whole structure of the corporation; and the self-sufficiency mandate.

Even in its 'watered-down' state, the Planning Committee's recommendations were not presented to the CAG.

Todd also spoke of the Planning Committee's hearings held to gather information about the public's feelings about The Forks:

The city had public hearings in 1990-91 with over 45 different delegations to look at the future of The Forks and what direction we wanted to go in. Lots of representation from developers, community groups, activist groups. The City passed a 15 point plan that was supposed to govern, from the city's perspective, future development at the Forks. I thought it was completely ignored by the FRC. As a matter of fact, the document, in the last three years, has never even been responded to.

The fact that the document has gone unresponded to by the FRC reflects the FRC's orientation toward the municipal government: it is only one of three levels of government to which it is responsible, therefore there is no need to respond to the document or explain its actions.

Todd offers another explanation of why Future of The Forks has gone unanswered:

It was passed by council unanimously and was ignored, never even responded to, never built in to the plans The two senior ministers and the mayor always get what they want. Nick Daikiw isn't stupid, he's probably one of the slickest, he's got more moves than anyone else I know politically, I mean he's probably the best politician in town, and he always gets what he wants. He knows how to give the key and principal politicians the key piece they need so he can run the show the way he wants.

The individuals with power at the FRC are able to please other individuals with power.

Others with little power have few options to bargain for what they want in this game. If the outsiders have nothing to offer to make a deal, they have no power to affect decisions.

Kate highlighted the effectiveness of City Hall's consultation activities, but alluded to their inability to act on what they found because of the structural organization of the FRC and how it reports to three levels of government:

It was good to do business with city hall. They had very broad representations, but they didn't seem to have any authority because it was a tripartite monster, you see? The city seemed to be the least able to do something about it. It was a tripartite monster with Ernst, Epp¹¹ and Nick Daikiw. . . .

In essence, with the FRC set up as it was, arms-length from three levels of government, it was virtually impossible for anyone to "tame the beast that had been created by three powerful individuals who would somehow benefit from its existence."

A local politician other than Todd also had some concerns about the City's role as one of the three shareholders. Jean, a Negative Explainer, felt that the Planning Committee of City Council was excluded from development decisions for the site:

Not one presentation to the Planning Committee. Not one. And we have to force them. They never consult. They never discuss our input. Now to me, that's participation Is that participation? What's participation in there? We were one level of government that needs to approve, and we're never consulted. Never mind that they are supposed to be accountable to the planning committee. Never once do they come freely to consult and inform us. We have to beg. Now, now.

Jean's comments alluded to the powerlessness of city councillors in decisions affecting The Forks. With the Mayor as the representative of the City's 'share' in The Forks development, the councillors' role was diminished since Mayor Bill Norrie did not have to have the support of Council in his actions.

7.1.1. Exclusive Nature of the Process

That the process was manipulated is a widespread sentiment among the Challengers. Terry, for example, feels that the consultation process was manipulated, particularly through the Corporation's use of focus groups:

[Focus groups] was their public process They were trying to appease the public, they were saying that they had a public consultation process.

¹¹ Kate was referring to the Hon. Jim Ernst, the Minister of Urban Affairs for the Province of Manitoba at the time, and the Hon. Jake Epp, a senior federal cabinet minister from Manitoba representing the Government of Canada.

You have to take a look at what their public consultation process consisted of. It had these different groups that didn't meet with each other but then at the end was some kind of final meeting and they all got together. One of the members of the heritage committee had agreed to take me as a guest. They had a big model and I wanted to see the model because 'Tom' had kept telling me about this model. You have to see this very heavy duty development, the kinds of stuff they want to put on there. All kinds of buildings and roads and everything. And so I went down to the meeting and I was there for about ten seconds and I was kicked out. The doors were locked behind me and I was told I was not allowed in there and not to see it. As a member of the public I was not allowed even to sit in and witness this process. So I think the process was a complete sham. There was no public input really. They picked people for their focus groups.

Since participation via focus groups was extremely select, the Challengers felt that this was an inappropriate means of involving the public. Such a technique also limits participation of the public to soft comments, and excludes members of the public from decision-making.

Jim, a member of the Citizens' Advisory Committee, described his experience as one where he was expected to endorse the agenda of those that brought the group together. He offers the following comments:

I was contacted apparently at random of some kind. I think I might have filled out a questionnaire or done something and wrote them or something. I don't know how random it was. I'm not sure what was the selection process was but none the less a group was called together and it was kind of shrouded by a sense of mystique and importance, you know. It was coordinated by a couple of very likable people All very noteworthy and likable people. I don't think the process ended up as expected somehow. My guess was this was a committee which would be used to endorse the plan of development for the next five years. I'm not sure it was external. I'm sure there were external factors around - what the opportunities were to be or not to be It was almost like there was an agenda already. What you were provided with were different themes or options according to - almost sort of moved into a position. A few people reacted as it being hardly a public consultation as much as sort of a kind of a rubber stamp of certain basic elements of the plan which had pretty much consensual approval of the group It seemed to me to feel very developer driven.

John describes the use of focus groups and advisory groups by the FRC:

What the Corporation does is float ideas and present them to their focus groups . . . even the advisory groups are treated this way, where the ideas are presented to them, and their advice is sought, but these groups themselves do not generate ideas. They are used as sounding boards for pre-existing ideas.

Todd supports the above comments when he describes the decision-makers: "It is a very elitist group that have their plan that they decided on a long time ago." The presence of the

plan suggests that the advisory committees are expected to support this plan. Todd made the following comments about advisory groups:

They have consultation committees on heritage, aboriginal issues etc., . . . that they were forced into by the city. (The big stink made by [the Planning Committee]. . . . That was a few years ago.) Then they developed these advisory committees which they've ignored. There is no criteria for heritage, for architectural heritage development at The Forks Even Nick Daikiw, who's a former city commissioner, wasn't aware of the City's historic by-laws and the intent of them.

According to the Challengers, what appears to be attempts to involve the public are in fact less than they appear and are not treated very seriously.

The Challengers contend that the reason why the participation processes selected by the FRC are so limited is a result of the Corporation's, and other's economic, profit-oriented interests, and desire to manipulate the process. John believes that the reason for the kinds of mechanisms that have been selected to consult the public is to "maintain control of the entire process." Jim made the following comment in support of John's:

Staff [and the interested parties on contract] have a certain interest, developer-driven, and were hoping this committee would get behind them and . . . be the lever for the Corporation, which were government representatives, to make a commitment to things they wanted to see happen.

Jim indicates that there are people who benefit from the control that John refers to: staff of the FRC, interested parties on contract with the FRC, and government representatives. He is claiming that the powerholders in this situation are also the ones who will benefit from controlling the process. This notion is supported in a Winnipeg Free Press editorial which states that "The Forks corporation has decided to include housing . . . because developers want to build some. That is not an adequate reason (A menu for the East Yards, 1987)."

Challengers believe that participation of the public was subordinate to an economic agenda of powerholders that extends beyond the Board members and employees of the FRC. John strongly believes that:

The most important aspect of the Forks Renewal [Corporation] were established long before any public consultation - that it would be a renewal corporation, that it would be biased toward commercial development, and in fact biased toward the plan that the developers had drawn, then the public consultation was tacked on afterwards.

The decisions about the structure, nature and role of the Corporation were made prior to any public consultation. For the Challengers, the forces that shaped the FRC were development-oriented; the development of The Forks is developer-driven. Proof of this agenda is evident in the financial self-sufficiency mandate of the FRC, which requires the Corporation to encourage commercial development, and the difficulties with its accountability to the public.

7.2. The FRC's Mandate

The mandate of self-sufficiency is deemed pivotal to the success of The Forks in the estimation of the Proponents of the consultation process. They feel that it is unquestionable that the FRC be structured in such a manner that there be at the very least a marginal profit, the consequence of which is the need for commercial development on the site. The Challengers, on the other hand, contend that the self-sufficiency mandate of The Forks is unacceptable since the public is opposed to commercial development on the site, largely because of the historical and social significance of the site to Winnipeggers and Canadians. One informant, an Observer, identified a clear polarization regarding the mandate, as commercial versus public amenity, with the Challengers supporting the latter over the former.

Challengers focused on the negative aspects of the mandate of the FRC, and its mandated necessity to be profit-oriented. Jim, who was a member of the Citizens' Advisory Group made the following comments about three proposed projects:

At one point the idea of . . . a residential area at the Forks was brought up, because of its capacity, I guess, to generate revenue. But the group [CAG] for the most part had a lot of . . . concerns for a number of different reasons: [it would be] elitist or it would take away from the historical significance to slap a bunch of houses on the key locations there and charge big bucks. However, I mean, it was almost a surprise that that wasn't supported. I guess to those that proposed to build those lavish condominiums, or whatever it would be. The other one was the support of commercial building of 300 000 square feet which included some underground parking. That wasn't judged as being a big deal priority by the groups for the most part either. Partly because I think there are offices in Winnipeg across the street that are vacant. The Manitoba Sports Federation building . . . That was not greeted with a lot of enthusiasm. The other was a large leisure centre which seemed to be

pushed upon the group a little bit. Another of those developer-driven, high capital . . . projects [is what] some of the group felt.

Jim highlights the significance of the mandate in terms of its impact on the nature of uses for the site, with respect to maintaining the site as a place for gathering, and maintaining the historical significance of the site:

Some of the staff of the Corporation were kind of resentful about the fact that there were too many sort of gatherings there, you know festivals and stuff. Festivals don't generate a lot of revenue for the most part Some of us felt that the historical significance of the Forks was being kind of diminished by some of those plans. You wouldn't put up a leisure centre on the Plains of Abraham. Why would you think of putting it at the Forks, a gathering and meeting place for centuries, much longer.

The Challengers often referred to the history of the site, and its significance to both Winnipeggers and to the Aboriginal population. The heritage potential for the site was felt to have been ignored. Kate made the following comments:

In my view, if you've got a site that has tremendous historical value, and it has a history which is unique to that site, you can't replicate that resource anywhere else in the world, . . . you have the potential to recreate and commemorate history on that site. Such as been done on the Plains of Abraham. But you must not have the mandate to be self-sufficient. . . because it going to take a totally different direction if you do.

Maintaining a mandate for self-sufficiency was seen as undermining the historical aspects of the site.

Terry succinctly describes the impact of the self-sufficiency mandate on the nature of development at The Forks:

That is sort of the engine behind development, and if they didn't have to be self-sufficient, if they were just a park, a city park, it would be a different kind of development.

The mandate appears to be in opposition to what some members of the public want.

Challengers, who are demanding that the site be developed to a minimal degree and that it be more like a park, or public amenity, are proposing scenarios that are not self-sufficient.

This indicates that they are in opposition to the mandate for self-sufficiency, which then begs the following question: Is the FRC accountable to the public if it strives for self-

sufficiency, which demands development, and if members of the public believe that the site should be an amenity, which negates the self-sufficiency mandate?

7.3. The FRC's Accountability to the Public

Accountability was an issue for the individuals interviewed since it has a direct bearing on the degree and kind of effect stakeholders can have and expect regarding decisions about The Forks. Terry began our conversation with the following comment:

Public participation is virtually locked out of the process because of the structure of the organization. It is set up as an arms-length development corporation that is not accountable. Not politically accountable to anybody. It was set up that way so it could make decisions on its own, and it has been making 'behind-closed-doors' kinds of deals.

Jean also indicates a lack of accountability due to the structure of the FRC vis a vis its shareholders, the governments of Canada, Manitoba and Winnipeg:

See the make-up right now for that corporation, which [has responsibility for] the heritage of Winnipeg. . . , and they've put it into a corporation at arms length so that no level of elected representatives can be held responsible.

Difficulties in accessing information about The Forks indicates, for Challengers, a lack of public accountability. Lack of public accountability also occurs when the FRC is set up in such a manner that it is not accountable to its shareholders, who are representatives of the public.

Terry highlights the FRC's private nature as part of the problem:

Even the city councillors have been unable to get information. There is no public accountability because it is set up as a private development corporation, that is autonomous to make its own decisions. Public access to information is very difficult. They do not have to go to city council to make their decisions or anything. It is hard to get into that political process.

Part of this difficulty in accessing information has to do with the structure of the organization and expectations for the Corporation to be self-sufficient. Media coverage in newspapers often documented the troubles of information-flow between several players.

One of the problems of the lack of accountability for John was that financial statements are kept from the public:

They never gave their financial statements to the public. They say they don't have to because they give the financial statement to their shareholders, which is the three governments, and the governments can make it public if they want, but no government can make it public without the agreement of the other two. And that's why I was saying its arms-length but beyond public control because it's almost impossible to get all three governments to agree.

"Public" for the challengers means that any information should be readily accessible for members of the public to inquire about. The financial statements are kept away from the public at large, but are accessible to some of the public's representatives. The Challengers are indicating that accountability needs to go beyond political representatives to the citizens themselves. At the very least, citizens ought to be able to access such information.

Kate, and other Challengers, feel that the lack of accountability of the FRC was an intentional act to keep the public out of the decision-making process:

Kate: This independent, non-accountable, arms-length corporate pie made it almost impossible for the public to do anything. And I think it was intentional.

Beth: Intentional on who's behalf?

Kate: Whoever set it up, and that was government.

Accountability, the mandate, and the public participation methods selected by the Corporation all point, for the Challengers, to a larger agenda that controls development at The Forks: economic benefit for a small number of people.

7.4. Success in Opposition

Greening the Forks was a group of citizens that formed in the Spring of 1989 to oppose the FRC and the decisions that were being made with respect to the development of The Forks. John, a member of Greening the Forks, feels that they played a significant role in counteracting the 'boosterism' put out in the press by the FRC. By asking some very hard questions, Greening the Forks was able to get the media to reflect some criticism about The Forks:

In the beginning all the newspaper stories were flack . . . , which is public relations stuff put out by the FRC. A sort of boosterism. "Gosh this is wonderful". That's all the newspapers said None of them were asking any of the serious questions. So we started by handing out pamphlets which did ask those questions - questions of ownership and control and who's in charge of design So that's

where we concentrated our efforts - in trying to get people, particularly the press, to realize what the questions were that have to be asked, and we were very successful at doing that, because they began to ask these hard questions . . .

In particular, Greening the Forks contends that their efforts changed the nature of the consultation activities undertaken by the FRC:

Those people would not have those forums and discussions if we had not made a contribution, it would have simply been a series of public relations announcements from the FRC about all the wonders. So we did our job, and when we started to see letters to the editor from other people, saying things that we have been saying, we realized what we had done.

The FRC's consultation activities shifted from public relations announcements to other methods which allowed discussion, as a result of Greening the Forks pressure.

Kate, another member of the group, indicated that the value of their insistence is in how the development has taken shape to date:

I am of the opinion that we would have seen massive, huge, concrete development at The Forks had there not been a lot of caffuffle. So I think its done something.

Kim indicated that the credibility of Greening the Forks increased once it was evident that the breadth of activities the group used to involve the public was so expansive¹²:

At one point we went to Executive Policy Committee and said we don't think that the people you have on the board are doing their job because this is what we're hearing. We are hearing something totally different. They said 'ya ya how many people have you talked to?' Just before I went up an spoke I had talked to Sam and I said 'how many people do you think we actually talked to?', with the story boards etc. He said probably over 10 000 people. I was really glad to have that number. I said, not including students at the University and the newspaper and that sort of thing, probably over 10 000 people. All of a sudden their attitude changed because they thought we were this counter-culture. Hippies The image changed and Greening the Forks became legitimate and the media became interested in what we were doing and that kind of thing.

One of the members of Greening the Forks indicated that there was a limit to their success: "We've been very very effective at raising public consciousness about the issues that we saw at the Forks, but we haven't been successful at all in making any fundamental change." Primarily this is because Greening the Forks perceived a different reality than the

¹² Greening the Forks' consultation activities are elaborated in the following section, *An Alternative Public Participation Strategy*.

public about the intentions of the FRC. John highlights the different perceptions that Greening the Forks has about the FRC's intentions, and those held by the public:

When we went down to The Forks and talked to people on the site, saying things like "don't you realize this park is all there is?" these people would say, "well I thought the whole thing was going to be park?" Gradually we were able to get across to the public what the reality was, that there was not going to be a park at The Forks.

Educating the public about the FRC's 'real intentions' was a significant goal of Greening the Forks:

Largely because of our efforts, the press was becoming more critical, understanding the issues, and people were expressing their view that The Forks should be more like a park. The FRC sought public relations help from a Toronto firm and were told "stop talking, go underground, you can't win this debate."

In addition to the pressure applied on the FRC, Greening the Forks also offered alternative structures and opportunities for participation. These are explored in the section below.

7.5. An Alternative Public Participation Strategy

An alternative development strategy for the Forks was put forth by Greening the Forks, a group of concerned citizens. Marcia Nozick, a member of the group, states that "we got together because of a belief that, if there is development, it should be community based. . . . We object to plans for the Forks which necessitate that revenue be taken from the land (Forks under scrutiny)." Stemming from a concern that the people sitting on advisory groups were the same people getting contracts from the Forks Renewal Corporation, Terry, a member of Greening the Forks, proposed the following scenario:

What Greening the Forks proposed was that there be a whole restructuring of the Forks Renewal Corporation. Really dissolving it as a corporation. Taking the land and putting it into a trust, like the Islands Trust, exactly like that, as a public land trust. In this way it would do two things. It could help to raise money through donations. Revenues through donations. People can do charitable donations, which you can't really do under the present structure. The other really good thing was that a public land trust would be structured in such a way that you'd have shares, or something, like a membership fee. It is open to the public and anybody can be a part of this land trust. The board, the executive or whatever it is, is elected from its membership. It is publicly accountable and controlled by its members, which are the citizens of Winnipeg. We thought that would be a much better kind of structure.

The kinds of participation mechanisms suggested by Challengers are located in the upper rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder; for Greening the Forks, it was vital that the members of the Board of Directors of the FRC be elected, and therefore clearly accountable to the public.

When speaking of the several advisory groups established by the FRC, the Challengers referred primarily to the Citizens' Advisory Group as a means for the Corporation to manipulate the process. Below is an excerpt of a discussion with John and Anna about the use of advisory groups by the FRC as a means to include the public. The discussion reveals an alternative method of including the public in the design of a project like The Forks:

Beth: You mentioned earlier that the advisory groups were manipulated. On what basis do you say that?

John: They were given information which was incomplete and biased They never talked to other people, they never talked to the public, except maybe privately. They didn't hold public hearings, they didn't have public meetings. They had meetings of the advisory group.

Beth: So you're thinking it would have been more effective to have a town hall meeting or,

John: Yeah, and you draw your plan from that, which is the process that works. It's difficult and troublesome, but it works.

Beth: Yeah, how do you do that? Like that thing at the Gas Station theatre, if you have 100 different ideas . . .

John: I haven't seen that process work. Sam did see that process work in Vancouver.

Beth: In the actual designing of it?

John: Yeah , in actual final decision making power stuff, yes.

Anna: I mean certain things emerge. From what people were saying or drawing, you can see certain things emerging, such as the fact that they wanted a lot of open space. It became obvious. Nobody was filling the place with attractions . . .

Beth: So do you find something like that out, and then hire, if you were a land trust thing, would you hire a landscape architect, or a team of architects, landscape architects, planners to design something, or would you do it yourselves?

John: No, no. That is the usual way of doing it. I find that I would want to tend to do it that way. What Sam insisted was that you didn't need that. You honestly

let the public do the design. Educate the public on the terms of design if you want, the physical criteria, possibilities but you actually refrain from taking their ideas and then working them into the design, because that is what the corporation does, in a much a more tightly controlled manner, but still basically that's the same thing. And he believed this would work, and he believed it had worked in Vancouver.

The emphasis of an alternate strategy for developing The Forks would involve the public to a much greater degree. The public, or members of the public that are specifically interested, would be able to design the project themselves, rather than relying on the professional expertise of a designer.

Todd offered the following ideas for structural change that incorporate a more open process that accepts diverging views:

I really believe that it should be privatized. It's a glorified land management company Let it be run by professionals and turn [it] over to the community the planning process for the development of the site, and let everybody in, [let] people with divergent views in.

Todd felt strongly that if the FRC had no ties with government, i.e. was privatized, then the development process would be necessarily more public since it would have to flow through normal planning processes.

The aim of Greening the Forks appears to be a renewed process that responds better to what the public was saying. They did not put forth a physical plan and this was a source of confusion for the public about their goals:

It was difficult for us to avoid talking about that because people would ask us, even people in the public: well what is it you want to see there? We'd have to say a different system for handling and managing and planning.

Greening the Forks attempted to involve the public in determining what The Forks should be, i.e. what should be on the site, what the nature of the site would be, where things would be located on the site. One of their activities was a design charette at the Gas Station Theatre in Osborne Village in July, 1989. Anna describes what the charette involved:

we were trying an alternate process. There was a play at the Gas Station theatre with an urban theme. Some members of Greening the Forks stood outside at the end of it. They had boards and things and asked people to draw what they'd like to see at the Forks.

From this process, it was possible to detect patterns and trends in the visions that the public had about The Forks.

The Challengers offered the Heritage Land Trust Model as an alternative structure to the FRC. John, a supporter of Greening the Forks, described its desire for a renewed process:

What we wanted was a land trust, for it to be developed along certain principles in accordance with that. It wasn't things specifically, . . . it was the process . . . It should be a land trust, and history should be respected, . . . and we wanted green space. Other than that it was pretty general.

Well we never had ideas. Our idea was that this process was wrong and that if you wanted an honest public process you should start with the public. They would ask us well what do you want to see at the Forks? All we could say was "the last of you." We want to dissolve the FRC and have this publicly owned and programmed and designed by a real public process. Everyone was always after us, this was in the public conscience - what do you want to see at the Forks? Well, we did not have any particular view, or we tried not to put forward any view of what we wanted to see at the Forks, because what we wanted for The Forks was an honest public process. Holding that land in trust by the public, not by a group which was a creature of developers.

Greening the Forks felt that the vision for The Forks could come from below, rather than from above. Instead of the vision extending down from the political visionaries, they believed that the public could be involved in, and responsible for, creating 'The Forks' at the location of the CN East Yards.

7.5.1. Criticism as a Constructive Contribution to Planning

A critical element of the Challengers' position is that criticism should be an accepted part of the planning process for projects like The Forks. Todd was frustrated that there is a lack of a forum to debate The Forks. Criticism is avoided to such an extreme that anyone who criticizes is ostracized. A constructive forum for debate that accepts conflict and conflicting points of view is critical for successful planning. Stakeholders and their criticism must be acknowledged and accepted. Below is a passage from the discussion with Todd that imparts his frustration:

I think the Forks is fabulous, I go there every week, and I really resent the attitude that's popular in the media, in the editorial pages of the Free Press as well as the FRC, that if you don't agree with them somehow, and if you dissent on a

fundamental direction that somehow you're a heretic It's really incredible, because it's such a successful project, and it is. But they didn't do it I'll give them credit for some pretty positive development there. I made my criticism pretty clear. I think those criticisms are very valid. I'm quite prepared to be challenged on them, and quite prepared to have them part of a larger mix of discussion, but it shouldn't be Nick Daikiw and Company's "my way or the highway," and that somehow if you're critical of it you don't appreciate what's done. Well not only do I appreciate what's done, I've been part of it for five years on council. I fought some pretty big battles . . .

I really resent not being treated like a stakeholder Let's have that discussion. They are loathed to have it, and if you say that you don't agree with those concepts . . . and we should look at something else, you're immediately slammed by them. It's really terrible. I think it comes from the lack of confidence the city has. Because you have a good debate over something that you think is positive doesn't mean you're taking anything away from it. For it to really reach its potential, become what it can be, which is a real light switch for the downtown, let's have the debate Let's talk about that. There's no forum for that. They don't want to hear that, they ignore you. They're bored. They listen to you and you can just see the eyes glazing over and the ears closing up That debate should be there and it should be dynamic and it should be exciting and it should be an invitation to all to be in there. When you go back to the East Yards Task force of 1985, . . . that's what part of the vision was It's become elitist - it behaves like a private corporation. They don't behave like the stewards of a public asset . . .

In spite of the criticisms I have of it, I think it is one of the most positive things to happen to the city in a long time. I am very supportive of it, but I resent the idea that your support for this has to be unqualified Their defense line is really bogus. Look at the hundreds of thousands of people that have visited and embraced the site. Yeah, while I'm one of those people I resent that because I show up there that it is assumed because I use it, . . . that somehow I'm endorsing everything going on. No, I like it, and I want to see it go, but I think it could be better But if you're not listening to me, don't take my voting with my feet that it's an unqualified support for it Part of the reason is because I can't go anywhere else to see the Children's Museum, and quite frankly a lot of the exciting retail in the city is there. Is it a good thing that it's there? No. But am I going to go there because it is there? Yes. Did I hope that something else would be there in addition to that or instead of that that would also be as attractive, and wouldn't have to steal things from other parts of the city? Yes. Do I like to have fresh vegetables? Yes. Would I go to the market if it was there? Yes. Do I go to The Forks because it is there? Yes. Is it a success? Yes. Is it at the expense of other things? Yes. Did it need to be? No. But am I going to go there? Yes! Its the logic of it [that] is very flawed.

The Challengers strongly advocate methods of public participation that are located high on Arnstein's (1969) and Potapchuk's (1991) ladders. They indicate that stakeholders should have decision-making ability concerning issues that affect them. This increased

stakeholder power reflects a demand for significant social change, as is characterized in Thornley's Perspective Three.

Part III:

Powerholders and Outsiders: Recognizing and Reconciling Power Imbalances

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of the study, as indicated in the introductory chapter, was to examine the participatory model employed by the FRC for the development of The Forks. There were four specific goals in this exploration:

- to identify different beliefs and values regarding public participation in a public development project;
- to gain insight into the complex interactions of powerholders and stakeholders in public development projects;
- to examine how the process that evolved affected the outcome; and
- to identify implications for the planning profession

The first point will be addressed in the first section of this chapter, while the second and third will be discussed in the second section. A third section will address some of the areas for further research that emerged from this study. Finally, the fourth point listed above will be addressed.

8.1. Differing Beliefs, Values and Rationales

Part Two of this study has demonstrated that there are two distinct perspectives on the role and expectations of public participation in the development of The Forks. The Proponents clearly approach public participation as an opportunity to avoid public controversy; consulting the public is a means by which to gauge the public's desires in order to best address them, thereby avoiding controversy. Their goal is to make sure that a given project is a political success. To inform this kind of decision-making, where the decision-makers are second-guessing the public in order to avoid controversy, techniques for public participation that are low on Arnstein's (1969) ladder are employed. Open houses, public meetings, forums, and presentations are held to keep the public informed; there is no involvement of the public in actual decision-making. For the Proponents, the

methods used for the FRC's public consultation activities were more than appropriate for this kind of project.

The Challengers, on the other hand, believe that the FRC's consultation activities were inappropriate, and were a means by which those individuals with decision-making power could enlist support for the development at The Forks. The Challengers strongly believe that people should be allowed to make decisions that affect them, rather than a small number of individuals making important decisions for everyone else. The Challengers contend that since The Forks involves public money and public land, the public should be making the decisions that affect the site. In this vein, the Challengers support techniques for public participation that are high on Arnstein's (1969) ladder, where there is a high degree of citizen control. They also advocate methods that coincide with the upper levels of Potapchuk's (1991) model, where the decision-making power of government is delegated to citizens. The Challengers offer a community land trust as an alternative to the current structure of the FRC.

Where the Proponents feel that the efforts of the FRC to consult the public were more than adequate, the Challengers contend that there has been no real participation; 'consultation', for the Challengers, does not involve the necessary shift of decision-making authority from the government and the FRC to the public. As a result, the Challengers believe that the FRC's consultation activities have been manipulated to serve the interests of a select few individuals with a political and/or a commercial economic agenda.

In terms of process, the positions taken by the Proponents are focused on stability, and maintaining the structural status quo, in this case a tri-government 'public' corporation; this is evident in their emphasis on avoiding controversy, consistent with the lower half of Connor's ladder. The Challengers, on the other hand, are focused on social and structural change, and advocate a community land trust in place of an arms-length-from-government corporation. Their desire for social change is evident, and they will create the venues to accommodate that change through offering alternative participation techniques and creating

controversy. This study has identified two clear and distinct positions about the role of public participation in a public project such as The Forks. The following section will summarize the relationship between the Proponents and the Challengers in terms of their power and influence on decisions concerning the FRC's consultation activities.

8.2. Powerholders and Outsiders

The relationship between the Proponents and the Challengers is drawn around who had the most influence on the consultation process and the decisions made concerning The Forks. To begin to answer this question, it is necessary to reintroduce the dramaturgical metaphor in order to determine who is making the decisions that affect The Forks and the FRC.

The dramaturgical metaphors employed in Chapter Five were useful in determining the different roles the informants played in The Forks drama. The Producers were political representatives from the federal, provincial and local governments. Representing the three formal shareholders of the FRC, they provided the guiding principles for the FRC. The Directors implemented the decisions of the Producers and offered their own ideas. Just as a director for a movie lends a distinct flavour the project s/he has been working on, the Directors for The Forks have done the same. The Actors in a production such as The Forks also make a distinctive contribution to the project, depending on how they interpret their role, although their contribution is less than that of the Directors. The Extras have a minimal role to play in the decisions that affect the production. They are rarely recognized for the skills and knowledge they may possess, and they spend a significant amount of their time hoping to get noticed, some of them managing to stand out but not necessarily to receive rave reviews.

In Part II, Chapter Five explored the composition of each of these dramaturgical metaphors. It was determined that all Producers are Proponents and all Extras are Challengers. This metaphor indicates, therefore, that Proponents of a particular implemented process are often found in positions of power. In the case of The Forks, the

individuals who were political leaders in the creation of the FRC, or who are the current political leaders in the current operation of the FRC, are in a position of power to determine the nature of the FRC's activities. Six of the seven Proponents identified in this study were in positions of decision-making power -- four were Producers, two were Directors. In contrast, the outsiders to the decision-making process, the Extras, are all Challengers -- and all Challengers are Extras.

Chapter Two, in Part I of this study, presented a set of fundamental events concerning the FRC's consultation activities. From these events it can be concluded that there was a significant evolution in the nature of the consultation techniques employed by the FRC. For Phase I there were public presentations and forums, and individuals were invited to submit briefs to the Board of Directors of the FRC. In contrast, the Phase II consultations also included a Citizens' Advisory Group (CAG) and several workshops with community groups. It is undeniable that the Phase II methods were a 'step up', in terms of both the Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk (1991) ladders.

A goal of this study was to determine whether the opportunities for participation were sufficient for those who are not decision-makers, but are nevertheless interested in participating in some way. The dramaturgical metaphor was useful for this inquiry. The results of this study indicated that all of the informants who were not decision-makers, i.e. those who were Extras, and who wanted to participate, were Challengers. This suggests that the opportunities for participation for interested citizens were inadequate.

Another goal of this study was to identify the perceptions of decision-makers who allowed participation, to determine if they coincided with the 'outsiders' who wished to participate. The dramaturgical metaphor revealed that the perceptions of the decision-makers (Producers and Directors) about public participation do not coincide with those outside individuals who wanted to participate, since all Producers are Proponents and the majority of Directors are Proponents or Positive Explainers. The extent of the 'step up the ladder' does not therefore seem sufficient to address the chasm between the interests of the

citizens, who wanted to participate (the Challengers), and the creators of the FRC's consultation activities.

There is therefore a significant divergence of opinion with respect to public participation between powerholders and outsiders, i.e. stakeholders without power, in The Forks drama. Proponents and Challengers hold distinctly different views of the role of public participation, as well as differing expectations of the form public participation should take. This conclusion has significant relevance in terms of implications for the planning profession. Before addressing these implications (in the last section of this chapter), areas for further research are identified in the section that follows.

8.3. Extensions of the Research

There are many areas where further research should be conducted in this area. A second set of interviews would have been helpful to generate some discussion about each of the cultural themes, the Proponents and the Challengers. For example, discussion with Proponents about the public participation techniques advocated by the Challengers would better reveal the Proponents' perceptions of the Proponent category, and would have strengthened the quality of this research. Likewise, a second interview with Challengers to discuss the Proponents' comments would have been valuable in that the characteristics ascribed to these categories would possibly achieve greater legitimacy.

Much more work needs to be done to solidify the apparent differences between the Proponents and the Challengers, and to better delimit the characteristics of the other cultural themes between the two poles of the continuum. To do so Spradley's methodology would have to be pursued to the final stage. A more thorough cultural inventory of all five cultural themes would obviously assist in any future programming of public participation in the planning of major public development projects.

8.4. Implications for the Planning Profession

The obvious implication for the planning profession that emerges from this study is that there are different expectations of the public participation that is often directly advocated by planners, or that is often expected of planners in their management of a planning process. Proponents of The Forks, who are the powerholders in this case study, felt that the consultation activities were appropriate and more than adequate. The Challengers, who were outsiders in this case study, i.e. stakeholders without power, believe that public participation has a broader role to play in public decision-making, as long as there are mechanisms in place for the public to make decisions themselves. From the Proponents' perspective, public participation is vital to ensure 'buy-in' and avoid controversy; from the Challengers' perspective, public participation is essential to enable citizens to control the decisions that affect them. Given these two divergent perspectives, it is necessary for planners to acknowledge the political and ideological nature of public participation. This reality of differing perspectives, a political reality in itself that is value-laden, must be actively embraced by the profession.

In a recent article in *Plan Canada*, Seasons (1994) highlights the need for planning practitioners to 'focus on context' in order to be effective: part of the planner's context is the reality of divergent expectations of the public participation processes they are helping to create or manage. The realities of the people planners interact with are part of this context; understanding these realities as part of planning practice is pivotal when considering appropriate tools and approaches for public participation. The Proponent - Challenger continuum is an aid for defining the context within which a planner operates.

The Proponent - Challenger continuum presented in this study also provides a framework with which planners can actively reflect on their practice (Schon 1983). Reflection can occur in two areas: (1) a reflection on the actions and beliefs of other players; and (2) a reflection on oneself. Recognizing Proponents and Challengers (and other cultural themes, once they are better defined) will help the planner understand the

opportunities and constraints s/he faces in a particular context. The continuum can also be a tool for planners to define the similarities and differences between the 'players' that s/he is interacting with. This continuum could be particularly useful in circumstances where the planner is playing a mediation, facilitation or negotiation role.

8.4.1. Are Planners Proponents or Challengers?

Planners must also acknowledge that they too fit into the continuum. Planners may choose to be Proponents or Challengers of a particular process. Likewise, they can choose to be effectively Positive Explainers or Negative Explainers, where the latter is more disposed to progressive structural change, while the former may be more of a force for the status quo. Any attempt to avoid involvement, by being simply an Observer, helps neither cause. Planners necessarily act according to one of these cultural themes as they practice and deal with powerholders and outsiders. Individual planners can frame their own experiences by determining if they basically support the status quo (Proponents) or advocate some form of social change that involves a departure from the status quo (Challengers).

Just over 20% of the informants for this study identified themselves as planners. Of the ten informants calling themselves planners, seven are professional planners, while the remaining three are individuals operating in an advocacy or activist role, and are unaffiliated with the planning profession per se. The seven informants that are practicing, professional planners are located in the middle three categories of the Proponent - Challenger continuum; three were Positive Explainers, one an Observer, and three Negative Explainers. The remaining three planner-informants were all Challengers. This indicates that the differing beliefs and values of public participation demonstrated by the Proponent - Challenger continuum also occur among planners. The significance of this finding is that planners who are Challengers do not associate themselves with the planning 'profession'. There appear to be two types of planners in this situation: those who take a strong position for social change and do not affiliate with 'professional' bodies, and those who are located

in the middle categories of the continuum, who do not take a particularly extreme position and positively affiliate with their profession.

8.4.2. Are Planners Powerholders or Outsiders?

The continuum locations of the planner-informants for this study, when cross-referenced with the dramaturgical metaphor, suggest that planners have generally not been powerholders in the process of development of The Forks. 'Professional' planners are found in the middle three categories of the continuum, while the three 'activist' planners were Challengers. Use of the dramaturgical metaphor employed earlier in this study demonstrates that planners were not significant powerholders. One was categorized as a Director, while six others were only Actors in the drama of The Forks. The three 'activist' planners were Extras. It is clear, therefore, that planners as a whole have not played a lead role in the process of development of The Forks.

It is important to acknowledge that certain planners are part of the power structure. The position in the Proponent - Challenger continuum for these planners is significant; it is essential that planners in powerholder positions (Producers and Directors) recognize the role they play in maintaining the status quo, or encouraging necessary change. There is an obvious ideological decision to be made by planners who are powerholders with respect to the participation of citizens in public decision-making processes. Government representatives, or agencies of government such as the FRC, cannot force people to take control of their housing or schools or neighborhoods, but governments *can* support potentially empowering structures and processes so that people can take control, if they want it (Osborne and Gaebler, p. 71). Being a facilitator of, or a barrier to, 'high-level' public participation on the Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk (1991) ladders is a choice open to every planner, despite their possibly 'lowly' role in the overall 'production'.

The concluding subsection that follows offers some reflections on the consultation activities of the FRC, with recommendations for any future public consultation activities.

8.4.3. Reflections and Recommendations

The comments made in this section are speculative to a great extent. Due to the still-to-be-approved, and hence 'unfinished', nature of the Phase II Plan, the interviews conducted for this study did not reveal informants' *final* perceptions of the FRC's consultation activities; in effect, the context of the informants' storytelling was not a fully completed public consultation process. This not only limits the results of this study, but the conclusions as well. In addition, there were a number of high-level decision-makers with whom interviews could not be arranged, despite repeated efforts. Their comments would likely have contributed a great deal in understanding the reasons why the Phase II Plan was still unapproved at the time of writing. The reader is cautioned that the concluding remarks in this section are therefore more speculative than might otherwise have been the case.

The FRC's public consultation activities were a source of conflict between what have been identified in this study as the Proponents and the Challengers. Where the Proponents were effectively using public participation in the context of an interest in elite-based societal guidance, and the Challengers for populist social transformation (Friedmann 1987), their expected approaches to, and outcomes of, public participation differ dramatically. Although both the Proponents and the Challengers were interested in 'good' decisions, *who* makes them is where they differed. What follows is a brief personal reflection on the FRC's public consultation activities to date and some recommendations for future public consultations concerning The Forks.

One of the primary opportunities for public input into decisions concerning The Forks was the FRC's annual public meetings. Unfortunately, the scheduling of these meetings was less than annual. For example, the last 'annual' public meeting was in September, 1993, eighteen months ago (as of March 1995). As a minimum courtesy, a sincere effort must be made to make the annual public meetings genuinely annual and unquestionably 'public' in terms of advertising and involvement of elected representatives.

The Citizens' Advisory Group was referred to as merely a 'focus group' by the Challengers, and the description of the duties of this group provided by the Proponents indicates that 'focus group' is an appropriate description. Since this group did not possess any decision-making power, its significance in terms of a step up the Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk (1991) ladders is diminished. The use of advisory committees was also a technique employed by the FRC to involve members of the public in creating the plans for future development of the site. The Producers and Directors must be commended for creating such groups, and allowing some citizens the opportunity to play a significant role in the preparation of the Phase II Plan.

Unfortunately, the stalled fate of the Phase II Plan takes away from the significant steps the FRC have taken to include citizens in planning development of the site. The Phase II Plan, which covers development of The Forks for five years beginning in 1992 has not yet been approved by the three levels of government, more than two years into that five-year envelope. It appears that the results of the FRC's public consultation activities have fallen on disinterested political ears. Will future public consultation programs yield the same non-response?

The FRC and its shareholders must make an effort to build a relationship with the public if they desire to include them in a meaningful manner. If participation in consultation opportunities results in nothing, the involved members of the public are likely to find that experience a waste of their time and effort. Unless this is the concealed intent of the FRC and its shareholders, i.e. to never have the same members of the public participate twice, it is recommended that they act on the results of consultations in a more timely manner. Participants' voluntary involvement must be rewarded with results. In the case of the FRC some form of public response is merited, whether in the form of full, modified, or consciously withheld, approval of the Phase II Plan, by the three government shareholders.

If five year plans are to be developed every five years, one has to wonder what is going on at present. If new consultations begin for the next five-year period beginning in 1997, what will be the tangible results of the Phase II consultations if the Phase II Plan is not yet approved? If the Phase II Plan is not completed, what will the purpose be of the Phase III consultations that will be required for the Phase III Plan? This confusion may be the result of too many levels of government 'cooks' in The Forks 'kitchen'. Perhaps the FRC would function better if it was arm's-length-from-one -level-of-government, in order to reduce the complex administrative trappings and the varying political agendas of three levels of government.

The theory introduced in this study may provide some answers to what appears to be the awkward functioning of the FRC, and provide some options for public involvement in decision-making for Phase III development. Arnstein's (1969) ladder, despite its datedness, and Potapchuk's (1991) more recent ladder provide some clues to what a 'renewed' public consultation could look like.

Including members of the public in the Citizens' Advisory Group for Phase II consultations was a step up the Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk (1991) ladders, but the nature of this public involvement remained 'consultation'. Decision-making power remained with the traditional powerholders, i.e. politicians and senior government representatives. Members of the public's opinions were solicited, but there was no means for members of the public to be involved in *decision-making*. Moving up both the Arnstein (1969) and Potapchuk (1991) ladders requires a change in who the decision-makers are, and in effect requires a significantly different means of involving citizens in decisions that affect them. Although this case study has focused on informants' perceptions of a consultation process, there are other forms of public participation that merit a brief exploration.

Potapchuk (1991) suggests that participation techniques that build consensus are effective means to solve problems. The top two 'levels of shared decision-making'

(section 4.1.1.3.) are citizen-driven processes that emphasize citizen involvement in public decision-making. Potapchuk offers new forms of citizen participation that focus on collaboration and consensus building, where the results of the participation techniques impact directly on decision-making. This contrasts with 'consultation', where although the public has an opportunity to present their opinions, the decision-makers may take or leave the public opinions. A progressive step up the 'ladder' requires that the consensus reached via public participation be binding on the ultimate decision-makers, with all the stakeholders, and not just powerholders, the delegated decision-makers. Potapchuk indicates that the range of participation techniques available allows communities to mix educational, consultative and negotiated participation techniques. He provides as an example: "a community might use focus groups to frame issues, community meetings to identify other issues and gain a commitment to the problem-solving process, a facilitated working group with structured public input to develop recommendations, and 'charettes' to design the physical elements of the recommendations (Potapchuk 1991, p. 168)."

An option for public involvement in Phase III development of The Forks would be a consensus-building technique where all stakeholders work together and participate on an equal basis. A 'round table' form of approach would require traditional powerholders to agree to sharing their decision-making power, and to seek decisions by consensus. In order to achieve success in such an initiative, stakeholders must be involved in the process as early as possible; many public participation techniques fail to build agreement because they are initiated too late in the decision-making cycle. Stakeholders at the table must all be involved in issue definition, framing the problems, suggesting means to approach the problems, and proposing potential solutions (Potapchuk 1991, p. 165).

The planning of future phases of development at The Forks should consider public participation options that involve consensus-based approaches. Although the reality of this case study is that informants shared their stories of an incomplete consultation process, it is reasonable to assume that an inclusive decision-making process that involves stakeholders

as equal decision-making partners would result in a meaningful process; traditional powerholders could be assured of a successful product, while other stakeholders would no longer feel like powerless outsiders.

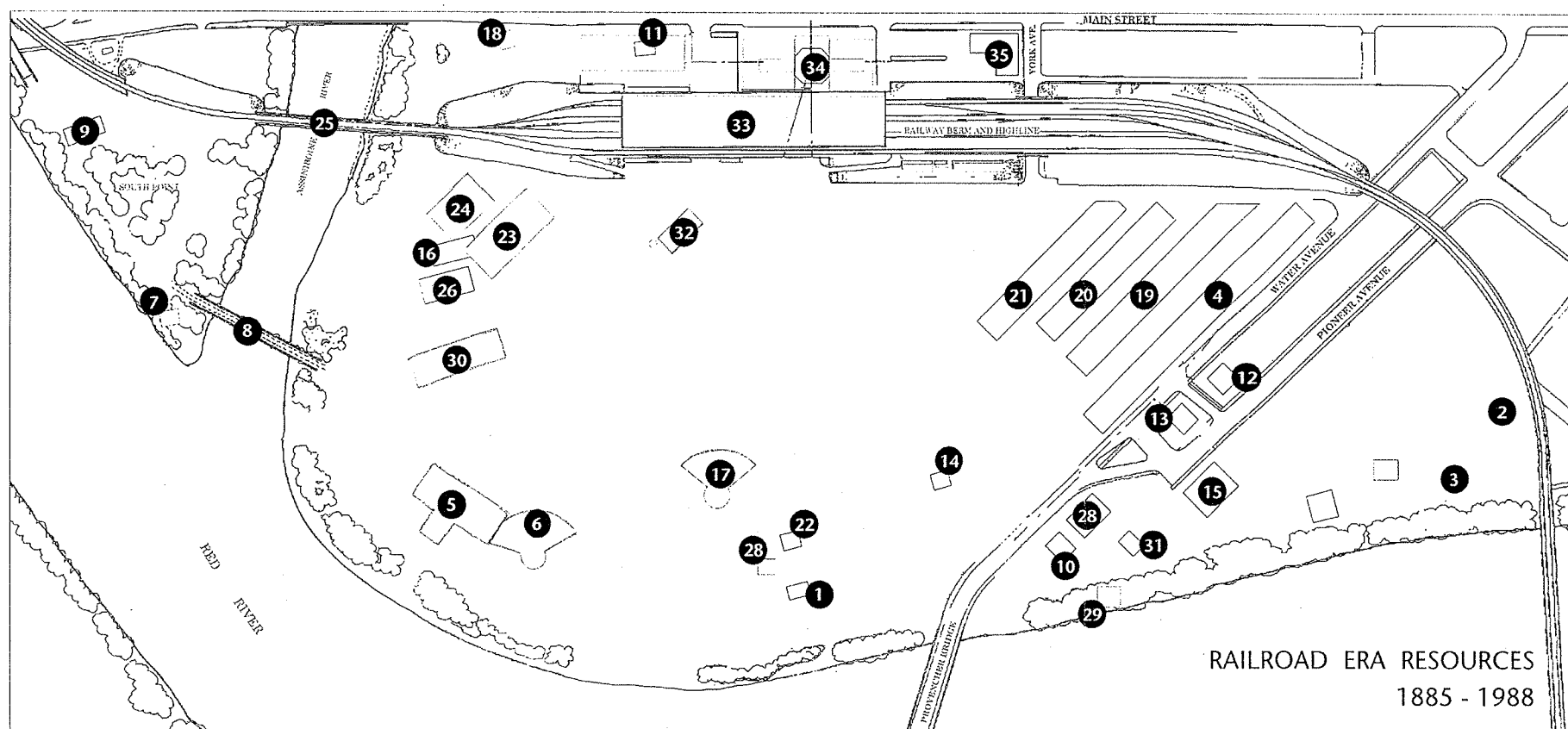
The development of The Forks, as the case study basis for this study, has at least two limitations in terms of its appropriateness for a study of public participation. One limitation is a result of the *consultation* focus of the corporate 'directors' of The Forks. The FRC's consultations may have been inappropriately equated with 'public'; there is a necessary duality and hierarchy to consultation due to the presence of a consultor and a consultee that is not present in a true participation context where all participants are on a par. A second limitation of the development of The Forks stems from the 'qualifier' of the participation (consultation) being equated with *the public*, rather than an acknowledged citizenry. While the FRC's Phase II consultations included a Citizens' Advisory Group, it was a focus group that generated advice, not decisions. The 'public' in public participation merits more explicit problematizing in future research, especially in a planning context with its often-referenced 'public interest' basis. A particularly fruitful line of inquiry may be public participation versus citizen participation in contemporary city planning contexts, which would have required more of a philosophical treatise than this modest case study.

In the context of The Forks, more progressive participation, by Arnstein's (1969) and Potapchuk's (1991) high standards, would involve a higher valuing of citizenship and stewardship. This value set would challenge the public/private and individual/corporate distinctions that appear to be at the heart of the public-participation-as-consultation examined in this case study. Under a more progressive model it might be envisioned that all participants would be equal and on a par, operating from the standpoint of citizens and with a common stake in stewarding a great public place. For planners in the public domain this vision suggests a progressive role of makers and sustainers of great public spaces. There will be many more opportunities to practice this role in the context of The Forks - let us not forget the value citizenship.

Source: Forks Renewal Corporation, 1993, p. 15.



APPENDIX TWO RAILROAD ERA RESOURCES



- | | | |
|---|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Bridgeman's House: Broadway Bridge | 13. Unidentified Building | 25. Highline Railroad Bridge |
| 2. McArthur's Warehouse | 14. City Asphalt Plant | 26. McNaughton Warehouse |
| 3. Dick and Banning Saw Mill #2 | 15. J.I. Case Threshing Machine Co. Ltd. | 27. Sterling Engine Works |
| 4. Freight Shed #1: N.P. & M.P. | 16. HBC Track Warehouse | 28. Building Products & Coal Co. |
| 5. Northern Pacific Engine House | 17. Canadian Northern R.R. Roundhouse | 29. Fort Garry Coal West Yards |
| 6. Northern Pacific Roundhouse | 18. HBC Dwelling? | 30. National Cartage Building |
| 7. Winnipeg Rowing Club Boathouse | 19. Freight Shed #2 | 31. Lambert Fuel Supply |
| 8. Low Level (Low Line) Railroad Bridge | 20. Freight Shed #3 | 32. Steam Plant |
| 9. Arctic Ice Co. Warehouse | 21. Freight Shed #4 | 33. Train Shed |
| 10. Electric Light Co. | 22. CNR Ice House | 34. Union Station |
| 11. Grandstand for Racetrack | 23. Can. Northern Cartage Stable | 35. Empire Hotel |
| 12. Unidentified Building | 24. Grand Trunk Pacific Stable | |

RAILROAD ERA RESOURCES
1885 - 1988

Source: Forks Renewal Corporation, 1993, p. 19.

APPENDIX THREE
LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3T 2N2

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE

Department of City Planning
201 Russell Building

(204) 474-9286

26 July 1994

Dear Participant,

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce to you Beth Sanders, a student at the University of Manitoba in the Master of City Planning program. I serve as Beth's Advisor. As part of completing the requirements of her program, Ms. Sanders is conducting a research project about the public's perception of public participation, using the development of the Forks in Winnipeg as a framework for the research.

As part of this research, Ms. Sanders is conducting a series of interviews with individuals who participated, or tried to participate, in the development of the Forks in Winnipeg. The goal of the interview will be to determine what your definition of public participation is, using your experience with the Forks as a guide for the discussion.

Your participation in this research will be completely confidential. The comments you make will be used solely for scholarly purposes. The only people who will have access to the information will be myself, Beth, and an expert in qualitative analysis methods. Your name will not appear in the completed document, and your comments will appear only in clustered and analyzed form, not in such a way as to trace them to you.

If you would like to speak to me about this matter I can be contacted through Vicenza Enns, the Department's Secretary, at 474-6578.

Sincerely,

A large rectangular area that has been redacted, obscuring the signature of the sender.

IW:ve

APPENDIX FOUR

ARNSTEIN'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION

Below is a detailed description of the rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation:

- *Manipulation* - Instead of genuine participation, the bottom rung of the ladder signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by powerholders. In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubber-stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of 'educating' them or engineering their support;
- *Therapy* - Under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning, the experts subject the citizens to clinical group therapy. Administrators assume that powerlessness is synonymous with mental illness;
- *Informing* - Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation. Too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information, from officials to citizens, with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation. Particularly if information is provided at late stages in planning, people have little opportunity to influence programs designed 'for their benefit.' The most frequent tools for one-way communication are the news media, pamphlets, posters, and responses to inquiries;
- *Consultation* - Unless consultation is combined with other forms of participation, this rung of the ladder is still ineffective since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account. When powerholders restrict the input of citizens' ideas solely to this level, participation remains a window-dressing ritual; people are primarily perceived as statistical abstractions and participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire. The most frequent methods used for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings;
- *Placation* - At this level citizens begin to have some influence. An example of placation strategy is to place a few hand-picked, token, individuals on boards or commissions. They can advise and plan ad infinitum, but the powerholders retain the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice. The degree to which citizens are actually placated depends largely on two factors: the quality of technical assistance they have in articulating their priorities and the extent to which the community has been organized to press for those priorities;

- *Partnership* - Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders. They agree to share planning and decision making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees, and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the ground rules have been established, they are not subject to unilateral change. Partnership can work most effectively when there is an organized power base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable;
- *Delegated power* - Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision making authority over a particular plan or program. Citizens hold the significant cards to assure accountability of the program to them. To resolve differences, powerholders need to start the bargaining process rather than respond to pressure from the other end; and
- *Citizen control* - People are demanding that degree of power, or control, which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them. A neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds is the model most frequently advocated.

APPENDIX FIVE

CONNOR'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION

Below is a summary of Connor's (1988) ladder of participation:

- *Education* - the foundation of any program to prevent and resolve public controversy must be an informed constituency;
- *Information Feedback* - when the publics affected by a proposed change indicate that they do not understand and accept it, an information feedback program is the next step;
- *Consultation* - this approach is employed when: a) a preceding education program has not generated informed support; or b) an informed-feedback program has failed to develop general understanding and acceptance; or c) when the gap between current knowledge about and acceptance of a proposal seems to be too great to be bridged by an education or information feedback program;
- *Joint Planning* - when a party involved with a proposal has some legal jurisdiction over some aspects of the area affected, it should be involved as a partner - its role is more than simply an advisory role;
- *Mediation* - a neutral, respected and skillful third party leads the others through a conflict-resolving process often leading to compromise solutions. Effective mediation occurs when the conflict is mature, when power is balanced between two parties and when negotiation is seen by both as inevitable; and
- *Litigation* - conflict resolution through an adversarial relationship inherent in legal action and court decision.

APPENDIX SIX

THORNLEY'S THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Perspective One: Consensus and Stability

In order to achieve stability, there must be consensus over general values and conflict is confined to the level of the individual. The implications of this perspective on planning are highlighted under four main headings: information and system adaptability, value cohesion, stability and efficiency of elites (Thornley, p. 43-45).

Thornley writes that the adaptability of the system to its environment contributes to stability. As a result, there are mechanisms in place to manage uncertainty and avoid disturbances in the system. A two-way information exchange characterizes participation within this perspective. Information exchange occurs rather than involvement of people in decision-making. Plans, in this perspective, are adapted to public attitudes, but are not formed by them (Thornley, p. 43-44).

Value consensus at a general over-riding level will lead to cohesion of the social system. In planning, the notion of 'the public interest' is central to value cohesion in that it provides a focus around which differences can be resolved. In this perspective, planners see themselves as guardians of the public interest and their work is evaluated on the basis of their ability to benefit society as a whole. Information gained from participation exercises is used to modify and adapt the nature and composition of 'the public interest'; there is a direct relationship between the amount of information gathered and the legitimacy of the concepts and plans proposed.

This perspective emphasizes socializing people into full integration, hence the preferred methods for participation are aimed at the "individual rather than methods that might foster group solidarity against system-wide norms (Thornley, p. 44)." Methods used at present include pre-paid reply questionnaires and opportunities to make comments at exhibitions. A more recent method used at public meetings is the grouping of

participants into discussion groups where each individual can express opinions, and reach some form of consensus after some debate. The goal of this method is "to prevent the audience being swayed by convincing orators or public spokesmen of particular interests (Thornley, p. 44)." The measure of success of participation in this perspective is that the 'common' view that emerges can be identified with the public interest (Thornley, p. 44).

Stability, a key factor for success in this perspective, is achieved through maintaining mixed attitudes toward participation. If techniques that allow a considerable degree of participation are offered, this mixture is threatened. Likewise, encouragement of apathetical people to become involved in contentious planning issues also threatens stability.

Efficiency of elites is pivotal to the success of this perspective. The elite must be allowed the freedom to make decisions, ensuring accountability, and improving the quality of information on which these decisions are based; there seems to be "no alternative in a complex modern society if efficient and innovative results are to be obtained (Thornley, p. 45)." Participation "is seen as a means of improving communication, coordination and understanding. In this way people are integrated into an acceptance of the 'rules of the game' and the system is provided with the feedback necessary for adaptation and maintenance of equilibrium (Thornley, p. 45)." This perspective contends that conflict results only from personal misunderstandings that can be overcome "through participation that integrates people into the mainstream of social values (Thornley, p. 45)."

Perspective Two: Containment and Bargaining

Perspective Two is a synthesis between the first and third perspectives. It represents liberal theory as well as a synthesis of consensus and conflict theories. It is discussed by Thornley under two headings: management of conflict and framework for bargaining.

Management of conflict is central to this perspective. It implies that conflict arises because an 'interest' is somehow not represented, and indicates a lack of balance within the democratic system:

The solution is seen as ensuring the involvement of minority or under-represented groups in the political system. In other words, more violent conflict is seen as the lack of representation of certain interest groups in the peaceful conflict of parties in a pluralist system. Thus conflict of interest in a local community should be openly recognized and 'institutionalized' to safeguard society from its extrapolation into major issues (Thornley, p. 47-48).

Thornley acknowledges that productive conflict would be difficult to achieve if "severe limits are imposed upon the ability of government to 'extend, sub-divide and redistribute resources almost indefinitely' (Thornley, p. 48)." He implies that encouraging constructive conflict is the responsibility of government, provided government is financially capable of doing so.

A framework for bargaining must be present in this perspective: there must be established means by which conflicts can be resolved through conciliation, mediation or arbitration. Formal means of dealing with opposition must be available, such as appeals to the Minister and public inquiries (Thornley, p. 48). A second necessary condition for ensuring a framework for bargaining is in place is that the local authority must acknowledge positions taken other than their own:

Although many people participating in the planning exercises would consider themselves in conflict with the local authority and other interests, this position is not necessarily accepted by the local authority. As long as local government officials regard criticism as troublesome and irresponsible, the necessary preconditions for 'constructive conflict' will be absent (Thornley, p. 48).

Community forums, neighborhood councils and community development officers would provide a focus for existing interest groups and stimulate the formation of new ones where interests are under-represented. Information plays a role in informing the under-represented and the under-privileged persons of better means of entering the arena of organized bargaining, where existing legislation and policy must be accepted as the 'rules of the bargaining game' by both parties. The goal of participation techniques in this perspective is to contribute to the aim of gradual reform (Thornley, p. 48).

Perspective Three: Conflict and Increased Consciousness

Thornley describes perspective three, conflict and increased consciousness, under three headings: need for structural change, power equality, and increased consciousness. Each of these area are discussed below.

A high degree of participation is a means for achieving a high degree of social change. This perspective contends that the problems of society are indicative of a problem of the system or structure of society itself, not the sum of individual problems as Perspective 1 contends: "This fault in the structure is so basic that it cannot be corrected through adaptation (Thornley, p. 45)." Thornley implies that the problem of participation in government does not lie within the attitudes of the public that do not want to participate, but within the structures, processes and values of the government system.

This perspective defines necessary conditions for power-sharing and participation in decision-making: power inequalities of decision-making must be eradicated. Thornley's discussion highlights several sources of inequality that revolve primarily around different ownership patterns and its effect on power distribution in society: "Marx and Rousseau saw the basis of this power in ownership. They saw that differences in ownership would lead to political differences and that this should not be allowed to exist (Thornley, p. 46)." The structural and radical demands for participation of this perspective are addressed by questions of organization and consciousness.

Increased consciousness of individuals, that develops from direct experience, is the only means to accomplish the structural changes required in this perspective (Thornley, p. 46). Participation is a way of raising consciousness. There is, however, an important consideration to be made: "if participation is to fulfill its full potential in raising consciousness and creating radical change, larger battles have to be fought (Thornley, p. 47)."

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