

TACTICAL URBANISM IN WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

A Case Study at The Forks

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ABSTRACT

In the summer of 2016, The Forks North Portage Partnership created a shared-use road using unique pavement markings and traffic calming infrastructure at The Forks on Fort Gibraltar Trail. This intervention was intended to provide cyclists equal right to the road and connect segments of The Forks' cycle track. The design and implementation processes of the shared-use road contravened conventional planning practices, and were inspired by *tactical urbanism* – a relatively new approach to city-making emphasizing small-scale interventions.

This practicum uses a case study approach to investigate The Forks' shared-use road and explore tactical urbanism as a planning tool. Key informants and practitioners from Winnipeg's planning community provide diverse perspectives on how to effectively incorporate tactical urbanism practices. The findings add to the growing library of tactical urbanism literature and provide lessons for future project proponents in the design and implementation of their own tactical interventions in Winnipeg.

[Keywords: tactical urbanism, shared-use road, small-scale interventions]

ACRONYMS

DIY: Do-It-Yourself

NFP: Not-For-Profit

NIMBY: Not In My Back Yard

FRC: Forks Renewal Corporation

NPDC: North Portage Development Corporation

FNPP: Forks North Portage Partnership

CN/CP: Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railway Companies

AT: Active Transportation

WBCO: West Broadway Community Organization

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1 | INTRODUCTION

The Forks is a well-established cultural and commercial hub at the centre of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Due to the corporation's mandate, its authority as a landowner, and its willingness to experiment with creative interventions, it is able to carry out projects other entities may have trouble initiating. An example of this freedom is The Forks' cycle track currently under development through a multi-phase process. This practicum studies the tactical design and implementation of one of the phases and explores how this case – as well as tactical urbanism characteristics in general - may provide useful lessons to the planning profession in Winnipeg's public and private sector.

1.1 RESEARCH PURPOSE

“Strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory. Tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat.” – Sun Tzu, The Art of War

Conventional planning practices have supported long-term, strategic planning as a valuable tool for developing the built environment and achieving best practice. Strategic plans set priorities and establish goals for organizations or communities to strive towards. However, practitioners are recognizing that relying solely on this approach does not adequately respond to short-term – and sometimes unforeseen long-term – challenges. The constantly evolving nature of the urban form and its inhabitants requires both responsive tactics and a committed strategic vision. Temporary interventions and pilot projects are now becoming written into prescriptive planning documents, signifying an underlying shift in city-building processes. The term tactical urbanism has begun to pop up more and more in the planning lexicon. As replicable tactics continue to improve the urban environment, these projects continue to grow in popularity. The annual

Park(ing) Day, which first began on the streets of San Francisco, is an example of a grassroots initiative quickly becoming a worldwide phenomenon (Moskerintz, 2016).

Tactical is defined as “relating to small-scale actions serving a larger purpose [and] adroit in planning or maneuvering” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia (2015) have championed this tactical movement, in an effort to formalize what has traditionally been the territory of citizen activists. Many organizations and city officials are also beginning to acknowledge the power of small-scale, temporary interventions, and an increasing number of successful documented applications may help to further influence their perceptions.

The primary goal of this practicum is to explore tactical urbanism in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The research included a study of the design and implementation of a shared-use road at The Forks influenced by tactical urbanism; this was followed by exploratory discussions with individuals from various levels of the Winnipeg planning community. The outcome of this research adds to the growing body of tactical urbanism literature by offering the insights and perspectives of private and public sector practitioners with extensive experience. These perspectives help gauge the willingness of the planning community to implement these types of projects in Winnipeg, and offer lessons to aid future project proponents in the design and implementation of their own tactical interventions.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main questions guiding this research are:

1. How was tactical urbanism actively deployed in The Forks?
2. How does The Forks' shared-use road fit within tactical urbanism, as identified in the literature, and how do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive this intervention?
3. How do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive tactical urbanism as a tool for planning and implementing infrastructure projects in the City of Winnipeg?
4. What lessons do perspectives of the planning community offer to proponents interested in tactical urbanism projects elsewhere in Winnipeg?

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE

Tactical urbanism is a relatively new planning tool that challenges many of the ideas guiding both public and private development initiatives in Winnipeg. It places a greater emphasis on small-scale initiatives instead of large-scale projects. Embracing the “tactical philosophy” (Lydon & Garcia, 2015) could significantly alter the way Winnipeg develops infrastructure to achieve strategic plans. The Forks has utilized their unique position to pioneer a project inspired by tactical urbanism that has the potential to serve as a motivator for Winnipeg planners and others. Opening up the discussion to the Winnipeg planning community created the opportunity to glean lessons for future projects and illustrated different perspectives about implementing urban infrastructure. Engaging with these practitioners also allowed for knowledge sharing about types of tactical tools and potential ways to apply tactical urbanism in their daily work.

1.4 OVERVIEW

The practicum first introduces the reader to tactical urbanism through a literature review describing the origins of the tool, discussing major tactical projects, and contrasting current perspectives about its application. This information is summarized to contribute to the analysis of the case study and practitioner perspectives in later chapters. A discussion of the primary research methods then helps align particular methods with each research question.

The analysis is separated into two chapters to distinguish the case study and the perspectives on tactical urbanism in Winnipeg. Chapter 4, The Case Study, provides context about Winnipeg, The Forks, and finally the specific site area within The Forks. A site analysis includes an overview of the project goals, followed by a comprehensive inventory of the case study site and a description of the design and implementation of the project. Subsequent findings include photographs and observations of the site, usage data, and perspectives on the project from key informants and planning community members external to the project. Ideas about tactical urbanism as a planning tool from the viewpoint of various planning sectors are explored in Chapter 5, Tactical Urbanism in Winnipeg. These views are compared with the literature and the case study, and help clarify how some practitioners in Winnipeg perceive tactical urbanism. Finally, Winnipeg's planning and development landscape is examined through the experience of the interviewees in their respective sectors. This complements the content in previous chapters and helps establish lessons for potential future tactical urbanism projects in Winnipeg.

The conclusion, Chapter 6, distills the findings from the analysis and reviews how each research question was addressed. Concise lessons are highlighted and implications for the planning profession are discussed. Recent tactical projects in Winnipeg are also highlighted.

Finally, directions for future research within Winnipeg and beyond are discussed to highlight remaining research gaps.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review for this practicum explores tactical urbanism from three different angles: Section 2.1 *About the Tool* broadly explores the characteristics; Section 2.2 *Applying the Tool* highlights various forms and precedents; and Section 2.3 *Judging the Tool* describes how interventions have been assessed to date. This process of examination helps create a complete picture of the existing tactical urbanism literature, which is then summarized to inform the analysis section.

2.1 ABOUT THE TOOL

While the sometimes stultifying practices of local government seem to swallow both the most imaginative and most obvious proposals for improvements to the public realm in North American cities, tactical urbanism represents a more immediate and arguably more satisfying alternative (Campo, 2016).

Tactical urbanism is a planning tool that has been recognized as one of the top planning practices in the last decade (Nettler, 2012). However, even while members of the planning community are praising tactical interventions, there is a lack of clarity on what the term means and how this tool should be used. Other types of interventions often lumped in with tactical urbanism include “temporary, guerrilla, pop-up, ad-hoc, DIY, or open-source” (Nettler, 2012). The first complete handbook on tactical urbanism suggests the term encompasses flexible, temporary, and low-cost interventions – interventions that strive to create long-term change from short-term actions (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Lydon and Garcia, co-founders of this term, highlight the key distinction between Do-It-Yourself (DIY) urbanism – an exclusively citizen-led guerilla strategy – and tactical urbanism: “Not all DIY urbanism efforts are tactical, and not all Tactical Urbanism initiatives are DIY” (p. 6). If an intervention is not created with intention and not positioned to encourage long-term action, in their eyes, it cannot be considered tactical.

2.1.1 The Rise of Tactical Urbanism

There is a strong connection drawn between the emergence of tactical urbanism and the global economic crisis. The years following the 2008 housing market crash left cities with many unfinished construction sites and broken retail leases (Driggins & Snowden, 2012). Rather than seeing this as an unfavorable situation, tactical urbanism offered a more optimistic perspective: an opportunity for engaging and dynamic programming. Tactical interventions began popping up in under-utilized physical spaces. The low-cost and flexible characteristics were able to address the immediate issues facing communities more effectively than conventional large capital project investments. Therefore, an important aspect of tactical urbanism is not only to change negative perceptions of unused urban spaces, but to demonstrate the potential of these spaces (Driggins & Snowden, 2012).

Andrés Duany, founder of the Congress for New Urbanism, believes tactical urbanism represents a direct response to “pervasive NIMBYs and intractable bureaucracies” that makes any scale of project an exercise in planning *ad nauseam* (quoted in Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. xii). He views this approach to be the “urban planning equivalent of the iPhone replacing the mainframe” (quoted in Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. xii). This helps to explain why tactical urbanism, according to Blumgart (2016), holds a special appeal to the Millennial Generation, or perhaps more accurately, the growing demographic of tech-savvy individuals who “despair of underfunded and unimaginative city halls” (p. 8). As this young generation – born into a more socially connected and environmentally conscious society – begins to move into government and community leadership positions vacated by the retiring members of The Baby Boomer Generation, the tactical mindset can be embraced at a wider scale (Lydon & Garcia, 2012).

Along with the city-living millennial restlessness driven by the slow pace of change, social media has played a large role in the tool's early success (Zimmerman, 2015). Anything that happens in a city can be uploaded to the Internet's collective conscious almost immediately. Thanks to web-based tools, a tactic or event can be posted on a site like Facebook or Twitter within minutes, and shared globally within hours (Lydon & Garcia, 2012). The speed at which we share has increased exponentially; therefore urban interventions can capitalize on these new communication methods by implementing, engaging, and responding quicker than ever before.

2.1.2 Tactics and Tacticians

An important starting point for understanding the tactical urbanism tool is to understand the definition of tactics and how tactics are used. Formally, they are concrete actions involving smaller steps on the path towards achieving a larger goal (Yochum, 2016). They are implemented in a short timeframe and are often successful in the long-term when aligned with a strategic vision. Strategies outline long-term goals and how a group or organizations plans might achieve them, whereas tactics are implemented to realize the individual goals. Yochum (2016) uses a mountain climbing expedition to explain further:

If your strategy is to climb a mountain, one key component of your strategy might be to decide which side of the mountain you should climb. Your tactics would be the gear you'd buy, who you'd bring with you, your complete trip plan, how long it would take to get there, what season you'd go in, and so on.

It is difficult to design an effective and measurable tactic without this vision informing a specific goal. When integrated into the urban planning profession, Lydon and Garcia see tactics laid out on a spectrum from unsanctioned to sanctioned interventions (Lydon & Garcia, 2012).



Figure 1: Spectrum of Tactics and Tacticians (Lydon & Garcia, 2012, p. 7).

On the unsanctioned end of the spectrum, grassroots actors typically initiate projects. Local activists, community groups, and artists will quickly occupy underutilized or poorly planned spaces with creative place-making interventions. Some examples include: guerilla gardening to add more greenery to urban spaces; and Depave, a group that physically removes unnecessary areas of pavement in favor of more permeable community green spaces. Many successful unsanctioned interventions become sanctioned through adoption by City departments or organizations that maintain these changes over time (Lydon & Garcia, 2012). The transformation to permanent, sanctioned infrastructure is a goal that distinguishes tactical urbanism from guerilla urbanism at this level. Citizens are empowered by City officials validating grassroots interventions.

Moving up the planning community hierarchy towards the public sector, it becomes increasingly difficult to implement something in an unsanctioned way. However, this does not preclude these practitioners from initiating or helping to facilitate tactical urbanism interventions. Progressive City officials have found ways to use tactics effectively, while respecting bureaucratic processes (see Section 2.2.2). The major benefit from successful execution on either

end of the spectrum (or hierarchy) should remain the same: direct community engagement and the potential for inclusive community collaboration (Mitman & Rixey, 2015, p. 26). Through this intrinsic reliance on engaging citizen and a widespread applicability, Lydon and Garcia (2015) believe tactical urbanism can proactively address tensions between bottom-up and top-down processes. They suggest this could be viewed as a bridge between citizens and the large bureaucratic entities that appear uninfluenced by individuals. If an intervention is designed to build social capital between different levels of stakeholders, they argue that tactics – the actions to achieve a specific goal – must address the interests and goals of every stakeholder group involved (p. 10).

2.1.3 Neoliberalism in Tactical Urbanism

A focal point of tactical urbanism is its goal to empower average citizens, allowing them to reclaim the public space around them (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Although the public engagement benefits of tactical urbanism are extensively documented, some critics believe these interventions do not have the capacity for meaningful group interaction beyond a blog post or media source. For example, Mehaffy (2013) argues that the promise of community involvement can only be realized with tools that allow people to identify and resolve their own local challenges (p. 1). There is also a perceived threat to citizen sovereignty, for Dr. Oli Mould (2014), if governmental agencies choose to take the reins on citizen-initiated projects – perhaps representing a co-opting of tactical urbanism by neoliberal policies. Mould believes there is an increasing separation of tactical urbanism from the “citizenry and activist ethos” that initially made grassroots tactics such a powerful tool for the public (p. 530).

Furthermore, the direct connection to neoliberalism is featured in Neil Brenner's critique of a Museum of Modern Arts exhibition entitled "Uneven Growth." The exhibition presented the narrative of tactical urbanism as an alternative to the current neoliberal paradigms of urban intervention in North America, allegedly opposing the commodification of the urban social fabric. However, Brenner (2015) states:

tactical urbanism appears more likely to bolster neoliberal urbanisms by temporarily alleviating (or perhaps merely displacing) some of their disruptive social and spatial effects, but without interrupting the basic rule-regimes associated with market-oriented, growth-first urban development, and without challenging the foundational mistrust of governmental institutions that underpins the neoliberal project.

The exhibition's narrative and subsequent criticisms address socio-political issues that perhaps extend beyond the initial scope Lydon and Garcia (2015) set out when imagining a pedestrian-friendly corridor built through citizen creativity and innovation. Daniel Campo (2016) recognizes that while the book appeals to the activist mentality, "it is more about effectiveness than equity" (p. 389). He notes that the authors provide a "generous role for the establishment" (p. 389). This may lead citizens to think tactical urbanism – as a tool for the establishment – is hijacking what has largely been beneficial to their empowerment. However, he suggests that it may be more accurate to view the term as less oppositional in meaning and more holistic; a form of urbanism well-positioned for the neoliberal world, with the ability to be easily incorporated into traditional planning frameworks (p. 389). The adoption of tactical urbanism may also be a result of public and private sector interests acknowledging the importance of shifting to citizen-led tactics.

Ultimately, as tactical urbanism interventions age, praise and criticism alike will emerge from different ends of the planning hierarchy. Professional planners must adapt their tactics based on these responses to ensure a project is community-guided, while still achieving intended

goals throughout its lifecycle. As the ideas of tactical urbanism take hold amongst urban design professions (e.g. architecture, engineering, city planning, and landscape architecture), it will be interesting to observe how these values are interpreted and incorporated. Can the interests of citizen activists and city officials co-exist throughout the tactical urbanism process? Will a shift to low-risk, phased approaches that build social capital become more prevalent in urban design practice?

2.2 APPLYING THE TOOL

2.2.1 Design Thinking

Lydon and Garcia (2015) use a “Design Thinking Process” to explain how tactical projects can manifest effectively in any context. Although this framework has been adopted mostly by start-up businesses, they extracted a five-step process from the literature and demonstrate how proponents of tactical projects have used it successfully. They argue that it is important that tacticians’ do not view this interpretation of the process as a rigid or linear system (p. 173). Steps/elements of the process may overlap or occur out of order, but they will ideally repeat until a full investment to make the initiative permanent. These five steps are:

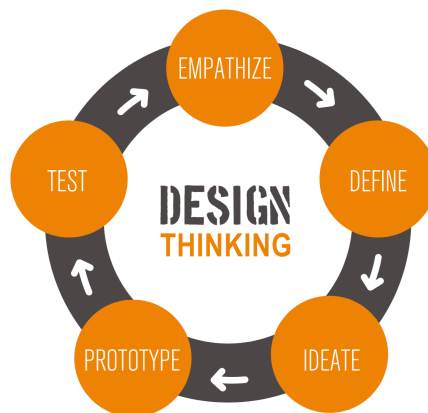


Figure 2: Design Thinking Process (Lydon & Garcia, p. 173, 2015)

Step 1 - Empathize

Understanding key context elements of a site is a vital component to meeting the needs of the site area. Specifically, project leaders should be asking: for whom are you really planning or designing? Citizens looking to use tactical urbanism in their community have an advantage of intimately understanding deficiencies beforehand. Practitioners who are entering into a community they are unfamiliar with should engage these citizens early and often.

Step 2 - Define

Once the context is understood, the root causes of a given problem can be found. Lydon and Garcia like to use the “Five Whys” process, which involves asking the question ‘Why?’ Each time the question is answered, the answer is rephrased as another ‘Why?’ question. This is done a total of five times. Often, “the weaknesses people are so quick to point out in their neighborhoods are typically the physical manifestation of something beyond the perceived problem” (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 179). Repeatedly asking this question will help add clarity to whether or not a tactical intervention is suitable for the site area.

Step 3 - Ideate

It is easy to jump to a solution before a thorough brainstorming session, but it is valuable to take the time to consider all available options. At this time, proponents can determine whether their project will follow a process of sanctioning their actions with City officials or if they will pursue an unsanctioned initiative. Additionally, the timing of implementation and promotion can be discussed to set out a proper planning schedule.

Step 4 - Prototype

The scale of the project will determine the complexity of this step. An adequate number of project partners must be available to carry out the intervention quickly and cheaply. However, the success of a project may rely upon more than simply the number of people involved. It is valuable to have partners for gathering funds and materials, designing and constructing the intervention, and promoting the result.

Step 5 - Test

This is the last node in the design thinking process loop. Project proponents should use the build–measure–learn process to test the project and gather feedback. Without this step, tactical projects would not be able to make the incremental improvements that ultimately generate the best result. This will be expanded upon in Section 2.3 (Judging the Tool).

2.2.2 Project Examples

In their handbook, Lydon and Garcia (2015) outline three common methods to apply tactical urbanism:

1. Citizen-led initiatives that bypass bureaucratic processes;
2. Public engagement tools for government, developers, or non-profit agencies; and
3. Early implementation tools that test a project’s viability prior to a long-term investment.

These methods appear to encompass a wide-range of interventions from all levels of the planning hierarchy. While on the surface, it may seem like “the work of inner-city hipsters with starry eyes” (Barber, 2013), but interventions can be found in many different contexts. On one hand, this universal applicability seems to have helped rapidly spread the ‘tactical urbanism’ term. However, general confusion from practitioners could become a concern due to the

ambiguous boundaries of the tool's application. Examples of each method are explored further to help clarify these boundaries.

Citizen-led Initiatives

The inspiration for tactical urbanism can be found from as far back as the Roman military setting up temporary structures that morphed into centres for commerce, to *les bouquinistes* illegally selling books along the Seine in 16th century Paris. Using temporary and adjustable infrastructure has allowed citizens to adapt to their environment throughout history. However, when these values were repurposed for the digital age, citizen activism brought it to the forefront of city building. Marshall, Duvall, and Main (2015) believe much of the credit should go to the founders of Park(ing) Day in San Francisco. San Francisco Great Streets installed several “parklets” along Divisadero Street to gauge public response, after an activist group (Rebar) made the tactic viral in 2005 (San Francisco Great Streets Project, 2010). These installations increased pedestrian satisfaction in the area, and helped build a stronger sense of community character. Mariko Davidson (2013) used this event as the primary case study for her thesis, one of several researchers to study this specific initiative since its inception. Davidson notes these parklets exemplify “a full-cycle process of formalizing a tactical urbanism intervention, [representing] one critical component of a larger ‘climate of change’ developing within the city” (p. 27).

In 2010, what would later be called the *Build a Better Block* initiative successfully incorporated elements from San Francisco's parklets into their “urban street statement.” Tyler Street (located in Dallas, Texas) was the point of origin for Jason Roberts and a group of citizens who each had something small to offer. After acquiring a special events permit, the group transformed a barren streetscape into a colourful, interactive space highlighting many of the faults in the Dallas zoning ordinances. The ordinances and zoning codes that would normally be

violated were printed and posted among the sidewalk dining, parking protected bike lanes, and pop-up shops. Through their carefully planned tactics, permanent change to the street was realized rather quickly (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 124). The ordinances were put to Council discussion and changed almost immediately, the bike lane was added to the city's bike plan, and a pop-up shop leased the space they inhabited during the event.

Another interesting citizen-led case study can be found in Rachel Barber's (2013) thesis on transitional, post-disaster opportunities for Christchurch, New Zealand. Her research explores some important qualities tactical urbanism can bring to struggling areas. The organizations Gap Filler and Greening the Rubble formed shortly after an earthquake destroyed large areas of the urban core. They swiftly implemented tactical urbanism interventions, such as a bike-powered cinema and a pop-up dance party, which re-ignited a sense of community in the city. These interventions were strategically placed throughout the newly vacated spaces. Lonely Planet credited Gap Filler's interventions as a reason why Christchurch became one of the *Top 10 Cities to Visit In 2013*. This accolade came only three years after the disaster. Michael Mehaffy (2013) has highlighted the many barriers that face typical "infill" projects, including limited availability of tools or limited functionality if tools are available. Organizations in Christchurch have demonstrated the power of tactical interventions to bypass these limitations, while also offering communities a fun public amenity.

Public Engagement

All over the world, city leaders have discovered that temporary pilot projects are effective in dispelling NIMBY (not in my backyard) fears (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 18). In Somerville, Massachusetts, a Pop-Up Plaza was set up in a parking lot – known as Cutter Square – for three full days. City officials hosted a variety of day and evening events during what the media called

a “three-day public charrette” (The Somerville Times, 2013) to gather community input on the future design of the area. The public had rejected the initial proposal for the area since it did not accurately represent overall community interests. By moving away from a traditional top-down process, this sanctioned intervention transformed what is normally a relatively uninteresting activity into a fun event that helped citizens imagine the possibilities of this area. Comments gathered throughout the event demonstrated the support of a new public space, and these ideas were integrated into the subsequent design.

Early Implementation

The City of Calgary pioneered one of the most grandiose examples of government-led tactical urbanism to date. A commitment was made by the City Council to implement a downtown cycle track prior to the typical public engagement process. This type of implementation can be titled “Phase 0” of the overall project. They directed the Transportation Department to pilot a 6.5 km network of cycling infrastructure and shared space in the Centre City for 18 months (Glowacz, 2016). It opened in June 2015 both ahead of schedule and \$1.65 million under the approved \$7.1 million budget. A major aspect of the project was a comprehensive evaluation plan using a variety of data collection methods. Baseline datum was established prior to implementation and measured throughout the entire lifecycle. This was supplemented by research conducted shortly after implementation, as well as at the one-year mark in order to “track awareness, understanding, attitudes and support for the Cycle Track” (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2016). Project feedback received during the pilot period guided over 100 adjustments made in that 18-month time period. In the end, there was a significant improvement in many of the variables studied and 67% of Calgarians supported the pilot project.

It is proven tactical urbanism can be a low-risk method to demonstrate the potential of vacant spaces, foster civic engagement, and create the social momentum needed to stimulate new and progressive infrastructure (Driggins & Snowden, 2012). Does exploring the possibilities of the diverse aforementioned interventions help clarify the term's boundaries or further distort them? Perhaps tactical urbanism is best served without rigid boundaries and strict rules to follow, allowing creativity to flourish?

2.3 JUDGING THE TOOL

Tactical Urbanism projects may be judged almost instantly, often upon delivery: a vacant lot is cleaned up and transformed into a pocket park where people gather, a single-car parking space is turned into bike parking, citizens hang replica speed limit signs directing motorists to drive slower, and it works—or maybe not (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 202).

Judging tactical urbanism interventions is not a static process. Each project is unique in context, goals, and purpose. While it may be possible to realize instant results, as in the case of *Build a Better Block's* Tyler Street project, long-term and permanent change cannot be measured in months. Without a defined purpose and comprehensive implementation plan, a project can easily drift into obscurity without creating any tangible impact (Driggins & Snowden, 2012). Instead of viewing a project as a simple quick fix, appropriate data and feedback can help engineers and planners modify a project to meet the intended goals or avoid unexpected consequences (Nielson, McClain, & Hennessey, 2015).

2.3.1 Build-Measure-Learn Your Way to Success

As mentioned in the previous section, *Build-Measure-Learn* is one of key processes in the lifecycle of a tactical project. This term comes from The Lean Startup (see Figure 3), a

“scientific approach to creating and managing startups and get a desired product to customers' hands faster” (Ries, 2010). By moving from ideas to data as quickly as possible, proponents are able to validate a hypothesis and discover important lessons that will improve project success in the long-term.

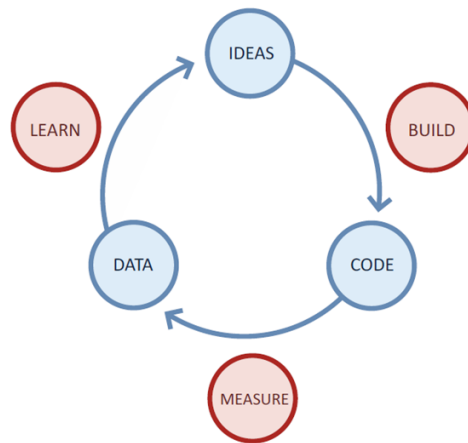


Figure 3: Lean Startup Methodology (Adhiya, 2014)

Although it is criticized as a “fire-ready-aim process” (Blank, 2015), it is able to learn and adapt to the market quicker than a traditional one-step-to-the-next process. From a business perspective, valuable insights are derived from providing minimum viable products that are subsequently tested and reworked to meet consumer reactions. In planning and urban design, this process transfers over relatively well. The City of Calgary had set up their pilot project to collect data continuously, which informed both small adjustments during the project and final recommendations at the end of the 18-month project. In downtown New York, five years of measuring and tinkering resulted in permanent infrastructure (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). For both Calgary and New York, collecting data to measure and judge the project was one of the main elements in their process.

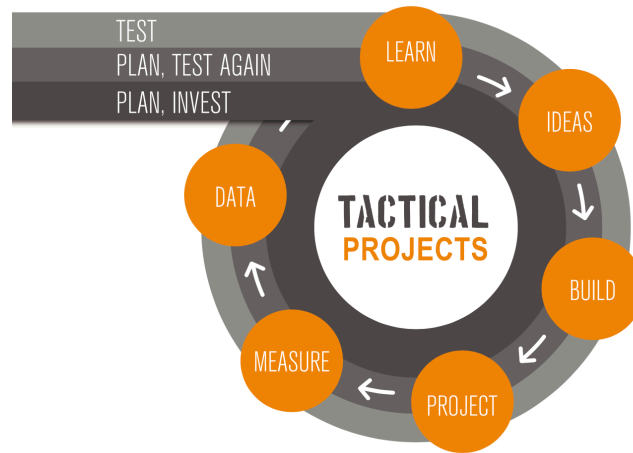


Figure 4: Tactical Projects Build-Measure-Learn Process (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p.200)

Lydon and Garcia (2015) created an image (Figure 4) to illustrate the tactical urbanism version of this process. The image further implies the importance of testing, modifying, and once again testing. However, bringing back earlier criticism about the neoliberal agenda of tactical projects, it is clear this process is best designed for the bureaucratic, incremental engineering of municipal governments. Citizens and community groups with limited resources likely won't be able to take full advantage of a process requiring continuous data collection and physical alterations. Tactical interventions may have to stop after the first time around the Build-Measure-Learn cycle, which could lower the chances of long-term success. In either case, gathering this datum is clearly vital to tactical interventions, whether it is to make an individual push for change or forge an incremental path towards permanence.

2.3.2 Gathering Data

General observation of a recently altered space is the first step towards judging an intervention, but measuring impacts allows the generation of a more complete picture. Bicycle and pedestrian traffic volumes, noise decibels, traffic speed, retail sales, and any number of other qualitative or

quantitative data sets are tangible ways to communicate success or failure (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). “Pop Up Rockwell” was a one-week tactical urbanism project in Cleveland, exemplifying a project with well-defined measurement procedures. Students in a graduate urban design studio initiated a street transformation on Rockwell Avenue, using a process of research, design, installation, and evaluation. Some of the interventions included WiFi bus benches, a cycle track, and greenspace. Over the course of the week, students used time-lapse photography, film, interviews, and various other forms of data collection. Rather than learn these lessons after years of planning and millions of dollars spent on permanent infrastructure, the students were able to build the project, measure some of the impacts, and learn quickly how the next project phase should move forward (Jurca & Kruth, 2012). From start to finish, this process took one semester – not years – and provided a smart, nimble, and effective way to deliver on the promises of the City’s recent planning initiatives. As a result, money was put towards tangible infrastructure that helped guide the strategic vision of the area.

Getting actionable metrics can help complete the build-measure-learn cycle that Lydon and Garcia (2015) have proposed. Colin McFarlane (2011) believes “learning is crucial to how urbanism is produced and to how different constituencies respond to it” (p. 362). These often ‘improvisational tactics’ create the space for marginalized groups (or those simply faced with resistance) to adapt – to learn what can work for them. It gives them a voice in the urban forum, helping them play a role in reassembling urban life (McFarlane, 2011). The feedback from the quick insertion of a physical intervention into the urban form is a collective language for decision-makers and citizens alike. Judging a space based on individual perspective alone does not appeal to current bureaucratic regimes. This is why the late William Edwards Deming – a

statistician, professor, author, lecturer, consultant and the godfather of the Lean Startup – said: “In God we trust; all others must bring data.”

2.4 SUMMARY

What Is It?

Tactical urbanism is an approach to placemaking and neighbourhood building using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions. It may be viewed as a way to counter the often slow and siloed conventional city-building process. It does not propose one-size-fits-all solutions but intentional and flexible responses.

Tactical urbanism exists on a spectrum of unsanctioned to sanctioned projects, and can be easily confused with DIY or Guerilla Urbanism interventions, as well as various placemaking initiatives. As Lydon and Garcia (2015) state, “not all DIY urbanism efforts are tactical, and not all Tactical Urbanism initiatives are DIY” (p. 6). This tool intends to instigate long-term change, such as revising an outdated policy or responding to a deficiency of infrastructure. Therefore, the scope of tactical urbanism can overlap with other forms of temporary urbanism, but exists primarily as a separate term.

Incremental improvement is another goal that helps define the term. One might look at it like a manufacturing process, such as the deliberately agile “Build–Measure–Learn” product development cycle. The idea is that each revolution quickly improves on the last until a “product” is ready for the “market”, if only in beta form.

Who Uses it?

Tactical Urbanism may be used by a range of actors, including governments, business and nonprofits, citizen groups, and individuals. It does not classify one type of actor as a higher authority on tactical projects. Lydon and Garcia (2015) have offered unique benefits for each of these actors (p. 3):

- Citizens – reclaim, redesign, and/or reprogram public space
- Developers or Entrepreneurs – collect design intelligence from the market they intend to serve
- Advocacy Organizations – demonstrate possibilities to help garner public and political support
- Government – apply best practice quickly

Where Is It Used?

Tactical urbanism interventions are primarily brought to the reservoir of underused city spaces: vacant lots, empty storefronts, overly wide streets, highway underpasses, and surface parking lots. However, the boundaries for its use are not clearly defined since project proponents continue to find new successful contexts. Projects can be brought to any urban space that would benefit from improvement.

How Is It Used?

Lydon and Garcia (2015) believe the three most common applications are:

- Initiated by citizens to bypass the conventional project delivery process and cut through municipal bureaucracy by protesting, prototyping, or visually demonstrating the possibility of change.

- As a tool for city government, developers or nonprofits to engage the public more broadly during project planning, delivery, and development processes.
- As a “phase 0” early implementation tool used by cities or developers to test projects before a long-term investment is made.

However, these three broad examples do not represent the limit of the tool. For example, citizens have demonstrated the potential for transitional opportunities in disaster-stricken areas. The only boundaries are the imaginations of project proponents, as long as the project or initiative retains the core characteristics.

Why Is It Used?

Lydon and Garcia (2015) believe tactical urbanism is an effective method for transforming an “orderly but dumb system into one that’s more chaotic but smart” (p. 20) – one that allows emergent networks of people and their ideas to develop quality-of-life improvements at the neighborhood scale. It is also a tool to merge strategies and tactics, and to proactively address the tension between bottom-up and top-down processes through creating a better and more responsive environment for all.

Final Thoughts...

After breaking the literature review up into What, Who, Where, How, and Why, a few key words arise to help analyze whether a project is considered tactical urbanism:

What	Short-term, low-cost, scalable, and purposeful.
Who	Citizens, Organizations, Businesses/Developers, and Government.
Where	Any urban space that needs improvement.
How	Testing out infrastructure before long-term investment, engaging the public, demonstrating or experimenting with viable infrastructure alternatives, and reclaiming public space.
Why	Transforming inefficient and poorly designed urban space to reflect better urban design practice and citizen preferences.

Table 1: Tactical Urbanism Breakdown

Throughout their book, Lydon and Garcia state that the tactical urbanism term was inspired by interventions already initiated in the public realm. Many of these interventions (both citizen- and government-led) are now retroactively recognized as examples of tactical urbanism, but there was no handbook guiding the pioneering project proponents. Citizen creativity and activism blazed much of the path for the *Tactical Urbanism* term, but Design Thinking, the Lean Startup framework, and Lydon and Garcia's own private sector perspective bridged this ethos with the current bureaucratic systems of city planning. It is, therefore, reasonable to perceive this formalization as a hijacking of citizen efforts to reclaim space; assigning the neoliberal label is not a wholly unfair notion. However, there are other ways to observe the implications of this new terminology that remove its presumed association with this undesirable label.

In some cases, the sanctioning and continued maintenance of citizen-led projects by local governments or organization was the initial goal of activists. Larger organizations have the capacity to ensure new infrastructure remains in place and remains successful. A healthy

partnership between empowered citizens and responsive government can create effective transitions between *what was* and *what will be*. Perhaps the upstart energy of tactical urbanism can be married to well-considered financial capital, and something altogether transformative will emerge and be sustained (Lydon, 2015).

This literature review shows a range of opinions on tactical urbanism that are generally optimistic, but tempered with an apprehension about how projects are best implemented. At this stage, there is no clear optimal use for tactical urbanism in the public or private realm, due to each unique context. An observed gap currently exists in the analysis of these projects in Canada, since Canadian cities have only recently started implementing tactical urbanism infrastructure. My research explored what aspects motivated The Forks to pursue this approach when designing and constructing their shared use road intervention. A project designed and implemented by an organization also provides a different perspective on many of the citizen-driven examples that are highlighted thus far.

3 | METHODS

This practicum used a case study research strategy to analyze the Fort Gibraltar shared-use road project at The Forks, within a larger context of tactical urbanism in Winnipeg. Primary research methods included a site analysis and interviews divided into two sets. Two key informants of the project were the first interview set to aid in better understanding all aspects of the design and implementation process. This was followed by a second set of interviews, consisting of five practitioners in the Winnipeg planning community. The definition of planning community extends beyond architects and planners. It includes urban designers, city officials, and any profession that takes part in the city-building process. Interviewees offered their perspectives on the case study and tactical urbanism from a public sector, private sector or not-for-profit (NFP) organization viewpoint. Ultimately, the strategy was designed to comment on the broader topic of tactical urbanism in Winnipeg through these perspectives. Design and implementation procedures for infrastructure projects were secondary components to the interview questions, which provided additional insight for future lessons. Research findings were examined in an exploratory format to create Canadian-based literature on tactical urbanism.

3.1 CASE STUDY

This single embedded case study analyzed the shared-use road using four units of analysis featuring two areas of interest for the practicum: process and perspectives. I conducted site observations and documentation, discussed project implementation procedures, and explored the perspectives of the project coordinators, as well as perspectives from practitioners in Winnipeg's planning community. The site analysis and key informant interviews were designed to build upon each other to broaden my understanding of the project. Establishing this knowledge base

was essential to the final round of interviews with planning community members not actually involved in the design or construction of the shared-use road.

Yin (1994) outlines four basic models for case studies: single or multiple case designs with either single or multiple units of analysis. Single case studies are chosen for unique examples, specifically the design and implementation procedures of The Forks' shared-use road. The main problem with this model is the difficulty of generalizing from one specific case (Gray, 2004). Research findings may become too insular and not provide tangible results to carry forward in future research. Using a multiple case design ensures a greater generalizability but would require an analysis within each setting and across these settings to ensure internal validity (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This would shift the focus of the study to the similarities and differences of each case, rather than the details of a single project. Since tactical urbanism projects are often context-dependent, restricting the analysis to a single case and exploring it in further detail is more appropriate for this practicum. Case selection is not regarded as a central issue, if the research does not directly reflect on a larger population of cases (Elman, Gerring, & Mahoney, 2016). Comparing and contrasting the results of the case study with both the tactical urbanism literature and perspectives from practitioners provides appropriate generalizability and improves construct validity.

3.1.1 Site Analysis

I conducted an analysis of the case study site as a starting point for the research, to establish an inventory of the physical infrastructure that was in place before the intervention, and changes made after implementation. This provided the necessary context for discussions with interviewees. Overall, the analysis developed a personal knowledge of the site and uncovered

this detail through unobtrusive means (Zeisel, 2006). Two components were identified for the analysis:

- Specific physical details of previously existing street environment and elements of the newly implemented infrastructure; and
- How the project connects with the surrounding environment and transportation infrastructure.

I used photographs of site elements and bicycle traffic volume statistics to add greater depth to this method, and help to demonstrate usage. Photographs were taken on four occasions over the course of the research period to note seasonal changes to the site as well as infrastructure maintenance: July 2016, October 2016, January 2017, and April 2017. Since the case is an outdoor intervention, all observations during the analysis were registered on days considered good weather for the time of year (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Key informant interviews (see Section 3.1.2) further expanded the findings to comment on design and implementation details unavailable through naturalistic observation.

Used to address:

1. How was tactical urbanism actively deployed at The Forks?

3.1.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews are typically “used as the means of gathering information about a person’s knowledge, values, preferences and attitudes” (Gray, 2004, p. 214). I conducted semi-structured interviews to initiate a greater exploration into the perspectives of project stakeholders and the planning community, as well as provide additional detail to site analysis findings. The semi-structured format allowed the research to probe for more in-depth responses and attain highly

personalized data specific to the Winnipeg planning context (Berg, 2001). The challenge of this method was balancing directive and non-directive questioning. There were instances where further detail regarding specific case-based questions was needed, but the topic quickly moved towards valuable perspective-based answers. At times, I “let the interviewee guide the conversation, as it [was] their experience that [was] the focus” (Adams, 2010, p. 19). A note was made to return to previous questions, if the given answer was insufficient or needed further clarification.

Interviewees were separated into two sets: key informants and planning community members. Interview schedules and participant lists for both sets are included in Appendices A and B respectively. Prior to organizing and conducting the interviews, participants were asked to review and sign a consent form (see Appendix C), which outlined the risks and benefits of their participation in the research project. At that time, interviewees were also provided a general information sheet about the research project, as well as my contact information and the research supervisor’s contact information, should they have any questions or would like to respond to the questions at a later time. Six of the seven participants consented to waiving anonymity at the outset. The seventh participant later agreed to waive anonymity following the interview, and resubmitted the form.

Approximately 24-hours before each interview was conducted, interviewees received a brief containing a summary of the tactical urbanism literature. Planning Community Member interviewees also received a brief detailing the Fort Gibraltar Trail case study, summarized from the site analysis and key informant interviews. This information was only offered shortly before conducting the interview to ensure their perspectives were not influenced by the researcher’s

summaries. The briefs allowed for readily available visual representations and cues for discussion points during the interview. See Appendix D for both briefing documents.

Key Informants

A member of the Forks North Portage Partnership project management team and one project consultant were interviewed to complete the picture of how the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road was designed and implemented. Using the typology of Gray (2004), these interviews were “focused,” since the interviewees were directly involved in the case study’s implementation and offered subjective responses to this situation. This process provided greater insight to overall project intent, as well as the experience of designing and constructing the project.

Used to address:

- 1. How was tactical urbanism actively deployed in the Forks?**
- 2. How does The Forks’ shared-use road fit within the tactical urbanism literature and how do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive this intervention?**
- 3. How do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive tactical urbanism as a tool for planning and implementation in the City of Winnipeg?**

Planning Community Members

Five members of Winnipeg’s planning community were interviewed to gather a range of perspectives on both the case study and tactical urbanism as a tool. Lessons for the implementation of future projects were subsequently developed from the analysis of their perspectives. Since tactical urbanism is a framework that promotes the importance of equity in the social hierarchy, citizens and planning professionals should have an equal voice in the discussion. Therefore, my sampling strategy was purposive in its approach (Neuman, 2000). Representation included two city councilors, one public sector planner, one private sector urban

designer, and one community organization director. I also targeted a sample of interviewees that was not markedly heterogeneous in age, gender, or profession. This variety of representation helped to ensure perspectives of individuals or persons displaying all planning attributes are included in the study (Berg, 2001). However, it's important to note that mostly male participants responded to my interview request and therefore, only one participant is female.

Used to address:

- 2. How does The Forks' shared-use road fit within the tactical urbanism literature and how do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive this intervention?**
- 3. How do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive tactical urbanism as a tool for planning and implementation in the City of Winnipeg?**
- 4. What lessons do the planning community perspectives offer to proponents interested in tactical urbanism projects elsewhere in Winnipeg?**

3.1.3 Data Analysis

The progressive nature of my qualitative research strategy required reflection throughout the interview process to analyze the data as it was gathered and proceed through the project (Saldana, 2011). Semi-structured interviews prompted analysis during the discussions by working through ideas with research participants (Gibson & Brown, 2009). This was part of the lived aspect of gathering data. To maintain the reliability across each interview, individual questions were consistent but probing. Follow-up questions specific to an interviewees particular sector were used to address relevant information gathered from previous methods and discussions.

All interviews were transcribed and coded for both holistic and thematic analysis to provide “a way of linking diverse experiences or ideas together” (Gibson & Brown, 2009). Empirical codes emerged throughout the interview process, which aided in discovering how perspectives could be categorized for analysis. The qualitative analysis software, *ATLAS.ti*, was first used to separate interview transcripts into broad areas (or holistic codes). These areas included project goals and details, or perspectives on specific aspects of the project. Specific to perspectives, once the primary categories were generated, codes were separated into positive and negative dimensions (Saldana, 2011). After an examination of the commonalities between themes within the holistic codes and dimensions, overall perspectives and lessons were derived. Positive comments relating to the case study, tactical urbanism, and other tactical projects were gathered to highlight key elements for future projects in Winnipeg. Negative comments helped to outline valuable lessons for these future projects, as well as to identify areas in the tactical urbanism literature requiring further exploration.

3.2 LIMITATIONS AND BIASES

Before the research began, it was important to recognize the limitations of the case study and how closely it correlates to tactical urbanism. Prior knowledge of the project implementation process was critical in the decision to study The Forks’ shared-use road; it was known that Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia’s tactical urbanism book was an influential factor. However, the results of the research did not rely on direct correlation between the case study and what the literature describes as an ideal tactical urbanism project. Rather, the implementation procedures and the temporary nature of the project design acted as a starting point for a broader discussion.

Analyzing the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road, in particular, provided interesting insights due to the varying perspectives about this correlation.

The *tactical urbanism* term, itself, is relatively new in the planning profession. New literature is being released and new tactical projects are being implemented on a continual basis. This practicum can only take a snapshot of the term's consensus understanding to date. As additional research is released and new projects are implemented, the term may be amended to reflect this ongoing discussion. The specific focus of this research is how the term is understood in Winnipeg's planning community, and not social perceptions on a larger scale.

The primary bias of this research was to ensure a sufficiently critical analysis of both the case study and tactical urbanism. A balanced collection of positive and negative perspectives was imperative for establishing a robust set of data. At the outset of the practicum, most researchers initially viewed tactical urbanism as a beneficial tool in general and entered the research process with this bias. To remove any researcher bias and ensure objectivity in the findings, the focus of study was directed towards the perspectives of practitioners. The researcher's personal opinions were not included in the analysis. Furthermore, all perceived biases of the selected interviewees were taken into account, where possible. These perceptions were often difficult to determine based on publicly available information, and therefore, the selection process focused primarily on identified general expertise in urban design. Interview questions were then designed to probe for both positive and negative perspectives as appropriate.

4 | THE CASE STUDY

This chapter addresses a range of elements related to the production of the shared-use road on Fort Gibraltar Trail from the initial goal for the site, to perspectives on its design and implementation. First, the site context is explored to provide a background narrative for the case study. This context includes Winnipeg and the Forks area to provide the context for perspectives on planning in Winnipeg. The project is then examined through a site analysis, followed by an analysis of perspectives from key project stakeholders and planning community members. Using these components – as well as the summary of the tactical urbanism literature – creates a more accurate response to whether or not this shared-use road should actually be recognized as a tactical urbanism project.

4.1 CONTEXT

4.1.1 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Located at the geographical centre of Canada, Winnipeg - the capital city of Manitoba - has strived to position itself as the ‘heart’ of Canada. The junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was an important area for Indigenous people (and eventually colonialists) to trade furs, sacred stories, and other goods (Manitoba Canadian Conference, 1994). This major nexus point, christened The Forks by English fur traders in the 17th century, attracted Europeans to settle along the Red River valley and stimulate settlement growth in the region. The foundation of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange at the turn of the 19th century north of this junction played a critical part in the rise of Winnipeg as North America’s trade and transportation hub in the modern era (Cooper, 2009).

Between 1871 and 1911, the city grew in population from 241 to 136,000 people (Manitoba Canadian Conference, 1994). Rapid population growth and accessible trade routes ushered in large civic monuments to celebrate the rise of a new metropolis. However, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 offered an alternative trade route that allowed transcontinental shipping to bypass the city, and the Great War in 1914 slowed population growth. Stagnant development through the mid- to late-20th century left the once thriving city centre struggling to maintain its early success. Meaningful careers were becoming increasingly scarce and many Manitobans were migrating to find work (Gage, 2002). Since this stagnation period, the city appears to be in a slow motion state of transition, still finding its identity while struggling with the tensions of a colonial past (Baerwaldt, 2008). However, there is arguably an increase in momentum for growth and development, as private interests turn their attention to Winnipeg's relatively cheap and available urban marketplace.

While the initial loss in development interest resulted in vacated spaces throughout downtown Winnipeg, it has opened the door for creative thinkers and a thriving arts and culture community. Once again, The Forks has become one of the drivers for this rejuvenation, in an attempt to re-establish Winnipeg as a productive, engaging and resilient city. While these drivers for change can help move the City forward, the responsibility also rests on the shoulders of city officials and community leaders. "If political leadership stems from electoral attractiveness instead of futurist thinking, then we will remain a third rate city and we just won't count in Canada anymore" (Gage, 2002).

City of Winnipeg Plans and Strategies

In 2009, Winnipeg began the process of creating a new municipal development plan to guide sustainable growth and prepare to shift from a city in transition to a global city offering a high

quality of life. The resulting plan, *OurWinnipeg*, allows for the allocation of resources to demonstration projects in both public infrastructure and public art installations (City of Winnipeg, 2011). This is an important first step for allowing the characteristics of tactical urbanism to enter into Winnipeg's urban environment in a more sanctioned way. As a result of this policy change, or perhaps through an influx of progressive city officials, municipally led pilot/demonstration projects are becoming more frequent.

An 'Active Transportation Strategy' was adopted in 2014 in an effort to address elements in the *OurWinnipeg* plan through improved transportation infrastructure. This is intended to guide all active transportation infrastructure improvements in Winnipeg for the foreseeable future. City officials have committed to the strategy in principle, which may allocate up to \$330 million over the next 20 years if all proposed actions are taken. There is no emphasis specifically placed on pilot projects or temporary interventions; however, pilot engagement projects are considered.

4.1.2 The Forks

Starting in the 1880s, The Forks has maintained its position as a hub of grain exchange for almost a century. The rail yards of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company, the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad and the Canadian National Railway were the primary infrastructure elements at the site (The Forks, 2016). Once The Forks was designated a National Historic Site in 1974, development in the area planned to change it to the mixed-use gathering place more commonly recognized today (Parks Canada, 2008). Seventeen individual sites were developed at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, and in the spring of 1986, a 5.5-hectare park was created along the riverbank. In 1987, The Government of Canada

transferred the land to the newly formed Forks Renewal Corporation (FRC) to continue renovations (St. John, 2003). The train sheds that once housed railcars were transformed into The Forks Market. The buildings once occupied by these railway companies are now home to restaurants, coffee shops, clothing stores, and The Manitoba Children's Museum.

The FRC is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the North Portage Development Corporation (NPDC), which was incorporated under the laws of Manitoba as a community development corporation (The Forks, 2016). The Federal Government of Canada, the Province of Manitoba, and the City of Winnipeg own the NPDC equally. Both the FRC and NPDC were meant to provide a mechanism for implementing the redevelopment of their respective areas through investments from public and private sectors. In 1994, they merged to form the Forks North Portage Partnership (FNPP), which is currently the main governing body for The Forks. A Chief Executive Officer directs the business affairs of the organization.

“With over four million visitors each year, The Forks is the city's number one tourist attraction” (The Forks, 2016). The site is attracting development not only to its own site, but to the surrounding downtown area as well. The Riel Esplanade Bridge and the Canadian Human Rights Museum (opened in September of 2014) have become important architectural and cultural achievements for Winnipeg. The patchwork of attractions at The Forks is continuing to grow well into the 21st century, most notably with the Railside and Parcel 4 mixed-use residential development currently in consultation. This will further the narrative of The Forks as Winnipeg's primary destination for commerce and recreation.

Target Zero

The Forks has strived to become a leader for sustainable development and progressive planning practices in the City. With their Target Zero approach, they have begun a commitment towards

achieving zero garbage, zero water waste and zero carbon emissions (The Forks, 2016). Since the site welcomes millions of visitors each year, an important carbon reducing action is to provide safe and convenient active transportation infrastructure. Each initiative on site follows this Target Zero, mandate while also offering opportunities for local partnerships with businesses and artists.

4.2 SITE ANALYSIS

The Forks cycle track is a multi-phase project designed to provide active transportation infrastructure from Assiniboine Avenue to the Riel Esplanade Bridge (Provencher Boulevard) and Waterfront Drive. This track will become an all-season bike path and will play an important role in connecting cyclists to the Point Douglas neighbourhood, the North East Pioneer Gateway, and eventually all the way to Birds Hill Park (Winnipeg Sun, 2015). Initially, when local cycling expert Anders Swanson was brought in for consultation, the Forks North Portage Partnership was looking at the first phase of the project as one piece – Fort Gibraltar Trail from Main Street to Forks Market Road. In May 2015, The Forks dedicated \$160,000 to this project with the expressed goal of connecting with the new Assiniboine Bikeway (Winnipeg Sun, 2015). However, after a careful analysis of the site and the allocated budget, it was split into two separate phases. These two phases were the first part of the overall cycle track vision.

Phase 1 is one of the most sophisticated cycling facilities currently in Winnipeg. While the infrastructure is only ~100 metres in length, it is one of the only raised protected bike lanes in the city and includes a bike counter. However, this phase initially “used up the entire budget” (Swanson, 2017), which was the primary reason for splitting into two phases. A second budget of approximately \$150,000 was allocated for Phase 2 in 2015 after the construction of Phase 1. The

focus of this research is on Phase 2: the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road, shown in Figure 5 below. This phase of the cycle track project was completed in June of 2016, highlighted in orange (ChrisD, 2016). It was designed to slow vehicles with pavement markings and speed humps, and provides cyclists equal right to the road. Local artist Takashi Iwasaki created a series of unique designs, intended to grab the attention of drivers and quickly transform the experience of travelling through this space.

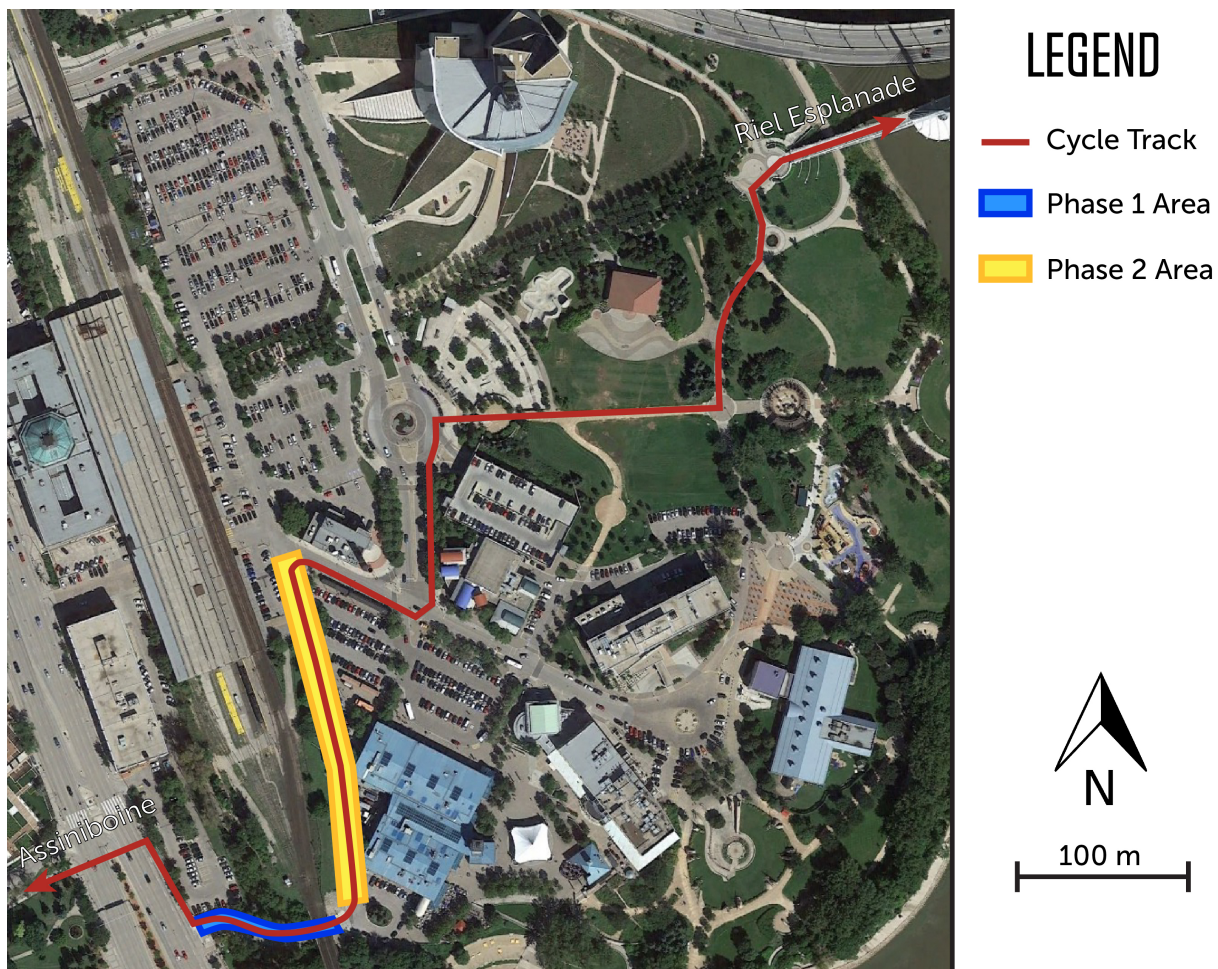


Figure 5: The Forks Cycle Track Aerial Photo

The reason this intervention was chosen for the case study is how the FNPP implemented its cycle track vision. The FNPP felt it was in its best interests to transform this space in a short period of time by employing cost-effective measures quickly rather than wait for sufficient

funding to make more substantial changes. Manager of Special Projects for the Forks North Portage Partnership, Dave Pancoe (2017), also mentions Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia's tactical urbanism handbook as the catalyst to realizing this project.

4.2.1 Site Inventory

The study area for the site analysis is that designated as Phase 2 of The Forks' cycle track, which is the right-of-way for a 195-metre length of road on Fort Gibraltar Trail. This road can be accessed from a small one-way connector road and two-way bike path (Phase 1) from northbound Main Street, or from Forks Market Road (north of the site area) by vehicles, cyclists, and pedestrians. The entire area consists of land situated within FNPP authority and abuts onto the CN/CP/VIA rail line right-of-way. Prior to the project implementation, the site features included:

- 9 standard parking stalls;
- 3 accessible stalls;
- approximately 18 on-street parking stalls;
- a service vehicle loading zone and waste pick-up area;
- 3 speed humps;
- bike racks;
- out-of-service rail cars used for commercial businesses including The WRENCH (a Winnipeg repair, education, and cycling hub) and Sugar Mountain Express (a confectionary shop);
- landscaping elements (trees, light posts, street signs, etc.);
- access points to off-street parking lots, service areas, and the CN/CP/VIA rail yards;

- CN/CP/VIA mechanical room; and
- public entrances to The Forks Market.

In the summer of 2015, during the implementation of Phase 1, an URBAN ZELT inductive loop bike counter was installed. An inductive loop counter is placed underneath the concrete and detects movement above through an electric current. While the counter is outside the site area, it is a relevant feature since it provides relatively accurate data for the case study. Inductive loop counters are placed underneath concrete or asphalt and are able to detect vehicle traffic through an electrical current. This type of counter is often a more expensive option for bike counters, but they offer increased accuracy, durability, as well as protection from vandalism. It is currently the only measurement tool on The Forks site to count bike traffic flow.

Phase 2 of the cycle track included the addition of two infrastructure components on site: a raised crosswalk, and a series of pavement markings along the entire length of the street. The raised crosswalk includes sidewalk extensions on both sides of the Fort Gibraltar Trail. The sidewalk and crosswalk elements were designed with accessibility as a primary consideration. Bright yellow tactile strips and changes in pavement colour help clarify curb edges and access points for the vision impaired. As a result of this new infrastructure, the southbound stop sign for vehicles is set back, thereby reducing the number of on-street parking by approximately two stalls. Figure 6 shows a before and after view of the entire crosswalk area.



Figure 6: Raised Crosswalk from Phase 2 Before and After Construction (source: Google Earth)

Local artist Takashi Iwasaki created 10 individual designs for the pavement markings using a combination of yellow and white paint. The designs included two types of trees, two types of houses, a car, a bike, a crab, a fairy, a circle, and the word “SLOW” with a circle border. The project manager expressed a desire to use a larger colour palette, but proper pavement paint in colours other than white and yellow are costly and difficult to procure. Figure 7 shows some of the designs, photographed in September 2016. The photograph study (in Section 4.2.4) contains additional examples of the pavement marking designs. The entire site area is shown in Figure 8, which identifies all features noted in the site inventory.



Figure 7: Phase 2 Pavement Marking Designs



Figure 8: Site Area Graphic

In the summer of 2017, the FNPP added another phase of the cycle track (Phase 3) on Forks Market Road, north of Phase 2. The function of this phase was to provide a raised multi-use path for cyclists and pedestrians, replacing the previously existing on-street parking stalls. Local artist James Culleton designed and painted this phase of the track (ChrisD, 2017). Seven different colours of paint were used to make the path visually stand out and take a modern approach on the historic railroad aesthetic, as shown in Figure 9. The rainbow colour scheme also reflected a previous rainbow crosswalk initiative by The Forks in 2017. It connects the shared-use road on Fort Gibraltar Trail to Waterfront Drive, which does not currently have dedicated cycling infrastructure.



Figure 9: Phase 3 of The Forks Cycle Track Before and After (ChrisD, 2017)

4.2.2 Project Goals

The main purpose of Phase 2 – and The Forks cycle track as a whole – was to connect active transportation routes through The Forks site. There are a lot of trails passing through or near the site and making these routes continuous was a priority for the FNPP. However, due to the nature of interests around The Forks, there were several goals beyond simply making connections. The FNPP wanted to demonstrate the different ways of accommodating active transportation and did not want rely on only one method. They wanted to be able to demonstrate a range of possibilities

for the City and show how they can be effective. Creating an innovative form was an intentional component of the project.

Calming traffic on Fort Gibraltar Trail was another priority to help improve the mixed-use quality of the street. Staff members at The Forks had observed drivers using the street to bypass traffic on Main Street, and eventually to reconnect with surrounding neighbourhood street networks. This resulted in vehicles travelling too quickly and creating dangerous conditions for active transportation users. David Pancoe (2017) also mentioned how the through traffic creates more congestion on site, without providing any benefit to the businesses at The Forks. The FNPP has to remain cautious about making decisions in the interest of these businesses and their potential customers. Many customers are still choosing to visit The Forks by vehicle. Therefore, cars must still have access to the area and be able to use the available parking.

4.2.3 Design & Implementation Details

 We came up with that idea because what the engineers proposed was just not viable (Pancoe, 2017).

After Phase 1 of the cycle track was completed in 2015, the FNPP consulted with KGS Group (a private engineering firm in Winnipeg) to determine viable options for Phase 2 of the project and the associated costs of a technical, engineered solution. Figure 10 shows a section of one of the rejected options: a two-way protected bike lane that would replace the on-street parking on the west side of Fort Gibraltar Trail. A major limitation for this option was the cost of stabilizing the steep slope leading up to the railway to ensure an adequate overall street width. It far exceeded the modest budget. Additionally, a small pumping station (seen in Figure 8 of Section 4.2.1) used by CN and CP prevents any infrastructure from extending further west, thus creating a pinch point for traffic flow and the large trucks entering the loading area. Vehicles must be able to

travel both north and south, which requires a minimum width to accommodate the two-way traffic.

Choosing to build a protected bike lane on the east side of the street also brought several undesired consequences. Almost all of the parking in the area would be removed, including four handicap stalls, which is never a politically viable decision. Members of the FNPP and Forks staff have observed Fort Gibraltar Trail to be an important access point for people with disabilities. Several trees and pedestrian access would also be removed, further reducing the option's viability. Mr. Pancoe quickly rejected most of the recommended components.

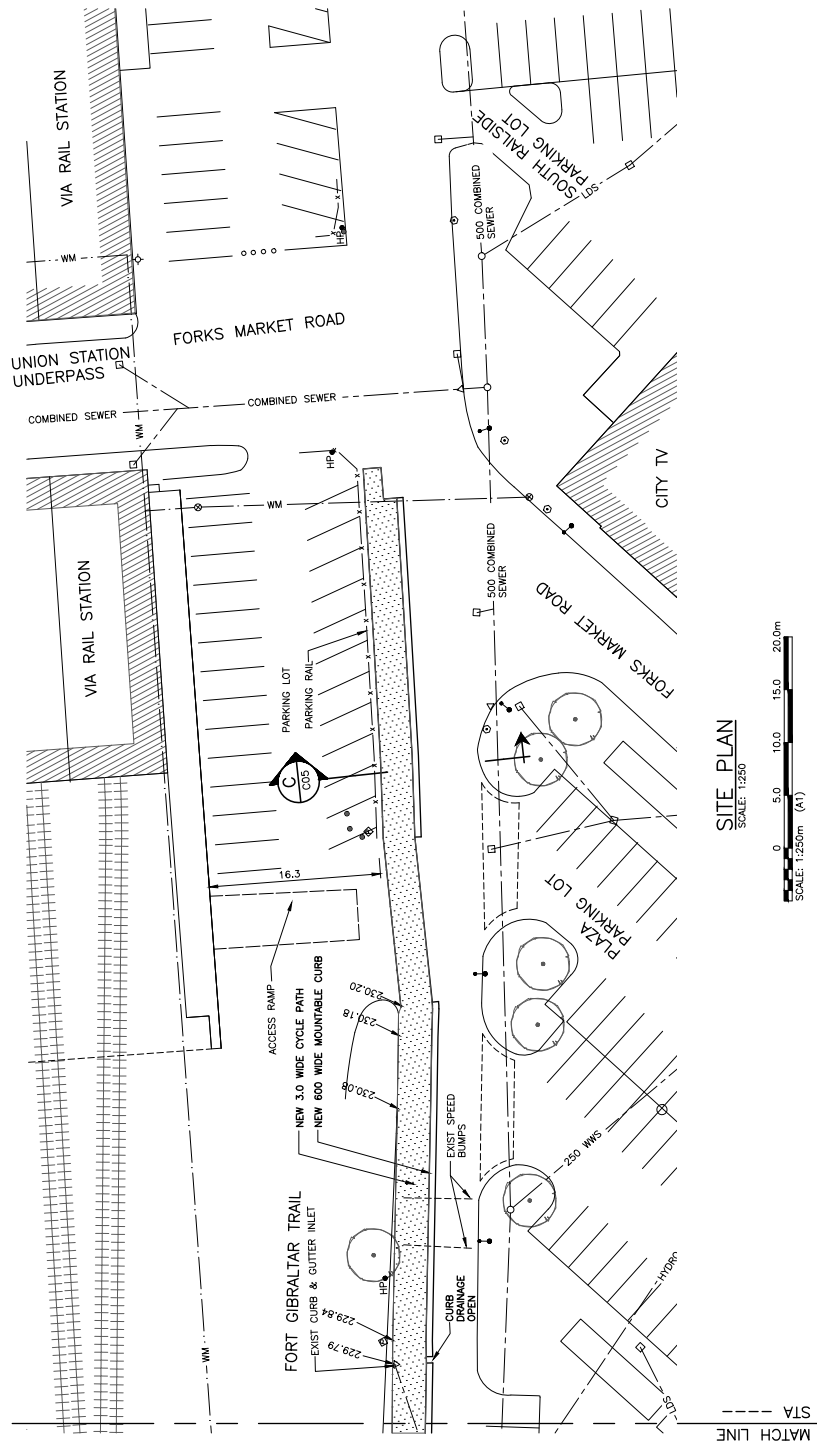


Figure 10: One of the Preliminary Technical Drawings (source: The Forks)

Mr. Pancoe (2017) first chose to proceed with the construction of the raised crosswalk component from the engineered design, since it was an important connecting piece for pedestrians and visitors with disabilities. It also created a fourth traffic calming measure at a functional distance from the other existing speed humps on the street. However, there was still a need to provide improved cycling infrastructure on the remainder of the street. Due to the high cost of available technical solutions exceeding the remaining budget, Mr. Pancoe and consultant Anders Swanson decided to try a cheaper alternative. Mr. Swanson's background in large-scale art projects, and Mr. Pancoe's recent exploration of tactical urbanism literature, inspired the tactical design solution. After some discussion and several iterations of proposed layouts, they decided the use of unique pavement markings was best option. Mr. Swanson wanted to include heavy concrete planters in different areas of the street to act as temporary bollards, effectively creating a Dutch 'woonerf' (living street) style environment. This European street design would force drivers to slowly weave through this artificially narrowed street environment at the discretion of The Forks staff. If larger vehicles needed to drive through the area, staff could use their machines to move the planters. Ultimately, the anticipated amount of continued operational and maintenance work prevented the idea from coming to fruition.

Artist Takashi Iwasaki was chosen as the designer based on suggestions from other stakeholders and FNPP staff. He had previously completed similar large-scale public art projects across Winnipeg. His designs were made into stencils to be placed on the pavement and directly painted over, allowing for reuse in subsequent years when maintenance would be required. After the engineering proposal for the cycle track was scrapped in the spring of 2016, construction of the raised crosswalk and painting of the pavement markings occurred. This process lasted from May to June that year and access to Fort Gibraltar Trail was closed off for the duration. The total

project cost of the raised crosswalk components and pavement markings was \$85,000, well within the allotted \$150,000. All remaining funds were assigned to future cycle track projects, and future maintenance costs of Phase 2 are now absorbed into the overall maintenance cost of the entire Forks site.

Upon completion in June 2016, a short media blast was sent out to promote the new infrastructure. The mandate for the marketing team at The Forks is to advertise projects that fit with the Target Zero theme. However, there was a very limited presence on social media beyond the initial promotion. Local online news outlet ChrisD.ca was the only media coverage they received. It was difficult for the public to be aware of the project without visiting the site before and after construction.

4.2.4 Usage

As active transportation infrastructure in and around The Forks improves, usage has demonstrably increased. The only quantitative measurement tool the FNPP uses to observe usage changes is the URBAN ZELT inductive bike loop counter placed in the raised cycle track on Fort Gibraltar Trail. It is able to distinguish cyclists travelling into The Forks and away from The Forks. Since the initial installation in 2015, the counter has measured the following daily data in both directions:

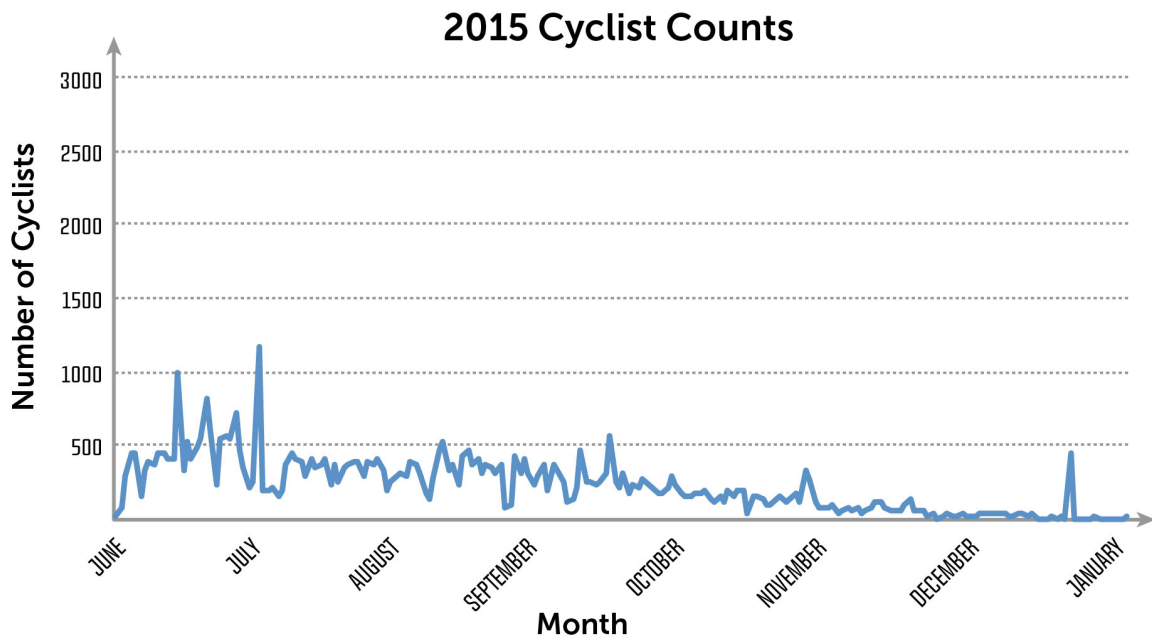


Figure 11: Fort Gibraltar Trail Bike Count Data, 2015

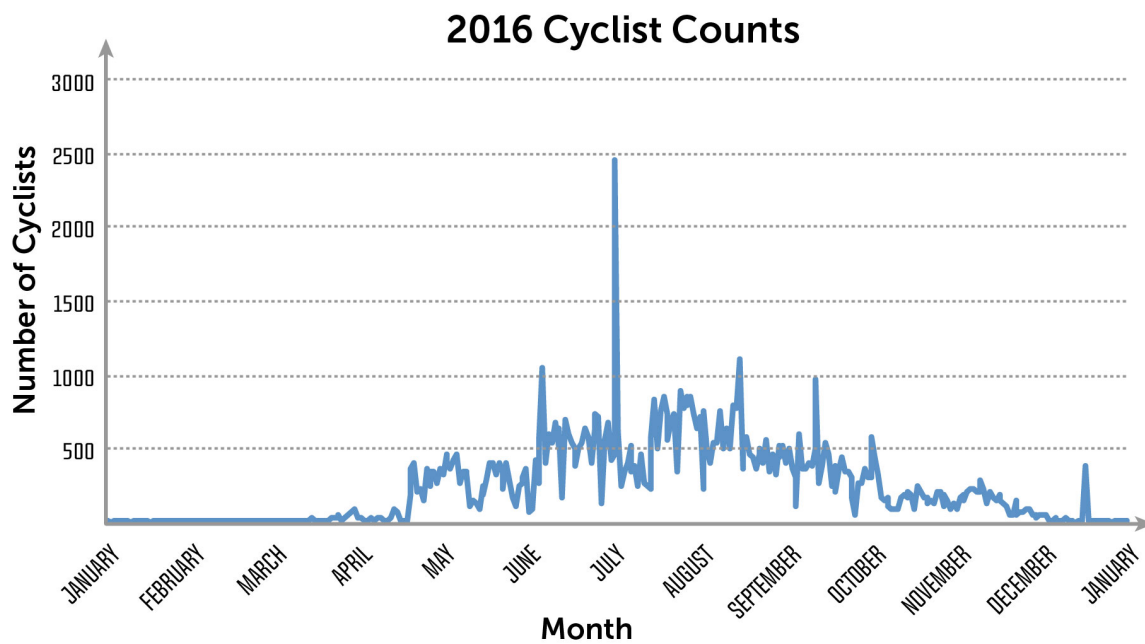


Figure 12: Fort Gibraltar Trail Bike Count Data, 2016

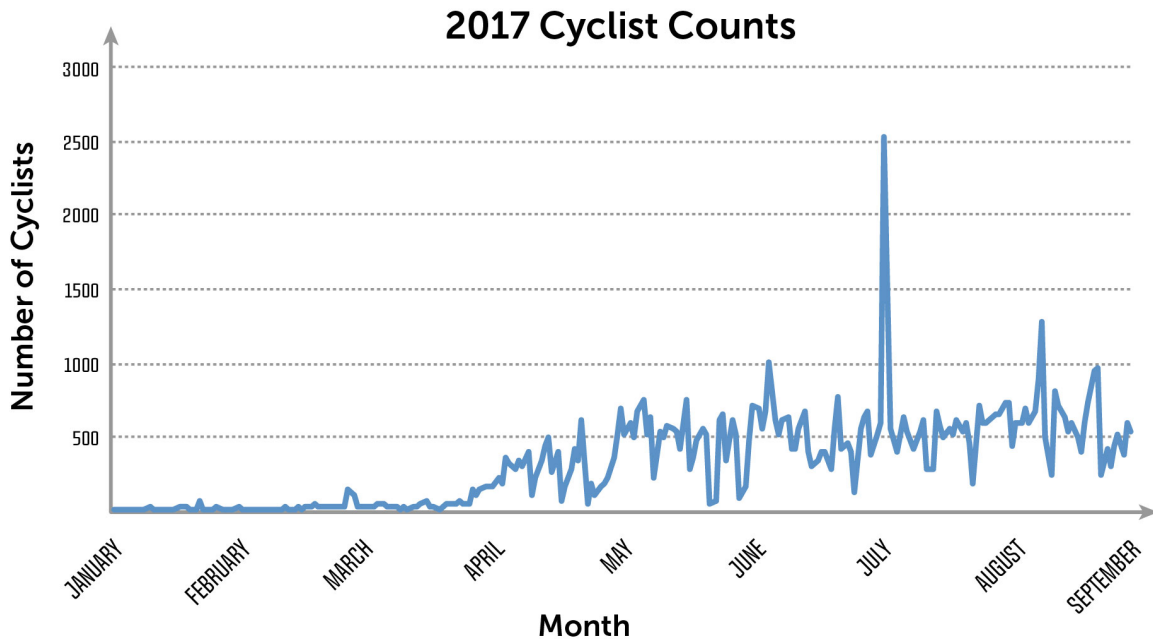


Figure 13: Fort Gibraltar Trail Bike Count Data, 2017

Since the first year of implementation began in June 2015 and this research only measures until September 2017, annual data cannot be compared accurately. Therefore, averages from each year are calculated within the months that are available: June 1st to August 31st. These summer months also represent the peak volume time period for cyclists. In three years, the average has increased from 368 cyclists in 2015, to 561 cyclists in 2016, and 580 cyclists in 2017. The increase in cyclists is likely correlated to the improved infrastructure. However, based on the rapid sequence of cycling infrastructure improvements from 2015 to 2016, it is difficult to distinguish whether a specific project had more of a positive effect than others.

Other interesting usage observations:

- There was a 52% increase in summer cyclists at The Forks from 2015 to 2016, compared to only a 3% from 2016 to 2017;

- The highest single day total each year is July 1st (Canada Day), measuring approximately 2,500 cyclists; and
- On average, July measures the most cyclists out of the entire year. July 2016 was the month with the highest total cyclists measured to date.

Photograph Study

Shortly after the pavement designs were painted in July 2016, they were clearly visible and placed evenly along the entire length of the site area. Both the yellow and white colours had not shown any signs of degradation.



Figure 14: Photographs from July 2016



Figure 15: Photographs from October 2016

After a few months (by October 2016), there were signs of slight degradation from vehicles driving on the paint. However, pavement markings were still visible throughout the area. Sections of the street with on-street parking stalls experienced less degradation.



Figure 16: Photographs from January 2017

By January 2017, pavement markings were no longer clearly visible. Snow clearing equipment and vehicle traffic had removed a significant layer of paint, and mud from snowmelt camouflaged most of the area. However, snow clearing was conducted sufficiently to ensure compact layers of snow were completely removed. Pavement marking visibility would be reduced completely in the event snow or ice was left to form on top of the road surface.



Figure 17: Photograph from April 2017

In the spring of 2017 after snow had melted, only a small amount of paint remained in sections of the street not affected by vehicle tire tracks. Pavement markings were no longer effective. By July 2017, The Forks had repainted the entire section of Fort Gibraltar Trail, returning to the original appearance from the summer of 2016.

Observations

Along with measurements from the inductive bike loop counter, security guards and other Forks staff members make general observations on bicycle parking around the case study site. They noticed an increase in cyclists and observed a lack of bike parking facilities. This increase correlates with more visitors in general to The Forks in 2016 and 2017. In response, the FNPP added new bike racks near The WRENCH shop, within the case study site area. It held a public event to make this announcement in June 2017, specifically referencing the new cycle track

infrastructure as a catalyst (see Figure 18). The FNPP will continue to ensure general observations are made to know whether improvements or changes to infrastructure are necessary moving forward.



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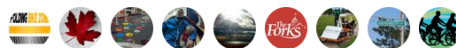


"After install of new cycle track & street painting by Takashi we saw biking increase 100% & had to install new racks." Kristin @TheForks



1:32 PM - 25 Jun 2017

8 Retweets 25 Likes



2 8 25



Figure 18: Twitter Post about New Bike Rack Installation

4.3 KEY INFORMANT PERSPECTIVES

Discussions between the FNPP and several stakeholders began almost a decade before funding was allocated and any infrastructure investments to the cycle track were made. Winnipeg Trails Association Executive Director Anders Swanson was brought into these discussions by FNPP CEO Paul Jordan as a consultant after advocating for this particular route. When the Assiniboine bike lane was constructed in 2010 – followed later by the Main Street half-signal crossing (see Figure 19) – there was a clear opportunity to plan for a connection from this new infrastructure through The Forks and into the adjacent neighbourhoods. By 2015, enough funding was available to officially begin construction on The Forks cycle track.

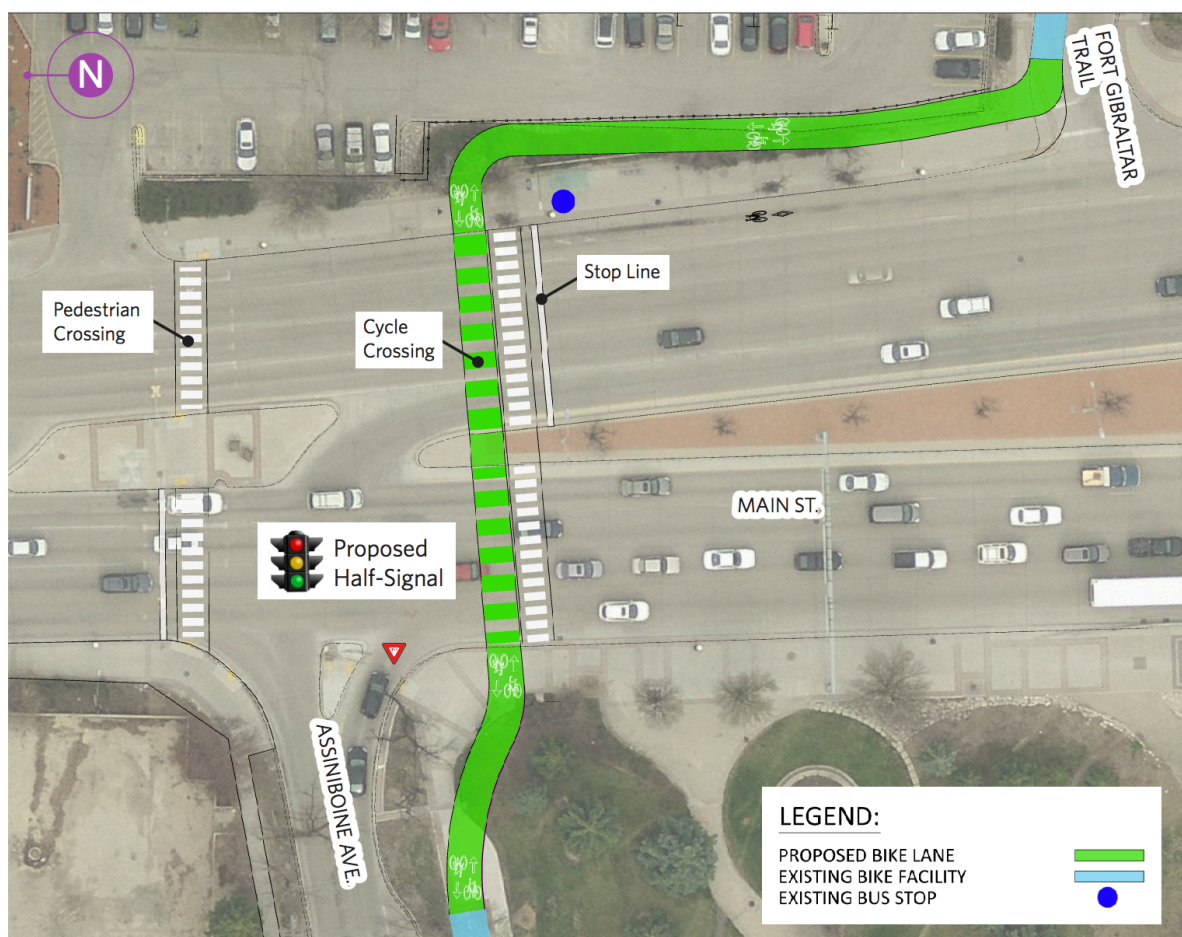


Figure 19: Main Street Half Signal Crossing Layout

Overall, Mr Swanson believes the choice to design and implement the shared-use road was a good way to start the conversation of improving the streetscape at The Forks. However, he was strongly in favour of a full redesign to accommodate active transportation (AT) users and move away from the existing utilitarian use of the space. This alternative would direct cyclists through a section of the main Forks Market parking lot and reclaim this space for pedestrians and cyclists. Another suggestion was relocating large deliveries away from the existing loading zone and using smaller vehicles or cargo bikes to carry it on site. This space could then be allocated to cyclists. The current design of the cycle track places AT users amidst large delivery trucks and vehicles accessing loading areas and parking lots. It does not provide a welcoming environment for visitors to The Forks. However, Mr Swanson believes the shared-use road is at least one step towards creating a better space.

“Sure any progress is better. It’s like trying to design a grandfather clock and it doesn’t really tell time accurately, but at least you made something” (Swanson, 2017).

Due to the resources available, paint was the primary tool for establishing the shared-use street space along with the raised crosswalk at the southern entrance to the site. Key stakeholders recognized the limitations of paint as a method for traffic calming, especially within proximity to the primary Forks Market loading area. Heavy trucks will often tread directly on large portions of the pavement marking, and snow-clearing machines will easily chip away at the paint during the winter. As a result, there is a need to maintain and repaint the area each year. The project manager for the shared-use road, Dave Pancoe, estimates an increase in their maintenance budget by 3 to 4 thousand dollars a year. This increase is a relatively moderate addition to the maintenance operations based on the current scope of The Forks’ maintenance staff.

Mr Pancoe recognized an opportunity for a more substantial change immediately during the construction stage of Phase 2. If he were to start the project over from Phase 1, he would

have closed vehicle access to Fort Gibraltar Trail, instead of investing as much as they did in the raised cycle track. Since reducing the vehicle through traffic coming from Main Street was a project goal, Mr Pancoe realized that completely closing the road was the best way to achieve the desired outcome. Initially, there was a general hesitation for the FNPP to make such a drastic change, but a permanent closure to the road will likely be pursued in the near future after observing the temporary closure.

4.3.1 Is it a Case of Tactical Urbanism?

It is clear the FNPP is not afraid to experiment with different ways to implement change on its property. While it has made efforts to improve active transportation infrastructure, a lack of resources and an operational *status quo* were the factors preventing more substantial changes to the environment for Phase 2 of the cycle track. This created ideal conditions for tactical urbanism, as Mr Pancoe recognized early in the process, after reading Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia (2015). Mr Swanson was also made aware of tactical urbanism through a conference presentation from Mike Lydon.

The two key informants believe that components of the project may align with tactical characteristics, although they both suggested that the overall project was “not true Tactical Urbanism.” Their initial perception of tactical urbanism was that it was a tool to help citizens take ownership of space or reclaim public property. Since the FNPP has full ownership rights to its property, the spirit of reclamation was never present. The project was planned with a budget in place and paid employees working “on the clock” to implement it. Both felt that if they had done the work at night away from the eyes of organization, it would constitute a more tactical approach. They hesitated to include more substantial tactical elements to the project since it was

their place of work. However, as conversation continued, Mr Pancoe and Mr Swanson were more inclined to include sanctioned implementation within the framework of tactical urbanism. They recognized the importance of asking for permission in certain cases, something the FNPP does on a regular basis with the City of Winnipeg.

4.4 PLANNING COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

Generally, members of the planning community viewed the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road as a valuable project and saw a greater connection to tactical urbanism than the project stakeholders (key informants) who designed and implemented it. Each interviewee (listed in Appendix C) believed it worked well to slow all mode users, which was an effect of both the infrastructure itself and the nature of The Forks as a site.

Function and Design

“I think the beauty of this facility is that it slows everything down including people on bicycles, and it creates more of a place instead of dedicated infrastructure, which is effective for moving people through” (MP, 2017).

One of the best outcomes of any new infrastructure projects is recognizing an immediate improvement to the environment. The unique pavement markings brought a new element to traffic calming that is not seen on any other Winnipeg street. One municipal planner interviewed as part of this research (MP) (2017) believes it is one of the only examples of a shared-use street concept in Winnipeg, which may bring both benefits and challenges to the effectiveness of the form. MP sees shared-use street environments in low-speed areas as a better solution than separating modes entirely. Allowing cyclists equal access to the same street space as vehicles demonstrates higher priority for AT users. City Councillor Matt Allard (2017) says the project

elements would make him pay attention as a driver and surprise him into behaving differently. By creating this reaction and slowing drivers, the project is able to achieve one of its main goals.

Mixing modes of transportation can be challenging, but it is made easier through The Forks' reputation for pedestrian- and cyclist-friendly environments. City Councillor Janice Lukes (2017) strongly believes this reputation is one of the reasons the design elements are able to function as well as they do. In previous City Council discussions, she had strongly advocated against the utility of *sharrow* pavement markings (indicating a shared portion of a driving lane) on public arterial roads. Applying this tactic to a street with higher vehicle speeds creates a dangerous cycling environment, which would only further dissuade citizens from choosing this mode of transportation. Ms Lukes firmly believes pavement markings for cyclists are best applied in low-speed traffic environments. Therefore, Fort Gibraltar Trail offers this ideal condition for success.

However, perceived improvement does not necessarily correlate with actual improvement. Whether a visitor is entering into the space for the first time as a driver, cyclist or pedestrian, the uncertainty about how to navigate the street may create conflicts. Mr Allard noted how pedestrians are not specifically considered and may not know if they are allowed to be on the street as well. Both MP and Mr Allard felt that a clearer delineation of space with planters or temporary posts could be a good next step to improve navigation for all users.

Aesthetics

“It adds a little pizzazz to the streetscape, which I think is a great thing in the world of transportation engineering we tend to shy away from.” (MP, 2017)

One element that can be overlooked when planning safe and efficient transportation infrastructure is the aesthetic of the environment. MP and Glen Manning, a principal landscape architect at a private landscape architecture/planning firm in Winnipeg, both felt the artistic

component was one of the strongest elements of the project. By integrating public art directly into the infrastructure and streetscape, it creates a “sense of place” (MP, 2017) rather than a corridor. Mr Manning alludes to Winnipeg’s great, untapped artistic potential as something that can greatly improve the city when integrated well. Organizations have only recently started to recognize this as an element of city building. However, it is not the first time The Forks has taken advantage of local artists and the power of paint to transform space and alter perspectives. Planning community members point to the numerous other interventions throughout the site area where artistry and creativity have been used effectively. The Forks is widely recognized as the Winnipeg organization to use local art to the fullest extent.

Level of Change

“My comments are always just around the degree of when changes are made, how aggressive are they, how much could have been done and what was done in the end” (MacPherson, 2017).

Greg MacPherson, Executive Director of the West Broadway Community Organization (WBCO), understands the budget constraints experienced by the FNPP, since he is often faced with similar financial challenges. While the result of the tactical shared-use road project is not the most comprehensive or progressive infrastructure, he believes it meets the goals set in place and it was a good step in the right direction. It was generally understood the FNPP was not “reaching for the stars,” (MacPherson, 2017) and by working within their means to create something tangible, interviewees commended them for achieving the finished product. However, further action to implement a more permanent solution in the near future was something interviewees believed was important to the success of the overall process. The FNPP should work towards finding an optimal solution through observation and evaluation. Some of the suggestions to improve the street design and help create a more shared-use environment include:

narrowing the street right-of-way, changing the orientation of car parking, the use of textured pavers, and closing vehicle access points to adjacent parking lots.

4.4.1 Is it a Case of Tactical Urbanism?

Most of the planning professionals interviewed believe this project falls generally within the scope of tactical urbanism. However, one of the common concerns with fully making this claim comes from the perception that tactical urbanism involves an intention to reclaim public space. This reflected the perspectives of the project key informants. The motive and context of the project were perceived as deviating from the citizen-led activism or advocacy characteristic. Interviewees believed other projects at The Forks represented the tactical urbanism approach more closely than the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road. Other examples, such as a recent project on Izzy Asper Way, where planters were used to narrow the street and slow traffic, were more flexible, spontaneous, and temporary.

“I think they were just doing it in a creative way so it’s a little bit different than trying to force the system to change, ‘cause in a sense they are the system” (Manning, 2017)

Recognizing the FNPP’s unique position and extending the discussion beyond grassroots initiatives, interviewees were able to identify aspects of the project pertaining to tactical urbanism. Greg MacPherson and Councillor Allard believed the relatively low-cost approach to solve their problem in the interim was in line with tactical theory. By not making major infrastructure changes, the road can be scaled up in the future to meet the future needs of the space. On the other hand, assuming the FNPP as a governmental actor with the goal of implementing best practices quickly, both Mr MacPherson and Mr Allard (2017) do not see the project as the best possible outcome for the area – though it is not too far off.

4.5 SUMMARY

The Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road, and The Forks cycle track as a whole, represents the work of an organization looking for progressive and creative ways to provide the public with better transportation infrastructure. The Forks North Portage Partnership's mandate to improve visitor experience, and to achieve its Target Zero approach, resulted in an experimental street space many perceive as a marked improvement. Site constraints and a limited budget initially prevented the construction of preferred protected cycling infrastructure. However, discussions with stakeholders and inspiration from tactical urbanism combined with its freedom as a private landowner allowed the FNPP to implement a low-cost alternative. As an infrastructure project outside of the tactical urbanism lens, the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road was successful on several accounts. What had been a utilitarian street receiving an excess of through traffic, is now subtly transformed into a more cyclist and pedestrian friendly space. The FNPP has committed to maintaining the infrastructure and will continue to pursue actions to prioritize active transportation modes. Temporarily removing vehicle access during the project's construction period increased the confidence of stakeholders to eventually close this vehicle access point permanently, increasing the possibility that this may lead to long-term change.

This case study offers an interesting context to compare with tactical urbanism theory due to the uncertainty of the FNPP's placement within the hierarchy of tacticians. Clearly, tactical urbanism is widely viewed as a tool for activism. Interviewees often referenced the 'heart' of the tool: the requirement of reclaiming space. Each practitioner had heard of tactical urbanism before the interview process, and although there was a varying degree of understanding, the citizen-led component was one of the key takeaways. It is critical to note that, according to the literature, the term tactical urbanism was never intended to apply solely to grassroots initiatives. Roles for

governments and various kinds of organizations are clearly carved out, although this has generated criticisms from urban theorists over the potential for government and organizational appropriation of citizen empowerment. Since the FNPP is a relatively large organization with sovereignty over its land, the spirit of activism and opposing authority is simply not present. Therefore, the context of this case study challenges the narrative many have placed on the tactical urbanism term. Ultimately, applying the label of tactical urbanism appears subjective since it can be justifiably argued from either side. The amount of adjustment and incremental change experienced on Fort Gibraltar Trail in the next decade may serve as the deciding factor.

5 | TACTICAL URBANISM IN WINNIPEG

This chapter first examines tactical urbanism as a tool for the planning profession beyond the scope of the case study. When each interviewee was asked whether the case study could be viewed as an example of tactical urbanism, they had not yet been provided with definitions and characteristics from the literature. After providing interviewees with a brief summary of the literature, they offered perspectives on the applicability and importance of the tool. The intention of providing this summary during the interview was to record and subsequently question the initial perspectives of interviewees. These discussions are then summarized and compared to the literature and case study. In the previous chapter, interviewees were distinguished by their connection to the project: key informant, or members of the planning community external to the project. Moving forward, interviewees are separated by their current professional sector: public, private, or not-for-profit. The Forks North Portage Partnership perspective is separated due to the ambiguity of its position in the planning hierarchy. There are clearly elements of public, private and not-for-profit sector interests. Anders Swanson was previously categorized as a key informant, but will subsequently be placed in the not-for-profit sector due to his role with Winnipeg Trails.

5.1 PERSPECTIVES ON TACTICAL URBANISM

5.1.1 The Forks North Portage Partnership

As a proven Winnipeg leader in innovative city building, the FNPP has created several projects that could arguably be considered examples of tactical urbanism. As a project manager, Dave Pancoe sees a lot of good aspects to the tool, which has led him to confidently use it for projects

like the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road. For him, one of the positive aspects is the ability to physically show the public what a space could be like by letting them test it out. This can in turn build the support necessary for creating permanent change in the subject space. It is a very informative process for citizens to be able to properly comment on a proposed change rather than speculate on how the environment will work for them. Therefore, Mr Pancoe believes successful implementation gives planners the confidence to move forward knowing it was tested and the public is in support of the project. He believes people in various sectors of the planning profession want to do the right thing and work in the interest of the public from an ethical perspective. Tactical urbanism is one way to help achieve that outcome effectively.

Mr Pancoe was cautious about two aspects: the risk of injury when implementing interventions in high-speed environments, and adequate considerations for winter conditions. When something tactical is placed in the streetscape, it is often unexpected and may result in sudden reactions from drivers. If this occurs on a high-speed road, conditions for all users of the space become significantly more dangerous. Mr Pancoe, therefore, believes tactical interventions should be restricted to environments that do not conflict with fast-moving vehicles. Secondly, since Winnipeg is a winter city, tactical urbanism in Winnipeg should address this difficult climate for pedestrians and cyclists. Public infrastructure can struggle to provide the elements for successful use of outdoor space during the winter. If tactical interventions are successfully placed within a cold climate, Mr Pancoe believes they have the chance to be more successful all-year round.

5.1.2 The Public Sector

“You can assume, and make assumptions, but sometimes those assumptions may be wrong. So if you’ve invested millions in change, and made your first attempt at it permanent, that doesn’t leave you any room for flexibility and adjustment” (Lukes, 2017).

Assumptions based on precedents and technical knowledge play a major role in guiding development and informing decisions in the public sector. City Councillor Janice Lukes knows these assumptions are not always accurate. Reactions to projects and their consequences are unknown until citizens are faced with the actual physical infrastructure. Ms Lukes believes flexibility is an important characteristic for public sector projects. She mentions the period between a project idea and the permanent solution as an optimal time to find out if something will work in a given space. She posed the question: “Why do nothing until a potentially irreversible investment is made?” (Lukes, 2017) Tactical projects and implementation processes can fill this gap. The flexibility with adjustable design removes a lot of the risk associated with unknown consequences in infrastructure development.

Another widely accepted practice to guide city development is long-term strategic plans that meet the present and projected future needs of citizens. Explicit objectives and plans for municipal growth provide a lot of tangible benefits. They can set the frameworks needed for effective discussion between decision-makers and other stakeholders. However, Ms Lukes believes you have to be aware of emerging best practices and technologies to adapt to evolving needs over time. Future actions should not be held to the recommendations issued in strategy documents ten years prior. Tactics are able to provide the flexibility required to use the budget effectively without undermining the strategic plan.

Finding relevant indicators for these projects and measuring impacts before, during, and after implementation is a way to use the momentum built through the entire project delivery

process. The ability to demonstrate notable improvement is a vital tool for project proponents regardless of their place in the planning hierarchy. However, city officials rely primarily on tangible, quantitative evidence to validate their decisions. This part of the tactical urbanism process is very useful for members of the planning community in the public sector. Following up measurement with responsive changes to the built form will then demonstrate effective leadership, acting quickly to address the reaction from citizens.

City Councillor Matt Allard (2017) believes tactical urbanism can be a useful tool, but it currently does not fit well into the framework of most City construction projects. These projects generally are large in scale with associated multi-million dollar budgets, which represent a majority of the City's infrastructure expenditures. Testing it in a temporary manner is often not viable. Commercial, residential, and institutional developments also present only a limited number of opportunities for tactical testing. Therefore, there is a limit to how much of an impact the tool can have on the project delivery process. Mr Allard also believes there is a need to balance tactical urbanism and public consultation as we conduct it today. Developing trust with the public is an important aspect of the public sector. Citizens may see something being done immediately without consultation processes they are familiar with and feel they are not able to share their opinion. Communicating this new form of implementation would be an important component to a more widespread use of government-led tactical urbanism. Until the public sector has established an effective process for tactical urbanism with prepared communication material, additional effort will be required to properly implement. Public sector planners like MP believe a lot can be learned from issues brought up by citizens. They should be engaged in reclaiming public space rather than have to lobby and engage in bureaucratic systems. Their voice is important and the ensuing pressure leads to change.

When changes are made to the built environment, some negative responses are inevitable, especially if they are implemented quickly and without much forethought. Important details can be missed that may impact a specific demographic of the public. While revealing these blind spots through citizen reaction can help bring important considerations to light, relying primarily on this reaction does not reflect well on the practitioners and officials sanctioning the project. MP believes the role of the public sector is to make sure this doesn't happen at the risk of appearing overly risk averse.

“When we undertake a project and implement it quickly, we can miss some of those details that can really negatively impact some folks and so it's always that challenge of balancing interests” (MP, 2017).

To address concerns with the 'quick' characteristic of tactical urbanism, a potentially useful question to ask is: how quick is too quick? Councillor Allard's perception of rapid implementation is a project built in a day. If negative reaction from both citizens and City officials is an almost certain result, perhaps there should be a middle ground that still meets the tactical urbanism framework?

5.1.3 The Private Sector

Many core tenets of tactical urbanism were applied in the private sector long before Lydon and Garcia (2015) created the term. Planning and architecture firms often rely on creative solutions that are driven by necessity and available resources. If a client does not have a lot of money or control over land (in or around their site), these can be good conditions for using tactics to achieve their goal. Glen Manning has led several projects throughout his career that have required this approach, but only recently has the environment changed to support its rise in popularity. He believes it to be an outgrowth of the social media mentality, where you do not

need a lot to do a lot. Technology has changed the way we communicate and interface with the world, which benefits those who embrace a lighter, quicker, and cheaper approach.

Mr Manning sees inherent value in tactical urbanism projects, especially in how they address marketing and generate buzz in the community. The element of creative communication and project delivery is something the private sector is learning from. The planning profession relies strongly on comprehensive engagement with stakeholders at all levels. By applying a communication tool that has proven both successful and cost-effective, practitioners are able to meet project requirements at a lower cost without needing to sacrifice the results.

“[Tactical urbanism] always has a good imagination and they tend to draw some attention from the media and it gets the juices flowing and it gets the conversation flowing. Creates surprise and delight in the city” (Manning, 2017).

However, quality of work can be negatively affected if the tactical approach is applied too broadly. Mr. Manning sees tactical urbanism as a potential excuse for not doing the right thing. Pop-up infrastructure without a long-term vision does not provide the bones of a good urban space the practitioner may be trying to create. There is a danger of cheapening out or avoiding some of the tougher problems at hand. This is where well-informed, long-term planning is able to establish the proper roots for a given project. Practitioners have to ask themselves: “[Who] or what are you advocating for; and where are the tactics taking you?” (Manning, 2017).

5.1.4 The Not-For-Profit Sector

One of the most attractive elements of tactical urbanism to the Not-For-Profit (NFP) sector is the ability to change the urban environment without an engineering or planning degree. The social capital tactical urbanism offers proponents can create a “blurring” between actors (Swanson, 2017) and removes the barriers separating voices at a table. As a member of the NFP sector,

Anders Swanson sees a lot of value in a tool that can tangibly achieve this equality and push a community towards beneficial change. Planning practitioners and city officials often err on the side of caution because they are afraid of the potential backlash or negative effects, whereas citizen activists may pursue these risks more readily. This is where the bypassing of bureaucratic processes with tactical urbanism is most beneficial. Mr Swanson believes humans are adaptive by nature; we are likely to accept something new when it is already in place rather than being persuaded to make the change. When the built environment is altered, behaviour patterns will change and eventually citizens will acclimatize to the new environment.

However, if citizens are being asked to test out changes to their environments, there must be a commitment to fully implement these changes, even if they are only temporary. Mr Swanson uses a swimming pool as an example to show the importance of committing to an idea. He argues that if we were to only build one half of a pool, water would flow out immediately and the pool would be deemed a failure. Since we have not accurately demonstrated the concept of a swimming pool, we do not know if it will actually work. Furthermore, a time commitment is just as important as the physical infrastructure. An intervention must be tested out in full for a long enough time period for proper integration into the public's perspective. Mr Swanson points to the typically lengthy design and consultation periods in major infrastructure projects as an ideal amount of time for demonstrating built environment changes. The conversation between stakeholders and project managers can focus on tangible possibilities of the space rather than hypothetical situations.

The freedom to bring creativity into the city building process is another important tactical urbanism element that is often overlooked in conventional projects. Mr Swanson sees a lot of opportunity in places that are not well designed to begin with. He believes we are going through

an experimentation phase in North America as we try to transition towards more sustainable infrastructure, seen in some of the progressive European countries.

“If you were to step back and look at this from a Dutch person's perspective, for example, you'd be like: okay this whole place is a big giant tactical urbanism thing” (Swanson, 2017).

Members of the NFP sector rely on creative solutions to achieve the objectives of their organizations, which places this sector well within the needs of cities. The aforementioned bypassing of bureaucracy also helps preserve project creativity. However, if tactical urbanism is employed through creative pop-up markets with items and activities containing a high price tag, it can create momentum towards a lifestyle not everyone can enjoy. The potential for shifting community demographics is a concern for the NFP sector, especially community organizations. These organizations want the cost of living to remain affordable in their neighbourhood to avoid forcing out low-income residents. If tactical urbanism used as a stimulus tool for underdeveloped areas, there can be an inherent gentrification in the long term. Mr MacPherson (2017) asks, “who is the intended customer of a pop-up event?” In many cases, these events are designed to attract specific demographics and not primarily local residents. He doesn't think it's a negative outcome to bring in people from elsewhere, but the needs of the local community can't be ignored.

5.1.5 Tactical Urbanism Summary

Practitioners and City officials responded positively to tactical urbanism as a potential tool for planning. Letting citizens test out proposed infrastructure changes is viewed as one of the most effective aspects. Foregoing conventional project delivery methods and bypassing bureaucracy allows members of the public to experience a new environment immediately. Once there is time to acclimatize and change previous behavior patterns, the likelihood of adapting to the

intervention is then increased. To this point, there must be commitment in time and infrastructure to achieve the intended results. Ensuring flexibility makes iterative improvements possible, and putting mechanisms for measurement or assessment in place helps to guide these improvements. For the public sector, integrating this tool into existing planning frameworks can help long-term strategic visions meet evolving city needs years further into the future.

Creative problem solving, marketing, and public engagement are some of the aspects of tactical urbanism that appeal to the other sectors. Private sector practitioners and community organizations have to achieve their goals with the resources available to them. Tactical urbanism is able to support these creative-thinkers through cost-effective methods. However, if the implementation of events or infrastructure is sped up without proper guidance, important details can be missed and the quality of the entire project may suffer. The community context should be prioritized to help guide design and ensure local residents are a target audience of whatever is implemented. Fears of gentrification can be alleviated if residents view the project as something beneficial to their lives and empowers them to make further changes to support their community. Proponents should also consider how effective the initiative would be in all seasons. Winter cities have to deal with harsher and continually changing environments. Tactical urbanism interventions need to be able to adapt to unique contexts.

Difficulties implementing tactical urbanism will likely occur with large-scale infrastructure projects and within high-speed environments. While there are creative opportunities to solve problems in these environments in a tactical way, consequences and conflicts are more impactful and generate an increased negative public response. Engaging stakeholders and the public in a way they understand is an important process, especially on a larger scale. Therefore, if a shift towards tactical urbanism is to be successful in all sectors, there

must be clear communication about a departure from conventional engagement methods. It is also unclear if using this approach more frequently is a favourable decision overall. Rapid implementation brings with it the ability to miss important details and an excuse for not doing the right thing. Without proper mechanisms to ensure interventions aren't abusing the temporary and cheap elements of tactical urbanism, dangerous conditions may become more prevalent. Further research and testing should help alleviate these practitioner concerns before widespread use is accepted.

5.2 PERSPECTIVES ON PLANNING IN WINNIPEG

The following section starts by discussing aspects of The Forks environment and how it compares with the rest of Winnipeg. Broadening the scope to Winnipeg as a whole, each sector is explored through the perspectives of the planning community. All planning sectors experience unique challenges and understanding these challenges will help suggest ways tactical urbanism can integrate into current systems. Perspectives are analyzed and compared with previous findings to move towards creating the lessons for future project proponents.

5.2.1 Planning in The Forks

“Politicians are afraid to try something new because they’ll just get whipped or beat up by it... it’s just different at The Forks” (Lukes, 2017).

The Forks is a highly respected site in Winnipeg, widely viewed as a place for innovation, experimentation, and creativity. MP (2017) is not alone in believing, “The Forks can be a really instrumental player in trying to make Winnipeg significantly better.” It is uniquely tied to the City’s design culture, as well as its historical roots. This environment is accepted as simply

different from the rest of the City, which allows progressive ideas to manifest with confidence. However, does this freedom of city building stop at the boundary of The Forks? Some practitioners believe that if The Forks can't do it, then Winnipeg can't do it.

There are several characteristics of The Forks that make it different from a typical neighbourhood. The first thing members of the planning community point to when discussing the space is the type of land ownership. Since the FNPP privately owns and operates the site, it automatically allows for a sense of freedom most places do not have. There is no intrinsic requirement to consult the public or municipality before making any physical changes. Dave Pancoe did mention that most of their major decisions regarding infrastructure are brought to the City's Public Works Department. However, there is no one stopping the FNPP from making small changes, such as putting up new signs or painting pavement designs on the roads. These types of transportation and wayfinding improvements are also a low-risk investment, because vehicles are not speeding through the site. Generally, streets on The Forks' site are calmed, operating at relatively slow speeds.

For years, the FNPP has worked to establish The Forks as a destination for both tourists and citizens. Most of the site consists of commercial and recreational space accessible to the public, but the lack of residential development sets it apart from other neighbourhoods. Greg MacPherson points out that the only drivers of change are business owners and the FNPP's organizational mandate. Comparing it to other areas of the city is not realistic. However, new development on-site (in the Railside and Parcel 4 lands) is expected to occur over the next 20 years, which will include a large residential component. Once this development begins to house residents, the governance of the site will likely undergo significant change. Until then, FNPP will still function with the interests of their commercial tenants and visitors.

While Mr MacPherson acknowledges the importance of The Forks and its role as a key Winnipeg destination, he does not believe it is the only progressive leader in the city. He sees West Broadway as an example of a neighbourhood trying to drive change regardless of what happens elsewhere. The installation of a parking protected bike lane on one of West Broadway's main arterial streets in 2014 is an example of this leadership. It is one of the first cases of a fully protected bike lane in Winnipeg. Mr MacPherson does not think the innovative mentality has to stop at The Forks. However, the FNPP benefits from being able to bypass some of the municipal systems that organizations like the West Broadway Community Organization have to follow.

5.2.2 Planning in Winnipeg

Based on the literature and interviews with the planning community, the City of Winnipeg maintains a relatively negative reputation as a slow-moving entity with a tendency to avoid difficult decisions. Understanding this reputation (as well as the current state of planning in each sector) is vital to approaching tactical urbanism projects in the future. There are ongoing debates about how the City should grow and evolve from the stagnancy and decline experienced in core city neighbourhoods.

Planning Transportation Systems

“Strategies to encourage active transportation and transit over the private automobile - that’s going to be a challenge in Winnipeg” (Allard, 2017).

One of the ways to evaluate the state of planning in Winnipeg is through assessing its transportation systems; specifically, how much of a priority do the City and its citizens place on driving and parking? Planning theory currently advocates transitioning away from infrastructure solely dedicated to motorized vehicles. However, the general public and the business community

have played a large role in slowing the shift towards a more equal transportation mode share. Mr MacPherson and Mr Pancoe know first-hand that businesses are very resistant to removing parking due to the risk of losing potential customers. During a recent engagement with stakeholders for a proposed downtown bike lane, Mr Pancoe was shocked at the amount of opposition from business owners over the potential loss of parking. The average driver also doesn't want to experience an increase in traffic, or a greater difficulty finding a parking spot within close walking distance to their destination. If this drive-first mentality remains unchecked, the City will not be able to create a more sustainable transportation system.

Another example of tension in the planning community is the decision to open the City's central intersection, Portage and Main, to at-grade pedestrian crossing. In the late 1970s, a deal with developers in the underground concourse beneath the intersection influenced the initial closure. This paved the way for Portage and Main to develop into a hostile environment for pedestrians and cyclists. The closure was one of the many investments demonstrating the priority placed on vehicles in Winnipeg. City officials are now making the requisite motions to tear down these barriers and alter the downtown street environment. Mr Swanson views this intersection – and the surrounding land parcels – as infrastructure setting the tone for visitors and residents of Winnipeg. It is the centre of Manitoba's capital and should be the main economic generator for the City, but it currently consists of surface parking lots and functions as a thoroughfare for drivers. Completing this transition will involve sacrifices for many citizens who are not ready to accept the importance of better active transportation networks and urban spaces.

Even though Mr Swanson is an advocate for pedestrians and cyclists in the fight against the auto-centric mentality, he is able to see a silver lining in the current street conditions. Since Winnipeg is already a contentious place to cycle, it is difficult to make active transportation any

worse, thus making it a good testing ground for innovation. Experimenting with different urban forms like shared-use streets can demonstrate as yet unimagined possibilities in a space.

However, many interviewees noted that the general public might stubbornly resist new street designs. Negative reactions could reverberate through municipal government, which is a risk many current elected city officials prefer to avoid.

Strategic Planning

“I think that it’s nice in Winnipeg we’re getting to the point where we recognize there are multiple tools in the toolbox in terms of designing cycling infrastructure.” (MP, 2017)

The adoption of Winnipeg’s *Active Transportation Strategy* in 2015 was the first step towards addressing the City’s failing active transportation networks. MP advocates for the importance of making long-term financial commitments and creating a budget line every year to address cycling and pedestrian infrastructure priorities. However, MP believes there is a trade-off when making this type of commitment. Proposals to fast-track development of street improvements are met with greater opposition, which has directly halted previous proposals. MP (2017) mentions, “Why would we spend money now on a temporary solution, when if we just wait a little bit longer, we’ll develop a high quality, permanent solution?” Naturally, citizens want things done as quickly as possible if it benefits them, but good design takes time. MP points to the progressive European cities that are often touted as best practice. These cities took decades to reach their current quality of infrastructure. Patience and trust in the current system is the public sector’s motto, with regards to active transportation in particular. Perhaps once a consensus is reached in City Hall, temporary improvements can be thoroughly integrated into the project delivery process to satisfy the strategic plan vision and the citizens’ desire for a quicker fix.

Working in the Public Sector

“The big goal of planners is the integration of transportation and land use. We’re always trying to ensure we build and create and facilitate the kind of environments that are good to walk to; that are good to bike to” (MP, 2017).

City officials and planners working in the public sector are constantly balancing the interest of the public to create optimal urban spaces. Integrating land use and transportation to create these public spaces is what MP prioritizes in their role as a municipal planner. While there is a strong desire to create great communities that offer residents public services beyond roads to drive on, citizens will often expect financial decisions to mirror their existing auto-centric lifestyle. Any time there is an imminent decision to make changes to a public facility, there is a mandate to consult with members of the public (Allard, 2017). This consultation process is one of the more challenging aspects of the planning profession. Communities with a high residential density result in more public stakeholders, as well as a greater diversity of interests. MP understands the difficulty of ensuring everyone’s interests are met in these cases. This often means prioritizing certain voices over others and making decisions that address the vision of the city over the voices of some stakeholders. Universal design, also referred to as accessible design, is an example of an important City of Winnipeg priority often underappreciated by citizens. Sometimes the public voice that advocates for accessibility is in the minority; therefore, it is important for municipalities to take a leadership role on design standards. Cycling advocates may want to expedite cycling infrastructure on a road, but consequences to accessible loading and parking areas need to be first analysed. A failure to make these considerations could end up severely impacting citizens with mobility impairments relying on the current infrastructure.

A concern with extensive public consultation is the amount of input a project receives before it begins to slow down the overall process. Residents may have the prerogative to oppose

changes in their communities regardless of context or need of the surrounding areas. In some cases, even a small public voice can effect change. Councillor Allard mentions that complaints sent to his office are one of the key factors to addressing issues in the community, particularly if it involves public safety. However, the public can also be ignored regardless of the strength of their voice. Large public entities with a lot of internal voices hinder responsive governance. “The larger the bureaucracy, the bigger the kingdom, then the more territorial, and the less flexible and adaptable an organization is”, says Councillor Lukes (2017). Balancing public input with a responsive bureaucratic process appears to be a key issue for Winnipeg.

Councillor Lukes has become one of Winnipeg’s biggest advocates for pilot projects and tactical urbanism concepts. Although her proposal to the City’s Public Works Department for a fast-tracked downtown cycle network was denied, she has pioneered a pilot project in her own ward. Over a 1.5-year period, several speed tables were installed and assessed for effectiveness by the City. Speed tables are a relatively low-impact traffic calming devices designed to slow vehicles on local streets. Ms Lukes decided to bypass pre-construction consultation with the community in favour of having residents comment on this new infrastructure during the pilot period. As a result, she received initial backlash from residents that she believes is due to the City’s overall culture of prioritizing vehicles. Ms Lukes also believes this reaction is one of the reasons why politicians are generally averse to piloting innovative projects. She noted that cities “have to have individuals who are willing to stick their neck out.” (Lukes, 2017) When something is new, it requires additional effort to organize and communicate to the public. The reaction to the speed tables has cooled over time through continued discussion with the community. Once communities are familiar with a new process, it can be replicated effectively and at a lower overall cost.

Ms Lukes says it is the public sector's job to be progressive and push innovative projects forward. One of the issues she points out is the relationship between politicians, planners, and engineers. Since politicians typically lack planning or engineering backgrounds, there needs to be public sector workers who advocate for innovation. Champions for progressive projects are one way to ensure public sector bureaucratic processes do not stagnate, as long as these individuals do not overstep political boundaries.

“Things take time. Consultation's important. We want to make sure everyone's around the table and having a reasonable exchange” (Allard, 2017).

As a member of the Standing Policy Committee on Infrastructure Renewal and Public Works, Councillor Allard wants to embrace progressive city building tools but understands the current formula for public infrastructure projects. This conventional design formula includes functional, preliminary, and detailed design phases with different levels of public consultation at each phase. It is a comprehensive process that takes a significant amount of time to complete, and a relatively risk-averse approach consistent with the comfort levels of the Public Works Department. A concern Councillor Allard has with the propagation of pilot projects is maintaining the requirement to provide proper consultation with stakeholder groups. In the *Active Transportation Strategy*, downtown business owners were promised a seat at the table for infrastructure changes affecting their street front. Therefore, any fast-tracked projects could be viewed as reneging on this promise.

While the conventional process has worked well for projects in the past, sometimes the result did not justify the amount of resources expended. Councillor Allard specifically mentions an instance where a neighbourhood association in the City approached their respective councillor to endorse the installation of stop signs on a local street. After months of discussing the stop

signs with residents and other stakeholders, the councillor committed to completing the project. Almost immediately after the installation, he received countless phone calls from residents demanding he take them down – to the point where some residents were prepared to tear the signs down on their own. This demonstrates the importance of experiencing a proposed urban environment change before commenting.

Working in the Private Sector

Mr Manning believes urban designers in the private sector – as well as other sectors – don't design cities; rather, they design the containers for cities to emerge from. Many people will point to buildings and streets when asked to describe a city, but we should be looking towards “all the life and all the programs and weird serendipitous interactions” (Manning, 2017). Private sector planners must remain conscious of responding to the demands of their clients, but it is important to understand how frameworks are put in place for a city to either thrive or falter. Taking this into consideration, empowering citizens and their communities at a grassroots level will help inject the life into a designed framework.

Engaging with citizens in a meaningful way is a large and vital part of the private sector's work. Citizens have the knowledge of a space achieved only through experience: knowing the street, and knowing where the opportunities and challenges lie. Often planners enter into consultation with the interest of a developer in mind. This can be met with community members opposing changes they believe will negatively affect their quality of life. While consensus may not be achievable, Mr Manning understands the importance of paying attention to this voice and working alongside it where possible. There can be mutually beneficial outcomes if the public is engaged early on in the project delivery process. Having public support for a private sector

project helps integrate new infrastructure into the community and provides new frameworks for city life to emerge.

Working in the Not-For-Profit Sector

Not-for-profit organizations (NFPs) in Winnipeg, like the West Broadway Community Organization (WBCO), face similar challenges to NFPs all across North America. Greg MacPherson sees NFPs as important members of the planning community, filling the void left by the limited reach of the government. However, their biggest concern is maintaining consistent funding year after year. Volunteers and fundraising are key parts to achieving organizational objectives, and NFPs will often resort to building capacity in creative ways. As a cycling advocate and director of Winnipeg Trails – a local NFP – Anders Swanson will organize an entire event just for a single picture. This picture demonstrates the viability of a potential project, or show how a space could be transformed through small physical changes. Ultimately, the capacity of an NFP is based on the individuals in and around each organization. Mr MacPherson sees momentum building in core Winnipeg neighbourhoods recently from many progressive citizens, but the next step is aligning this energy with the right partnerships to create lasting change.

Creating and maintaining a good relationship with the City of Winnipeg is very important to the overall sustainability of NFPs. Since these organizations are legal entities working within existing municipal frameworks, respecting partnerships with the public and private sector ensures they will be heard when advocating for their interests. The municipal systems will often slow the momentum of grassroots movements, but Mr Macpherson believes you're able to get more traction through these partnerships, as well as knowing when to pick your battles.

“We have great people working at the City, but as a city council, they're very cautious about rocking the boat” (MacPherson, 2017).

A recent example of the cautious, slow-moving reality of municipal government is WBCO's attempt to implement a temporary bike lane in their neighbourhood. This particular route was recognized as a high priority location in the *Active Transportation Strategy* and based on the recorded traffic volumes, there was a clear need to connect existing infrastructure from surrounding streets. WBCO first proposed the construction of a temporary cycle track – a form of tactical urbanism – to test out the highly sought after cycle track for approximately three months and subsequently observe the community's response. While the Community Committee for West Broadway agreed this infrastructure was important, they preferred to expedite the bike lane through the Public Works Department, rather than allowing WBCO to put in their own temporary track. Although the City listened to the community's voice, they chose to maintain control of this process and not allow grassroots initiatives to design Winnipeg streets.

The WBCO could have continued with their initial plans for a temporary track through a “guerrilla” approach in defiance of the City, but the decision was respected in large part due to the existing partnership with the Community Committee and local councillor. Not respecting the decision would have damaged this partnership and bred distrust in the future. Mr MacPherson also sees more important areas for advocacy than transportation systems. Retaining political capital for housing and employment decisions provides a greater public benefit. He believes experimenting with creative projects should become a focus once all citizens have a stable life. However, regardless of what an organization is advocating for, he still believes NFPs must be prepared to challenge municipal systems when necessary. Their voice is important to ensure cities are doing what's in the interest of citizens.

5.2.3 Advocating for Tactical Projects in Winnipeg

All interviewees agreed they would be in support of tactical projects in Winnipeg on some level, although they believe many citizens will be shocked by immediate changes and react negatively. A common mantra in the City is: We're not (insert progressive, global city). As previously mentioned, Councillor Lukes received initial backlash from local residents on her speed table pilot projects. She feels there is nothing stopping the City from initiating more pilots or mimicking best practice from other cities rather than our own limiting perspectives. It will be important for the voices in favour to outweigh the voices opposed, especially those of public officials potentially fearing citizen backlash. Councillor Allard and MP have recently entered into public sector positions and represent this newer voice; they are both in favour of the characteristics of tactical urbanism. However, existing systems take time to change. This reality is something Greg MacPherson alludes to through his NFP sector lens. The way municipal budgets are decided and how decisions are generally made at a higher level affect what planning tools are accepted and how effective they can be, but there are still opportunities to place tactical urbanism within our "flawed" system. He sees an opportunity in his own community of West Broadway where small tactical initiatives can help revitalize less habitable places, such as back lanes and vacant lots. These areas can be improved upon with creative initiatives while not infringing on the authority of the City.

Anders Swanson remarks there are intrinsically citizens in every sector of the planning community, since society is made up of citizens advocating for their own personal beliefs. Therefore, citizen-led change can take root at any level of the planning hierarchy. Mr Swanson imagines a lot of different ways to connect popular ideas like urban gardening with tactical urbanism, but there needs to be ways to scale it up to create tangible long-term effects. This is

where individual champions in the public and private sectors can help manifest the overall vision of the initiative. These champions can help take ideas to a larger scale and realize change in the urban environment sooner.

5.2.4 Planning in Winnipeg Summary

The Forks and the FNPP currently hold a unique position within Winnipeg's urban planning environment. They don't exist in any of the predefined planning sectors, but rather contain aspects of the public, private and not-for-profit sector. Until residential development begins on-site, it is hard to compare the area with other neighbourhoods. Based on these unique qualities, The Forks is able to take on a progressive leadership role widely recognized by practitioners. This creates opportunities for experimentation, which led to the approval and positive public reception of projects like the Fort Gibraltar Trail shared-use road. Although it is less common, there are examples of other entities in Winnipeg that have led urban design initiatives without relying upon The Forks' pioneering efforts. However, as in the case of the WBCO's bike lane proposal, the slow-moving qualities of the City's bureaucracy continue to prevent a major transition in city-building practices.

One of the components preventing a shift towards more tactical projects is the public sector's desire for strategic investment. Creating documents like the *Active Transportation Strategy* with extensive stakeholder consultation and carefully planned infrastructure development avoids much of the risk associated with proposed *ad hoc* projects. This specific plan helps mitigate the auto-centric attitudes of many Winnipeg residents over time without constant backlash in the future. However, there is a limited flexibility to address important areas as they arise. Budget constraints, consultation requirements, and a desire for permanent

infrastructure from public sector committees are the main factors preventing further experimentation. While temporary projects may create a negative backlash, if done well, and designed with consultation in mind, they physically demonstrate alternative urban environments. Physical alterations to the environment create an opportunity for the public to adapt rather than solely speculating on concepts they may initially view as negative. Champions in the public sector must continue leading the way to find what works for Winnipeg, if a change in project delivery processes is truly desired.

The private and NFP sector have fewer barriers hindering the use of tactical urbanism characteristics in their work. Private urban design firms are forced to make recommendations based on the needs of clients, and tactical actions can help achieve these needs with available resources. If a tactical project can generate public support and attain grassroots knowledge, it will help successfully implement projects in a community. Community organizations and local advocates also look towards strong partnerships with other levels of the planning hierarchy to create change. Existing systems set in place through the public sector affect the impact of tactical projects implemented by private and NFP planning community members, but larger public and practitioner voices supporting these projects can expedite a shift towards tactical urbanism. It is up to the collective Winnipeg planning community to determine whether this shift should happen, and if so, how to optimize the use of low-cost, temporary, and scalable characteristics.

5.3 LESSONS FOR TACTICAL URBANISM IN WINNIPEG

Lessons for future project proponents are distilled through the literature and perspectives from the planning community regarding tactical urbanism and planning in Winnipeg. Each lesson is generalized for use in each of the planning sectors, including citizen-led projects.

a) Integrate tactics into plans and strategies

Strategic documents are one of the primary ways municipalities ensure their vision for future growth and development is upheld. Project proponents in the public or private sector working on planning documents can consciously integrate tactical urbanism. Defined and actionable tactics will help realize the document's objectives faster. Short-term plans can demonstrate progress by using tactical urbanism to test and measure early on; long-term plans need tactical urbanism to adapt to evolving needs in the urban environment. Even if tactical interventions are not implemented in the lifecycle of the plan or strategy, allowing the flexibility to use the tool, if necessary, is a valuable asset.

b) Lead by example

Some members of the planning community in Winnipeg strive to implement progressive ideas, but there are still antiquated practices in many areas. Project proponents will often have to act as pioneers and take on the risk of leading the way. Pioneering through good design and effective implementation of tactical projects will have a major effect on future of planning and urban design in the City.

c) Build on the work of pioneers

Once a successful tactical project is established in the City, future proponents can find ways to replicate these frameworks in their projects. Citizens will more readily recognize the framework and understand how to respond to the intervention. Additionally, city officials will feel comfortable with allowing the project to continue based on previous successes. However, do not repeat previous efforts, without acknowledging the unique context of the new site area. Understand the site and adjust successful frameworks to meet the respective challenges and opportunities.

d) Allow time for the public to adapt

A sufficient amount of time must be given to test the viability of new infrastructure. If there are limitations to the length of time available to test, this must be communicated in advance or replicated at a specific interval to allow citizens an opportunity to adapt. The negativity potentially generated from new development in a community can be mitigated through this so-called adjustment period.

e) Have a measurement tool in place

One of the most powerful ways to appeal to city officials and the public sector is quantifiable datum. If proponents can demonstrate success through an easily understood measurement tool, positive reception of the project is more likely to occur.

f) Cultivate partnerships with communities and practitioners

Partnerships are a powerful tool for all members of the planning community. Positive relationships between community organizations and city officials help build the capital necessary to advocate for the interests of the smaller voices in the planning community, such as citizens and NFP organizations.

g) Respectfully challenge systemic barriers

Tactical urbanism intrinsically challenges conventional systems and proponents should not be afraid to keep this aspect in mind. However, if a proponent holds an official position in the planning community, any challenge should be made respectfully. While this counters the rhetoric of activism and furthers the idea of neoliberalism, a project will likely be more effective. Targeting barriers arising through evident flaws in the system is more achievable than ambitious attempts to overthrow the system at-large. The public sector will also view the propagation of

this project with greater acceptance. For practitioners, existing partnerships can be retained and new partnerships can potentially be cultivated if there is demonstrated respect.

h) Explore ways to scale up your ideas

Scaling up refers to the ability of iteratively increasing the capital and overall impact of a project.

Small grassroots projects are the trademark and inspiration of tactical urbanism, but they will likely struggle to create meaningful, long-term change in a city if they are unable to scale up.

Providing plans for a project idea to become integrated into the City (progressively through continued upkeep and iterative improvements) will elevate the project beyond a single occurrence.

i) Be creative with your solutions

Creativity is one of the fundamental components of tactical urbanism and complex planning issues often require creative solutions that go beyond conventional planning processes.

Proponents should not be afraid to experiment with the design and implementation of their project, as long as such “experiments” do not create harmful repercussions.

j) Create the framework for spaces where citizens can interact

The creation of good urban spaces is one of the fundamental goals of planners and urban designers. These spaces are only effective if they promote citizen engagement. Regardless of the intervention type, tactical projects should be designed to bring people in to use the space.

k) Don't skip the finer details

A decision to apply tactical urbanism should not be viewed as a way to avoid the work required to deliver good urban spaces. The whole scope of a tactical project may end up taking as much

time and effort as a conventional project, due to ongoing consultation and iterative design processes.

l) Avoid creating dangerous environments

If an intervention creates a dangerous environment for drivers, cyclists, or pedestrians, it will be quickly removed. City officials take complaints regarding public safety very seriously. While tactical projects benefit from engaging with controversial space, there should not be a risk of injury to anyone who interacts with it directly or indirectly.

m) Communicate your project clearly and loudly

After a tactical project is implemented, communicate to local residents and broader community about its presence and how to use or interact with it. Media or social media platforms can do this effectively. If possible, create a system for receiving feedback (along with any measurement tools) to help improve future iterations.

n) Make projects replicable

Individual projects and events with no plans for follow-up do not inspire the long-term change purported by tactical urbanism theory. Other future proponents will be able to replicate the efforts of a successful project in their own communities when there are clear frameworks in place. This is especially true in the public sector, where risk-averse behaviour governs the willingness of city officials to implement experimental projects.

o) Design for all-season applicability

If projects can be repeated in every season, they will be viewed more favorably. Tactical road interventions that don't work well in winter climates will not influence continued maintenance by residents and city officials.

p) Design for the local community

The goals for projects should be firmly rooted within local community contexts. Interventions that only bring in higher income demographics to lower income neighbourhoods, for example, do little to empower residents. Responding to local issues will also increase buy-in from these residents.

6 | CONCLUSION

6.1 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How was tactical urbanism actively deployed in The Forks?

The Manager of Special Projects for the Forks North Portage Partnership (FNPP), Dave Pancoe, consulted with local cycling advocate Anders Swanson to design and implement a new cycle track at The Forks. Due to financial and site constraints, they decided to create a low-cost, shared-use road on a 195-meter portion of Fort Gibraltar Trail. Alternative options, such as several variations of fully separated bike lanes, were not deemed viable due to these constraints. The shared-use road was defined by unique pavement markings designed by local artist Takashi Iwasaki. An inductive loop bike counter located at the entrance to the site measured the number of cyclists entering and exiting The Forks. Based on these measurements, new bike racks were installed and the pavement markings are now maintained annually. Future scaled-up iterations are uncertain; however, potential removal of vehicle access to Fort Gibraltar Trail is possible due to the temporary road closure for construction.

Generally, The Forks is viewed as a progressive site within Winnipeg, using creative interventions to provide good urban spaces for visitors. This case study represents one of several other low-cost interventions implemented at The Forks in recent years. The FNPP used paint and barriers to reclaim pedestrian space from the existing street network in different areas of the site. Some interviewees point to a previous intervention on Izzy Asper Way as a more apt representation of tactical urbanism than Fort Gibraltar Trail.

How does The Forks' shared-use road fit within the tactical urbanism literature and how do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive this intervention?

The Forks shared-use road on Fort Gibraltar Trail was a creative project that achieved the FNPP's goal of implementing a section of their cycle track with the limited resources available. Through the inspiration of tactical urbanism literature and numerous project examples, Dave Pancoe and Anders Swanson chose to lead by example, implementing Winnipeg's first shared-use road. The public was given time to adapt to the new environment and measurement tools were put in place to determine basic usage data. However, there were several shortfalls from the practices proposed by the founders of tactical urbanism. Due to the implementation of several other projects in a short period of time, there is no meaningful datum available to indicate the success of the project itself. Furthermore, while the tactical implementation was able to quickly provide users a better space for cycling, the FNPP has not engaged with the public to determine how any adjustments could be made in the future. It will be difficult to make informed decisions about how to improve the overall design and create a more developed cycle track on the street. The Forks staff has also committed to maintaining the current infrastructure year-round, so there is a potential risk of not seeing any future improvements to scale up the initial project. A definitive connection to tactical urbanism may be best reserved for future observation of the site. If the pavement markings remain as the only measures in place for cyclists, the long-term change required for this connection is not achieved. This wouldn't dictate whether or not the project itself is successful. Based on the results to date, the FNPP has achieved the original goals.

Planning community members in Winnipeg believe the shared-use road is overall a positive and progressive project, using creativity from local artists to help transform the streetscape, to favour active transportation users. The low-speed traffic environment of The

Forks was more conducive to this type of intervention than other major streets in Winnipeg. However, land ownership and lack of residential development on-site creates a unique planning context, which causes doubt regarding the ability for the FNPP to apply tactical urbanism. Interviewees – both key informants and external practitioners – initially believed there was a requirement to reclaim space or advocate a specific viewpoint within the site area. The literature implies this component is not necessary and targets organizations (like the FNPP) as potential proponents. Since The Forks is viewed as a progressive space where these types of projects are possible, it should lead the way for surrounding communities and citizens.

How do members of the Winnipeg planning community perceive tactical urbanism as a tool for planning and implementation in the City of Winnipeg?

Winnipeg appears to be generally recognized as a “slow-moving city” with antiquated planning practices and perspectives. As practitioners in all sectors strive to improve urban spaces in the City, they see the value of tactical urbanism as a tool to help manifest progressive ideas. The flexibility of tactics helps achieve objectives in the strategies and plans of practitioners, without committing to permanent and expensive infrastructure. Having measurement tools in place to guide incremental adjustments is important to demonstrate positive and negative impacts to the public sector. City officials are perceived as risk-averse, not willing to risk this initial backlash to push progressive practices forward. Demonstrating positive results through quantifiable data will give members of the public sector the confidence to follow through with these tactical projects. Additionally, interventions should not create dangerous environments for the public. Safety for all transportation modes is one of the highest priorities for the City.

Tactical urbanism shouldn't be used to avoid the work required for good urban design. While many of the finer details may arise through the iterative design process, important considerations shouldn't be ignored for the sake of expedience. A successful project will require a sufficient amount of implementation time and infrastructure that is not missing key components. Citizens are able to adapt to changes in the built environment over time, so proper conditions for testing the proposed infrastructure helps with overall integration. Clear communication measures must be in place to inform and educate, as well as mitigate any adverse public reaction. Current conventional consultation practices have governed public infrastructure development for decades, which citizens are most familiar with. There must be a distinct process for consultation in tactical projects for City of Winnipeg Public Works Department to feel comfortable with pursuing more pilots. Balancing public interests and ensuring an adequate stakeholder input for tactical projects will be a priority moving forward. Furthermore, putting community context at the forefront of design helps maintain the interest of local residents. These citizens have the most knowledge of a given area, so their voices will reflect the optimal design for them.

Finally, tactical urbanism is most effective when resources are limited and change is crucial. All sectors understand project constraints and can benefit from tools that lower costs while simultaneously achieving goals faster. Bridging these similarities and respecting all planning sectors will help form strong partnerships. Entities at each level of the planning hierarchy have a role to play in the creation of our urban environment. Improving channels of communication and collaboration will allow the ideas for bettering our communities to scale up and respond to citizen needs as they arise.

What lessons do the planning community perspectives offer proponents interested in tactical urbanism projects elsewhere in Winnipeg?

A total of 16 lessons were highlighted through the analysis of planning community perspectives:

1. Integrate tactics into plans and strategies
2. Lead by example
3. Build on the work of pioneers
4. Allow time for the public to adapt
5. Have a measurement tool in place
6. Cultivate partnerships with communities and practitioners
7. Respectfully challenge systemic barriers
8. Explore ways to scale up your ideas
9. Be creative with your solutions
10. Create the framework for spaces where citizens can interact
11. Don't skip the finer details
12. Avoid creating dangerous environments
13. Communicate your project clearly and loudly
14. Make projects repeatable
15. Design for all-season applicability
16. Design for the local community

6.2 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WINNIPEG

Since the start of this research in 2016, lighter, quicker, and cheaper projects throughout Winnipeg have started to appear more frequently. This momentum may be due to the positive results observed in recent years both within the city and abroad. All sectors of the planning community are responsible for initiating these projects, each with a unique implementation process and set of goals.

The Market Lands



Figure 20: Market Lands Consultation Office

Centreventure, a development corporation for downtown Winnipeg, led an engagement initiative for a publicly-owned property labeled The Market Lands. The entire process ran from October 2016 to November 2017, and during this time, a series of events helped collect public/stakeholder input for the future of the site. The use of colourful paint and a repurposed train car are the two main components of the low-cost and temporary project.

City of Winnipeg Pilot Projects

The City of Winnipeg Public Works Department initiated two pilot projects in the summer of 2017. The first project was a pilot back-in, angled parking project designed to reduce the street from two-way to one-way, and to provide additional on-street parking stalls. To determine if this new parking design is feasible, feedback was to be gathered from stakeholders and the public over the course of one year through surveys. If the project were deemed successful, other on-street parking areas downtown would potentially be altered as well.

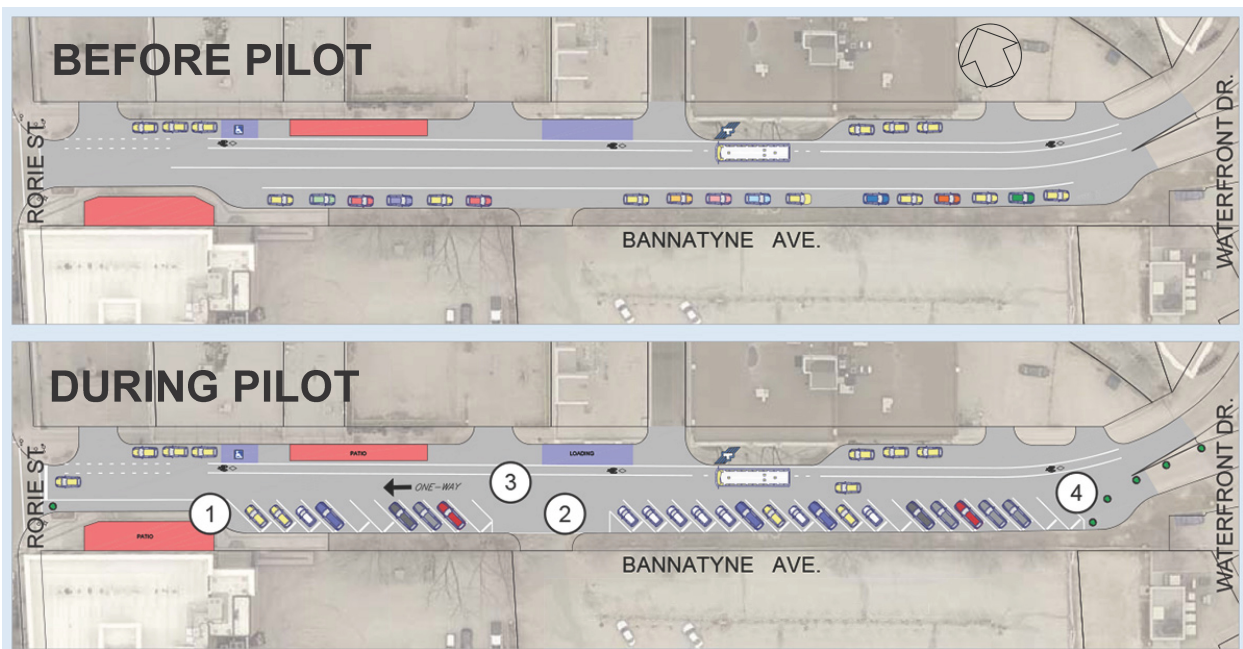


Figure 21: Aerial Diagram for Back-In, Angled Parking Pilot (source: City of Winnipeg)

The second project consisted of adjustable bike curb pilots on Bannatyne Avenue and Sherbrook Street. Over a nine-month period, the City planned to test installation methods, monitor maintenance (including snow clearing and spring clean-up), and observe the comfort level of users.



Figure 22: Bannatyne Avenue Adjustable Bike Curb Pilot (City of Winnipeg, 2017)

Cool Streets

In the weeks leading up to Canada 150 celebrations, hosted by Winnipeg in the summer of 2017, seven intersections in St. Boniface were treated with a unique, colourful crosswalk design.

Anyone in Winnipeg was welcome to submit their design proposal for one of these sites. City officials and staff worked in collaboration with the creator, local citizen Stephane Dorge, to implement the new crosswalks. Mr Dorge wanted this project to send a message that streets aren't just for cars.



Figure 23: Cool Streets project in St. Boniface (source: Twitter @audettenic)

Each of these projects includes elements echoing the lessons identified from this practicum. While it is difficult to determine if they all reflect tactical urbanism qualities equally, their existence demonstrates several things in Winnipeg: citizens are slowly becoming more empowered to take action, organizations are using tactical interventions to achieve project goals, and City officials are seeing the value of pilot projects.

6.3 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Defining success

The term ‘Tactical Urbanism’ is finding its place in the urban design and planning toolbox. Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia published their first handbooks on the subject relatively recently in 2011. Practitioners and academics alike are still in the process of collecting data and making judgments about the tool. At first glance, the nimble qualities of tactical urbanism appear capable of meeting the current challenges in the fast evolving landscape of our urban environments.

Theoretically, tactical urbanism doesn't ask for major financial commitments. The risk of rapid implementation is offset by the flexibility of adjusting to fit the contextual requirements. But the inherent feature of designing to meet these unique site requirements makes future research hard to define. Returning in 10 years to site areas and observing the changes over time may provide useful findings about the tool's ability to create long-term change. A question arising from this inherent requirement to check-in at a later date is: How long should it take to determine if a tactical urbanism intervention is successful? Furthermore, what are the aspects that would define the success or failure?

Measuring success

An important future research direction could be a standardized method to evaluate a project. This may include questions such as:

- How well was the initial intervention implemented (i.e. physical infrastructure, length of testing period, breadth of engagement, and amount of public interaction)?
- Were the interests of the local community taken into consideration?
- Did the project directly develop into more permanent infrastructure or a policy change?
- Did the project result in greater citizen involvement in the community?

Issues of gentrification in the community stemming from tactical projects can also be explored through this evaluation. Researchers could determine how the demographics have changed in the years following implementation. However, this brings forth the need for adequate measurement throughout the project lifecycle and beyond. The success of a project could be brought into question simply by not measuring this valuable information. But what if a small group of citizens does not have the ability to make the same in-depth analysis as municipal governments? How can communities collect this information and disseminate it to the

organizations that have the capacity to build upon it? Perhaps the media has an important role to play in helping smaller groups achieve their project goals?

Who can use it

Another indirect theme the literature review touched upon that requires further research is the effect of government and organizations hijacking this citizen-led movement. In many criticisms of the tool, the term neoliberal is used as a pejorative to condemn the free market's attempt to profit from a tool originally designed for citizen empowerment. But does the appropriation of the activist ethos through pilot projects and pop-up engagement initiatives by public and private sector entities remove the space for citizen-led interventions? Or does the propagation of tactical projects inspire greater citizen participation and allow them to have a larger voice? If government and citizens are using the same tool, then it could potentially become of shared language for city building.

Where it can be used

A major focus of this practicum has been transportation infrastructure, primarily based on the context of the case study. It is ostensibly easier to discuss changes to environments that are understood by everyone. As previously mentioned, there are other aspects of a city that can be influenced by tactical urbanism. Consequently, there are aspects of a city that may be best avoided by the tool altogether. Future research could help distinguish the boundaries of its use. Where should we draw the line of tactics in planning and urban design?

6.4 FINAL THOUGHTS

The tactical urbanism discussion is important for all sectors of planning community. It challenges current methods for delivering projects and engaging with citizens. Through this dialectic process, practitioners have the opportunity to synthesize a process for better project management throughout an entire lifecycle. Promoting the use of the tactical urbanism term may not be as important to planners as incorporating the core characteristics and lessons learned into their practice. The widespread adoption of pilot projects by municipal governments is a clear example. These projects aren't necessarily hijacking citizen empowerment, but rather allowing valuable first-hand experience of changes to the public realm. Tactical urbanism is merely implied through the quick and cheap implementation.

Ultimately, does tactical urbanism belong in the toolkit of planning practitioners in Winnipeg? There is a strong argument to be made that it does. Planners have a responsibility to communicate and mediate between decision-makers and the citizens of the affected communities. Tools that can bridge this gap while providing both parties with a better understanding of a project should make it easier for planners to do their job. The overall positive response to tactical urbanism from the planning community demonstrates a likelihood of further integration into the profession. Hopefully, the discussions from this practicum continue to occur throughout the community and help develop best practice for Winnipeg in the coming years.

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APPENDIX A: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS AND SCHEDULE

Participant	Project Role	Occupation
Dave Pancoe	Project Manager	Manager, Special Projects
Anders Swanson	Consultant	Executive Director, Winnipeg Trails

1. How was the new shared-use road on Fort Gibraltar Trail designed and constructed?
2. How were you specifically involved in this process?
3. Why was this process chosen as the method for implementation?
4. What were the alternatives considered and why were they not chosen?
5. Were there observation and/or evaluation procedures post-implementation?
6. Would you use this method again? Explain.
7. Are you aware of tactical urbanism? (If not, provide information package and discuss)
8. If so, ask question #5.
9. Do you believe the shared-use road project is an accurate representation of this planning tool? Explain.
10. What do you believe are the advantages and disadvantages of this tool?
11. Do you believe this tool could be implemented in other areas of Winnipeg? Explain.
12. Would you advocate for or against future tactical urbanism projects? Explain.

APPENDIX B: PLANNING COMMUNITY INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS AND SCHEDULE

Participant	Occupation	Area of Planning
MP	Municipal Planner	Public Sector
Janice Lukes	City Councillor, City of Winnipeg	Public Sector
Matt Allard	City Councillor, City of Winnipeg	Public Sector
Glen Manning	Principal, HTFC Planning & Design	Private Sector
Greg MacPherson	Director, West Broadway Community Organization	Not-For-Profit Sector
Anders Swanson	Executive Director, Winnipeg Trails	Not-For-Profit Sector

General questions for all planning community members:

1. Are you aware of the new shared-use road located at The Forks? (If not, provide information package and discuss implementation process)
2. What are your initial impressions of how the project was designed and implemented?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages to this process?
4. Are you aware of the tactical urbanism planning framework? (If not, discuss)
5. Do you believe The Forks' shared-use road project is in line with the values of tactical urbanism? Explain.
6. How do you feel about a process for rapid, incremental infrastructure implementation?
7. Discuss other City initiatives.
8. Do you believe this framework could be implemented in other areas of Winnipeg? Explain.
9. Would you advocate for or against future tactical urbanism projects? Explain.

For members of the Public Sector:

10. What kind of role should the public sector play in the creation of tactical urbanism projects?
11. Would a larger public sector presence undermine citizen activism?
12. How would you perceive citizens or organizations

For members of the Private Sector:

10. How would planners create tactical urbanism projects to meet both the interest of the public and the interest of clients (either private or government)?
11. How could planning professionals plan for an increased number of citizen-led projects?

For members of the Not-For-Profit Sector:

10. What kind of role do you think business organizations can play in the creation of tactical urbanism projects?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM



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Interview Consent Form

Research Project Title: *Tactical Urbanism in Winnipeg: A Case Study in The Forks*
Principal Investigator: Matthew Robinson, Graduate Student, Master of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba
Advisory Committee: **Supervisor** – Dr. Rae St. Clair Bridgman, Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba
Internal Advisor – Dr. Richard Milgrom, Head and Associate Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba
External Advisor – Martin Sandhurst, Principal, Spar Planning

Introduction

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of Study

The proposed research focuses on tactical urbanism in Winnipeg, Manitoba through a case study of a shared-use road implemented by The Forks North Portage Partnership. The design and construction of this road was inspired by tactical urbanism literature and is a good starting point for discussion on this planning framework. Data from this research will add to the growing library of tactical urbanism literature. Semi-structured interviews with members of the shared-use road project and members of Winnipeg's planning community at large will generate tools that will aid future project creators in the design and implementation of tactical interventions.

The Interview Process

If you choose to participate in this project, you will be asked a series of open-ended questions about your perceptions and involvement with the shared-use road project (if any) as well as your perceptions of the tactical urbanism framework.

The interview will be done in-person and is not expected to exceed one hour in length. It will be held at a time and location that provides reasonable privacy and is agreeable to both of us. If you are unable to arrange a time for a meeting in-person, a different method (i.e., *Skype*, phone, email) may be arranged at your request. You may refuse to answer any questions, and may end the interview at any time. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. If you do not consent to being audio-recorded, the interviewer will take notes. Based on your selected contact preference below, I will send you the transcribed interview to ensure accuracy as soon as the transcription process is completed and prior to publication. At this time, you will be able to identify and ask for the removal of any inaccuracies or specific details that may threaten your anonymity.

There are minimal physical, psychological, and/or emotional risks related to this project. With your participation, you will be given the opportunity to share your thoughts, knowledge, and expertise on an urban issue that is gaining prominence and importance. There will be no compensation for your participation.

Confidentiality

Once the interviews are transcribed and you approve of the transcripts, the data will be released and included in the project. If confidentiality is requested, either before or after the interview, personal information will be excluded except for your broad affiliation within the planning community (advocate, politician, planner, etc.). However, any affiliation or job title that can identify you will be further obscured. Pseudonyms will be used in the interview transcript(s), if necessary.

The interview transcripts and associated data will be stored in a secure location on a password-protected computer. Once the interviews are transcribed, the audio recording electronic file will be destroyed. All typed and/or hand-written transcripts of interviews will be destroyed approximately one year after the final submission of this practicum, no later than February 2019.

Feedback and dissemination

I will be providing you with your interview transcript to review and confirm before it is finalized. The transcripts will be sent via email or post to you within one month of the interview. Once sent, you will have three weeks to approve or verify the transcript. After the practicum is completed and approved by the University of Manitoba, an electronic copy will be publicly available to download at <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/>. I will contact you once it is made public, at which time you may indicate your preference to receive a paper copy. This is expected to occur in the spring of 2018.

The results of the study will be disseminated through the University of Manitoba Architecture/Fine Arts Library in hard copy format, and in an electronic format through the Library's MSpace website. I will also be presenting the project at my oral defense. I may also write journal articles (which may be published) in the future relating to the research findings of this project.

Voluntary participation/Withdrawal from study

Your decision to take part in this study is voluntary. You are able to refuse participation or to withdraw from the research study at any time. If you decide to participate, you have the right to refuse to answer any question or to refuse participation in any activity, at any time. This includes the withdrawal of your participation after the interview is completed. However, once the practicum has been submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, you may no longer withdraw your participation.

Contact information

<i>Student researcher:</i>	Matthew Robinson Graduate Student, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba Phone: Email:
<i>Research supervisor:</i>	Dr. Rae St. Clair Bridgman Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba Phone: Email:

Statement of Consent

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB). If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 204-474-7122 or at humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

If you agree to each of the following, please place a check mark in the corresponding box. If you do not agree, leave the box blank:

1. I have read or it has been read to me the details of this consent form. ☐ Yes
☐ No
2. My questions have been addressed. ☐ Yes
☐ No
3. I, _____ (print name), agree to participate in this study. ☐ Yes
☐ No
4. I agree to have the interview audio-recorded and transcribed. ☐ Yes
☐ No
5. I agree to be contacted by phone or email if further information is required after the interview. ☐ Yes
☐ No
6. I want to remain anonymous. ☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you wish to receive a summary of the findings? ☐ Yes
☐ No

How do you wish to receive the summary? ☐ Email
☐ Surface mail

Address: _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW BRIEF

FORT GIBRALTAR SHARED-USE ROAD BRIEF

Background

In May of 2015, The Forks dedicated \$160,000 to a cycle track that will connect the Assiniboine Bikeway to the proposed Provencher bike lane project. This is a phased approach to create an all-season bike path that will one day reach Point Douglas, the North East Pioneer Gateway, and eventually all the way to Birds Hill Park. The Fort Gibraltar shared-use road is the most recent part of this cycle track. It was completed in June of 2016, officially labeled as Phase 2 (shown below). It was designed to slow vehicles with pavement markings and speed humps that allow cyclists equal right to the road.



Details

The two components of the project were unique pavement markings designed by local artist Takashi Iwasaki and a raised crosswalk at the most southern end of the road. The crosswalk was the only remaining aspect of the initial proposal from KGS Group, which had included a protected bike lane. This proposal far exceeded the budget set aside by The Forks for this phase, due to the required landscaping work and removal of parking spots. While the pavement marking

component of the road was inspired by the *Tactical Urbanism* book by Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia (2015), project stakeholders are hesitant to proclaim this a tactical urbanism intervention.

Follow-Up

The staging process for construction required a temporary closure of the vehicle access point at Fort Gibraltar Trail from Main Street. This requirement allowed The Forks to test out a permanent closure for vehicle access, a change that was debated in the past. However, future plans for the cycle track in this area are inconclusive. A bike counter was installed into the raised bike infrastructure located at the entrance of the site to keep track of cycling volumes. One of the consultants for the cycle track believes a more direct path through the area will be the ideal long-term direction. He also sees The Forks as a pioneer for progressive ideas in Winnipeg, noting that if it doesn't work there, it won't work elsewhere in the city.





TACTICAL URBANISM

I have broken down tactical urbanism into five categories to best explain its use as a tool in the field of urban planning. The following brief is an effort to distill the *Tactical Urbanism* book written by Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia - the founders of this term. My research will explore the initial beliefs associated with tactical urbanism and compare how actors in Winnipeg perceive this tool.

What?

Tactical urbanism involves an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies. It may be viewed as a way to counter the slow and siloed conventional city-building process. It doesn't propose one-size-fits-all solutions but rather intentional and flexible responses. Tactical urbanism exists on a spectrum of unsanctioned to sanctioned projects, and can be easily confused with DIY (Do-It-Yourself) or Guerilla Urbanism interventions, as well as various placemaking initiatives. The stated intention of tactical urbanism is to instigate long-term change, such as revising an outdated policy or responding to a deficiency of infrastructure. One might look at it like a manufacturing process, such as the deliberately agile "Build-Measure-Learn" product development cycle. The idea is that each revolution quickly improves on the last, until a product is ready for the market, if only in beta form.

Who?

Tactical Urbanism may be used by a range of actors, including governments, business and non-profits, citizen groups, and individuals. Lydon and Garcia have offered unique benefits for each of these actors:

- Citizens: allow the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space.
- Developers or Entrepreneurs: provide a means of collecting design intelligence from the market they intend to serve.
- Advocacy Organizations: show what is possible to garner public and political support.
- Government: put best practices into, well, practice – and quickly!

Where?

Tactical urbanism interventions are primarily brought to the reservoir of underused city spaces: vacant lots, empty storefronts, overly wide streets, highway underpasses, and surface parking lots. However, the boundaries for its use are not clearly defined.

How?

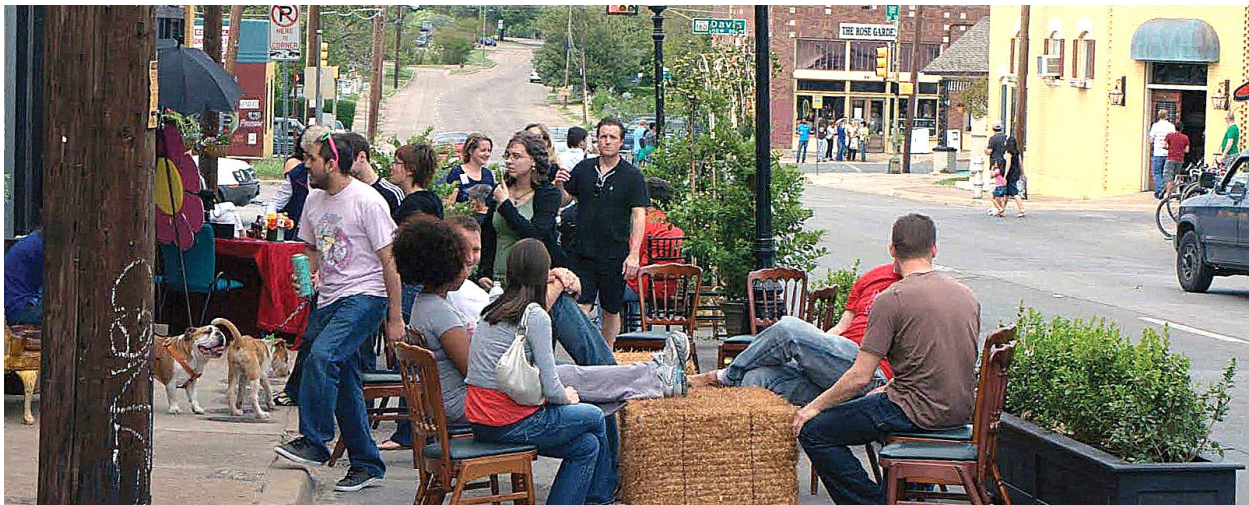
Lydon and Garcia believe the three most common applications are:

- Initiated by citizens to bypass the conventional project delivery process and cut through municipal bureaucracy by protesting, prototyping, or visually demonstrating the possibility of change. This activity represents citizens exercising their “right to the city.”
- As a tool for city government, developers or non-profit organizations to more broadly engage the public during project planning, delivery, and development processes.
- As a “phase 0” early implementation tool used by cities or developers to test projects before a long-term investment is made.

Why?

Lydon and Garcia believe Tactical Urbanism is an effective method for transforming an “orderly but dumb system into one that’s more chaotic but smart” – one that allows emergent networks of people and their ideas to develop quality-of-life improvements at the neighborhood scale. It is also a tool to merge strategies and tactics, and can proactively address the tension between bottom-up and top-down processes through creating a better and more responsive environment for all.

Examples



Build a Better Block - Dallas, Texas (source: <https://slowottawa.ca>)



Downtown Calgary Cycle Track (source: <http://calgaryherald.com>)



Times Square – New York (source: <https://www.amc-archi.com>)

APPENDIX E: ETHICS CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION

PANEL ON RESEARCH ETHICS <i>Navigating the ethics of human research</i>	TCPS 2: CORE
<i>Certificate of Completion</i>	
<i>This document certifies that</i>	
Matthew Robinson	
<i>has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)</i>	
Date of Issue:	29 March, 2016