Heritage Conservation As A Vital Urban Strategy:
Examining The Role Of Urban Heritage In The Contemporary City

By

Oliver Prusina

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HERITAGE CONSERVATION AS A VITAL URBAN STRATEGY:

EXAMINING THE ROLE OF URBAN HERITAGE IN THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

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

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Abstract

Many North American cities are realizing that urban heritage has an integral role in the contemporary urban environment. Such realization has resulted in a transformation of the very nature of urban planning intervention. Heritage conservation has become a legitimate urban planning strategy for determining the shape of present day cities. *This thesis will examine the important role of urban heritage and the rise of heritage conservation as a necessary urban strategy in the contemporary city.*

The growth of heritage conservation and its impact on the urban environment can be accepted as an indicator of a changing cultural sensibility among planners and urban designers, developers and builders, politicians and citizens. Arising from a critical view of modern cultural sensibilities and dealing with the challenges of the modern urban environment, this changing sensibility has generally been referred to as postmodern - "post" referring to a transcendence of the modern view of urban life.

While postmodern cultural sensibilities have invigorated and emphasized urban heritage, linking postmodern design principles with contemporary urban social, economic, and political factors has significantly assisted in the conservation of urban heritage. Urban heritage serves as a critical support for tourism, commercial revitalization, urban entreuprenialism, urban competitiveness in the global market, and increases in public tax revenues.

However, in the 1990s, decreasing disposable income and decreasing tourist activity in urban heritage interest have threatened urban heritage's legitimacy as a vital urban environmental element. This thesis concludes that by linking heritage conservation as a community development activity, involving and supporting community-building, it would ensure that urban heritage plays an integral role in the urban environment and remain a vital urban strategy.

The lack of involvement or interest in urban heritage by local populations indicates that present heritage conservation activity is overlooking an important benefit; urban heritage as a source of community pride and soul. *Heritage conservation must extend the role of urban heritage to act as a means to rebuild local culture and appreciation and mediate and shape local community culture as well.*

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Introduction

1.0 The Context

Many North American cities are realizing that urban heritage has an integral role in the contemporary urban environment. Such realization has resulted in a transformation of the very nature of urban planning intervention. Heritage conservation has become a legitimate urban planning strategy for determining the shape of present day cities. *This thesis will examine the important role of urban heritage and the rise of heritage conservation as a necessary urban strategy in the contemporary city.*

In the past two decades, many cities have strived to conserve, enhance, and rehabilitate their heritage resources enthusiastically hoping to capitalize on its many economic, social, cultural, and physical benefits. In fact, the urgency for conserving urban heritage is only a recent phenomenon.

The issue of heritage conservation arose over physical, social, and cultural concerns that faced the modern city. From a growing dissatisfaction with the urban environment and the cultural impoverishment which plagued modern urban space, communities where left with an undesirable urban social and physical environment. Cities in North America suffered from an apparent loss of meaningful places which exhibit natural, historical, and cultural qualities. Heritage conservation is concerned with maintaining and preserving such places.

In dealing with "place", urban designer Roger Trancik suggests both modern architecture and planning failed to realize the importance of regionalism and environmental identity in producing meaningful urban places. Instead, they have drained any social and cultural purpose from the urban environment. He suggests the need for an alternative to the disintegration of an urban environment in which social interaction that gives primary meaning to an individual's and a community's life is lost. A new respect for existing urban and natural spaces that accommodate a community's sense of place and history must emerge in order to begin facing the challenges of modern urban development.

Trancik considers the lack of an identifiable place for people and communities signals a lack of a vibrant and vital urban culture. Urban culture exists and is mediated by the form and "image" of places which define the cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes, both symbolically and materially, mirror contemporary culture - its cognitive maps, aesthetic forms, and ideologies. Cultural landscapes simultaneously reflect a cultural product or outcome and a shaping force or medium in cultural life. The growth of heritage conservation and its impact on the urban environment can be accepted as an indicator of a changing cultural sensibility among planners and urban designers, developers and builders, politicians and citizens. Arising from a critical view of modern cultural sensibility and dealing with the challenges of the modern urban environment, this changing sensibility has generally been referred to as postmodern - "post" referring to a transcendence of the modern view of urban life.

1.1 Definitions

Before conducting the enquiry outlined in the thesis, a number of terms need to be defined. First, the term "heritage conservation" can be defined by examining the terms "heritage" and "conservation" individually. The term "heritage" is "commonly used to identify an object or activity for which people have particular affection as something that belongs to them in some way" (Fram and Weiler, 1981: 5). The legal definition of the

term refers to property that devolves by right of inheritance. In conjunction with its legal use, the term "heritage" stems from the issue of 'cultural property' which includes works of art, crafted objects, manuscripts and printed material, and immovable property such as monuments, historic sites, archaeological sites, natural sites, natural districts, and historic districts. It is with the immovable property that this thesis is concerned with.

The term "conservation" embraces a variety of issues concerning the environment. Conservation is the preserving, restoring, enhancing, and maintaining of cultural inheritance (or, in other words, heritage) and to ensure that new development is compatible with the forms and patterns of existing development. In fact, conservation encompasses new development into existing urban fabrics. Previously, natural and historical resources were separated from the urban fabric by a public body purchasing the site or building as an attempt to protect it from new private development. This policy was later determined destructive not only to the resource but to urban processes itself. Rather, conservation suggests the necessity of the wise use of the environment in which we live.

> It does not mean freezing new development. Change and decay are inevitable. New development in our living environment is often necessary to ensure public health and safety or the continued economic viability and social well-being of a particular community .... Well-designed new development can also add to the beauty of our surroundings besides helping us to function better in our day-to-day-lives (Fram and Weiler, 1981: 4).

Since this thesis examines heritage conservation in the context of planning, the term "planning" should be defined. "Planning" describes "the activities and processes of making decisions about the future physical, social, economic, and cultural conditions of our environment ..." (Fram and Weiler, 1981: 4). Planning's main concerns deal with the spatial organization of cities and the decision-making process determining that organization. Planning has always confronted two streams of thought. One is based on the democratization of the planning process where citizens are major actors within decision-making. The second views planners as experts in making decisions, and therefore, predominate the decision-making process.

Other relevant terms used in this thesis are the terms "modern" and "postmodern". These terms are difficult to define separately, and are usually defined in opposition or comparison to each other. The term, postmodern, is, itself, difficult to specify what it is supposed to refer to. "Postmodernism" has been used "in all directions across different debates, different disciplinary and discursive boundaries, as different factions seek to make it their own, using it to designate a plethora of incommensurable objects, tendencies, emergencies" (Hebdige, 1988: 1981).

However, the term, postmodern raises the issue of periodization. This suggest postmodern refers to a peculiar era of change. In fact, the prefix "post" refers to a transgression, rupture, or progression from what is "modern". Each historical period has a different idea of what it means historically by 'modern,' making it difficult to define exactly what has been transformed. However, the modern and the postmodern are based on specific conditions. As historical periods, they have a historical limit. Here in this thesis, they are defined as two distinct historic periods. Defined in the context of planning, they are defined as two distinct views of the "proper" spatial organization of cities. In the context of the city, they are defined as two historical periods in the transformation of the urban environment. This thesis will examine both periods as an attempt to create a qualitatively different environment from each other; one - modern - as an attempt to obliterate urban heritage; the other -postmodern - as an attempt to celebrate it.

1.2   Heritage Conservation and Urban Planning

Over the past two decades, heritage conservation has increasingly become a major aspect of urban planning practice across North America. Its increasing legitimacy in provincial and municipal affairs is evident by the rise in heritage conservation legislation, organizations committed to the protection of urban historic, natural and cultural resources, and heritage-minded citizen groups. However, the increased demand by urban communities to incorporate heritage conservation strategies in municipal planning has

created a peculiar problem in modern planning thought and practice. Modern planning practice, in fact, has - since its beginnings - been quite indifferent to heritage conservation.

On the other hand, in recent years, planning has embraced heritage conservation as a means of shaping the urban environment. Presently, heritage conservation is viewed by planning as a viable alternative to modern development. In fact, the conservation of urban heritage is seen as vital to the economic, social, cultural, and physical viability of the contemporary city. The proliferation of rehabilitated heritage buildings and sites represents a transformation in the image of our physical environment; how we view it, plan it, and envision it.

1.3 The Contemporary City

According to David Harvey, Jonathan Raban's *Soft City* is "a historical marker, because it was written at a moment where a certain shifting can be detected in the way in which problems of urban life were being talked about" (Harvey, 1989: 3) and "It was also written at the cusp in intellectual and cultural history when something called 'postmodernism' emerged from its chrysalis of the anti-modern to establish itself as a cultural aesthetic in its own right" (Harvey, 1989: 3). He suggests that "*Soft city*, written at that moment, is a prescient text that should itself be read not as an anti-modernist argument but as a vital affirmation that the postmodernist moment has arrived" (Harvey, 1989: 6).

Rather than a rationalized and automated system of mass production and mass consumption of material goods, Raban describes the contemporary city as a labyrinth of social networks and intense diversification of images. Others, such as Robert Venturi, called upon a revision of dominant perceptions of the city in lieu of such perceived changes in the urban environment.

In addition, such critics, as Jane Jacobs, Richard Sennett, and Leon Krier traced, what they believed the elements of urban physical and social forms successful in nurturing

a vital and active urban culture for neighbourhoods. In their attempt to reveal the ills of modern planning, they also planted the seeds for a new direction and focus for urban communities. They not only prescribed a new approach to city planning but a new vision of the city that eventually grasped the attention of planners. The "image" of the city - its signs, symbols, spectacles, iconography, networks of communications - was to become an important concern for planners. The potential of historical imagery in cities were now to gain increasing attention in the development of a "richer" urban environment.

Whether, the contemporary city reflects a moment differing from the forces that created the modern city may be arguable. But Harvey, Raban, and Venturi suggest that profound transformations in the urban environment have taken place and the term, *postmodernism, is typically used to describe these transformations.*

In fact, postmodernism is characterized with an arising concern for tradition and local cultures, eclectic aesthetics, a recognition of the importance of ornament and symbols, and an incremental approach to urban problem-solving. Postmodernism can be defined as an attempt to overcome the problems inherent in Modernist design principles, where Modernists failed to communicate the purpose of their large-scale designs and master plans to citizens who would use and live in these spaces. Postmodernists realized that a comprehensible design language was required. According to the architect, Charles Jencks, they turned towards local and traditional symbolism to express community identity and context. At that point, heritage conservation was viewed as an integral urban strategy.

1.3.1 A Link Between Heritage Conservation and Postmodern Culture

While modernity may be characterized by an inherent conflict between tradition and rupture, change and transformation, this tension takes a new and crucial meaning with postmodernism. In fact, postmodernism is obsessed with the notion of history and cultural identity. Hal Foster suggests that "postmodernism is best conceived as a conflict of new and old modes - cultural and economic..." (Foster, 1983: xi). This conflict of old and new

cultural and economic modes are dramatized within contemporary cities. Postmodernist sensibilities manipulate and use historical, environmental, and local imagery in a peculiar way that may suggest a divergence from heritage conservation's intended purpose of enriching community life.

In May of 1987, the architect George M. Notter of Notter Finegold and Alexander Inc., sponsored a public seminar, attended by architects, planners, and developers titled: "*Was Postmodernism the heir to the preservation movement? What will come next?*"[1] Here, Notter made the first tentative connection between postmodernism and heritage preservation:

> They both share a certain spirit. Both speak to the past, but both must work in the present. In new work architects may suggest the past; in old buildings, architects must find it and bring it back to life again. *Why have these two movements burst upon us at the same time, and how do they affect each other?* (Schmertz, 1987, 9: *my italics*).

In addition, architectural critic for *The Boston Globe* and moderator of the seminar, Robert Campbell further defined the postmodern/preservation debate:

> Both were essentially rebellions against Modernism. Both rose in the mid-'60s as a reaction to urban renewal. Preservation was a rebellion against too much change too quickly and a loss of a sense of place. Postmodernism was a rebellion against abstraction (Schmertz, 1987: 9).

Both Notter and Campbell were convinced historic preservation's link with, *not only fashionable postmodern design principles but contemporary social, economic, and political factors* would invigorate the movement.

However, the hypothesis that postmodernism is integrally linked to preservation was fully challenged. Nellie Longsworth, president of Preservation Action in Washington

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[1] The seminar's primary concern centered around the issue of historic preservation. Historic preservation is defined as the process in saving and protecting significant historical and architectural buildings. This is but one component of heritage conservation as defined in this thesis. In fact, the term preservation and conservation is usually used interchangeable. In the United States, the term preservation is generally used, while in Canada, the term conservation predominates.

The link between historic preservation and postmodernism, as the seminar's participants examine, may also suggest an overall link between other heritage conservation components and postmodernism. These links are further examined throughout the thesis.

D.C., called the link between postmodern design and preservation as a 'terrible threat' and that "saving only facades, with new construction behind" left old structures with "no historic relevance" (Schmertz, 1987, 9).

Developer Ron Drucker saw no problems with this type of development. He stated:

My buildings are a product. They are like Scotch Tape is a product, or Saran Wrap. The packaging of that product is the first thing that people see. I am selling space and renting space and it has to be in a package that is attractive enough to be financially successful. I can't afford to build monuments because I am not an institution. If my buildings are not successful, my lifestyle will be altered, and I am not interested in doing that (Schmertz, 1987, 9).

The debate was eventually broadened by urban planner Edward Logue who added:

Urban architecture is a part of the public realm and must be protected by sturdy guidelines for preservation and development. *You cannot trust architects and developers to protect the public interest* (Schmertz, 1987, 9: *my italics*).

Logue argues that the perennial problem with the preservation movement is that there is not enough planning in the public interest, "there is little public will affecting the process" (Schmertz, 1987, 9). Urban development has been left to the mercy of market forces and developer interests in such forms as urban revitalization, gentrification, and ghettoization which has severely polarized socioeconomic groups in spatial terms. The Modernist utopian dream that fueled modern planning practice is replaced by Postmodernism's politically conservative retreat of goals with a social purpose or a 'social project'. Instead, society is "no longer interested in goals beyond its immediate concerns" (Schmertz, 1987, 9). Logue calls for greater public control of the development process in which greater "public will" is acted upon to effectively formulate and enforce design guidelines which rather enhance and invigorate the preservation movement rather than have it "wooed by Postmodernism". Logue suggests that many issues remain unresolved in conserving urban heritage.

1.4 Methodology

The methodology employed in this critical examination is based on the review of various literature on heritage conservation, postmodern culture and urban transformation in North America. There are four phases in which the research will be conducted.

First, the thesis will examine the prevailing cultural sensibilities of the modern period, beginning from the late eighteenth-century to the mid twentieth-century and its impact on modern urban planning thought and practice. A general examination of the modernist movement and how it affected the quality of the urban environment will also be performed. The focus will center on prevalent community models and modern urban planning strategies and follow the major theme of its indifference towards urban heritage.

Second, the thesis will examine the present state of North American cities. Here, literature on the postmodern city will be considered. This research will outline the issues and concerns which plague the postmodern city and challenges which the planning profession faces. This phase will examine the explicit role of urban heritage in the postmodern city and how it is used and manipulated to support its social, economic, and cultural agenda.

Third, the present state of heritage conservation practice in Canada will be detailed. This phase will help outline how heritage conservation activity is undertaken, the methods employed and their intended purpose by reviewing various planning literature related to heritage conservation. Examples of heritage conservation practice in Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria will clarify the issues. Goals, objectives, and processes will be examined.

The fourth phase will conclude with an examination of the role of urban heritage and the economic, social, and cultural impact of its conservation, possible trends, and dilemmas that still exist.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter of the thesis outlines the direction and goals of the inquiry into examining the role of urban heritage and the rise of heritage conservation as a vital planning strategy in today's urban environment. This chapter introduces the context of the study and its purpose. A section of the chapter is dedicated to the method used in the study and how it is carried out.

The second chapter will explore the basis of planning thought and practice from the nineteenth through to the early and mid-twentieth century. This chapter will detail the structure and image of the modern city and modernism's imprint on the urban environment. It will also examine the conflict between urban heritage and modern cultural sensibilities (modernism) and modern social and economic processes (modernization).

The third chapter examines the changing nature of the city - its economic, cultural, and physical transformations, the relationship between urban heritage and postmodern cultural sensibilities, and emerging social and economic processes. This chapter will highlight the major issues and themes that heritage conservation has introduced into planning practice over the years of its growing prevalence. Literature on postmodernism will be of particular concern in examining contemporary urban change and how it has affected urban behaviour and communities.

Chapter four will detail the planning processes and legislation concerning heritage conservation practice. Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria will serve as examples of heritage conservation in Canadian cities. This chapter will highlight the purpose and intentions of heritage conservation schemes and indicate some dilemmas and issues.

The last chapter will analyze the role of urban heritage and the economic, social, cultural, and physical impacts of heritage conservation practice . Various studies will be used to determine the effects heritage conservation has had on the urban fabric. As well, possible future trends and expectations will be examined.

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Modern Urban Strategies

2.0 Introduction

Since the early nineteenth-century, city planning has been shaped by modern cultural sensibilities and has reacted to the process of modernization. Since the Industrial Revolution, modern city planning is seen as an attempt in creating a qualitatively different environment than that which existed previously - responding to fluctuations and revolutionizing processes of modernization. When traditional values and institutions were examined, modern thinkers found them to be irrational - contrary to human nature and inhibitive to human growth and development. The mission was to overcome these irrational systems, and direct society toward change. In the early nineteenth-century, the signs of significant urban transformation in both Europe and North America were appearing and by the twentieth-century - as a theoretical and physical construct - the image of the modern city matured.

However, throughout its history, modern city planning has faced various responses to this mission of directing change and urban growth. The growth of archaeology, anthropology, and an awareness of history resulted in a growing concern over revolutionary changes that were occurring in the cities of that time. Many were disturbed by growing social upheaval, collapse and undermining of traditional institutions such as the Church, and sought to retain the existing order. They deplored the Industrial Revolution,

which they saw as a disruptive force. Others romanticized about the past, seeing the Medieval Ages as a time of peace and harmony among social classes.

To conserve historical buildings, many organizations were formed in the late-nineteenth century which had significant impact on their treatment. Such organizations included; the Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens in 1884 which concerned itself with the protection of national historic monuments; The Commission du Vieux Paris in 1897 which monitored the actions and development proposals in Paris so that they were not threatening important cultural artifacts; the Touring Club de France in 1900 which co-ordinated France's tourist industry and recognized the importance of heritage to it; and the National Trust in England formed in 1895 which pursued a policy of purchasing important historic property as a means of protecting national monuments and historic buildings.

However, such efforts were inconsequential in comparison to the furious pace of modern development. Entire urban sections were demolished and rebuilt into new architectural and design forms. Such new developments flourished to transform the city.

2.1 Early Foundations of Modern Planning

The revolutions in concepts of urban space and social processes that occurred within the Renaissance period laid the conceptual foundations of what has been defined as "The Enlightenment project". Enlightenment thought developed from an extraordinary intellectual effort that aimed at developing objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art. Enlightenment thinkers aimed at accumulating knowledge through science in an attempt to pursue human emancipation and the enrichment of daily life (Harvey, 1989).

Enlightenment thinkers appealed for reason and rationality to guide human nature and progress. Inspired by modern science, the belief was widespread that the idea of being 'modern' resulted from a maelstrom of change directed towards the infinite advance of social and moral betterment. Developing the city along rational forms of social and

physical organization promised liberation from the irrationalities of myth, religion, superstition, and arbitrary use of power.

The project took the domination of nature as a necessary condition of human emancipation. As David Harvey notes;

> Since space is a 'fact' of nature, this meant that the conquest and rational ordering of space became an integral part of the modernizing project. The difference this time was that space and time had to be organized not to reflect the glory of God, but to celebrate and facilitate the liberation of 'Man' as a free and active individual, endowed with consciousness and will. It was in this image that a new landscape was to emerge (Harvey, 1989: 249).

Reducing the city to a "natural phenomenon", according to Manfredo Tafuri, reduces the city into an object . At this point,

> the city is no longer seen as a structure that, by means of its own accumulation mechanisms, determines and transforms the processes of the exploitation of the soil and agricultural production. Inasmuch as the reduction is a "natural" process, ahistorical because universal, the city is freed of any considerations of a structural nature (Tafuri, 1976: 7).

Objectifying the city, allows the explanation and observation of the city in scientific terms. In fact, the concept of function evolved from city planners applying biological images like circulation, nucleus, and cell to the city as urban phenomenon was investigated through methods applied in the natural sciences.

This process was exasperated by the emergence of the Industrial Revolution which brought about a radical transformation in the process of urbanization. Francoise Choay observes that "the Old World experiences an upheaval in her ancient towns which revolutionizes not only *the spatial organization,* but also the mentality of the *city dweller* and the *initiative of the planner*" (Choay, 1969: 8). The massive influx of rural immigrants to the city, alien to the significance and functioning of the city's institutions and in particular its spatial organization, profoundly disturbed the urban community. As Choay describes;

> ... those actually experiencing the urban phenomenon came to consider it as something alien. They no longer felt inside the process and determined by it; they remained outside, observing the transformation with the eye of the

spectator. The inhabitant suddenly saw the city as transformed by that "incidence of strangeness," which Claude Lévi-Strauss considers the prerequisite of ethnological observation. Furthermore, this attitude that the city is something subject to examination has been made possible by a simultaneous evolution in the structure of knowledge. Since the end of the eighteenth century, Western man has begun to view the entirety of his material and spiritual productions with a certain objectivity. Historical perspective provided the necessary dimension for the analysis of them and helped elaborate the new concepts of labor, economics, and art. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, conditions were therefore ripe for the advent of a new study of man through the social sciences (Choay, 1969: 9).

During the nineteenth-century, urban communities were going through very profound changes with the development of industrialized, urban centers. The traditional notions of life many newly arrived immigrants to the city brought with them were not conducive to the emerging industrial city. Rather than governed by natural ties of kinship and long-established friendship, age-old habits and customs, formal controls were put in place to create order among the large concentrations of different people with different backgrounds. The city became the center of growing individualism, disintegration, instability, disloyalty, and a lack of a sense of belonging. In search for reasons for the sudden loss of "community", what emerged were increased studies into the nature of community life and criticisms of the urban style of living.

Early attempts at examining the city, such as the works of social reformers like Edwin Chadwick, Great Britain's Royal Investigations Commissions and Select Committees; the social research of Frédéric Le Play; Engels' polemical synthesis in *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse;* and the descriptions of social novelists like Mrs. Gaskell, Dickens, Zola, and Eugène Süe, viewed the developing industrial city with contempt. With various sanitation problems, overcrowding, and disease, these writers "view the urban agglomeration as a diseased condition, or worse, a monstrous deformity. Hence the creation of new metaphors evoking the city as a chancre, a cancer, a leprous body" (Choay, 1969: 100). The city "is not yet observed with the statistician's cold eye, as it will be toward the end of the century; but it is viewed for the first time with a *clinical eye*" (Choay, 1969: 9).

The role of science and observation in city planning originates in Baroque planning. Here, the monuments, broad avenues lined with uniform buildings, vistas, and geometry to satisfy the eye destroyed the former sense of intimacy, and transformed the city into a spectacle. The elements of monumentality and broad circulation systems of Baroque planning stripped of aesthetic embellishment remained important aspects to modern planning. This type of planning was realized during the Second Empire France and the planning of Paris by Baron Georges Haussmann (1809-1891). Its explicit purpose was "to regularize the disordered city, to disclose its new order by means of a pure, schematic layout which will disentangle it from its dross, the sediment of past and present failures" (Choay, 1969: 15).

At this moment of eruptive change, another form of modernist consciousness developed during the romantic period and dominated the Victorian era. This modernist romantic spirit looked to an idealized Middle Ages for direction. However, at the same time, particularly in the field of architecture, the practical result of eclectical, architectural compositions, using traditional forms of designs in ever new ways to produce "novelty", exhibited a sense of 'indifferentism' to tradition. This weakened the effect of the movement as the whole notion of stylistic integrity or stylistic tradition appeared as an illusion (Collins, 1965: 117). In its attempt to define the limits of modern planning theoretically, by devolving the importance of heritage in the urban environment, in practicality it was weak, only to exist outside the paths of modern development and in areas untouched by modern forces. In fact, at times, these two streams complemented each other, defining the shape and image of the modern city.

2.2.0 Late nineteenth-century planning ideas

In Francoise Choay's *The Modern City*, it states that "all forms of city planning from ancient to modern, were, in fact, formulated for the first time during the second half

of the nineteenth century" (Choay, 1969: 7). This period witnessed a dramatic interest in experimentation with and reflection on the urban social and physical realm.

In the 1850s, escape from the cities was viewed as the primary solution to overwhelming urban problems. Pseudurbias were developed to solve problems of hygiene and traffic. Industrialists, such as Cadbury, attempted to produce productive living conditions for his workers, by developing a town in the countryside. However, the planning of these towns were fairly elementary and represented the beginning of a process of reduction within the complexity of social and physical urban forms. This type of planning became a precursor for a type of spatial organization which dominated modern planning thought beginning with Robert Owen through to Le Corbusier and reflected planning practice during the 1950s and 60s.

In fact, this period produced two basic models of spatial organization - "One of these models, looking to the future and inspired by a vision of social progress, we shall call *progressist*. The other, nostalgic in outlook, is inspired by the vision of a cultural community and may therefore be called *culturalist*" (Choay, 1969: 31). .

2.2.1 The Progressist Model

The progressist model of planning is generally viewed as the most important model in planning history because it was the first to emerge and it became what is today considered to be modern urban space. Originally formulated by such thinkers and social reforms as Robert Owen (1771-1858), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), and Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), this model of urban social and physical development came to represent the "modern project".

The "modern project" was based on restructuring society. This meant easing the transition from one stage of human development to the next stage of social, cultural, and economic development. During that period, it was believed that society had not developed properly with the introduction of modern industrial processes. The nineteenth century

began a period of inherent structural changes to society and the city. Old, traditional urban patterns were viewed as incompatible with a newly developing industrial society. The emergence of utopian thought in this period, attempted to develop new forms of cities and social constructions that appeared much more suitable in dealing with the alienating and environmental effects of industrial development. What was needed was intense regularization of social patterns. These have had great influence on our current concepts of city and society. The concept of the "modern project" remained with planning until the middle of the twentieth century at great cost to old, traditional urban spatial patterns, buildings, districts, and communities.

To regularize and harmonize society to new industrial work processes, what was required was a regularization of space to create a new physical, urban order. This physical order was concerned with functionality and economic efficiency, values developed from industrial standards. This became the origin of zoning, still used today. Land was regulated into independent functional units, placed according to efficiency and economic law. Buildings, such as in Owen's towns, in Fourier's and Bellamy's models, all had single-uses. Uses were separated in strict ordered and simple, geometrical units.

In the Progressist model, there is also concern in developing standardized housing, perceived as a symbol of equality. From Owen's towns, Fourier's phalanstere, and Bellamy's description of future housing in twenty-first century Boston, it is evident that the beginnings of the apartment block were developing, which was later carried on by Le Corbusier. This also helped increase land for greenage, parks and gardens, believed to be inherent to providing good living conditions to factory workers. As Choay observes,

> The progressist concept of space breaks with the old contiguous order of things, ... From the outset, the progressist spatial pattern is not based on continuity of solids but on a continuity of voids in which constructed elements have burst apart. Air, light, and greenery have become symbols of progress, and dispersal is considered essential to physical hygiene (Choay, 1969: 32).

The overwhelming concern over physical hygiene and economic efficiency had critical consequences to the image of modern urban space. As Choay notes;

> The importance of empty spaces and greenery, together with the division into independent functional units of two thousand like Owen's *square* and the *phalanstère*, leads to a loss of urban character in the progressist agglomerations. The traditional *city* disintegrates. The new plan has no boundaries; it is made up of endlessly juxtaposable standard units and represents a first step in the gradual suppression of the difference between town and country (Choay, 1969: 98).

Furthermore, the Progressist stream of thought was also the roots of urban renewal. What was needed, they believed, was a destruction of existing concepts of the city from which a new socialist order was to be created. In this new order, "the right angle acquires an almost mystical value, and the straight line symbolizes the break with the past and the advent of reason" (Choay, 1969: 98). The notion of geometry to these thinkers represented values of truth as well as beauty.

Toward the end of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century, the progressist model would undergo a new phase of theoretical elaboration represented by such figures as Tony Garnier and Le Corbusier.

2.2.2 The Culturalists

The culturalist model that "took shape after the progressist one and unlike the latter emerged not from a revolutionary vision but from criticism of an existing urban situation which was now more thoroughly entrenched" (Choay, 1969: 102) was a more sensitive model for urban development. The Culturalists, primarily represented by figures such as A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852), John Ruskin (1818-1900), William Morris (1834-1896), and Camillo Sitte(1843-1903), were retrospective in that they clung to the coherent and exemplary image of the preindustrial city in opposition to the disorder of the industrial city. Due to the development of historical studies, particularly from historians such as Michelet, Burckhardt, and Fustel de Coulanges who compared the disunity of the industrial city with the tightly knit cultural communities of the Middle Ages, the Italian Renaissance and ancient

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Rome, arose a new form of nostalgia which had gradually awakened. This period saw arise the concepts of an organic society based on natural ties of kinship, habits and customs and a mechanical society based on what Ferdinand Tönnies - who first formulated the concepts into a sociological theory in 1887 - called the "rational will" meaning relations determined by formal controls. These concepts evolved to contrast the functioning of the past with that of the present.

For Ruskin and Morris, recovery of the medieval urban order represented a way of recovering, through a kind of catharsis, the spiritual values on which rested preindustrial communities. However, as E.V. Walter indicates, the belief that human conditions had deteriorated since the Medieval period,

> ... was not exclusively a reactionary sentiment, for it anticipated the revolutionary Friedrich Engels as well as the conservative Thomas Carlyle. Both Engels and Carlyle, writing independently in 1843-44, stressed the placelesness as well as the helpless insecurity of the industrial workers. Southey, Engels, and Carlyle all drew on medieval images to understand the industrial revolution. Evoking the past ... was a familiar way in the nineteenth century to examine or to live with the defects of the present (Walter, 1988: 25).

The prevailing images of medieval society dramatized the situation of the industrial poor. Pugin's book *Contrasts* displayed a pair of illustrations showing the difference in principle between two kinds of poor space: the workhouse of his own time and a medieval almhouse. The modern poor house looks like a prison similar in design to Bentham's panopticon while the imagined medieval counterpart is a setting of picturesque buildings embracing the poor. By gazing at pictures of the past, many thinkers explored the defects of the present. This type of Medieval imagery appealed to critics of industrial society. William Irwin Thompson had observed that,

> The medieval *image* has always appealed to intellectuals recoiling from the savagery of industrialization. After the first wave of the Industrial Revolution from 1770 to 1851, England itself seemed to be in a mood for consolidation; and in "The Medieval Court" designed by Pugin for the Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851, it took a nostalgic look at the European civilization it helped to destroy. With Pugin, William Morris, Matthew Arnold, and Cardinal Newman, medievalism became one of the first counter-cultures to industrialism (cited in Walter, 1988: 31).

Medieval images and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution greatly aroused a great longing for sanctuary. The Medieval church was viewed as a refuge and sanctuary from the city outside. This search for sanctuary in sacred places also extended towards a similar search for refuge in secular society. In Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, the dream of safety in the interior of a building, away from the terrible pressures of the city that industrial development had brought, was pronounced. As Richard Sennett observes, the concept of 'home' defined "the secular version of spiritual refuge; the geography of safety shifted from a sanctuary in the urban center to the domestic interior" (Sennett, 1990: 21). The home was seen as the locus of moral reform. People, particularly children, would stay off the public street, an environment that was seen as "harsh, crime ridden, cold, and above all, confused in its very complexity. The private realm sought order and clarity ..." (Sennett, 1990: 27). Sennett further observes that this concept of "home" had "two perverse consequences of the search for refuge in secular society: an increase in isolation and in inequality" (Sennett, 1990: 29).

The modern concept of home as sanctuary would have further impact on concepts and ideas of the modern city. Even Le Corbusier believed that the architecture of the house could impose a return to moral order, acting as a place which would meet the requirements of modern living while purifying the spirit of its residents. His view of the continued demoralization of industrialized man was based in the design of the home. He believed there was a need for entire reconstruction "in order to provide a minimum of comfort, for if this is delayed too long, there may be a disturbance of the balance of society" (Le Corbusier, 1931: 101). He refers to the machine as providing a new order which has changed the face of the world so dramatically that society was cracking under the confusion and disorder of the city. The exterior urban environment as a dimension of diverse social activity and chaos was attacked.

The impact of such a concept helped devalue the outside urban environment. While rooted for the need to conserve the past, it became far too concerned with architectural

activity and lost its basis with social life. In practice, the culturalist stream became directed towards preserving isolated edifices, instead of a historic building becoming a part of the urban process. Buildings were viewed in isolation rather than as a connective tissue of the city. This problem in the culturalist stream was further exasperated by the notion of integrity, as Sennett observes,

> These curious powers of isolation revealed in a visually open, free architecture explain in part how the built environment has become at odds with the social life of the city.... but culture adds to power the problem of legitimation. "Integrity" is a moral category. The form of the object has acquired, as it were, rights against being tampered with. Architecture forms a special case in relation to the ideal of integrity .... To assert that the buildings which result have the single-minded imprint and pristine integrity which earns them the right not to be touched subsequently is in one way, therefore, ludicrous. But modern architects do assert that right (Sennett, 1990: 110-111).

In Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, the author summarized his position on restoring historic buildings. His emotional attachment to historic buildings made him a resolute opponent of any alteration made to them. He states,

> [Restoration] means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, can never be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time and it is then a new building .... Take proper care of your monuments and you will not need to restore them .... Watch an old building with an anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at *any* cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown; set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city; bind it together with iron where it loosens; stay it with timber where it declines; do not care about the unsightliness of the aid: better a crutch than a lost limb (cited in Erder, 1986: 172).

In addition, Ruskin was also against the practice of enhancing historic buildings by creating green areas around them. For him, this was akin to exhibiting them in museums. While, he passionately defended the beauty of the old within its original setting, as well as harmonizing the old with the new to ensure continuity, this harmonization generally referred to aesthetic continuity.

Sennett argues, the notion of integrity firmly established,

> the modern belief that works of architecture in a city should be protected, that their form should be inviolable - the very word *inviolable* suggesting that these human creations have a magic which subsequently renders them untouchable by men and women (Sennett, 1990: 116).

These notions would be espoused by such modernists as Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe who insisted on complete control over their designs. In fact, Le Corbusier's whole notions of urban order were based on a coercive authoritative system controlling and maintaining the integrity and authenticity of a building or design. This notion defined the relationship between modern architecture and modern city design and the social environment,

> This change of consciousness is what the romantics first sought to plumb by understanding the conditions in which a man-made thing acquires, as it were, rights against human beings. The work of art is treated with reverence. This reverence bespeaks the withdrawal of objects from the world of human beings, an authenticity in which objects are invested with their own mana (Sennett, 1990: 116).

The notions of integrity and authenticity in heritage buildings and sites and its consequences on the social fabric is carried into the postmodern debate on the treatment of urban space.

2.2.3 Camillo Sitte: The Art of City Building

It is Camillo Sitte who gives the culturalist model a more complex and precise structure that leads to its practical application. Sitte possessed the technical skill that both Ruskin and Morris lacked. However, his formulation of city building is devoid of the political and social involvement that motivated their work.

Sitte's guiding principles were aesthetics alone, where buildings were to relate to each other to preserve the urban fabric. This idea became influential in the designing of cities in only a certain way. Architectural and urban design became concerned with relating

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buildings visually to other buildings, rather than relating them to the urban fabric and the social processes presently there.

In the Germanic countries, Sitte's ideas were immediately and enthusiastically adopted appealing to a latent nationalism and undermining the prevalent Haussmann-type planning. In Great Britain, Sitte exerted a strong influence on figures such as Patrick Geddes and Sir Raymon Unwin. In France, however, Sitte was almost completely ignored and after World War I, this lack of influence was aggravated by Le Corbusier, when he stigmatized Sitte as an apologist "for the donkey's way" and a "passé au petit pied."

2.3.0   The Twentieth-century

Twentieth-century thought further elaborated the model of the modern city. However, this thought generally stemmed from the influence of the Progressists. Two World Wars and rapid revolutionizing of the industrial production system necessitated the need for rapid reconstruction of the urban environment. The reconstruction of cities, after World War II, tended to mirror the visions of such Modernists like Le Corbusier who further elaborated the Progressist model to its ultimate potential. In the rush to modernize the urban environment, notions of heritage, history, preservation, and conservation were overlooked in planning thought and practice and the development of the city.

2.3.1 The Garden City Movement

In Ebenezer Howard's seminal work, originally titled *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* first published in 1898 and reissued in 1902 under the title *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, endowed the modern language of the community concept. Howard's garden city concept tried to combine both Progressist and Culturalist concepts of a new social order and strict organization of land uses with a nostalgic view of country living, concern for aesthetics and preserving, the community's character in design. This concept proposed the gradual suppression of both city and country as viable physical

and social environments. While the original concept was to create self-sustaining, individual units. Howard did no anticipate the automobile. Instead, his garden city concept was used to create better designed suburbs, which were used as dormitory satellites for large cities. This concept, with its roots in the Progressist and Culturalists model became the most influential concept in shaping the present urban form, particularly in Canada in the early twentieth-century by Thomas Adams.

2.3.2 Tony Garnier and the Industrial City

Between 1901 and 1904, Tony Garnier developed the "*cité industrielle* ". This was the first fully developed design for an entire modern city and outlined prototypal forms corresponding to new conceptions of space that were developing. What Garnier attempted in the "*cité industrielle* " was to develop detailed architectural designs for a manufacturing city. He also created a new land-use pattern for the modern city, separating work, residence and recreation. Because of the specifications outlined by Garnier, "elementary as they may seem, the *cité industrielle* must be considered as an illustration of progressist spatial distribution rather than a universal model" (Choay, 1969: 101).

The architectural features of the industrial city concept was houses with terraces and atriums, apartment buildings mounted on pilotis, and public halls with reinforced concrete mushrooms. These features were all an introduction to a new esthetic in city design. The architecture was stripped of all historic details, to respond to the concept of a utilitarian, industrial city.

Garnier's importance to the modern architecture and planning movement is his imagery of the city and its architecture which provided the imagery for a social architecture of the 20th century.

2.3.3 Le Corbusier

The Swiss-French architect Charles Edouard Jeanneret, who was popularly called Le Corbusier, further developed a philosophy about the shape of the modern city. This philosophy was shown in his drawings of a contemporary city for three million people - the size that Paris had grown to at the time. Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine demonstrated his vision of what a modern city could look like if it were created solely out of buildings "appropriate" to the modern age. These buildings Le Corbusier found analogous to the design of ocean liners, airplanes and automobiles which - he suggests - had already achieved a new expression, free of remembered elements from the past.

The concept of Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine depends very heavily upon earlier design concepts for the modern city: the long, straight streets and diagonal avenues and that city buildings should be of uniform height and architecture developed in the monumental tradition; plus Garnier's concept of an industrial city. At the same time, Le Corbusier is the first to give definitive artistic expression to the growing importance of the automobile and the tall building in urban design. This expression clearly displays, observes Jonathan Barnett, Le Corbusier's understanding of the developing shape of the modern city;

> He understood that the logic of the elevator building suggests a freestanding structure, not a subunit in a street of similar facades; that the automobile was likely to become the dominant mode of urban transportation, lending itself to uniform street-grid patterns, but with streets spaces farther apart than traditional urban blocks; and that the need for unimpeded automobile movement would create the limited-access highways that appear in his renderings long before anyone actually built one (Barnett, 1986: 114).

Similar ideas were applied by Le Corbusier in his vision of central Paris in the Voisin Plan, exhibited in 1925. As Barnett describes;

> In this proposal, eighteen sixty-floor skyscrapers and three clusters of luxury apartments borrowed from the earlier design of the contemporary city replace the business center of Paris, and a limited-access highway is driven straight through the heart of the city. *Notre Dame and the Louvre survive, but the traditional fabric of central Paris is obliterated* (Barnett, 1986: 114; *my italics*).

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During the 1920s, when Le Corbusier developed his plans for central Paris, many were dissatisfied with the shape of cities. Rapid unregulated growth and industrialization created terrible living conditions for the poor where slums occupied large urban areas which characterized the nineteenth-century and still existed in the twentieth. In addition, laws regulating new development, sanitation, and water-supply were often unenforced. Le Corbusier's visions of reconstructing the city gathered increasing appeal.

It was in the last chapter of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* that he pleaded for a new direction in architecture and design to avoid social anomie. "We," he wrote, "are living in a period of reconstruction and of adaptation to new social and economic condition" (Le Corbusier, 1931: 90). This architecture, Le Corbusier advocated, manifested itself in his use of machine aesthetics and machine imagery. Le Corbusier's machine worship "evoked a spiritual rather than a material order" (von Moos, 1979: 52).

It is known that Le Corbusier knew Tony Garnier's work (he does refer to him in *Towards a New Architecture*) and that he also read the ideas of Charles Fourier. Both influenced the architect toward a progressive utopian socialist stream. This led Le Corbusier to demand a more humanistic organization within the industrial process. What continued to be the problem within the industrial system, he believed, was a confusion of ends, creating social disruption, as society had not yet ordered itself in harmony with the machine.

Le Corbusier believed that strict organization implied leadership by experts and values as an impersonal necessity. The city would be governed by economic law and strict organization, order and geometry were the key elements that would keep men in order. This meant that "a way of life, the spirit of man, the social wishes and daily life can ... almost ... be reduced to composition, geometry" (Jencks, 1977: 199).

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The works and ideas of Le Corbusier greatly influenced the modern urban and architectural language. With his visions of the modern city, he is considered a leading pioneer of the modern movement.

2.3.4 The Modern City Image

At the end of the Second World War, European countries were faced with an immediate need for reconstruction on an unprecedented scale due to the devastation and destruction that war had brought. At this moment, architects and planners alike viewed massive reconstruction as an opportunity to create a new kind of modern city, with far more open space at ground level, with highways through city centers, and with tall buildings for both offices and housing. As Barnett observes;

> Faith in this modern image of the city was strong despite the existence of few built examples. The overcrowding and traffic congestion of prewar cities needed improvement, the existence of modern technology made tall buildings possible, while reconstructing older buildings with the handcrafts of a previous era seemed both too expensive and too time-consuming. But the modern city concept was also ideologically attractive, a response to the powerful images created by Le Corbusier, Mies and other modernist architects, to the writings of the advocates of modern architecture (Barnett, 1986: 126).

In North America, the belief that cities should be modernized also emerged. During the 1950s, Barnett notes,

> new highways were being planned to link urban centers, publicly subsidized housing was greatly expanded, the concept of commercial urban renewal had become established as the means by which government promoted development in the business center of cities, and zoning laws were restudied to encourage a more modern building type (Barnett, 1986: 130).

New highways were driven through the center of the city, as in Boston and Seattle. In places, like Kansas city and Cincinnati, highways were planned to encircle the downtown business center. In ***The Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area (1959)*** massive expressway construction was proposed;

> The total length of expressways is to be increased from 42.4 to 103.1 miles
> in Metropolitan Toronto, and from 81.6 to 203.2 miles in the entire
> Planning Area. (1959: s7)

With complete disregard for the existing urban environment, massive expressways were planned to cut through the downtown and existing neighbourhoods while the Gardiner expressway is proposed for extension. The building of these expressways changed the nature and shape of Toronto's urban landscape.

According to David Harvey, the expressway was an integral component in industrial development. The revolutionizing of production processes during this period - which Harvey appropriately calls "Fordism" - required a new urban landscape. Here, the labour process was to be thoroughly rationalized for assembly-line production, and for Ford it was to be most importantly in his automobile production plants. Now with the ability for increased speeds, the enjoyment of it was only possible through the restructuring and the removal of the hindrances on the streets, such as masses of pedestrians. Also, old winding streets were to be replaced by much more linear and wider expressways to ensure an efficient system of accelerated vehicular traffic.

The state became the vehicle by which public expenditures were used to create "much needed infrastructures for both production and consumption" (Harvey, 1989: 129). With the charisma of a Robert Moses and the ideology of a Le Corbusier, huge public works were implemented for the restructuring of the urban landscape by way of the highway.

Urban-renewal policies were instituted in many North American cities during the 1950s as extensive clearance was related to urban highway links, the elimination of slums, and redesigning business centers to create larger amounts of open space at ground level, with densities made up by towers.

The image of the subsidized housing project as a series of towers in a sea of undefined open space was established before the Second World War. However, by this

time, this image continued to be repeated at ever-increasing densities creating an environment increasingly inhumane.

2.3.5 New York City Zoning Law

After comprehensive revision, the New York City zoning law of 1961 was to become a prototype for many large-city zoning codes. The primary design concept which initiated the revision was the popular tower surrounded by open space, a concept that dominated urban renewal schemes. The zoning codes offered a 20 percent floor area bonus for a public open space at ground level of freestanding high-rises. This dominating architectural image, which were behind the regulations, was almost certainly derived from Mies van der Rohe's and Philip Johnson's Seagram Building completed in 1958, and the Chase Manhattan Bank tower by Skidmore Owings and Merrill, completed in 1960. In both examples, the freestanding high-rise tower "was a simple rectangular mass set free of the surrounding street system by large amounts of open space" (Barnett, 1986: 130). For New York's residential building regulations, the architectural image were derived from tower-in-open-space projects like Parkchester, developed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company between 1938 and 1942, and a slum-clearance project that was part of a program run by Robert Moses called Stuyvesant Town, and was also developed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, beginning in 1947.

These types of development had major consequences on the appearance of New York City and other major cities with similar zoning objectives. As Barnett observes;

> As zoning regulations were rerevised to base building design on a relationship to open space rather than to streets, an incremental version of the tower-in-park city was created in many places. Towers in parks, like Le Corbusier's sixty-story office buildings in the Ville Contemporaine or the Unité d'Habitation, were not design concepts that lent themselves to incremental development. The result was often to open up views of undesigned party walls, and to create buildings that were not related to one another, amid discontinuous pockets of open space (Barnett, 1986: 131).

2.3.6 The Urban Renewal Era

Urban-renewal projects throughout many North American cities opened up the possibility of more comprehensive modernization of their urban centers. Design concepts for many urban-renewal projects were influenced by two unexecuted concepts. The first was a plan for the redevelopment of railway yards in Boston's Back Bay in 1953 by a team of architects, headed by Walter Gropius. The second influential concept was Victor Gruen's 1956 plan for Forth Worth.

In the Back Bay proposal, the area is characterized by the development of a parking garage which would hold up to five thousand cars. The plan also proposes a large internal shopping center, and buildings existing within open green space. The Back Bay proposal, as Barnett states, "helped to define the image of desirable urban renewal, and was mirrored in hundreds of projects in other cities" (Barnett, 1986: 131).

The Fort Worth plan's influence stemmed from its interest in exhibiting the applicability of regional shopping development as a means to revitalizing existing downtowns. In addition, the plan suggested an expressway system which forms a ring around the business center. Within the ring, the careful placement of parking garages would intercept traffic and the streets within the entire central district would be altered into pedestrian precincts.

> While most of the Fort Worth plan was never carried out, the image of peripheral highway and pedestrian precinct became influential, and the concept of the downtown mall to help the urban retail district compete with suburban shopping centers was to become an almost axiomatic part of modern city design (Barnett, 1986: 132).

2.4 Urban Heritage and Modern Development

Modern architecture and urban design was an attempt to unify and heighten the sense of the present by emphasizing the break with the past and with tradition. Such type of urban development resulted in great cost to a city's urban environment and its local population.

Advocates for the conservation of urban heritage bitterly struggled against prevailing cultural sensibilities (modernism), which devalued traditional urban forms and economic and social processes (modernization) which constantly revolutionized and transformed the urban structure. In fact, this struggle - between those who wish to maintain tradition and some continuity with the past and those who seek revolution and transcend the "old order" - has characterized the basic conflict of modernity. Often, the results of this struggle were bitter and painful - massive restructuring of the urban built environment, resulting in dislocation of people, destruction of the natural environment, and buildings and areas left to deteriorate beyond repair. Technology has allowed modern possibilities to obliterate the existing built environment and build completely from scratch.

The notion that the entire existing urban fabric should be altered was implicit in most modernist city designs from the Ville Contemporaine onward. The historical fabric of the city was often replaced by an environment in which individual buildings were either separated by large open green space or expressways. The usual effect of such design concepts has been the fragmentation of development, as conflicts between new development and the preexisting city arose. Subsidized housing was separated from the surrounding urban context in accordance to the tower-in-park principle that underlined the urban renewal concept. Most urban renewal plans were carried out parcel by parcel, with relatively little design continuity among buildings. Furthermore, the placement of each building was often determined by abstract geometric arrangements set in the midst of open green space. Zoning ordinances further ensured the fragmentation of individual developments by enforcing open public space at ground level of high-rise development and giving setbacks primacy over relationships to streets and surrounding buildings.

Few alternatives existed to such development patterns during this period. In Europe, such organizations as the Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens in France and the National Trust in England sought to save heritage artifacts by removing them from the public.

Monuments were removed and placed into museums were they could be studied by experts and preserved within their walls. Heritage properties were purchased and public access was inhibited to them or allowed viewing from their exteriors like museum pieces[2]. The museum, indoor or outdoor became the primary repository of our cultural heritage.

> At some point, we seem to have come to believe that, because the museum preserves pieces of the past, we must necessarily put everything from the past into it, and that, simply because the museum preserves valuable pieces of the past, everything of value is already in the museum. This belief relieves our consciences of any further need for concern: history is safe (Coopersmith, 1976: 21).

As urban heritage artifacts were "musuemified", the bulldozers of modern development moved on.

However, by the 1960s, modern planning faced three important challenges that threatened to efface the basic principles modern urban development was based on. First, communities became pitched in heated battles with planners, developers, and politicians to halt development that threatened existing neighbourhood patterns. Massive transformations of the built environment resulted in serious consequences at the neighbourhood level as the battle lines were continually drawn, pitching residents against "urban renewal" in the forms of group homes, public housing, and condominiums.

Community reactions to large-scale development suggested that planners and their "community models" were insensitive to urban places embodied with meaning by the citizens who inhabit them. Planners were faced with the challenge of re-evaluating "community models" in which modern planning practice was based on.

Second, modern planning came under fierce attack from a surge of literature attempting to efface its principles. By 1961, the publishing of Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* became not only one of the earliest attacks on modern planning practice but also became the most influential. Richard Sennett's *The*

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[2] Even Le Corbusier, in his designs for Paris, proposed to preserve the Notre Dame cathedral and the Louvre. However, both had no relation to the proposed physical layout and its resulting social and economic fabric.

Uses of Disorder brought to the attention the need for reconstructing urban life which incorporated diversity and creative disorder in its physical and social realm. Paul Goodman's *After the Planners* argued that modern urban environments were repressive physical and social structures. Another critic, the architect Leon Krier, was concerned with the prevailing *symbolic poverty* of the modern urban environment. In reaction to what was perceived as a decaying urban environment, void of any meaningful and interesting spaces, they attacked the principles and beliefs of modern planning.

Third, the modern city was plagued by various environmental concerns that threatened the livability of urban spaces. Pollution, waste, and the general despoiling of the natural environment gave concern over human health issues and survival. Rapid, large-scale development, indifferent to a fragile natural ecology, threatened to eradicate a system necessary for the survival of the human species. As growing environmental awareness took form, pressures were exerted for the protection of such fragile areas, as well as development forms far more sensitive to the natural fabric.

The issue of urban form and its image began to enter the public agenda. At the metropolitan scale there was the perennial concern with urban sprawl. The concern that underlined Canadian planning practice in the 1970s was the dissatisfaction with the urban fringe, consisting of diffused and sprawling conurbations. The regional planning agenda was dominated by issues, such as strip development, the diffusion of bungalows in the countryside, excessive service demands arising from inefficient forms of development, and despoiling of amenities resulting from uncoordinated development. On the other hand, city centres were being transformed into high-rise fortresses of condos, offices, and large-scale commercial shopping mall development.

The environmental results of many planning efforts, which supported such development patterns, were deemed undesirable. Modern planning practice was criticized for creating barren urban landscapes and for having a lack of consideration to a community's historical experience. Large-scale development, which totally recreated an

urban space in a completely different form had, at the same time, eliminated many places through which people have popularly enjoyed and identified themselves with. The view arose that the modern physical environment had created a number of environmental, social, psychological, and cultural deviations that modern planning failed to take into account.

First, such development lacked any continuity with the pre-existing physical and social fabric. Modern development disrupted existing community patterns, heightening a sense of uprootedness, alienation, and nonplace. In fact, modern development homogenized the urban environment as every suburb looked like every other suburb, every public housing project looked like every other public housing project, and every tower appeared similar to every other tower. In such any environment, any personal identification to the urban landscape was becoming increasingly impossible.

Second, old buildings were demolished to make way for newer, larger developments such as shopping malls, freeways, and office and residential towers creating a dislocating effect upon residents living in the path of such developments. As Denhez describes;

> Demolition usually dislocates that segment of the population least able to cope with it. Furthermore, it tends to reduce supply of the least expensive housing stock in the country, with possible inflationary repercussions which reach through the entire housing market. This problem is the subject of increasing documentation; it has aroused considerable militancy in that wing of the conservation movement, to the extent that conservationists have even resorted to the occupation of structures in protest against proposed demolition (as in the case of Montreal's St. Norbert Street) (Denhez, 1978: 25).

Heritage conservation arose as an alternative to modern development which completely ignored the important role of cultural heritage in the urban environment. It was seen as a vital urban strategy which would alleviate the problems modern development had created.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The calculated expanses of freeways, high-rises, and suburbs, are the most significant characteristics of the modern city. But, as Barnett notes, "rather than acting as

design determinants, they have usually been constructed without any controlling concept of city design" (Barnett, 1986: 135). Freeway planning, slum clearance, and urban renewal have nevertheless embodied a sense that radical changes in the city were necessary and that they could and should be decided by technicians on behalf of the rest of the people - a predominately Corbusian attitude that prefigured in his visions and plans for a modern city. This authoritarian attitude and a certain contempt for the existing urban fabric were implicit in the design of urban freeway systems and urban renewal projects that required the total clearance of large parts of the existing city - completely ignoring a community's historical experience.

In the 1950s and 1960s, following the lead of the United States, Canadian city planning became heavily involved in urban renewal. Urban renewal projects were vigorously pushed by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and initiated in most large Canadian cities. Such corporations also applied the suburban format that was successful in the outer fringes of the city into the inner city and downtown areas. Freeway systems, subsidized public housing and the downtown shopping mall, which replaced old, historic streets and retail shops, impacted the visual nature of the downtown.

However, increasing dissatisfaction over urban systems originating from modern planning concepts adhering to values of industrial growth (Frampton, 1983) (Soja, 1989) (Zukin, 1991), increasing concern over the loss of historical experience in cities (Grantz, 1989), ecological destruction (Hebdige, 1988), and arising disillusionment over the "cult of expertise and professionalism" (Said, 1981), are forces that have impacted present planning thought and practice. The criteria of "appropriate" decision-making in modern planning based on values of functionality, efficiency, universality, standardization, order, technical rationality, and industrial growth no longer dominate.

The planner became faced with a growing movement against its most cherished principles as;

> First the overriding concept of a public interest disintegrated and then the ideal of comprehensive planning as the profession immersed itself in

political participation. Throughout the 1960s the profession registered a growing awareness that the ideal of master planning never had been achievable. A comprehensive viewpoint of the urban totality justified in the name of the public interest implied a top-down autocratic approach. New values and choices were always arising, making it unrealistic to measure short-range changes against the long-term development goals embodied within the master plan (Boyer, 1990: 280).

This shift away from "master planning" was bound to have consequences on, not only the way we plan, but also on the way we think and imagine the city. As David Harvey indicates;

> It is nowadays the norm to seek out 'pluralistic' and 'organic' strategies for approaching urban development as a 'collage' of highly differentiated spaces and mixtures, rather than pursuing grandiose plans based on functional zoning of different activities. 'Collage city' is now the theme and 'urban revitalization' has replaced the vilified 'urban renewal' as the key buzz-word in the planners' lexicon (Harvey, 1989: 40).

A shift from one image of the city to another has a profound impact on the way we imagine, think, plan, and rationalize about urban form. It also has profound influence on the shape of our cities. These major changes suggest that the quality of urban life since the early 1970s is distinct from the modern urban lifestyle which previously prevailed.

The basis of the traditional view of society has faded away. The principles and values of the modern project have been increasingly shattered by the postmodern critique of modernity (Lyotard, 1979). As Hamel notes,

> Faced with the decline of modern ideals, planners can no longer propose intervention programs that stem from the application of simple instrumental or bureaucratic rationality. Moreover, the ineffectiveness of these approaches seems increasingly to oblige them to rethink their actions and their strategies (Hamel, 1993: 22).

In addition, as David Harvey suggests, major changes have also occurred in the shape of present day cities since 1970. The freestanding high-rise, the serpentine freeway, and the large expanses of suburbs, while they remain dominant features of the urban landscape, no longer characterize new and developing urban spatial patterns. Traditional patterns of organizing space are increasingly difficult to maintain due to demands for urban fiscal constraint and high real interest rates.

A reaction to the modernist city began in the 1960s, just at the time when modernist concepts of city design were making their mark on almost every urban area in the world. The demand for community participation, a renewed interest in historic preservation and the beginnings of the environmental movement helped create a need for smaller-scale proposals and an appreciation of the virtues of the monumental and garden-city design concepts (Barnett, 1986: 135).

In the swirl of change and transformation, the old image of the city is replaced by the new city. The processes that once created the city of freeways, suburbs, and high-rises, no longer exist as they did. Economic and cultural transformations have resulted in a different kind of city stitched into the fabric of the old. This is the postmodern city.

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Postmodern Urban Strategies

3.0 Defining the Postmodern

The concept of the postmodern is difficult to grasp. Fredric Jameson suggests that the term postmodern should be viewed as "shifts and irrevocable changes in the *representation* of things and of the way they change" (Jameson, 1991: ix). For modernist thinkers, interest was occupied with changes and their general tendency: "they thought about the thing itself, substantively, in Utopian or essential fashion" (Jameson, 1991: ix). On the other hand, postmodernism is interested in variations and traces the contents of those variations.

This chapter will examine, as postmodernists do, the variations in the *representation* of the city and its subsequent changes. By the 1960s, beginning with Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, a critical view of the modern city emerged. From this view, various prescriptions for an urban planning and design approach which would nurture vital and active communities were formulated. These prescriptions formed not only a new planning and design approach but new *representations* of the city. These *representations* significantly vary from their modernist counterparts which were exemplified by utopian urban schemes and may be defined as postmodern - since they precede modern city representations.

However, by the early 1970s, significant shifts in the city are observed. Jonathan Raban's *Soft City* is the earliest affirmation that a period of transformation has occurred in cities. This text is a descriptive rather than a prescriptive examination of the contemporary city. As David Harvey suggests, *Soft City* asserts that the postmodern moment in the city had arrived. Various attempts to understand and describe the postmodern phenomenon in the context of cities will be examined here in order to generate an understanding in the transformations and the themes that describe the contemporary situation.

In addition, heritage conservation - its intended purpose revealed in the various critiques of the modern city and its actual role in the postmodern city - is examined within the context of contemporary urban change. The growth of heritage conservation can be attributed to its success in kickstarting and contributing to the redevelopment and revitalization of cities. Historic preservation, historic and natural districts, waterfront development, and revitalization of older neighbourhoods have become vital planning and urban policy strategies. The reasons and its impact and role in urban change will be examined in this chapter.

3.1 The Anti-Modernist/Postmodernist Critique of the Modern City

In dealing with urban space, Roger Trancik notes the Modern movement's failure to realize the importance of community and environmental identity to produce meaningful and identifiable places within cities. Instead, modern planning prescriptions drained any "social purpose" from public spaces. As Trancik describes;

> The impulse was to clear the ground, sanitize, and promote human welfare through the segregation of land uses into discrete zones and the substitution of high-rise towers to the evolved community pattern they replaced, *nor did they respond to the social relationships that gave meaning to community existence* .... The social impact has been to ban "non-conforming" activities from each district, thereby excluding the variety that gives life to the traditional, preindustrial city (Trancik, 1986: 12; *my italics*).

In addition, citizens were mobilized in many cities against modern development patterns that obliterated existing neighbourhoods and important public spaces. This citizen's movement forced planners and designers to reexamine theories of modern planning and design and reformulate concepts of urban community living.

With mounting failures in producing vital urban spaces,[3] a reaction of anti-modernist sentiments occurred;

> They declared that the city core, with its high density, pockets of lost space, and political and social problems, was unsuited for modern living for both rich and poor. The suburbs were equally undesirable, as low-density sprawl destroyed vast areas of land and did not allow for the richness of the urban experience. The compact new city open to all income groups was the answer. *Here, the infrastructure systems of roads, utilities, and open spaces would be coordinated and urbanity would be put in balance and harmony with the ecology of site. Here, lost space would be eliminated and a composite city structure would provide urban space in a variety of formal configurations* (Trancik, 1986: 36; *my italics*).

The new pattern of urban development would be pushed and pulled in a multitude of directions as new urban configurations in the form of heritage conservation and urban revitalization were realized.

3.1.1 Jane Jacob's The Death and Life of Great American Cities

During the predominance of modern planning and design, the city and its functions were systematically under attack. The dissatisfaction with the urban environment of the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century and its inherent problems of sanitation, hygiene, traffic, and slums, led to the concept of dispersing urban functions into wider uses of space and the gradual suppression of both urban and rural environments as viable physical and social containers. Guided by principles derived from "towns, suburbs, tuberculosis sanatoria, fairs, and imaginary dream cities" (Jacobs, 1961: 6), modern

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[3] The dynamiting of the Pruitt-Igoe housing development on 15 July 1972, an urban development project that symbolized the ideals of the modern movement and declared uninhabitable for housing low-income people, was seen as an example of the failure of modern planning and design to produce livable spaces. Many anti-modernists and postmodernists would refer to its destruction as the end of the modernist era and a realization that modernist ideals were a failure.

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planning and design, with persistence, use these principles. Jane Jacobs has vehemently attacked these principles in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* published in 1961. Jacobs described the failures of current city planning and offered new principles to produce vital and vibrant city neighbourhoods.

Her main criticisms are targeted at Ebenezer Howard's and Le Corbusier's concepts of the city. According to Jacobs, for Howard, the city was "an outright evil and an affront to nature ..... His prescription for saving people was to do the city in" (Jacobs, 1961: 17). To Jacobs, his concept of a garden city was not the combination of city and country living but, in fact, the destruction of both. The destruction of the existing city was further aggravated by Le Corbusier's concepts which dramatized the need for a new urban order.

In Jacobs' view, the destruction of cities through modern development patterns has created unlivable urban environments. In addition, the destruction of rural environments through suburbanization, urban expansion and dispersal has not brought people closer to the values of nature Howard intended. Instead , in the process of suburbanization, nature is denatured into vast open, green spaces which are deserted or unsupported by a nearby intensity of people. This simplified territory, suppressed of any urban or rural functions creates an economically and socially infertile area.

In Jacobs view, North American cities are disappearing due to modern development in the form of suburbs, freeways, and high-rises; "Dull , inert cities, it is true, do contain the seeds of their own destruction and little else" (Jacobs, 1961: 448). On the other hand "lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration" (Jacobs, 1961: 448). Revitalizing the city is viewed as an imperative planning strategy to rescue the urban environment as a vital social, physical, and economic entity. Jacobs offers a number of conditions for this.

Jacobs views the outdoor vibrancy of the older city, with streets filled with pedestrians, as a crucial condition to regenerate the urban environment. This is what creates diversity in neighbourhoods. With diversity eventually comes intensity of uses.

Modern urban environments are plagued by vast, unused open spaces. Older, existing urban fabrics, with their compact forms, are replaced by buildings situated in voids of green space or concrete - physical spaces which lack any social or economic purpose.

Furthermore, Jacobs realizes that new ideas, especially new commercial enterprises, cannot take risks in the high-overhead economy of new construction. These new ideas must use old buildings. It is these new ideas that very much help the diversity of the area. The preservation and maintenance of older buildings becomes a crucial economic factor in fostering urban economic rehabilitation.

Historic urban areas are primarily characterized by dense concentrations of buildings and uses. Such density Jacobs finds attractive. These historic areas make intensive use of city land and contribute effectively to supporting high levels of social, physical, and economic diversity.

3.1.2 Imageability

Kevin Lynch's classic work, *The Image of the City*, suggested that the alienation of the modern city is above all due to people unable to mentally map either their own positions (a problem of wayfinding) or the image of urban totality in which they find themselves. Spatial grids such as those of Jersey City -which, by their development, signify none of the traditional markers (landmarks, nodes, districts, paths, edges) - are difficult spatial patterns that repress any ability to formulate an image of the city in the citizen's mind. In Lynch's view, *imageability* as a criterion for guiding the development and redevelopment of cities is critical. Lynch defines imageability as,

> that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates *the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment* (Lynch, 1960: 9; *my italics*).

The general strategy of imageability in the planning of cities is described by Fredric Jameson,

Disalienation in the traditional city, then, involves *the practical reconquest of a sense of place and the construction or reconstruction of an articulated ensemble* which can be retained in memory and which the individual subject can map and remap along the moments of mobile, alternative trajectories (Jameson, 1991: 51; *my italics*).

Examining the spatial structures of the downtowns in Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles, and by means of interviews and questionnaires in which subjects were asked to draw from memory their city context, Lynch suggests that urban alienation is directly proportional to the mental unmappability of local cityscapes. On the other hand, in Lynch's view, a city like Boston, with its monumental perspectives and visible landmarks, its combination of grand but simple spatial forms, such as the dramatic boundaries of the Charles River, not only allows citizens to have, in their imaginations, a generally successful and continuous location within the context of the entire city, "but gives them something of the freedom and aesthetic gratification of traditional city form" (Jameson, 1991: 415). Traditional urban forms are viewed as a more acceptable spatial environment then what the modern city had produced. Urban development and redevelopment must respect such physical environments for their existence. As Lynch's study suggest, they are necessary to transcend the problems in an alienated city.

3.1.3 Symbolic Poverty

Symbolic poverty was first coined by Leon Krier when describing the state of the modern city;

> The *symbolic poverty* of current architecture and townscape is a direct result and expression of functionalist monotony as legislated by functional zoning practices. The principal modern building types and planning models such as the Skyscraper, the Groundscraper, the Central Business District, the Commercial Strip, the Office Park, the Residential Suburb, etc. are invariably horizontal or vertical *over*concentrations of single uses in one urban zone, in one building programme, or under one roof (cited in Harvey, 1989: 67).

Krier seeks to recuperate the '*symbolic richness*' of traditional urban forms by active restoration and re-creation of traditional 'classical' urban values,

This means either restoration of an older urban fabric and its rehabilitation to new uses, or the creation of new spaces that express the traditional visions with all the cunning that modern technologies and materials will allow (Harvey, 1989: 68).

Symbols embody meaning into the urban environment. In modern planning and design, urban places, rich in symbols and hence, meaning, are replaced by barren urban landscapes which lack any consideration to a community's historical experience. The destruction of such places and their replacement of emptiness - an exterior environment without visible shape, color, scale, and order - has created an urban environment in a state of *spiritual poverty*, a plague of physical and social monotony. As Norberg-Schulz suggests without such symbolically rich and diverse places, human life or more appropriately, human social interaction could not take place. He continues to state that,

...the loss of things and places makes up a loss of "world." Modern man becomes "wordless", and thus loses his own identity, as well as the sense of community and participation. Existence is experienced as "meaningless," and man becomes "homeless" because he does not any longer belong to a meaningful totality (Norberg-Schulz 1985: 12).

Therefore, the role of the urban designer is to maintain, enhance, and also, create spaces that have the potential to become meaningful places for urban citizens.

The apparent loss of meaningful gathering places characterized by spiritual poverty and disorientation plagues much of our cities today. This disorientation not only means a loss of physical direction but also one of meaningful direction. As Norberg-Schulz describes;

From birth on we try to orientate ourselves in the environment and establish a certain order. A *common* order is called *culture*. The development of culture is based upon information and education and therefore depends on the existence of common symbol-systems. Participation in a culture means that one knows how to use its common symbols. Culture integrated the single personality in an *ordered* world based upon meaningful interactions (Norberg-Schulz, 1985: 20).

Symbols able one to orientate himself through the urban environment in a direction that he finds most feasible and enjoyable to him and allows the greatest potential of experience and

discovery. The role of the built environment is to concretize a culture's value system and provide individual and group experiences. It is an expression of the cultural and social interaction of the area and it is the role of urban design to preserve and provide these experiences.

> [urban design] ...concretizes higher objects or "values". It gives visual expression to ideas which *mean* something to man because they "order" reality. Only through such an order, only by recognizing their mutual dependence, do things become meaningful (Norberg-Schulz, 1985: 22; my parentheses).

The common symbols of natural and cultural heritage provides a significant expression of the distinctiveness of a community's value system and order. They provide the information of where and what the community was and where and what the community is and will be. This structures the daily and fundamental values that binds and connects the community together.

> Norberg-Schulz continues to note;

> When we are traveling in a foreign country space is "neutral," that is, not yet connected with joys and sorrows. Only when space becomes a *system of meaningful places*, does it become alive to us (Norberg-Schulz 1985: 24).

As this suggests, spaces are identified by the actions and experiences that people have within them. Space is defined through the activities that happen there, and its meaning is derived by the events. This, Norberg-Schulz describes as the "freeing" of space for one's possession and where he identifies his existence in;

> We might also say that *life interprets itself as space, in taking possession of the environment.* This happens simultaneously through physical *orientation* and through a more profound *identification.* When an action takes place, the place where the action occurs becomes meaningful, in the sense of expressing the possibility of the very occurrence. What happens does not only partake in a spatial structure, but also linked with a system of values and meanings, and thus acquires character and symbolic importance (Norberg-Schulz, 1985: 31).

Character and identification with the built environment is integral for stimulating a sense of belonging to a certain landscape or place.

According to Norberg-Schulz, 'To gain an existential foothold man has to be able to orientate himself; he has to know where he is. But he also has to identify himself with the environment, that is, he has to know how he is a certain place.' (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 19) One needs this "existential foothold" to know he is alive and to know he exists within his environment. There is a need for an identity and a sense of belonging, a need for meaning and purpose in life. This purpose is the *genius* of the people, the spirit. The *genius loci*, the spirit of a locality, was a concrete, cultural symbol. It became a tangible place of gathering for the local *genius*.

> The city, thus, is the place where meeting takes place. Here men come together to discover the world of the others. "I am" becomes like a mirror which receives, and reflects and presents. In the city all things mirror each other, and out of the play of reflections images arise, around which we may build our existence. Meeting and choice are hence the existential dimensions of the city (Norberg-Schulz, 1985: 51).

"Existential space" is an important element in providing a sense of identification and meaning, a sense of participation within the whole community. It is where events and actions allow one to enjoy and participate in one's world. The city and its present built form, is a record of the meeting of "one" and "others". Places are to describe the phenomenon of the actions, events, and feelings that happen in these spaces. Places embodied with natural and cultural heritage are filled with various experiences, stories, actions, events, and feelings. Their continuing existence is crucial to resisting the problems modern development patterns have created.

3.1.4 Community

Prior to the electronic age and print media, communities represented the extent of knowledge and information available to its inhabitants. Cultural norms were established in localized, geopolitical zones in which customs, folklore, language, role models and lifestyle habits were distinctive features of the community. The emergence of print media, followed by mechanization and the computer age, resulted in providing common

information and images to communities around the world. Distinctive elements of communities, describes Marshall McLuhan in *Understanding Media*, were quickly eroded by a wave of mass media that tended towards producing homogeneous images, views, role models, and language to the masses. Media and technology has furthered the separation of community ties by creating stronger social bonding amongst focus groups - such as teens and elderly for example - that associates commonalities amongst groups over ever larger global areas, where the community in history focused primarily on the extended family and local peer groups.

These technological advancements in communications have increasingly opened up global contacts and intertwined international activities, creating a "global village". Nozick observes the result;

> The Global Village is an insidious cultural force which is erasing cultural diversity and threatening the integrity of communities by bringing monotony, meaninglessness and more of the same (Nozick, 1992: 11).

This Global Village is identified, in Nozick's view,

> by the corporate images sold to us on mass media and repeated with regular sameness from city to city - suburbs of spaghetti design, shopping malls with glass peaks, McDonald's, Holiday Inns, domed stadiums. The shift from understanding home as a special place of origin - a community where we live, work, belong and feel a sense of social responsibility - to the perception of home as a World Class City such as New York or Los Angeles is a result of complex global forces promoting cultural uniformity (Nozick, 1992: 3).

Diversity and uniqueness of communities is lost in the process of economic globalization as local markets are replaced by global markets. Ever increasing urban expansion and the need for increasing economic growth has local resources reaching their carrying capacities. To maintain a reasonable living standard what is required is a massive mobilization of international resources. This has profoundly changed the city into an export center, manufacturing consumer goods into a large international market system, and has greatly effected local communities, where now its inhabitants must look outside the community for jobs, interests, cultural needs, and entertainment.

A growing sense of rootlessness, transitoriness and dispossession are characteristic of a growing trend towards globalization and global competition. As people move to find better jobs; corporations move to find cheaper labour and consumer markets; as fashions shift and neighbourhoods where people grew up vanish in the turmoil of urban restructuring for global markets, Nozick observes, "The notion of security, belonging and community are lost along the way and so is our connection with where we live, the people around us, nature and the things we consume" (Nozick, 1992: 5).

Many Canadian communities face crises in the form of;

- Economic de-industrialization, which is leaving thousands of people across the country in small towns and in urban communities unemployed due to plant closings.
- Environmental degradation of crisis proportion, which is poisoning our local water supplies and the air we breathe in major cities, through industrial pollution, consumer waste and auto pollution.
- Loss of local control over our communities, with major economic and political decisions made by higher levels of government or by companies whose head offices are elsewhere - by people who have no stake in the community except profit taking or managing people.
- Social degradation and neglect of basic human needs, so that increasing numbers of people in our communities are marginalized, alienated, homeless, jobless, hungry and living in unsafe situations.
- Erosion of local identity and cultural diversity as we conform to the homogeneous values of the Global Village... (Nozick, 1992: 7).

Nozick argues the primary aim in dealing with the present situation of our communities is to develop an alternative vision to the global economy, "an alternative development strategy which has as its main purpose and goal, the preservation and revitalization of community" (Nozick, 1992: 6). To offset the results of an international economic system, what is needed, Nozick suggests is a rediscovery of "the particularities of place, the reclaiming of home, community and local responsibility through *sustainable community development*" (Nozick, 1992: 6). The aim of sustainable community development is to:

(1) *build communities which are more self-supporting* and which can sustain and regenerate themselves through economic self-reliance, community control and environmentally sound development.
(2) *build communities which will be worth preserving* because they are grounded in the life experiences of people who live in them and in the

natural histories of specific regions. This calls for building local culture and meeting the full range of people's needs (Nozick, 1992: 7).

The issue facing communities is the loss of integral institutions which facilitate a community culture. Unlike traditional modern neighbourhoods where a lack of an active citizenry corresponds to a lack of public spaces, a vibrant community requires a different physical entity. The notion of community must be physically embodied in places. They are places were people meet and renew friendships. They are places that foster communication and hence, consensus among community members. Here the community is formed through work, celebration, interaction, and learning. Meeting places are integral to the notion of community.

Community is a collection of individual "pieces" that make up a "wholeness". In other words, everyone's daily mode, their desires and dreams, equals community. Community functions to give structure to these desires and dreams and facilitates between individuals so that everyone can collectively achieve their "lifeway". Heritage conservation is a means to protect, conserve, and rehabilitate the places in which modern development threaten to eradicate. Heritage conservation can act as a tool for reclaiming the sense of community and rehabilitate the places in which community life is fostered.

3.2.0   The Postmodern Era

In view of the problems presented by the modern city, the conservation of urban heritage is viewed as a necessary element in enriching and revitalizing urban communities. Jacob's suggests the economic opportunities available through preserving older buildings. Lynch's strategy of *imageability* suggests the use of historical and natural images in creating powerful and vivid urban scenes and distinctive urban environments, while Krier sought to enrich cities with historical and cultural images.

Such urban strategies considerably contrast with strategies that Le Corbusier or Ebenezer Howard espoused. In fact, such strategies represent a newly arising conception

of planning and designing the city which may generally be referred to as postmodern. However, such strategies were not wholly accepted within planning and urban design fields until profound economic and cultural shifts occurred which have shaped the urban environment.

The emerging urbanism provides extensive information on the state of postmodern society. There has been a significant recomposition of space-time-being. In other words, a change in the nature and experience of modernity "that arises primarily from the historical and geographical dynamics of modes of production" (Soja, 1989: 25).

By postmodern geography, Soja means "the most recent products of a sequence of spatialities that can be complexly correlated to successive eras of capitalist developments" (Soja, 1989: 3). A new regime of 'flexible' capitalist accumulation has been built upon a peculiar transformation of urban space and mediated by a postmodern cultural fabric. In other words, the emerging spatial 'fix' of this period of restructuring and (post)modernization has significantly changed the material landscape. Soja suggests that the emergence of a postfordist regime of 'flexible' capital accumulation is linked to the developing urban and regional geographical patterns;

> At every scale of life, from the global to the local the spatial organization of society was being restructured to meet the urgent demands of capitalism in crisis - to open up new opportunities for super-profits; to find new ways to maintain social control, to stimulate increased production and consumption (Soja, 1989: 34).

The changing nature of urbanization in advanced capitalism reveals a "social hieroglyphic through which to unravel the dynamics of post-war capitalist development" (Soja, 1989: 94).

This recent phase of social and spatial restructuring has followed the end of the post-war economic boom. This boom is characterized by a regime of accumulation and mode of regulation around large-scale, vertically-integrated, industrial production systems; mass consumerism and sprawling suburbanization; the centralized Keynesian planning of the welfare state; and increasing corporate oligopoly.

The crisis of overaccumulation, resulted in a new regime of accumulation and a new mode of regulation. Capitalism became restructured to a mode of flexible accumulation to increase the speed of consumption processes, increasing capital turnover time while further decreasing social labour time and value. Productive capital became far more mobile and internationalized, being withdrawn from the manufacturing infrastructure of cities. The inner city witnessed a period of economic and physical decline.

This period has also witnessed a time of intense urban restructuring and revitalization. Soja asserts that this restructuring has changed not only 'the look of things' but also 'ways of seeing'. The long-lasting modern critical tradition of Western Marxism and critical social science appeared to explode into fragments as alternative modern movements compete for control over understanding a restructured contemporary world. The debate on the peculiarities of 'late capitalism', in particular the perplexing societal restructuring, has shatterred long-established political, economic, cultural, ideological, and intellectual patterns. As Soja observes

> ... another culture of time and space seems to be taking shape in this contemporary context and it is redefining the nature and experience of everyday life in the modern world - and along with it the whole fabric of social theory (Soja, 1989: 60).

A new political response to an increasingly urbanized world economy was based in a cultural and ideological reconfiguration - a changing definition of the experiential meaning of modernity, in which science, art, philosophy, and programmes for political action respond to the contemporary moment's perils and possibilities. This section will examine the shifts in economic, cultural and intellectual patterns and its impact on the contemporary city in order to begin an understanding of the role of urban heritage in the present scene.

3.2.1 Theory

Parallel to the anti-modernist and postmodernist critiques of the city, the development of postmodern theory actually stems from a critical examination of and reaction to the failures of Modernist thought. Postmodernism denotes a reaction to the

"crisis" of "radical" critique and the limitations of "general [academic] knowledges".
Notions of progress, development, and utopia which dominated modernist thought, as well
as modernist planning and design, are in fact rejected by postmodernist philosophy. This
may suggest that a "postmodern" reaction to modern theory leads to a similar reaction in
planning and design thought. The context of postmodernism and its theory is necessary in
understanding how planning views, regulates, and plans the postmodern urban
environment. Dick Hebdige links three negations which bind the compound of
postmodernism together, thereby, distinguishing it from other "isms".

The first is the negation of "totalisation". Postmodernism is antagonistic to the
"generalising" aspirations of the Enlightenment or the Western philosophical tradition. The
"center" of this philosophical tradition has fragmented towards a growing sensitivity to
micro-relations of power. Movements, such as feminism, the counterculture,
environmentalism, the politics of sexuality, the politics of utterance, grew as a response to
the "crisis of representation" in its political and ideological form. The postmodern critique
regards representation as problematic. It sees all forms and processes of "representation"
as suspect.

The second is an anti-teleological tendency - "a skepticism regarding the idea of
decidable origins/causes" (Hebdige, 1988: 190). Postmodernism replaces the precepts of
historical materialism with accounts of process and transformation less mechanical and less
unidirectional. There is no desirable transcendental reality to struggle towards. The
postmodern signifies the end of critical distance, the depth model, and the modernist
strategy to emancipate a reality outside the realm of scarcity and ideology through the
rational deployment of resources.

> Without the gaps between, say, perception, experience, articulation and the
> real opened up by the modernist master categories of ideology and
> alienation, there is no space left to struggle over, to struggle from ... or ...
> to struggle towards ... (Hebdige, 1988: 192-193).

The historical, hence soluble "contradictions" of Marxist discourse are seen as eternal (hence insoluble) in postmodern discourses. We are denied any notion of "elsewhere" or any kind of alternative.

This leads to the third postmodern negation - a strong skepticism of utopian visions. Postmodernism recognizes no collective destination. There exists no claims to the "ultimate mastery of nature", the "rational control of social forms", a "perfect state of being", "end of all (oppressive) powers" (Hebdige, 1988: 196). Postmodernism directs its attack on all those programmes and prescriptions which place a high premium on centralised planning and social engineering. In other words, it sees the struggle for utopia as "Holy Wars" which "require casualties and infidels" as "all utopias come wrapped in barbed wire" (Hebdige, 1988: 196).

The political programmes of the postmodern are committed "to flexible strategies, to responsive, accountable power structures, with a commitment to decentralisation and local democracy" (Hebdige, 1988: 204). It is committed to advance along "multiple fronts". As knowledge is "decentered" and intellectual mastery is lost, postmodernism opens up critical lines of discourse which were previously prohibited lines of enquiry. Decentring discourses, such as feminism, marxism, psychoanalysis, semiotics, the ecology movement, stress the positive aspects of the "loss of mastery" and recognizes that we are gendered beings "bounded by particular horizons, perspectives, experiences, knowledge" (Hebdige, 1988: 11). It is a recognition of the limits of control and mastery.

Postmodernism also recognizes the practical limits of "development"; the recognition of the finite nature of earth's resources, the potential for collective self-destruction, and the limitations of predictive systems of global, economic, cultural, and political development. In other words, the limits of the "modernising aspiration" suggests that we may need a new "Theory of Development", one that is postmodern.

Postmodernists view the great meta-narratives of modernity as no longer accounting for the present situation. Postmodernism recognizes the limits of totalisation and

centralisation. It strives to dismantle the concentration of authority by constructing "more effective, responsive, accountable and genuinely democratic structures ..." (Hebdige, 1988: 230) - moving towards local and regional political critique and practice.

For postmodernists, there is no doubt that the image of our society has changed. There is found no recourse in the old representations and theories explaining society. The syndrome of change necessitates a serious revision of our representation(s) of society. We no longer see the expert as master of "reality". We no longer see the control of such things as urban systems, possible or desirable any longer.

3.2.2 Economics and Culture

While the 1960s witnessed a surge of critical thought leveled at the shape of the modern city, modern planning and design principles, and the ideals of modernism itself identified - with the belief in linear progress, absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders, and the standardization of knowledge and production contrasted with postmodernism celebration of heterogeneity and difference, fragmentation, indeterminacy, and an intense distrust of all universal or 'totalizing' discourses - this period was still characterized by modern strategies of urban development. However, by the early 1970s, modern urban strategies appear no longer viable. By this time, modern patterns of organizing space for the benefit of capital accumulation, crisis management, and high levels of industrial growth are increasingly difficult to maintain due to demands for fiscal constraint and high real interest rates. Diminishing budgets and an increasing conservative ideology in the political environment aggravate the planner's inability to propose large-scale urban interventions modern planning strategies so espoused. As Hamel notes,

> Faced with the decline of modern ideals, planners can no longer propose intervention programs that stem from the application of a simple instrumental or bureaucratic rationality. Moreover, the ineffectiveness of these approaches seems increasingly to oblige them to rethink their actions and their strategies (Hamel, 1993: 22).

In the wake of economic, political, cultural, and urban change, planners were forced to reevaluate "their actions and their strategies".

David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* traces the shifts in urban, cultural, and economic change. Harvey argues;

> There has been a sea-change in cultural as well as in political-economic practices since around 1972.
> This sea-change is bound up with the emergence of new dominant ways in which we experience space and time.
> While simultaneity in the shifting dimensions of time and space is no proof of necessary or causal connection, strong a priori grounds can be adduced for the proposition that there is some kind of necessary relation between the rise of postmodernist cultural forms, the emergence of more flexible modes of capital accumulation, and a new round of 'time-space compression' in the organization of capitalism.
> But these changes, when set against the basic rules of capitalistic accumulation, appear more as shifts in surface appearance rather than as signs of the emergence of some entirely new postcapitalist or even postindustrial society (Harvey, 1989: vii).

Changes in the urban environment did not appear until the economy entered what David Harvey describes as a crisis of overaccumulation where factories and infrastructure remained idle and consumer markets saturated. The economy became restructured to a mode of flexible accumulation to increase the speed of the consumption process by increasing capital turnover time while further decreasing social labour time and value. Productive capital became far more mobile and internationalized - moving to areas where labour control was easier. In North America, capital was withdrawn from the manufacturing infrastructure of cities, and the inner city witnessed a period of economic and physical decline. A crisis had occurred within the realm of capitalism and a quick reaction resulted in a time of urban restructuring and revitalization.

> The 1970s and 1980s have consequently been a troubled period of economic restructuring and social and political readjustment. In the social space created by all this flux and uncertainty, a series of novel experiments in the realms of industrial organization as well as in political and social life have begun to take shape. These experiments may represent the early stirrings of the passage to an entirely new regime of accumulation, coupled with a quite different system of political and social regulation (Harvey, 1989: 145).

Under fierce competitive conditions, excess idle equipment and empty plants, corporations were forced into a period of rationalization, restructuring, and intensification of labour control. "Technological change, automation, the search for new product lines and market niches, geographical dispersal to zones of easier labour control, mergers, and steps to accelerate the turnover time of their capital surged to the fore of corporate strategies for survival under general conditions of deflation" (Harvey, 1989: 145).

For corporations to survive, not only was there a need for the acceleration of the pace of product innovation but also fierce and innovative marketing strategies which bombarded the media with images, signs, and other forms of advertising. The targeting and holding of a highly specialized and small-scale market niche was necessary for a corporation's survival.

Along with an accelerating turnover time in production, an accelerated turnover time in consumption was also necessary. The half-life of products of certain economic sectors have been cut in half (such as textile and clothing industries, video games, computer software). Flexible accumulation, as Harvey calls it, has been accompanied by a much greater emphasis to quick-changing fashions and modes and the mobilization of all the artifices of need inducement, such as marketing and advertising. "The relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms" (Harvey, 1989: 156).

In the present mode of advanced capitalism, commodity production has been integrated in the production of culture, such as fashion, pop art, television, media images, and the variety of urban lifestyles. The present pursuit of consumption dollars of the affluent have led to a much greater emphasis upon product differentiation particularly in the realm of the urban environment to represent distinction, class, taste, and lifestyle of a person or neighbourhood. Harvey describes that this has;

> progressively given way to ornamented tower blocks, imitation mediaeval
> squares and fishing villages, custom-designed or vernacular housing,

renovated factories and warehouses, and rehabilitated landscapes of all kinds, all in the name of procuring some more 'satisfying' urban environment (Harvey, 1989: 40).

By the early 1970s, heritage became increasingly important, reflecting fundamental changes in the patterns of consumption, financing, real-estate development, and telecommunications. The downtowns of many large cities rapidly became globally oriented financial and business service centers. This increased the demand for new office towers, luxury residences, entertainment spaces, and upscale market places.

It became imperative for cities to provide the various infrastructure and entice corporate executives to their city. The manipulation of a satisfying urban environment became a prime concern, as Boyer notes;

> In this competitive location game, cities and regions must market themselves: their "imageability" becomes the new selling point. Consequently spatial design codes and architectural pattern languages become increasingly important in selling the look of an upmarket, upbeat environment. In this marketing war, style-of-life and "livability," visualized and represented in spaces of conspicuous consumption, become important assets that cities proudly display (Boyer, 1992: 193).

Space is increasingly regulated under the imperatives of the new market logic of "hypercapitalism". In Hebdige's view, now, "There is nowhere else to go but to the shops" (Hebdige, 1988: 168). Space is manipulated for the purpose of conspicuous consumption in the form of spectacles, entertainment, and tourist pleasures.

3.2.3 The City

Postmodernist theory is a reaction against totalization. In concert, the city is not seen as a total entity but uncontrollable and chaotic. Postmodernists, Harvey argues, do not plan any longer, but *design*. Postmodernist design and architecture is characteristic of market satisfaction of people's wants, needs, and fancies at certain prices. This free-market populism has generated a number of "specialized, even highly customized architectural forms that may range from intimate, personalized spaces, through traditional

monumentality, to the gaiety of spectacle" (Harvey, 1989: 40). The urban environment is transformed;

> Cities and places now, it seems, take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of place, and have sought an architecture and forms of urban design that respond to such need. That they should be so pressed, and that the result should be a serial repetition of successful models (such as Baltimore's Harbor Place), is understandable, given the grim history of deindustrialization and restructuring that left most major cities in the advanced capitalist world with few options except to compete with each other, mainly as financial, consumption, and entertainment centres. Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneuralism (Harvey, 1989: 91-92).

This restructuring of the urban environment results in a far different description of the city. These descriptions trace the experience of the postmodern city - the transformation of urban form and its regulatory environment.

3.2.3a The City as Commodity

Postmodernism has focused on the explosion of consumerism penetrating every sphere of experience. "As culture, leisure, sex, politics, and even death turn into commodities, consumption increasingly constructs the way we see the world" (Crawford, 1992: 11). In the new city, traditional rational discourse on social relations have become obsolete. The obtainment of a distinct personal set of commodities for the purpose of projecting a personal identity within the urban scene indicates much more on urban dynamics than the economic relationships of class positions. The ethos of consumption, "a new world order bent on a single citizenship of consumption" (Sorkin, 1992a: xiii), threatens the possibilities of the urban realm. Moreover, the physical nature of the urban realm has also changed, increasingly dependent on the economy of entertainment and shopping. This new realm mediates the ethos of consumption. As Sorkin explains, "the invisible hand has learned a new geometry" (Sorkin, 1992a: xiii).

According to Sorkin, the new city of consumption and commodification is characterized by three developments. The first development "is the dissipation of all stable relations to local physical and cultural geography, the loosening of ties to any specific space" (Sorkin, 1992a: xiii). As Langdon Winner warns when describing the development of Silicon Valley, place-oriented theories and sensibilities are threatened to become obsolete. While design variations of spaces are endless, the single imperative to consume has homogenized the functions of the urban landscape. Consumption plays the function of modern living, which is "brought together under the mall's skylighted dome" (Crawford, 1992: 6).

Here, "In this vast, virtually undifferentiated territory" (Sorkin, 1992a: xii), the functions of living, working and shopping "float in a culturing medium a "non-place urban realm" that provides the bare functions of a city..." (Sorkin, 1992a: xii). The new city is characterized by the universal goal of product turnover. The faster the product turnover the greater the short term profit. "Obsessed with the point of production and the point of sale, the new city is little more than a swarm of urban bits jettisoning a physical view of the whole, sacrificing the idea of the city as the site of community and human connection" (Sorkin, 1992a: xiii). As Davis observes,

> ... the designers of malls and pseudopublic space attack the crowd by homogenizing it. They set up architectural and semiotic barriers that filter out the "undesirables." They enclose the mass that remains, directing its circulation with behaviorist ferocity. The crowd is lured by visual stimuli of all kinds, dulled by Muzak, sometimes even scented by invisible aromatizers (Davis, 1990: 179).

The design and organization of space is geared towards stimulating the process of immediate gratification of ephemeral commodities such as images, sounds, feelings, etc.

Davis's observation leads to the second major development in the new city, its obsession with surveillance and regulation. Technological advances have allowed a greater level of manipulation and surveillance over the urban citizen. Functions and activities in the

public realm are being subverted to shopping malls, skywalks, and outdoor markets while uses are strictly regulated. Activities, outside the realm of consumption, are restricted.

In addition, there has been a proliferation of new modes of physical segregation. The writers observe the growth of middle-class suburban cities on the fringes; enclaved communities for only the rich; gentrification; etc. The impulse towards segregation in city planning has changed the structure of the urban realm. City Planning "has largely ceased its historic role as the integrator of communities in favor of managing selective development and enforcing distinction" (Sorkin, 1992a: xiv).

Finally, the third development is the city as simulation. Sorkin calls it the "television city" or "city as theme park." Here, the urban landscape is characterized as purely semiotic; a two-dimensional, flatly photographed image. This is nowhere more prominent in the architecture of the new city, where images are drawn and appropriated from history, "playing the game of grafted signification" (Sorkin, 1992a: xv). They are the scenes mediating between the urban citizen and the commodity.

> The contemporary spectator in quest of public urban space increasingly must stroll through recycled and revalued territories like south Street Seaport, city tableaux that have been turned into gentrified, historicized, commodified, and privatized places. *These areas once existed outside of the marketplace, but now their survival depends on advertising, and on the production of an entertaining environment that sells* (Boyer, 1992: 204; *my italics*).

Sorkin asserts, the profession of urban design is obsessed with creation of urban disguise and theme-park building. The greatest expression of this is Disneyland. The city, as in Disneyland, has reproduced the image of the city by bypassing the scenes of public activities. "The theme park presents its happy regulated vision of pleasure ... as a substitute for the democratic public realm" (Sorkin, 1992a: xv). As Boyer explains "The private sphere of nostalgic desires and imagination is increasingly manipulated by stage sets and city tableaux set up to stimulate our acts of consumption ..." (Boyer, 1992: 204).

Public space is disappearing. Sorkin concludes by saying *we must reclaim the city and the public realm.* This effort " is the struggle of democracy itself" (Sorkin, 1992a:

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xv). The critical warning is that we are trading public liberty for private liberty, active citizenship for private, and strive towards passive freedom to enjoy the rights of private property.

3.2.3bThe City of Consumption

Sharon Zukin's **Landscapes of Power** begins with two polar experiences of structural change - the inner (cultural) and the urban landscape. Both represent and resist the economic transformations that are occurring. By analyzing five different types of urban community, Zukin demonstrates how economic, social and political power constructs the urban landscape and has been transforming our cities. The landscapes of cities provide visual evidence of conflict and mediation of abstract market forces that detach people from social institutions and specific forces of attachment identified with place.

Postmodern culture began as an opposition to the loss of "a sense of place" suggesting a possibility of reconciling landscape and vernacular, and market and place. However, observes Zukin, "the more visible it becomes, the more it takes on the decontextualized, market-oriented look of franschise culture" (Zukin, 1991: 27). The opposition between market and place is built into postmodernism. Postmodern culture has helped mediate the problematics of market and place to produce the postmodern landscape of consumption and economic and political power.

Despite its ideology of resistance, postmodernism has an accommodation with consumer society. Postmodern art and architecture decorate the city with emblems of consumption that are legible, local, and "friendly" - disguising the abstract economic structures and international capital flows of the new economy. But postmodernism exists within a different context from the previous modernism. It is a period where markets are more volatile and increasingly intangible and places are increasingly less autonomous, under the grip of economic and political control. Are there any alternatives? This raises the issue of whether an adversarial culture can exist in the present context of consumer

society. "Constrained both institutionally and ideologically," cities face "a shrinking of the realm of the possible and a shrinking of the realm of the public, simultaneously" (Zukin, 1991: 54).

Postmodern anxiety over whether cultural authority is derived from autonomy over market forces or, conversely, from market power is difficult to map on the postmodern landscape. The postmodern compromise between market and place is fragile. The present reordering of markets have encroached upon place, as postmodernism makes its symbolic mark on the landscape by providing "a visual rhetoric for an all-pervasive consumer culture" (Zukin, 1991: 26). The process of liminality, in the postmodern period, *has gradually displaced vernacular landscapes with landscapes defined by mobilization of economic, cultural and political power.*

Economic restructuring has created a pervasive experience of liminality. The concept of liminality recognizes that present economic structures and cultural institutions interact, impact, transform, and mediate each other. Liminal space responds to the interaction of economy and culture in a particularly unique landscape - the arena of their interplay. This dynamic transforms our "experience of modernity".

Most modern cultures trivialize or ignore the idea of place. Modernism expressed the need for the destruction of traditional, locally-inflected cultures to one predetermined by the imperatives of industrial society. Place began to internalize market culture. The growth of factory towns represented extreme cases of socio-spatial restructuring to mediate industrial markets. However, the struggle to impose an industrial order on space has now changed towards reshaping space to the rhythm of consumer society;

> With the creative destruction of an industrial market economy, individuals experience the simultaneous expansion of some, and contraction of other, culturally transmitted economic roles. In crucial ways some economic roles are reversed. With - and despite - the expansion of employment in the services, people experience a qualitative shift in the source of social meaning from the sphere of production to consumption. With - and despite - the contraction of employment in manufacturing, producers who want to save their jobs often become investors in worker buyouts. In the abstract, economic restructuring can be thought of as a process of liminality. It

socially reorganizes space and time, reformulates economic roles, and revalues cultures of production and consumption (Zukin, 1991: 29).

The landscape of the late twentieth century is both varied and transforming. The geography of the urban landscape has been sharply divided between landscapes of consumption and devastation. Places that remain integral to a production economy, such as the steel-town, the downtown manufacturing and warehouse districts, have been losers in the new economy. By contrast, places linked to real estate development, financial exchanges, entertainment - places which mediate consumer pleasures and desires - have been increasingly supported by shifts in capital investment. Whether described as a process of decline and decentralization (deindustrialization) or the era of postindustrial society, there has occurred a simultaneous advance and decline of economic forms that is altering the shape of the physical and cultural landscape of our cities.

3.2.3c The Hypercity

Whether the postmodern condition is a departure from the modern project is a crucial question. Postmodernism is as deeply ambiguous as was modernism. While it claims to stand in opposition to the processes of (post)modernization, it also helps regulate and mediate this process. However, Albert Borgmann observes postmodernism resolves this ambiguity in two very different ways.

One way, observes Borgmann, is hypermodernism. Hypermodernism is derived from its integral link to technology and commodity consumption. Here, postmodernism shares with modernism an unreserved allegiance to technology, but differs by giving technology "a hyperfine and hypercomplex design" (Borgmann, 1992: 82). Borgmann defines it as "devoted to the design of a technologically sophisticated and glamourously unreal universe, distinguished by its hyperreality, hyperactivity, and hyperintelligence" (Borgmann, 1992: 6).

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This pursuit has dislodged society from any sense of tradition and civility. Our present culture as been mobilized for the purpose of mindless consumption and global economic leadership. Social and cultural richness in the pace of daily life have been suspended for the urgent cause of private gratification in the face social hardship due to global economic restructuring. We are living a sense of hyperactivity where work and recreation are subverted to the paradigm of mass consumption and intense social control. The goal of this first postmodernism is;

> ... the determination to prevail aggressively regardless of physical resistance, to prevail methodically regardless of complexity, and to prevail socially regardless of traditions (Borgmann, 1992: 123).

A large part of the new economy is devoted to a private designation of mindless consumption. The center of our culture has become bloated with consumption goods and sources of private gratification. The first postmodernism engages technology in creating a new sense of experience. The experience of hyperreality - the artificial simulation of reality and the exaggeration of urban scenes and ambiences - may result in the same experience as reality itself. But Borgmann warns, it allows a person to disavow any responsibility to the context of reality. It is disposable and discontinuous - "Disposability and discontinuity are marks of hyperreal glamour, and glamour, in turn, is the sign of perfect commodity" (Borgmann, 1992: 96). This heightens the activity of consumption.

Hyperactivity, and hyperreality all constitute one postmodern direction. According to Borgmann, this direction is a perilous one. This postmodern paradigm offers a weak proposal for the hardships that this period of transition has brought. Borgmann asserts that we must go beyond this particular postmodern discourse and seek alternatives to the alienating and artificial culture of 'consumer society.' There is life beyond this discourse; beyond hypermodernism. The counterforce to the tendency to hypermodernism, claims Borgmann, can be found in the design of our cities and the emergence of communal politics. Presently, the public domain has been "sacrificed to the instrumentalities of

technology, to transportation and storage, to expressways and high rises" (Borgmann, 1992: 134). When urban planners consider public life in the cities;

> *The best remedy they can usually think of is a spatially extended and theatrically heightened version of the daily city, busier and more ostentatious kinds of walking and talking, dressing and moving, selling and buying, collected and amassed in a square or plaza* (Borgmann, 1992: 134; my italics).

This hyperactive elevation of daily life fails to realize any form of public life . The celebration of public life is eroded at its foundations by the hypermodern specter - collapsing into hyperreality.

> Guided by the pattern of technology, we have taken sustained and sophisticated measures to mechanize and commodify celebration, to transfer the burden of enactment to a powerful and concealed machinery and leave the participants with a commodity guaranteed to excite and entertain. As technology advances on celebration, the elements of genuine celebration - reality, community, and divinity - are weakened and eventually expelled (Borgmann, 1992: 134).

The task of genuine celebration of communal action and politics is to embrace the obligations of justice. As consumers, we have renounced public responsibility for the evils of the new economy while claiming private merit for its blessings. We are reluctant to countenance and cure the deprivations of the poor, the damage to the environment, and the trivialisation of culture and heritage. It is plain that we must adopt the care of communal celebration, the center of communal politics.

> ... the public needs to become conscious and confident of communal celebration so that it may achieve through citizenship what is unattainable through consumership (Borgmann, 1992: 141).

3.2.3d The Cultural City

According to Zukin, present strategies in dealing with the contemporary city primarily focus on enhancing a city's economic and cultural value. These strategies for shaping and imaging the city concentrate on the downtown, where Zukin asserts a collective effort to appropriate the center for elements of a new urban middle class is occurring. She believes such strategies, whether inadvertently or not, support the process

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of gentrification - a process of transition where upper and middle class populations replace and displace lower income groups in neighbourhoods.

The process of gentrification corresponds to major changes "in both the mode of downtown development - from the public to the private sector, from large to small-scale projects, from new construction to rehabilitation - and the source of investment capital" (Zukin, 1991: 188). Zukin argues heritage conservation is unfortunately connected to such a process;

> In Philadelphia, however, the upper-class residents of Society Hill and their associates in banking and city government started a fairly concerted effort at preservation-based revitalization in the late 1950s. From house tours of Elfreth's Alley, they proceeded to government subsidies for slum clearance of nearby neighbourhoods and new commercial construction. Twenty years later, just in time for the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence, their residential enclave downtown near the Delaware waterfront was surrounded by a large area devoted to historic preservation, tourism, new offices for insurance and financial corporations, and not coincidentally, gentrification in nearby Queen Village. The displaced were small businesses, including manufacturers, and working-class, especially Italian and Puerto Rican, residents (Zukin, 1991: 189-190).

Zukin observes that gentrifiers have a capacity for attaching themselves to history and crusade for cultural concerns which gives them license to "reclaim" the downtown for their own uses. According to Zukin, this cultural claim to urban space by high income groups "poses a new standard of legitimacy against the claim to affordability put forward by a low-status population. Significantly, cultural value is now related to economic value" (Zukin, 1991: 194). In the contemporary city, the growth of culture and the growing concern for urban heritage is seen as a vehicle for enhancing the economic value of the center by supplying cultural consumption. Therefore, in the postmodern city, culture is integrally linked with the market, where money controls and determines what will be significant culture and heritage and what will not be.

> Markets are not the only arbiters of a contest for downtown space between landscape and vernacular. The key element is that the social values of existing users - for example, working-class residents and small manufacturers - exert a weaker claim to the center than the cultural values of potential gentrifiers. Gentrification joins the economic claim to space with a

cultural claim that gives priority to the demands of historic preservationists and arts producers. In this view, "historic" buildings can only be appreciated to their maximum value if they are explained, analyzed, and understood as part of an aesthetic discourse, such as the history of architecture and art. Such buildings rightfully "belong" to people who have the resources to search for the original building plans and study their house in the context of the architect's career. They belong to residents who restore mahogany paneling and buy copies of nineteenth-century faucets instead of those who prefer aluminum siding (Zukin, 1991: 193).

In addition, Zukin argues the link between culture and the market also determines who's culture and heritage will be represented.

When the proponents of this strategy succeed in appropriating central spaces, they seek to protect their claims (in terms of both economic and cultural values) by establishing a historic landmark district. Once the local government designates such a district, changes that do not conform to these cultural values are declared "out of character" and not allowed (Zukin, 1991: 261-262).

As a rich repository of heritage and culture, a city's downtown is effected by market forces which organizes its spaces to support the act of consumption. Such spaces tend to reflect the primary purpose of consumption by creating spaces which exhibit cultural and historical features that provide pleasant shopping experiences and residential environments. The production and manufacture of such spaces are critical for ensuring maximum levels of market transactions - both in the realm of production and consumption. The consequences of such links between culture and heritage with market forces is described by Zukin; "Initially treated as unique, the cultural value of place is finally abstracted into market culture" (Zukin, 1991: 195). Abstraction by the market refers

to "a gradual displacement of concreteness in the governing concept of commodity exchange." This displacement transformed market forces from the product of concrete, individual transactions of place into the result of the abstract processes, and finally abstract powers, of a market economy (Zukin, 1991: 256).

As spaces reflect the physical outcome of a market economy, its manipulation, creation, transformation, and organization loses its relation to historical experience, personal history, meanings, and nature. Abstraction rejects such notions since it is based on a reality that does not yet exist.

However, when investment in new projects are viable, economic claims to the center will take precedence over cultural claims;

> Every city now has procedures for certifying "landmark" structures and districts, which tend to restrict their use to those who can afford to maintain them in a historic style. But when landmarking outlives its usefulness as a strategy of restoring economic value at the center - as it apparently did in New York City by the mid 1980s - local government is capable of shifting gears and attacking the very notion of historic preservation (Zukin, 1991: 194).

3.3 Urban Heritage and Postmodern Space

Heritage conservation is generally viewed as a necessary urban strategy for the regeneration of today's cities. Jane Jacob's argued for the necessity of preserving and maintaining the traditional functions of both urban (for its diverse cultural and economic opportunities) and rural (for its natural and agricultural purposes) environments. In addition, the economic opportunities available through preserving older buildings was also indicated. Lynch's strategy of *imageability* would also see the use of historical and natural features in creating powerful and vivid urban imagery as disalienating people from their immediate environments. Others sought the use of traditional symbols and forms as symbolically - and hence, spiritually - enriching the modern urban environment. These strategies were seen as necessary to alleviate the ills of modern urban development.

However, by the 1970s, a great preoccupation with identity, with personal and collective roots becomes far more pervasive than ever before. David Harvey suggest this reveals societal and cultural pressures resulting from vast restructuring and instability of the international economic system.

In a state of constant change perpetuated by the process of modernization, constant revolutionizing of production results in a transient and unstable environment of social relations. Individuals are left with the choice of either being swallowed up by turmoil, or to search for some coherence and stability. "Relying on history to maintain coherence and

common purpose in moments of stress and disunity." Lynch suggests "is a familiar human tendency" (Lynch, 1972: 30). Hewison further elaborates,

> The impulse to preserve the past is part of the impulse to preserve the self. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we are going. The past is the foundation of individual and collective identity, objects from the past are the source of significance as cultural symbols. Continuity between past and present creates a sense of sequence out of aleatory chaos and, since change is inevitable, a stable system of ordered meaning enables us to cope with both innovation and decay. The nostalgic impulse is an important agency in adjustment to crisis, it is a social emollient and reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened (cited in Harvey, 1989: 86).

However, as Harvey suggests, inserting the practice of heritage conservation into the present socio-economic, political, and cultural context of postmodernism creates a number of unexpected results. Hewison also observes a similar problem in Britain. Heritage conservation has become such a large preoccupation in Britain because of its vast activities and impact on British cities and their economies, that Hewison called it 'the heritage industry' where,

> Museums, country houses, reconstructed and rehabilitated urban landscapes that echo past forms, directly produced copies of past urban infrastructures, have become part and parcel of a vast transformation of the British landscape to the point where, in Hewison's judgement, Britain is rapidly turning from the manufacture of goods to the manufacturing of heritage as its principal industry (Harvey, 1989: 86).

Unfortunately, postmodernism's tendency of catering, if not pandering, to nostalgic impulses for historical quotation has resulted in this big business. Hewison observes a relationship between 'the heritage industry' and postmodernism.

> Both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives, our history. We have no understanding of history in depth, but instead are offered a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment then critical discourse (cited in Harvey, 1989: 87).

This may suggest that the primary purpose of a heritage conservation, so espoused by the anti-modernist critique - is subverted by postmodern cultural sensibilities and the changing economy. Hewison observes we are "condemned to seek History by way of our own pop

images and simulacra of that history which itself remains for ever out of reach" (cited in Harvey, 1989: 63). Bill Risebero asserts "if the past somehow seems remote from us, maybe this is because we are concerned only with its irrelevancies" (Risebero, 1982, 245). Postmodernism further aggravates this.

> [Aldo] Rossi at least has the virtue of taking the problem of historical reference seriously. Other postmodernists simply make gestures towards historical legitimacy by extensive and often eclectic quotation of past styles. Through films, television, books, and the like, history and past experience are turned into a seemingly vast archive 'instantly retrievable and capable of being consumed over and over again at the push of a button.' If as Taylor ... puts it, history can be seen 'as an endless reserve of equal events,' then architects and urban designers can feel free to quote them in any kind of order they wish. The postmodern penchant for jumbling together all manner of references to past styles is one of its more pervasive characteristics. Reality, it seems, is being shaped to mimic media images (Harvey, 1989: 85; my parenthesis).

In the postmodern city, the main strategy for heritage conservation is to hyperelevate and exaggerate 'a sense of place' by recreating urban spaces into spectacular urban scenes.

> Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989: 92).

According to Christine Boyer, cities are *composing* and recreating their urban heritage according to a prescribed formula. Urban heritage is increasingly becoming a standard scene in the urban landscape of many cities. In fact, many of these heritage sites resemble other sites in other cities,

> South Street Seaport resembles Quincy Market in Boston, Harbor Place in Baltimore, Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, the Riverwalk in New Orleans, and other such waterfront districts that were restructured in the 1970s and 1980s to become leisure-time zones combining shopping and entertainment with office and residential development (Boyer, 1992: 181).

Such similar looking developments are premixed design packages that attempt to reproduce preexisting urban forms. These sites "are laden with historical allusions to the traditional vision of the city: a coherent place of intimate streets, lined with small-scale facades and

shopping arcades, ornamented with signs, punctuated by open spaces, trees, lampposts, and benches" (Boyer, 1992: 184). The aim is "to represent certain visual images of the city, to create perspectival views shown through imaginary prosceniums in order to conjure up emotionally satisfying images of bygone times" (Boyer, 1992: 184).

In Boyer's view, urban heritage in such sites serves the growing market for leisure amusements. Urban districts "became permanent entertainment grounds, adorned with panoramas, gerames, and winter gardens. Dramatic complexes of theaters, art galleries, and shopping arcades made the coming and goings of every spectator a part of their exuberant show" (Boyer, 1992: 185). There are scenes or tableaux that are proliferating in many cities.

> There are three main categories of city tableaux.
>
> 1. Historic quarters whose form and preservation are mandated by law.
> 2. Special districts with a strong visual or historical identity whose ambience is controlled by contextual zoning or design guidelines.
> 3. Residential enclaves, shopping malls, festival marketplaces, and theme parks whose visual decor and atmosphere are cleverly managed and staged such as small, historic towns, theme parks such as Disney World, and neighbourhoods such as Battery Park City.

These new urban zones are characterized by the reiteration and recycling of already-known symbolic codes and historic forms to the point of cliché. Such codes control signs, materials, colors, ornamentation, street furniture, and street walls. They also dictate the design of public spaces, the types of buildings, and the range of activities. "Most important, codes contain a schema or program that generates a narrative pattern, a kind of memory device that draws associations and establishes relations between images and places, resemblances and meaning" (Boyer, 1992: 188). The problem of such codes is the limiting of the extent of diverse social, physical, and economic formations that can exist in such areas. Instead, codes which attempt to protect the existing historic ambience eliminates any other possible alternatives. Instead, new development must comply with zoning codes which could enforce a pattern of uniformity and heighten an ambience by

eliminating features which do not draw associations or establish relations between images that are more satisfying.

In Boyer's view, such urban images "are designed for inattentive viewers , for the tourist or city traveler who browses through these real-life state-sets scarcely aware of how the relics of the past have been indexed, framed, and scaled" (Boyer, 1992: 189). However, such environments have proved effective tourist attractions, a vital economic engine in many communities. Economic-development experts now turn every small-town thoroughfare into Main Street.

> Vintage villages, regardless of their lack of authenticity, are designed to resurrect local economies. City after city discovers that its abandoned industrial waterfront or outmoded city center contains enormous tourist potential and refurbishes it as a leisure-time spectacles and sightseeing promenade. All of these sites become culinary and ornamental landscapes through which the tourists - the new public of the late twentieth century - graze, celebrating the consumption of place and architecture, and the taste of history and food (Boyer, 1992: 189).

Boyer describes such city tableaux.

> They are endlessly repeated copies - Main Street revitalizations, for example, or warehouse recyclings, or waterfront renovations. Busy creating simulated traditions, urban developers seem intent on stockpiling the city's past with all the available artifacts and relics, thereby obscuring the city's actual history. The homogenized icons in our historic marketplaces reveal the limited stock of images spectators are meant to use to understand American history (Boyer, 1992: 189).

The North American city in general is characterized by gigantic urban conglomerations which are disintegrating into unrelated groupings of shopping centers, special zoning districts, and housing tracts, all carved up by freeways. In this landscape, the historic tableau is a peculiar place. Proliferating in the centers of these deconstructed cities, the historic tableau "is an attempt to arrest this uprootedness, this sense of nonplace, this decomposition into bits and pieces" (Boyer, 1992: 191). Boyer describes these spaces where;

> Regulatory codes govern the spatial configurations of these tableaux: private residential streetscapes are protected from intrusive alterations, public spaces are defended against incompatible designs, and storefronts and

commercial signs are restricted to facsimiles. But in fact these tableaux are the true nonplaces, hollowed out urban remnants, without connection to the rest of the city or the past, waiting to be filled with contemporary fantasies, colonized by wishful projections, and turned into spectacles of consumption (Boyer, 1992: 191).

Such historic spectacles are a visual delight intended to immobilize the attention of the person into the act of "just looking." "In the scenographic tableaux of our contemporary cities, whether a historic district, a contextually zoned district, or a carefully managed theme park, the act of "just looking' and enjoying the pure visibility of the show absorbs the spectator's view" (Boyer, 1992: 192). According to Boyer, imaging such districts

> ... eventually reduces the city to a map of tourist attractions, which suppresses the continous order of reality, the connecting in-between places, and imposes instead an imaginary order of things. The spectator is offered no visual image of the metropolitan whole, in all its uneven development; attention is directed to those sites that are perceived as productive or useful, or are engineered to satisfy desires (Boyer, 1992: 192).

Such urban images or tableux represents the new arising postmodern culture characterized by the culture of the tourist.

3.4 Chapter Summary

The contemporary city is significantly different in shape, form, organization, and image from the modern city. While elements of the modern city still exist - the tower blocks, expressways, and shopping malls - they do not represent the dominant forms of development in present day cities. In fact, planning strategies that deal with the dilemmas in today's cities are quite different from those that shaped the modern city. There has actual been a transformation in the way we plan, envision, view, and organize the urban environment. The table below summarizes the basic differences between modern and postmodern urban strategies. While this table not complete or exhaustive, it does represent the overall comparisons between the two movements in planning and the strategies this thesis is concerned with.

Table 3.1:
Schematic differences between
modern and postmodern urban strategies

MODERN	POSTMODERN
urban renewal (public housing)	urban revitalization (neighbourhood and retail)
apartment tower blocks	urban villages
shopping mall	festival marketplace
focus on new development	renovation, rehabilitation, heritage conservation
suburbanization	gentrification
industrialization • manufacturing • extraction and development of natural resources • industrial parks • transportation of goods	service sector growth • office development • development of cultural resources • theme parks • travel/tourism
rationalization of space (zoning)	imageability of place (design guidelines)

Heritage conservation, as the table shows, is associated with postmodern urban strategies. However, as modern urban strategies are interrelated - the strategies and elements together constitute a particular experience of the modern city - so are the postmodern strategies. Heritage conservation, therefore, has an important relationship with other postmodern urban strategies which together constitute a particular experience of the postmodern city. While this chapter has alluded to these relationships, they will be further examined in detail in Chapter Five.

We may be satisfied with the gentler aesthetic of postmodernism. The postmodern city is seen as robust, active, and theatrical compared the moribund silence of the modern city. However, this aesthetic is far from gentle. Rather, it is "a gratuitous image drawn over the face of instrumentality" (Foster, 1983: xii). It mediates the logic of the new

market of consumption. We find ourselves in a city which appears friendly, local, and historical, yet alienating.

While the postmodern critique developed from a growing dissatisfaction with the urban environment, the cultural impoverishment and the collective disintegration, postmodernism has found itself accommodating forces which subvert the goals it promised to achieve. Market forces have colonized the realm of cultural production. In fact, culture has internalized the market. It responds by producing what the market needs - a mass of fanatical consumers.

In the present mode of advanced capitalism, commodity production has been integrated in the production of culture, such as fashion, pop art, television, media images, and the variety of urban lifestyles. The present pursuit of consumption dollars of the affluent have led to a much greater emphasis upon product differentiation particularly in the realm of the urban environment.

How has planning responded? For the comtemporary planner, the organization of space is no longer seen as something to be shaped towards some social purpose or 'social project'. Due to economic restructuring, planners no longer control or have access to large budgets that allow them to implement their "master plans." The city is now seen as impossible to control and master. Rather, planning has begun targetting only specific areas of the city for the purpose of creating spectacular looking urban spaces through urban design and aesthetics. The rest of the city is left at the mercy of market forces such as urban revitilization, gentrification, and ghettoization which has severely polarized socioeconomic groups in spatial terms. Here, space has taken an autonomous character, outside the realm of planning and design. Planning and design have no concern in these spaces unless they are about to serve the interests of the market.

Contemporary urban design exploits postmodern aesthetics to produce a city filled with "visual rhetoric for an all-pervasive consumer culture" (Zukin, 1991: 26). The city is bloated by consumer goods as shopping is expanded in every public space possible. Daily

life is elevated to the hyperactive tendency of shopping. In the new city, "There is nowhere else to go but to the shops" (Hebdige, 1988: 168). This condition is a dangerous one as Zukin explains;

> Shopping centers have replaced political meetings and civic gatherings as arenas of public life. Despite private ownership and service to paying customers, they are perceived as a fairly democratic form of development. Moreover, they are believed to "open" the downtown by creating a sense of place (Zukin, 1991: 51).

The revitalization of waterfronts and main streets, historic streets and districts are meant to conform them to an "emporia of mass consumption." Public and private uses are combined as public space is submerged under private markets. Urban space is increasingly defined by the public use of private shopping space, as "the sense of place" is combined with the market of consumption.

The creation of these spatial patterns, through joint efforts of developers, elected officials, financial institutions, and designers, respond to the imperatives of the market rather than any concept of public merit. When these developments crystallize, they often are managed by some quasi-public urban development corporation which has no mandate to the public. Public interest in the transformation of space is not recognized. This is the same problem that Logue identifies. There is a lack of "public will" affect the process of determining the conservation of urban heritage. The contemporary urban landscape is characterized by the extension of the market economy in commoditizing and placing a price tag on the cultural heritage of cities.

The next chapter will examine the role of public institutions and the practice of heritage conservation in the context of Canadian planning and its role and impact in transforming the 'image' and shape of the contemporary Canadian city. Three examples, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria will clarify the impact, objectives, and purpose of various conservation initiatives.

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Heritage Conservation in Canada

4.0 Introduction

The discovery of the importance of urban heritage to the vitality of cities stood modern planning practice on its head. The mad pace of development that revolutionized the modern city no longer held as much legitimacy when studies supporting the economic, social, and cultural benefits of heritage conservation were revealed.

The growth of heritage conservation in Canada can be attributed to its visible impact on a city's social, cultural, and economic environments. As a 1974 study on heritage in Canada indicated;

> Tourist spending, a rich source both of public and private revenue is strongly influenced by environment generally and specifically by heritage sites and buildings. As well, property taxes and servicing costs are directly dependent on the size and quality of real estate, so that the difference between new construction and renovation might be significant to public income (Galt, 1974: 2).

An early tourist study in Nova Scotia found that fully one third of all pleasure travellers visited provincial museums and historic or cultural buildings.

> Other North American surveys have established that, after family visiting, sightseeing is the prime purpose for travel, be it by plane, train or automobile. One hardly need add that any historic site or building is a sightseeing draw, and that the better developed these heritage resources are, the more prosperous will be the local tourist industry (Galt, 1974: 2).

Also, a 1974 survey found that 29% of Canadian tourist spending is attributable to tourists whose main activity is visiting historical and cultural sites.[4] This was by far the highest of nine specific categories listed in the survey.

> While it may be true that comparatively few people are heritage activists, the survey provides strong testimony in favour of Canadians as cultural and historical enthusiasts. Heritage projects, we can now say for certain, repay their communities handsomely (Galt, 1974: 3).

During the period of the study, it was discovered that Quebec City derived 35.6% of its Canadian tourist dollars from historical and cultural visits. That this proportion is well above the Canadian average is a result of the city's concentration of cultural and heritage related attractions[5].

The total economic benefits generated by such tourist activity supported by heritage and cultural activities can have an appreciable impact on the local economy. "Rough estimates of the spin-off effect of tourist dollars are usually made with multipliers ranging from about 1.5 to 2.5. Thus, $100,000 injected into a local economy in the tourist season can mean a total of between $150,000 and $250,000 in related sales, wages and taxes" (Galt, 1974: 3).

It might be argued that heritage sites and areas cannot be developed, that they either exist as attractive leftovers from the past or not. But the experience of many cities argues otherwise.

> *What may appear as a slum, a derelict area of dilapidated buildings one remove from the central business district, may be a hidden heritage asset which needs only some imaginative rethinking as to use, a measure of political support from the municipality, and an investment in conversion to modern space dimensions and heating and lighting arrangements* (Galt, 1974: 3; *my italics*).

One of the first North American cities to rediscover its heritage buildings was New Orleans. There the tourist impact was staggering. Annual tourist revenues generated by the Vieux Carré, the city's historic French quarter, reached well over $200 million in the early 1970s. Other lucrative restoration ventures such as Savannah, Georgia, which grew

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[4] The survey sample consisted of Canadian residents only; foreign tourist dollars are unaccounted for.
[5] According to a 1992 study, Quebec still ranks by far the highest for cultural and historic visits.

spontaneously from a grassroots heritage organization formed in 1955, estimated $40 million a year in tourist revenue within six years the restoration work of its heritage buildings began. Previous, tourist revenue before restoration measured $10 million a year. Many Canadian cities began to take seriously the heritage phenomenon in hopes of replicating such success witnessed in the United States.

> Of course, every city and town cannot boast the long and colourful histories of New Orleans and Savannah. But every city has a past, usually represented by a few streets of older architecture in the wings of its downtown. Many lack only recognition and promotion. And many are better situated than a city like New Orleans which is not on any natural tourist trail and has had to draw its own special public (Galt, 1974: 5).

However, early municipal reluctance to conserve older buildings centred around the property tax question. The belief that new high-rise construction is the type of development best able to put down strong tax roots for future municipal stability remained convincing. A number of independent studies have illustrated that high rises are by no means a tax windfall, and in fact may disburse more public revenue than they provide.

> An exhaustive study complied by the San Francisco Bay Guardian in 1971 examined municipal revenues and expenditures for the previous year and found that while the city's central high-rise district contributed $62.9 million in tax revenues, a sizeable 25.2% of the city-wide total, it drew on the treasury for $67.7 million worth of services, or 27.9% of the total. Furthermore, the Guardian calculated from municipal revenue records that taxes paid by the high-rise district had been declining in proportion to total city taxes for two decades. And it was precisely during these twenty years that the bulk of the San Francisco skyscrapers were built (Galt, 1974: 5).

A 1971 Price Waterhouse cost-benefit report on land use in the borough of York, Ontario further supported similar findings in a Canadian context. Seven sites with high density residential construction, were examined.

> It was found that the financial impact of high density development on all seven sites would be negligible for the average taxpayer: Costs to the borough of providing additional services almost offset the additional revenues gained. The average property owner, whose home would have been assessed at $4,000 in 1968, would have benefited by a meagre $2.12, or just 2% of his total 1969 tax bill (Galt, 1974: 6).

Clearly, this study offered ironclad evidence against demolition and new construction as a golden formula for subsidization of the residential taxpayer.

In Halifax, an independent cost-benefit analysis of the city's 1973 new development was conducted by conservationist Elizabeth Pacey. The study concluded that new construction was shirking its tax burden. By examining property tax figures for 1973, "Pacey calculated that new assessment was failing to meet its public costs by over seventeen percent, thus chalking up an extra seven dollars to the average ratepayer's tax bill" (Galt, 1974: 6). On the other hand, tax revenue from Vancouver's Gastown, on the south side of Water Street where extensive renovation was complete between 1965 and 1971, saw a boost of 81% in those six years. This clearly indicated that "renovation and restoration strengthen a city's tax base and in some cases are more tax rewarding then new development" (Galt, 1974: 7).

In August of 1974, a survey conducted in the business community for the Financial Times of Canada uncovered further support for heritage conservation. From a polling sample consisting of a cross section of professional and management personnel from across Canada, 61% advocated stronger laws to protect historic buildings, 69% approved of the notion of government compensation to owners whose buildings would be affected by such protective laws, while 71% sanctioned outright purchase by governments.

This survey suggests the private sector sees the role of government in ensuring the success of heritage conservation as crucial. However, the extent of government involvement in heritage has continued to be a debatable and controversial issue. The role is examined below.

4.1.0 Governmental Role in Heritage Conservation

4.1.1 Federal

Since 1887, when the Banff National Park was established, the Federal Government has been involved in heritage conservation to some degree. Between 1952 and '53 the federal government enacted the *Historic sites and Monuments Act* . This Act came to define the role of the federal government in heritage conservation.

However, there are a few problems with this federal legislation. Constitutionally, all matters pertaining primarily to "property and civil rights" are within exclusive *provincial* jurisdiction. Therefore, although the federal government goes through the exercise of naming "national historic sites", it cannot protect the properties it designates as heritage - as such designations have no legal effect.

The federal government can, however, purchase sites and buildings it deems as heritage. So far, many heritage sites have been purchased by the government, and restored overwhelmingly as museums.

In matters pertaining to heritage sites, an advisory body called the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada is consulted. When a structure or site is brought to their attention, it first screens the applications which are beyond its terms of reference (e.g. cemeteries) and, after a study (usually about 6 months), makes a recommendation to the Minister. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board may recommend that the Minister a) ignore the structure, b) designate the structure as a national heritage site and erect a plaque, c) enter into a *cost-sharing* agreement, or d) acquire the property. However, the Minister responsible is not bound by the Board's recommendation.

The introduction of the federal legislation concerning heritage conservation indicated the government's growing awareness of the importance of national heritage. However, the problems and its weakness is observed by Denhez;

> There is no shortage of federal agencies which affect heritage: a 1976 federal publication listed some forty-five different agencies. On the other hand, despite this mass of governmental endeavour (or perhaps because of it), this same publication stated that "there is no federal policy affecting heritage" (Denhez, 1978: 71).

This still remains the case today.

4.1.2 Provincial

In most of Canada, primary responsibility for protecting heritage rests upon the provincial governments. Each province has special statutes specifically for the purpose of heritage conservation. As Denhez notes,

> The main feature of most of these statutes is that they authorize provincial governments to designate heritage sites, and then to prohibit any alterations or demolition on those sites unless ministerially approved (Denhez, 1978: 82-83).

As with the federal government, most provinces have historical boards which advise the government regarding structures and sites worthy of protection. Only in Quebec and Alberta, however, is it obligatory for the government to consult with the board.

One of the major problems with such provincial statutes is that none outline an elaborate procedure for applications to conduct alterations or demolition on designated heritage sites. This activity was usually treated in an *ad hoc* manner since there are very precious few designated buildings in Canada[6].

As usual, however, many of the provinces have set up interdepartmental committees to supervise public works which affect heritage property. This has set up a similar structure as the federal government has where, consequently - as provincial legislation lacks any legal effect - internal administrative procedures are relied upon.

Two provinces, Ontario and Alberta, "force" themselves to consider cultural property in their planning process. The Ontario *Environmental Assessment Act 1975* and

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[6] Designation of heritage structures and sites, as well, as the demolition, alteration, and restoration of historic buildings were also treated in an ad hoc manner at the municipal level. However, since the past 10 years attempts at the municipal level have developed towards a comprehensive conservation strategy for urban heritage. This will further be detailed in the examples of Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria.

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the Alberta statutes of the *Historical Resources Act* and the *Land Surface Conservation &*
Reclamation Act have been enacted, as well as an assortment of Cabinet Regulations to
implement them. These laws and regulations state that various public authorities *must*,
prior to relevant public works projects, submit a detailed assessment of the impact of such
projects upon the environment including cultural and heritage property. Another interesting
feature of this legislation is the requirement for environmental impact assessments to extend
to large private as well as public projects.

4.1.3 Municipal

At the municipal level, urban heritage is protected through a variety of legal means
applied to sites and districts.

> There are three kinds of legislation which confer power on Canadian
> municipalities for heritage purposes. The first is enabling legislation which
> delegates heritage functions to all municipalities in a given province. The
> second confers powers on only certain specified municipalities. The third is
> customary planning legislation which can be adapted for the protection of
> heritage property (Ward, 1986: 13).

Almost all Canadian municipalities are empowered by their provincial governments
to control the bulk and height of buildings.

> This power is important for two reasons; infill construction in a heritage
> area should have a bulk and height which does not detract from the character
> of the area; furthermore, a low permissable building bulk and height will
> help discourage demolition and redevelopment within the area (Ward, 1986:
> 14).

In addition, almost all Canadian municipalities can control the use of buildings,
which is essential in excluding uses deemed incompatible in heritage areas. Also, the
power to regulate the location or set-back of a building on a site is clearly spelled out in
almost all provinces. The location or set-back significantly affects the appearance of a
streetscape, particularly when it breaks the harmony of a row of buildings.

Municipalities can also control the design of structures being built or the alterations being made to a structure in a heritage area. Most provinces specifically empower their municipalities to control design, as, for example, Winnipeg's Downtown Zoning By-law.

It is at the municipal level that most heritage conservation activity occurs. Three examples, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria detail heritage conservation practice, its objectives, role, and results.

4.2.0 Heritage Conservation in Winnipeg

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s Winnipeg fell victim to inner-city physical and economic deterioration. Since the mid-1970s, however, increased concern about the future of Winnipeg's physical environment and its relationship to the economic viability of the city forced planners to focus efforts on reversing the trend.

Early revitalization efforts began in Winnipeg's historic warehouse area. By 1974, a report by the City of Winnipeg Planning Department, recognizing the unique character and potential of the historic district, recommended possibilities for upgrading the physical setting. In addition, Heritage Canada offered a $500,000 commitment for physical rehabilitation of heritage buildings and surroundings in the area contingent upon matching funds by the City and Province. Heritage Winnipeg was formed which administered the funds, and Albert Street was the first area of focus where a merchants' association was formed, streetscaping was carried out, owners began upgrading their buildings, and a farmers' market was developed to attract people.

4.2.1 Plan Winnipeg 1981

The 1981 version of Plan Winnipeg clearly recognized the physical and economic potential for heritage conservation. By this time, Winnipeg's Exchange District demonstrated the benefits of a successful conservation program for architecturally and historically significant buildings. These benefits not only included the physical upgrading

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and renovation of older, deteriorating buildings but also the creation of a vital place for shopping, entertainment, employment and residential living. The Plan focused on further revitalization of the inner city through the conservation and upgrading of older neighbourhoods and historical buildings in the downtown, together with the careful management of suburban growth.

The focus on conservation in Plan Winnipeg 1981 indicated a complete shift in urban planning philosophy. Earlier plans were directed towards freeway expansion and urban renewal in the downtown. The shift to one which recognizes conservation and revitalization of existing urban patterns as a vital urban strategy contrast from earlier plans for Winnipeg which characterize modern planning philosophy.

Concurrently, with the efforts to conserve inner-city neighbourhoods and reverse the trend of their decline, Plan Winnipeg 1981 identified a paramount role for the downtown as a viable social, economic, and physical center for the city. In 1986, *A Backgrounder to the Proposed Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-Law* examined the possibilities within the downtown and a structure for future Downtown development. It recognized that,

> Downtown also contains significant areas of special character with which all citizens of Winnipeg identify. These *character areas* provide for unique experiences because of their historical, ethnic, architectural, functional or natural importance. They contribute to the richness of diversity that is so necessary in Downtown (City of Winnipeg, 1986: 2).

In order to be consistent with the policies of Plan Winnipeg and the overall objectives of revitalization and conservation within the inner city, there was a need to rationalize the zoning in the Downtown area. By March of 1988, The Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-law came into effect[7].

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[7] The Role of the Downtown Winnipeg zoning By-law in heritage conservation will be discussed further and in greater detail later in this chapter.

4.2.2 The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative

Also in 1981, the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative was created. This Initiative was a five-year, $96 million joint commitment by the federal, provincial, and municipal governments to rejuvenate the inner city through a comprehensive set of economic, social and capital programs. One of these programs dealt directly with incentives to redevelop The Exchange District. In 1986, the Initiative was extended for another five year period through the granting of an additional $100 million. The Core Area's Exchange District Programs and their impacts are detailed in the following table.

Table 4.1:
Core Area Initiative Programs For The Exchange District

CORE AREA INITIATIVE I (1981-1986) HERITAGE PROGRAM		CORE AREA INITIATIVE II (1986-1991) THE EXCHANGE DISTRICT REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM	
Objective:	To revitalize The Exchange District through the rehabilitation of designated buildings, increased business and arts accommodation in the area, residential conversion, and additional area development and promotion.	Objective:	To increase the economic vitality of The Exchange District. Entrepreneurs and organizations were encouraged to invest in rehabilitation of heritage buildings for use in commercial, residential, cultural and other related activities.
Budget:	$4,900,000	Budget:	$6,580,000
Results:	• 54 private sector projects assisted (33 buildings) • Major non-profit arts centre established • Enhanced image of the District through streetscaping and promotion • Approximately $5.1 million levered in private sector investment	Results:	• 60 private sector projects (39 buildings) assisted • 6 major capital projects assisted (including reserve) • 43 area enhancement projects assisted • Approximately $16.7 million levered in private sector investment

Source: ***Downtown Handbook.*** City of Winnipeg: 1993.

4.2.3 Regulatory Framework

In Winnipeg, protection and conservation of heritage structures is offered through two independent by-laws;

1. The Historical Buildings By-law applies to the entire city allowing certain buildings to be declared historic and protected from demolition.
2. The Downtown Winnipeg zoning By-law recognizes The Exchange District as a character area requiring specialized design review (City of Winnipeg, 1991a: 1).

4.2.3a Historical Buildings By-law

On February 2, 1977, Winnipeg's city council adopted the Historical Buildings By-law 1474/77. This by-law established the Buildings Conservation List. Buildings on this list, as a result of their architectural and/or historical significance, were offered protection by prohibiting demolition and unsuitable alterations. In addition, the by-law created the Historical Buildings Committee - an advisory committee which reports to City Council's standing committee on Planning and Community Services.

The Historical Buildings By-law is one of the legal instruments which protect Winnipeg's architectural heritage and contains design objectives which are realized through a system of design review.

> Under the Historical Buildings By-law, any person wishing to undertake alterations to a building on the Buildings Conservation List must apply for a **"Certificate of Suitability"**. This procedure ensures that alterations are sympathetic to the original character of the building. No work may proceed until this certificate is granted (City of Winnipeg, 1991b: 1).

Out of the 775 buildings that exist in the Downtown, 86 (or 11%) are designated heritage structures under the Buildings Conservation List. This 11% of designated buildings represents 8.3% of the total area of all downtown buildings. 195 buildings in total are on the Historical Buildings Inventory. This makes 36% of downtown buildings representing 29% of the downtown floor area either designated heritage structures or have the potential to be designated.

4.2.3b Downtown Winnipeg Zoning by-law

In March of 1988, the Downtown Winnipeg Zoning by-law 4800 came into effect. As a result of the by-law, all new developments in The Exchange District are regulated through a design review under the provisions of the "Historic Winnipeg" (HW) design designation.

The HW designation provides protection to structures in the heritage area by requiring design review for all proposed changes including alterations to listed and non-listed buildings, streetscapes, and new construction. The purpose of such a procedure is to ensure that the overall character of the Exchange District is respected by private development.

The design review process is conducted through proposals presented to the Historic Winnipeg Advisory Committee which then makes recommendations to the Downtown Design Board.

> Under the Downtown Winnipeg zoning by-law, "Historic Design Review" is required for all development applications in The Exchange District. As part of this process plans must be approved by the Downtown Design board which bases its decisions on recommendations made by the Historic Winnipeg Advisory Committee (City of Winnipeg, 1991b: 1).

The Downtown Zoning By-law regulates all types of development activity from alterations, renovations, and restorations to new projects in the Downtown. "Like all zoning bylaws, it represents more than just a means of enforcement, it is also an expression of development policy" (Clark & Couture, 1990: 38). The by-law recognizes the existence of unique character areas in the Downtown and strove to protect and enhance them through the creation of specific urban design districts.

> Urban design review, mandatory for all development applications, was a deliberate attempt by the City to emphasize development quality as an overriding policy objective. However, it was recognized that while the review process had to be applied uniformly throughout the Downtown the criteria used for evaluation could and should vary according to the particular area of the downtown. The six urban design review designations acknowledge these differences. They were defined as The Exchange District, Chinatown, Broadway, the Legislative precinct, the riverbanks, and pedestrian level (everything else) (Clark & Couture. 1990: 38).

Development regulations became more stringent in character areas such as The Exchange District and Chinatown than they were in the general downtown area designated as pedestrian-level. "So, while a project could be reviewed in terms of "appropriate colours" in The Exchange District and "appropriate rooflines" in Chinatown, these were not necessarily considerations to be reviewed in the pedestrian-level area" (Clark and Couture, 1990: 38).

4.2.4 Winnipeg's Heritage Conservation Strategy

During the 1990s, the growth and impact of heritage conservation in other Canadian cities was evident. Victoria, because of a rich stock of heritage sites and buildings, has twice placed on the Top 10 list of world city destinations, according to a reader pool of *Conde Nast Traveler*. In comparison to other cities, Winnipeg still lagged behind in its tourism industry and utilization of its heritage for that purpose[8]. Therefore, it was determined that Winnipeg "must make a more strategic, pro-active and long-term commitment to heritage conservation if the potential benefits of the building stock are to be maximized, and if disinvestment, blight, and abandonment of older structures and areas are to be avoided" (Bugailiskis, 1993: 1).

In particular, it was viewed that it was essential for the City to develop:

- A Conservation Plan that focuses not only on the preservation of heritage resources, but also on how these resources will remain integral contributors to Winnipeg's economic and socio-cultural development.

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[8] In fact, in 1992, Manitoba ranked sixth overall in Canada for utilization of its heritage for the purpose of tourism with 16,446 visits per "heritage institution", well below the national average of 29,426. A "heritage instituion" defined by Statistics Canada, is either a museum, archive, historic site, building, park, or community or nature park or conservation area and other related institutions such as zoos, exhibitions, botanical gardens, arboretums, etc. The low ranking for Manitoba reflects Winnipeg's underutilization of its heritage resources as many are located within the city. Quebec and Ontario rank the highest with 53,530 and 38,604 visits per heritage institution, respectively. British Columbia is next with 30,539 visits per institution, followed by Alberta (28,807), and Nova Scotia (19,875). After Manitoba, Newfoundland (15,161), Yukon (14,935), and New Brunswick (11,245) follow. Saskatchewan, Prince-Edward Island and Northwest Territories rank the lowest with 8,412, 8,404 and 6,106 visits, respectively. (see Appendix A for more detail)

- Access to more innovative and flexible financial, regulatory, and administrative tools than are now in place to stimulate and support heritage projects.
- A strategy for the preservation and management of City-owned heritage properties.
- Organization reforms to encourage local private-public partnerships and to expedite heritage project approvals (Bugailiskis, 1993: 1).

On July 29, 1992, Winnipeg's City Council adopted in principle a report on proposed municipal initiatives to promote the retention and use of heritage buildings and sites entitled *"Heritage Support Policy and Programs"*. This report put forward the needed policy and program framework for a comprehensive heritage conservation strategy which would maximize the social, cultural, and economic benefits of Winnipeg's urban heritage.

> The City holds that heritage buildings and other designated structures are integral to Winnipeg's urban fabric, self-identity, and economic, social, and cultural development. The City, therefore, shall contribute by direct example, incentives, integrated planning, and regulatory control to the long-term conservation, use, and viability of heritage resources within its jurisdiction (Bugailiskis, 1993: 2).

4.2.5 The Forks

The Forks, located at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers has quickly become one of Winnipeg's most popular attractions for residents and tourists alike. Its success has been attributed to its vibrant ambience and historical significance as an early area of settlement which later evolved to become the City of Winnipeg.

With the development of the railway in the 1860s, the Forks was transformed into an urban industrial railway centre with railyards, warehouse buildings, and passenger facilities which was closed off from the general public. However, recently, the railway yards on the site have been removed which left a 36 hectare site open for redevelopment. Some of the land was made available to the Forks Renewal Corporation, established in July 1987 by a tri-level government agreement between Canada, Manitoba, and Winnipeg, and Parks Canada by a memorandum of understanding between Canada and CN Real Estate. The remaining lands were acquired by the City of Winnipeg.

The mandate of the Forks Renewal Corporation is to own and redevelop the Forks lands (those owned by the Corporation) on behalf of the three governments. It was funded through government grants totaling more than $25 million which was administered under the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Agreements on behalf of the three governments.

Through the Canada-Manitoba A.R.C. (Agreement for Recreation and Conservation) Program, Parks Canada developed 3.6 hectares of riverfront property into a National Historical Park between the Provencher and Norwood Bridges. Canadian National Railways has transferred the Union Station to VIA Rail. This historic building has been renovated and a new market area has been established along with the reuse of the renovated historic Johnson Terminal for shopping, restaurants, and entertainment facilities. Also, the former North Pacific and Manitoba Railway Engine House, which is also known as the B & B Building now houses the new Manitoba Children's Museum. These historical, natural, and recreational amenities have contributed to the success of the Forks. The Table below details its success as a shopping and recreational node in the downtown and its popularity as an urban tourist area.

Table 4.2
Awareness And Visitation At The Forks

AWARENESS AND VISITATION

According to a 1991 Forks Study it is estimated that between 5 and 7 million visits took place at the Forks over the course of the year. More recently, an Angus Reid Survey drew the following conclusions:

- Virtually all (97%) adult Winnipeg residents have heard of The Forks, and most (81%) have visited the site in 1991.
- The overall frequency of visiting the Forks in 1991, according to these survey results is reported as follows:

Did not visit	19%
Less than once a month	58%
About once a month	13%
More than once a month	10%

- The average number of visits made by 1991 visitors during "summer" months is 5.6, while the average number of visits made during "winter" months is only 2.7. In total, it is estimated that there were 3,018,608 visits made to the Forks site by adult Winnipeg residents in 1991.
- Just as more visits are made during summer versus winter, so are more visits made during the weekend compared to weekdays. The average number of visits made by summer visitors on weekends is 3.7; the average for weekdays is 2.4.

Source: *Downtown Handbbook.* City of Winnipeg. 1993.

Successes such as the Forks and Exchange District provides further incentive for Winnipeg to replicate such results in other areas of the city through promotion of its urban cultural heritage. In 1994, an updated version of Plan Winnipeg extended the City's commitment to heritage conservation by recognizing "the continuing contribution heritage resources can make to the urban environment" (City of Winnipeg Planning Department, 1994: 113). The contribution of heritage conservation and its purpose to assist in the promotion of urban tourism in Winnipeg is described in *Plan Winnipeg...toward 2010*,

> These heritage assets not only enhance our image of Winnipeg, they present an opportunity for promoting the city's image in the minds of tourists and visitors. Through appropriate cost-effective conservation measures that encourage adaptive re-use, these structures can become valuable attractions, contributing significantly to the tourism industry (City of Winnipeg Planning Department, 1994: 113)..

Tourism and image-making are the primary goals of heritage conservation.

Winnipeg's policy and strategy for urban heritage is outlined in *Plan Winnipeg...toward 2010*,

> **6C-01 Preserve and Promote heritage Resources**
> The City shall preserve and promote the use and appreciation of Winnipeg's unique heritage resources.
> **6C-02 Prepare a heritage Conservation Plan**
> The City shall prepare, implement, and periodically review a heritage conservation plan to address measures for the conservation, use, acquisition, financing, and maintenance of heritage resources including buildings, structures, areas, archaeological features, heritage trees, and natural landscapes.
> **6C-03 Request Senior Government Involvement**
> The City shall request the involvement of the other levels of government and the private sector in providing practical solutions to the protection and preservation of heritage resources.
> **6C-04 Establish heritage Conservation Areas**
> The City shall establish heritage conservation areas which focus on the restoration, revitalization, and preservation of the built environment in areas where collections exist of sufficient numbers of heritage resources.
> **6c-05 Establish a Buildings Conservation List**
> The city shall establish and maintain a buildings conservation list under which buildings, erections, and structures deemed to be of special architectural or historical interest may be listed for the purpose of protection from demolition with priority given to the restoration, revitalization, and

preservation of those assets which exist within a collection of heritage resources.

6C-06 Preserve Heritage Landscapes
The City shall establish an inventory of landscapes and streetscapes deemed to be of special historical or architectural interest and requiring protection.

6C-07 Pursue Options for Adaptive Reuse
The City shall pursue options in cooperation with the other levels of government and the private sector for the adaptive reuse of vacant heritage buildings.

6C-08 Pursue Reconstruction of heritage Structures
The City shall work cooperatively with the other levels of government in identifying and pursuing opportunities for the reconstruction and promotion of heritage structures.

6C-09 Pursue Civic Use of heritage Buildings
The City shall pursue the sue of listed heritage buildings for the accommodation of civic departments provided such buildings are suitably renovated to health, safety, and modern accommodation standards.

6C-10 Protect Archaeological Resources
The City shall protect its archaeological resources by:
i) developing an inventory of these resources, and
ii) developing guidelines for the protection of archaeological resources unearthed during construction excavations (City of Winnipeg Planning Department: 1994:113-114).

Another significant aspect of this Plan is its downtown focus. According to the Plan, the city is dedicated to making the downtown into "an attractive, distinctive, and vibrant place for Winnipeggers and visitors alike" (City of Winnipeg, 1993: 86). This indicates the city's commitment and concern over Winnipeg's image as a symbol of urban development and growth.

> Those elements that make up the Downtown - the streets and buildings, the people and activities - merge to fashion the image that Winnipeggers hold of their city. It is also the image visitors take home with them. But to retain and enhance that reputation both at home and abroad, the Downtown has to remain accessible and attractive. Residents of the city should find in the Downtown opportunities in employment, residential living, shopping, and entertainment. Visitors should find pleasure, beauty, and safety (City of Winnipeg, 1993: 86).

Linked to establishing a vibrant and attractive image for Winnipeg's downtown, the Plan also established its commitment to attracting residents in the downtown by rejuvenating the area into a vibrant and attractive place to live.

> [Downtown] has long been the centre of the city's cultural achievements and entertainment activities and this role, too, must be preserved. A new role - as home to a large resident population - is also desirable and necessary.

Together, all these roles can make the Downtown the vibrant centre that offers the best for all Winnipeggers" (City of Winnipeg, 1993: 86; my parentheses).

The Plan's downtown focus also committed the City to prepare a Downtown Plan which would include a vision and strategies for redeveloping the Downtown, protect existing investment and promote and direct growth and private investment. This Downtown Plan became CentrePlan.

4.2.7 CentrePlan

CentrePlan: working together for Winnipeg's downtown is a subset of ***Plan Winnipeg***. It attempts to clearly articulated the goals, visions, and opportunities for Winnipeg's downtown. This plan response to the many problems and challenges that are facing the downtown today. The plan realizes that

> Winnipeg is now at the point where it must build a new character and a new reputation which will command confidence if it is to attract the type and magnitude of investment which will enable it to continue to occupy a place among the first rank of Canadian cities. Such a character and a reputation can only be created in the downtown (City of Winnipeg, 1995: 4).

One of the primary principles for creating and enhancing the downtown image is through the support of Winnipeg's urban heritage. This principle translates into two strategies;

> *Strategy: Actively support the conservation of heritage structures in the downtown through the implementation of the "Heritage Support, Policy, and Programs" report.*
>
> *Strategy: Take advantage of our unique history in developing innovative programming and activities in the downtown* (City of Winnipeg, 1995: 49).

4.3.0 Heritage Conservation in Vancouver

In comparison to Winnipeg, in the City of Vancouver very substantial changes have taken place. Most of these changes have been to the physical transformation of

Vancouver's core where a tremendous amount of intensification of land uses and built form have occurred.

In addition, the amount of land use change in the core has been substantial, where it is mainly concentrated in the downtown peninsula and south shore of False Creek. Some eighty acres of industrial land has changed to residential uses in False Creek and to commercial uses on Granville Island. Residential uses have yielded to the office development pressure of the adjoining area while residential densities have been increased in the West End, Kitsilano, Fairview, and Mount Pleasant. "Almost every part of the core has experienced some sort of change in land use over the past twenty years" (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1982: 2).

The intensity of buildings and structures has also increased, but most remarkably on the downtown peninsula. The once prominent Vancouver landmarks of the Hotel Vancouver, Marine Building, and B.C. Hydro headquarters

> have been diminished in importance and from some view points in the city they have been totally obscured by high-rise office buildings. The West End has become an orderly forest of point-block apartment towers (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1982: 2).

The changes in the intensity of development on the downtown peninsula can be divided into two distinct phases which now characterize the Vancouver's downtown at present: the high-rise apartment development boom in the West End during the 1960s and an office development boom in the Downtown District throughout the 1970s.

West End was transformed into a high-rise apartment district largely during the 1960s when urban renewal was seen as a desirable urban strategy to achieve high levels of urban growth. Between 1960 and 1970 some 13 000 dwelling units (118 percent increase) were added in the West End. However, between 1970 and 1981, only 3 000 units (12.5 percent increase) were added. During the 1960s office space growth when compared to the apartment boom was more moderate, having increased by 37 percent. It was during the

1970s that almost half of downtown office space was built. This scale of development impacted and changed the shape of Vancouver that differed from its previous image.

> Accompanying the development of the high-rise office tower as a prototypical building form has been the emergence of courtyard plazas. These plazas and courtyards vary significantly and are scattered throughout the recently built-up office district downtown. These open spaces contrast with older "street wall" structures like Hotel Vancouver, Georgia Hotel and the Marine Building. These older structures were built to the property line in order to maximize site coverage, which was the convention when they were erected (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1982: 7).

In the early 1970s underground retail development occurred in Vancouver. The Pacific Centre shopping plaza under Granville, stretching from Georgia to Dunsmuir, links a luxury hotel with The Bay and Eatons department stores. Its impact on existing and traditional retail development in Vancouver was immense:

> This two-level underground pedestrian-oriented corridor duplicates, in essence, the functional design of large-scale suburban shopping centres. This has largely been at the expense of independent businesses with traditional storefront locations at street level. The chain-owned outlets underground have threatened the retail frontage on Granville Street even though pedestrian amenities and traffic restrictions have changed Granville's function to a transit/pedestrian mall. The design and, in fact, even the function of the Granville Mall remain contentious issues (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1982: 7-8).

The rapid development in Vancouver threatens its urban heritage sites and buildings. Provincial and municipal governments have responded by developing various iniatives to curtail this trend.

4.3.1 Vancouver's Historic Areas

As a result of an explicit provincial policy, some areas in the core have undergone very little physical change in terms of built form. These are Gastown, Chinatown, Yaletown, and Downtown Eastside.

In the cases of Gastown and Chinatown, the lack of apparent physical change is the result of the designation of these districts as Historical Preservation Areas. In 1971, Chinatown and Gastown were jointly designated as the first provincial heritage sites in

British Columbia. The City's intention was to restrict the physical form and character of the areas.

> The historic or architectural significance of individual properties within the site vary greatly. At the time of designation the intent was to not only save the architectural gems, but also to save the historical context. The designation ensures the retention of significant buildings while allowing the sensitive replacement of others (Ellis, 1986: 31).

This desire to preserve the characteristics of these areas has been reinforced by many street beautification programs in both these areas. In the case of Gastown, new street paving evokes the quaintness of the cobblestone streets of an earlier tradition of street paving and sense of age or tradition.

The Provincial designation of Gastown and Chinatown as heritage conservation areas was done at the City's request as heritage conservation is the responsibility of the provincial government. However, the "provincial government relied so heavily on advice from the City that provincial and municipal regulation of Gastown and Chinatown became almost indistinguishable" (Ellis, 1986: 31).

The City's role was formalized in 1981 when the Province transferred the minister's powers to the Director of Planning for the City of Vancouver. Originally, any land use changes or building alterations were allowed with the written permission of the minister responsible. Now, the City's development permits issued under the Zoning By-law doubled as the ministerial permit required for alterations under the Heritage Conservation Act. In 1981, the City enacted design guidelines to protect its heritage character in First Shaughnessy. Vancouver's City Council had now recognized that heritage buildings are essential resources for the city and its residents. It initiated a heritage conservation program.

The zoning schedules that apply to Chinatown and Gastown include two features that are not found in any other Vancouver zoning schedules

1. the schedules contain virtually no regulations that would encumber the heritage properties beyond the limits imposed by the designation. For example, setbacks, density limits, parking requirements, etc. are either

"not required" or "not applicable", while building heights have minimum and maximum guidelines. Although there are virtually no outright uses in the schedules, ANY use can be permitted with conditions (Ellis, 1986: 31-32).

2. the schedules establish advisory bodies to assist City officials in evaluating the heritage significance - good or bad - of each specific proposal for change. The Gastown and Chinatown historic Area Planning Committees are appointed annually by City Council and contain representatives from the local areas (property owners, merchants, etc.) and relevant professions (Architectural Institute, Asian Studies Faculty, etc.). Before a permit can be issued or refused these committees must be consulted. However, their advice can be set aside; the legal responsibility for controlling change still rests with the Minister/Director of Planning (Ellis, 1986: 32).

In addition, it was recognized that legal "designation" of heritage buildings and sites were not the only approaches to conservation. Other methods of protecting heritage resources included incentives to property owners rather than prohibitive regulations. Other approaches which have already been used in Vancouver include design guidelines (in First Shaughnessy, where sensitive infilling with new buildings is permitted), adaptive re-use (retention of the historic building shapes and use of traditional building materials on Granville Island), and the transfer of development rights. To adapt to new uses for old buildings, portions of their exteriors were left intact while allowing substantial interior alterations.

Another unique heritage area in Vancouver is Yaletown, one of the most unique warehouse areas in Canada.

For six city blocks along Homer, Mainland, and Hamilton between Drake and Nelson Streets, four- to seven- storey, 1900 vintage warehouses are built to the property lines, creating a 'canyon-effect" along the narrow streets. On block-long legal parcels abutting the warehouses along Hamilton and Mainland are continuous 24-foot wide loading dock platforms, many with large wing-like roofs. The City is working to preserve these unique and striking features as industry gives way to uses which reflect the area's central location (Whiting, 1986: 33).

Yaletown was established in 1886 when the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) located in Vancouver. Redevelopment pressure on the area emerged in the early 1980s due to extremely high residential prices leading to considerable developer interest in converting some warehouses into residential units. However, recently most of the conversions in

Yaletown have been to offices with some ground-oriented retail uses. A hotel development with refurbished exterior brickwork echoing a 1900s character with new materials, windows and other designs, features the type of development which demonstrates the City's objectives for this area as a historical and cultural node.

The loading docks in Yaletown have been recognized by City Council, the Heritage Advisory Committee and the Planning Department as having a special role in creating the neighbourhood's character. Council policies, adopted in 1982, provided for "the retention of the loading docks; increased pedestrian usage of the docks; and alteration of the docks only when no feasible alternative is available" (Whiting, 1986: 34).

4.3.2 Heritage Management

In time for Vancouver's first Centennial celebration in 1986, a list of the city's heritage resources -including buildings, streetscapes, landscape resources, and archaeological sites - was created to ensure the continued presence of these civic treasures for the next 100 years. The purpose of such an inventory would specify Vancouver's important heritage and begin a process in which this heritage would be protected from the rapid change Vancouver was experiencing. These resources would act as reminders of Vancouver's heritage and an enduring historical reference for its people.

In 1986, the City completed its first Heritage Inventory, and committed itself to develop by 1987 a Heritage Management Plan. The initial inventory consisted of pre-1940's buildings and was completed in March 1985. The next phase expanded the inventory to include streetscapes, landscape, and archaeological resources for their heritage significance.

A system for weighing the relative heritage value of each recorded building was developed. Each building was evaluated according to

1. its architectural significance
2. its role in the cultural history of the neighbourhood, city, province or nation,

3. the extent to which its original context of associated buildings, streets, neighbourhood, etc. is still visible, and
4. the degree of alteration to the exterior of the buildings.

Besides having Gastown and Chinatown as historic areas, a study team looked for additional areas of the city with high concentrations of heritage buildings, uninterrupted by new infill construction, and with a pattern of streets, trees, and other elements which add a distinctive character to the area.

The heritage inventory recorded two types of heritage areas. *Heritage Conservation Areas* , which are geographic districts of extraordinary heritage quality that evoke a strong sense of history or typify a period of architectural expression, included two Downtown areas - namely, the Hastings - Pender Conservation Area and Yaletown, as well as a large area in Shaughnessy Heights and a specific area in Kitsilano.

The inventory also identified *Heritage Character Areas* which have valuable streetscapes of heritage buildings but lack either the overall historical associations of the larger Conservation Areas or their consistency of appearance. Character Areas include four districts in Kitsilano, and one each in the Downtown, Grandview-Woodland, Mount Pleasant, Strathcona, and the West End.

The dedication of Stanley Park in 1889 demonstrated the City's respect for its heritage of forests, shorelines, and mountain views. The inventory extends that appreciation by recognizing the importance of certain elements in the cultural landscape - trees, early parks, commemorative monuments, and public works such as bridges and streets. These elements are vulnerable to deterioration, neglect, and insensitive alteration. In addition, the inventory also records 19 archaeological sites within the City, evaluated according to their scientific, public, and ethnic significance.

Vancouver's Heritage Inventory provides the essential base for the development of a Management Plan. Through its Management Plan, the City intends to encourage and assist owners in their efforts to retain heritage buildings and sites. "The City hopes to make it possible for owners to voluntarily retain buildings on the inventory, and to develop

them in productive, creative, and appropriate ways" (City of Vancouver, 1986: 3). The City's Heritage Management Plan includes:

- Procedures to monitor development activity involving heritage buildings and to offer advice and assistance to owners.
- Incentives for owners undertaking up-grading and maintenance of a building on the inventory. These may include allowing density bonuses, transfers of density rights, relaxing zoning by-laws, and an eventual program of financial assistance.
- Programs to comprehensively address the need to upgrade and maintain buildings in the Heritage Conservation Areas and Heritage Character Areas through government funding programs (City of Vancouver, 1986: 3).

4.4.0 Heritage Conservation in Victoria

Victoria, the provincial capital of British Columbia, is located on Vancouver Island and has a metropolitan population approaching 300,000. With its rich cultural and natural heritage, along with its scenic setting and human scale, Victoria has twice placed on the Top 10 list of world city destinations, according to *Conde Nast Traveler*, an upmarket travel magazine. It is estimated that in 1991, Victoria received an estimated 3.15 million visitors, who spent $725 million, witnessing a surge of tourists consuming Victoria's urban heritage.

Most of Victoria's tourists spend their time in the metropolitan core, namely the Inner Harbor and downtown area, where many of the city's and region's prime tourist attractions and major hotels are located. In order to relieve the pressures of congestion during the peak summer months, the city has been attempting to draw some of its visitors into the adjacent and underused area of Old Town by renovating certain areas of Old Town and converting Government Street into a semipedestrian mall to facilitate access to Old Town and wider areas of the downtown core. This involved streetscape enhancement by widening the sidewalks, encouraging sidewalk cafes and vendors, placing planters and benches at regular intervals, and installing plaques or other markers to signify events and places of historic interest.

A recent addition to the downtown landscape is the new Eaton Centre. It is a modern enclosed shopping mall with Eaton's department store as its major magnet. However, by integrating the new development into the existing urban setting, the Eaton Centre has attempted to blend the modern with the traditional by incorporating the department store and mall within a shell of reproduced and occasionally reconstructed fronts of the original buildings that existed there.

> To integrate this modern self-contained mall into a downtown commercial and heritage system, the city planners insisted on retaining as many external street-level stores as possible and limiting the number of underground parking spaces, the purpose being, respectively, to have an attractive and active external business environment to the shopping mall and to encourage substantial numbers of shoppers to walk from surrounding parkades (Murphy, 1992: 204).

4.4.1 Economic Benefits

In 1977, *The Report on Heritage Conservation* detailed the importance of a heritage conservation strategy for the City of Victoria. Its rationale - the continued use of older buildings offers both private and public economic benefits - provided the impetus for further action on conserving Victoria's urban heritage as a means for the economic and cultural development of the city.

> When considering the choice between renovating or demolition of older buildings, the latter is often seen as the simplest alternative. However, there are strong economic reasons for preserving many older buildings, both from the viewpoint of the owner and the municipality (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 3).

These reasons are detailed below.

4.4.1a Private

Due to high land costs in the downtown area for example, it would appear that the demolition and replacement of older buildings with new construction to realize an attractive rate of return on private investment is more desirable in Victoria. However, the height and bulk of new construction is restricted under the present zoning of Victoria's Old Town.

The amount of new floor space allowed on many of the properties in the area are not significantly more than the amount of floor space which presently exists, and in some cases, may even be less. Legislation restricts new development in the Old Town Area to a height limitation of 50 feet which is in keeping with the average height of existing buildings. Because of its zoning restrictions, new development at the allowable height, bulk, and floor space would not be feasible, protecting the existing buildings from possible demolition due to development pressures. "However, more positive programs of encouragement and assistance are required to support the position of the private individual or owner" (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 7).

In Victoria, experience has shown that in the majority of commercial building renovations undertaken privately - renovation of even the oldest buildings - can be significantly less expensive than the cost of producing a similar amount and type of floor space in a new structure. "The reasons are obvious; the basic structure and exterior cladding are being recycled, their replacement value being recaptured" (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 3).

In general, renovations can be completed in less time than required for new construction. In addition, lower building cost provides a competitive edge for renovation projects when it comes to leasing. "Because of the reduced time involved, these projects are more readily able to respond to immediate market needs and less reliant on projected future demands which may not materialize in these uncertain economic times" (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 4).

The recycling of a building requires fewer trades and less time, reducing the probability of costly work stoppages due to labour disputes. Finally, and contrary to popular view, financing of renovation can be easier because of faster completion times. Their is less interim financing involved and it is easier to respond to the immediate known opportunities for long term financing.

> In competing with new buildings for tenants, renovated buildings have a twofold advantage. Firstly they are able to pass on the lower costs they

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enjoy in the form of lower rents and still maintain an attractive rate of return. Secondly, imaginatively renovated heritage buildings can attract tenants with the special amenities of style and intimacy which are simply not available in most new buildings (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 4).

The ability of conserving heritage buildings and a site's character is seen to have major impact on the ability to market such areas to tenants seeking such amenities which offer a different lifestyle than developments such as suburbs. Marketing such areas is geared to generating a vibrant real estate market in an area which was previously falling in disrepair and underutilization.

4.4.1b Public

In addition, there are also direct public benefits from heritage conservation. The character of the City of Victoria is inseparable from its heritage buildings which act as a prime stimulus for the city's important tourist income. By 1974, the city was visited by close to two million tourists, and realized an estimated 60 million dollars in generated tourist revenues.

By early 1970, concrete evidence of the importance of heritage as a tourist attraction was revealed. A Canadian Travel Survey, conducted in 1971 found that 29% of Canadian tourist spending is attributable to tourists whose main activity is visiting historical and cultural sites. With its widely popular 'old world' image, the City of Victoria believed it would enjoy a substantially high proportion of tourist spending as a result of cultural visits.

In addition, the success of New Orleans as a tourist mecca is directly related to the restoration of its famed historic quarter, "Vieux Carre" which according to the Real Estate Research Corporation, accounts for 200 million dollars a year in tourist revenues to that City. The possibility for replicating such success in Victoria gave further incentive to use its urban heritage as a tourist attraction.

Urban heritage is viewed as a public resource which can be further capitalized upon in terms of maintaining the city's downtown as a major regional shopping centre.

Older buildings and districts can act as a unique and therefore major attraction for shoppers, which cannot be duplicated by competing suburban centres. This will help to reinforce the central area as the region's major retail focus, as well as increasing municipal tax revenues (Heritage Advisory Committee, 1977: 6).

4.5 Chapter Summary

After examining heritage conservation practice in Canada, it is clear that legal protection of urban heritage in Canada indicates a lack of any clear commitment by public institutions. The most active level of government in heritage conservation is at the municipal level.

Previously, many city councils were reluctant to implement a comprehensive heritage conservation plan because of fears that they may be far to committed to ensure the protection and rehabilitation of heritage buildings and sites at a time of urban fiscal constraint. Now, however, many cities are preparing a comprehensive heritage conservation plan focusing on incentives for private rehabilitation of heritage resources. Public involvement is limited to protecting already owned municipal sites, design guidelines and zoning. There is limited interest in expanding public ownership of important heritage resources. Instead, the protection of urban heritage is dependent on an unstable market which at this time views heritage as an important economic resource when it is profitable.

The growth of heritage conservation represents a significant shift in the realm of economic development. While public institutions are unwilling to fully commit themselves to heritage conservation, they are fully willing to assist private investment in urban heritage. City governments are increasingly aware of the importance of urban heritage to the well-being of their city. Increased tax revenues, private investment, urban revitalization, downtown commercial revitalization, and tourism entice municipalities to increasing their involvement in heritage conservation. However, without any clear legal enforcement, municipalities can alter their strategy for heritage conservation when it

appears that such a strategy is seen as no longer vital to the economic development of the city.

However, in the meantime, for developers, the conservation of heritage buildings and sites is viewed as a way of marketing the image of such areas to tenants and homebuyers seeking such amenities which offer a different lifestyle than developments such as suburbs. Such areas are made attractive in hopes of attracting prospective residents and therefore, generate a vibrant real estate market in an area which was previously falling in disrepair and underutilization. The purpose of imaging neighbourhoods with historical and architecturally significant buildings is to lure higher income groups back into the city. An example of this is CentrePlan. One of its primary goals is to establish residential population which will support downtown retail and services.

However, in Vancouver, imaging neighbourhoods is a result of a vibrant real estate market where many high income groups seek to move closer to the city. The city of Vancouver is pressured into supplying the critical infrastructure and create viable and attractive neighbourhoods for these groups. Neighbourhoods such as Gastown and Yaletown demand the city ensures that these neighbourhoods remain attractive enclaves for the people who can afford to live there.

In addition, urban heritage acts as a prime stimulus for a city's tourist industry. Creating a distinctive image for a city is very crucial in attracting tourists to the area. The image of heritage sites and buildings - as indicated by many surveys - is the most successful tourist attraction. Therefore, tourism development and image-making are the primary goals of heritage conservation.

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The Role of Urban Heritage

5.0 Introduction

Heritage conservation activity has significantly impacted downtown urban centers economically, socially, physically, and aesthetically. In fact, heritage conservation activity has significantly contributed to reshaping the cultural landscape of the modern Canadian city and the way it is regulated and planned.

The purpose of heritage conservation in revitalizing older and decaying inner-city neighbourhoods and downtowns is critical. It is believed that "urban revitalization" initially begins as a heritage conservation activity [9] and acts as a key economic redevelopment tool in downtown centers. According to Ontario's Ministry of Culture and Communications, heritage conservation is a crucial resource for social and economic development;

> Heritage conservation finds new uses for old assets, "recycling" them in ways that contribute to our social and economic well-being. It can stimulate economic growth and create jobs. Building renovation creates sixty direct and indirect jobs per million dollars spent, compared with forty-eight created by new construction. Reclaimed buildings can increase municipal tax bases by increasing property values. And revitalized business districts attract investment and boost retail sales. By the year 2000, renovation expenditures will account for eighty-five cents of every construction dollar.
> Heritage conservation can also benefit our tourism industry .... Many of our communities can use their heritage resources to build new tourism enterprises, offering jobs, economic diversification, and sustainable

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[9] According to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (1979), using a number of examples from Alexandria, Virginia, Galveston, Texas, Savannah, Georgia and Seattle, Washington as case studies, conservation acitivity is the crucial springboard for kickstarting the revitalization process in urban neighbourhoods.

development opportunities to local and regional economics (Ministry of Culture and Communications, 1990: 4).

With such benefits, heritage conservation has become an important planning aspect in urban communities. This rising popularity is attributed to a change in the way people perceive their cities and its practice has influenced the general pattern of urban development.

For years, cities in North America have experienced increases in the number of deteriorating and substandard buildings, in the percentage of low-income families, and in the costs of social services, policing, fire protection, education, transportation, and infrastructure maintenance. At the same time, the economic base of cities and much of their middle to upper income population were shifting into suburban and exurban developments that resulted in a loss of revenue from property, sales, and income taxes in the center. Other shifts included a diminishing manufacturing and employment base in the center and a growing service sector and office development to replace it.

In the past two decades, both the public and private sectors have focused attention on the necessity of solving the dilemma of modern cities. Municipalities, civic leaders, the financial community and other concerned urban groups have recognized the intrinsic value of sound neighbourhoods, viable urban businesses, and the unique role of the central city as a major center for retail and recreation. The role of heritage conservation has been to initiate and support the revitalization of older central neighbourhoods into vibrant cultural and economic areas.

5.1.0 Results of Heritage Conservation

One of the most obvious results of heritage conservation is the revitalization of older, historic districts through conserving and renovating older buildings. Typically, these districts or neighbourhoods were characterized as less-than-desireable where the population was either declining both in number and in economic composition or was transient in nature. Business activity was declining due to the development of suburban shopping malls which made shopping in the suburbs more attractive than in the older downtown commercial areas. Adjacent land uses were highly incompatible, with industry, residential, and commercial activities teniously existing together. Land values and the value of old buildings were declining, as were the tax revenues in city centers.

As a result of heritage conservation activity, the most obvious impact is physical. The renovation of buildings and the resulting generation of cultural and economic activity has focused the attention of the public sector on providing the supplementary infrastructure improvements necessary to upgrade a heritage area.

Extensive renovation activity to conserve buildings has created viable economic activity in these areas. The economic base of heritage areas has been broadened as the result of the stimulus provided by conservation activity. Typically, most economic expansion has been sponsored by the private sector, with varying levels of support from local, provincial, and federal sources. New businesses are formed, the housing stock is upgraded, property values increase, a major tourist attraction is created, and the investment of private funds is stimulated.

An example of the stimulation of private investment in urban heritage areas is the Core Area Initiative's programs for the Exchange District in Winnipeg. Approximately $21.8 million between 1981-1991 consisted of private investment in the District, an area which previously was in danger of deteriorating. The amount of private investment

attracted into such an area is quite large considering the lack of activity prior to the beginning of the Core Area's revitalization programs.

Increased tourism resulting from the promotion and renovation of heritage areas is a major and beneficial impact to the local urban economy. The growth of cultural and heritage visits among tourists encourages cities to enhance and promote their historic district. Tourists provide an increasing amount of support for the shops, restaurants, and museums in these areas. Such tourist activity stimulate retail sales in the area.

In addition, renovation and restoration work has created a number of jobs for metropolitan area workers. According to Ontario's ministry of Culture and Communications, building renovation creates sixty direct and indirect jobs per million dollars spent - compared with forty-eight created by new construction. Architects, unskilled laborers, craftsmen, realtors, engineers, administrators are only a few of the categories of jobs that witness employment growth due to conservation activity. Also, the number of new shops, businesses, restaurants and tourist-related activities have created jobs which add stability to the area.

Another result is the housing stock in the downtown area is improved through renovation and conversion of older buildings, offering a supply of convenient, sound housing in the downtown.

A common characteristic that existed in many historic districts was the widespread incompatibility of land uses, such as mixed residential, various commercial, and heavy industry. These historic districts were more often than not built in response to immediate need rather than in orderly fashion and with esthetic considerations. By shifting or weeding out incompatible uses through careful planning and zoning restrictions the area could be visibly improved. The removal of incompatible land uses such as heavy industry from a historic area makes the area far more attractive.

Property values in areas witnessing heritage conservation activity have increased significantly as have property tax revenues from renovation and rehabilitation of older,

heritage buildings. Significant increases in the real estate value of renovated properties in the historic districts have occurred. Previously abandoned and devalued, heritage buildings are now seen as valuable commodities to be capitalized for their attractiveness and image.

Unfortunately, some possible disadvantages of heritage designation exist. These could include displacement of low income residents as property values rise - due to the prestige factor - attracting middle and upper income homebuyers. "Also, designation increases the possibility of only replicative architecture in new construction, depending on the policies of the district's review board" (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 1979: 18).

5.1.1 The effects of heritage designation

Many planners have embraced heritage designation as a tool in the management of neighbourhood conservation and revitalization. However, according to Dennis Gale,

> opposition has arisen in some cases based on the assertion that official designation could accelerate property values, thus increasing tax liabilities and rents and leading to rising displacement of low-income and elderly households (Gale, 1991: 325).

Designation has been employed as a device to protect neighbourhoods and areas of heritage and architectural importance. However, the effect of designation may have much more effect than protecting heritage areas

> Not infrequently, planners, preservationists, and community officials are accused of catalyzing the displacement of low- and moderate-income renters and homeowners and of small business when they support the historic designation of older neighbourhoods (Gale, 1991: 325-326).

Designation is viewed by many planners not only as a device for encouraging respect for the architectural and historic attributes of a neighbourhood, but also as a means to stimulate property rehabilitation and local reinvestment in existing infrastructure. In addition, the care, rehabilitation, and maintenance of heritage resources can increase

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tourism in a community, contributing to business development, employment, income, and public revenues.

Several earlier studies indicated that property tax assessments or real estate sale prices in designated districts were greater than, or accelerated more rapidly than those in other parts of the community or in the community at large. However, most of these observations arose in the 1960s and 1970s, when very few heritage districts existed in North America.

Many conservation advocates often argued for the desirability of heritage designation by citing the alleged increases in property values occurring in designated neighbourhoods.

> Most of these areas had experienced declining or stagnant values in the post-World War II era due to disinvestment, housing abandonment, high crime rates, or other pernicious influences. Therefore, price inflation in these areas, whatever the causes, was viewed as desirable by many observers (Gale, 1991: 326).

A consultant's study of a neighbourhood in Brooklyn found that "the greatest property value increases occurred prior to designation" (cited in Gale, 1991: 327). However, the study also examined other neighbourhoods without designation and found that, "market values in the comparable areas ... increased at roughly the same rates as those within the districts" (cited in Gale, 1991: 327). The study concluded that "increases in market values have resulted from a number of factors in which designation did not play a major role" (Gale, 1991: 328). Gale suggests that,

> In short, we cannot conclude from these data that historic district designation, per se, is related to increases in property values. We can conclude only that forces are at work in many historic districts that do indeed accelerate the value of real estate. For example, in Alexandria's historic district the sharpest increase in the growth rate of property tax revenues from 1949 to 1977 occurred in 1970, when commercial revitalization began in the downtown. This was 21 years after the district was first established. The factors accounting for disproportionate rises in property values may or may not have something to do with the official sanctioning of historic status through the designation process (Gale, 1991: 326-327).

A study conducted in Washington examined annual changes in average residential sales prices for the period 1972 to 1978 in each of five residential historic districts. This study suggested it was more likely that growth rates in property values were related to the "stage" of revitalization reached in each neighbourhood. Where revitalization was more advanced, rates of growth in values were also higher. This study raises doubts about the assertion that property value acceleration in designated districts is greater than in other comparable, but undesignated neighbourhoods.

However, one speculation is that designation has a *dampening effect* on property values. The Washington study indicated that severe shifts in property values occurred in non-designated neighbourhoods, while designated neighbourhoods remained stable at periods of property value decline in the city overall.

> These data; provide some support for the idea that the true influence of historic district designation may be to *insulate* property values from the cyclical peaks and valleys more common in other parts of residential Washington. In short, it may be that historic districts are more likely to experience a certain degree of indemnification from extremely modulating property values, perhaps because of a higher degree of investor confidence in these officially recognized and protected areas. As Schaeffer and Ahern have observed. "Historic district designation may serve a function similar to that of a designer label; it guarantees the quality of the merchandise, reducing the uncertainty facing the buyer regarding the future value of the purchase" (Gale, 1991: 336).

The Washington study found no evidence that historic district designation was associated with increases in property values out of proportion to the effects of generally prevailing economic conditions in the city as a whole.

> Comparisons of pre- and post-designation growth rates in historic districts, as well as comparisons of these data in historic and non-historic districts, provide no support for the argument that official recognition of the historic and architectural merits of residential neighbourhoods leads to accelerating property values. The fact that rates of appreciation in values declined in all six of the study areas at the time that they were declining citywide demonstrates that overall economic trends had a much more influential effect on the areas than did designation (Gale, 1991: 336).

Another explanation concerns the *timing* of heritage designation. Gale suggests, "designation of a neighbourhood usually follows, rather than precedes, the point at which

substantial growth in renovation occurs" (Gale, 1991: 337). These areas tend to face periods of incumbent upgrading or full-fledged gentrification by middle and upper income groups before any heritage designation is sought by the community.

Heritage designation of residential neighbourhoods acts as a buffer against the instability of real estate markets. By promoting and maintaining the neighbourhood's heritage and character, heritage designation solidifies major investments in renovation and rehabilitation and protects against neighbourhood decline. Previously, these neighbourhoods have witnessed a number of investments and substantial retail growth. This supports Zukin's affirmation that such designations indicates that economic claims to space are protected by cultural claims to space by establishing regulations that reject or disallow any cultural values that are not in "character" with the established neighbourhood.

5.2.0 Urban Heritage and the Culture of the Contemporary City

While heritage conservation has an integral role in the economic development of older neighbourhoods, its most significant impact is its relation with present cultural sensibilities. As indicated earlier in the thesis[10], the growth of heritage conservation has paralleled the rise of postmodernist sensibilities which attempt to manipulate and use historical, environmental, and local imagery to heighten and exaggerate 'a sense of place' by surrounding the spectator with an artfully *composed* historic ambience.

Place-making - the process of creating and enhancing the distinctiveness of a specific place through the manipulation of urban natural and cultural elements - has become a primary objective for cities since the 1970s. While much attention is given to supporting a "sense of place" for neighbourhoods, place-making in the postmodern landscape serves, with all its drama and exaggeration, as a major draw for tourists who seek new and ever different urban experiences.

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[10] Chapter One

5.2.1 Tourism and Place-making

There is an integral link between urban tourism and "imageability" of urban environments, particularly the downtown.

> Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989: 92).

The City of Winnipeg's Planning Department has recognized this;

> Downtown should be ideally suited for Winnipeggers - for us and our families. But it should be much more, both in character and value. Downtown should be for the rest of the world to see (City of Winnipeg Planning Department, 1993: 110).

In recent years, the rapid growth in tourism has paralleled the growing potential of the downtown as a tourist attraction. Every city's downtown is involved in tourism to a certain extent. However, in the years ahead, a city's tourism industry will become even more dependent on its downtown where it will become a dominant economic force that continues to shape the downtown area. Marketing and promoting a city to attract tourists, is dependent on the attractiveness of the places a city's downtown has to offer. Planning departments have focussed on "place-making", the conservation of attractive places in the downtown (particularly, historic buildings and cultural sites) or encouraging development that exhibits a unique 'sense of place' in its designs.

> The projection of a definite image of place blessed with certain qualities ... have been achieved through an eclectic mix of styles, historical quotation, ornamentation, and the diversification of surfaces (Harvey, 1989: 92-93).

Phoenix, Arizona is also beginning to re-image its downtown[11]. The city is now rebuilding its long-neglected downtown and bolstering its attractions hoping to bring shoppers back into the downtown area. Arizona has also brought urban marketplace developers the Rouse Corporation - the same developers of Faneuil Hall in Boston and the Inner Harbor in Baltimore. However, Arizona would appear as quite a different situation,

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[11] see Appendix B

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as Arizona lacks the landmarks of Boston or Baltimore. Instead, Rouse is set out to create the Arizona downtown with its own distinctive landmarks with a museum of Arizona's history as its major feature and integrating new developments with Native American themes to attract tourists.

5.2.2 *The Changing Nature Of Tourism*

Traditionally, tourism planning required a marketing and promotion campaign. Today, however, tourism has become far more sophisticated. Increasingly, cities are integrating tourism into their downtown development plans and management strategies. According to the International Downtown Association, successful tourism development is based on five important principles. These are:

1. *Quality* - The quality of the place, the environment and the experience are what make tourism work in the first place. A quality place and experience will produce quality visitors and will maximize economic impact.
2. *Value* - The visitor must clearly sense that he or she is getting true value for money spent. This relates in large part to the quality of service received. Most people don't mind paying for a good, high quality experience. They complain bitterly about paying too much for a poor experience.
3. *Concentration* - Concentration and critical mass go hand in hand and are often most difficult to achieve. The ability to concentrate attractions, facilities and services in a convenient accessible location is essential to creating a "destination" experience.
4. *Critical Mass* - The product of concentrating attractions, services and facilities in a small area is critical mass and critical mass creates excitement, adventure, fun and lots of people. Too many communities try to scatter their attractions in order to satisfy parochial interests.
5. *A Rich Density of Experience* - The product of the preceding four principles of tourism is what makes for a successful tourism, and a resulting maximum economic impact. It is the rich density of experience that not only attracts people to begin with but brings them back time and time again. Importantly, these are the places that not only attract visitors but locals as well, thereby maximizing the market impact.

- *International Downtown Association, 1991* (cited in City of Winnipeg Planning Department, 1993: 111).

The downtown is seen as the natural focus of such activity because it is the service centre for the urban area, possessing an abundance of heritage, cultural, and recreational resources. Although part of this growing interest in downtown tourism is related to the

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economic contribution it can make to various redevelopment schemes, according to Peter Murphy, "a more widespread reason is the evolving partnership between culture and tourism" (1992: 201).

5.2.3 Urban Tourism and Urban Heritage

Canadians are highly active cultural enthusiasts. A number of surveys suggests Canadian travelers most likely will visit historical or archaeological sites or a museum when traveling. Statistics Canada indicates that 63% of Canadian travelers visiting another Canadian location will attend an historical or natural site. In addition, 11% of tourists from both overseas or the USA will most likely visit a national or provincial park or historic site.

In Canada, consumer spending in 1992 reached $35 billion. Eight percent of total consumer spending was towards cultural activities such as visiting heritage sites. In the mid-1980s, when the economy was strong, consumer spending was growing at a rapid pace (about 4% annually in real terms). This resulted in high levels of competition to capture much of the increased spending in the cultural sector. Cities attempted to capitalize on this growth in disposable income by taking meticulous care to nurture their cultural and historical resources for potential economic development.

Because each city gains through the generated taxes and employment of tourism, cities have been drawn into a more active promotional and developmental role. The creation of images has become an essential ingredient in differentiating one urban place from another.

> Such positioning requires not only marketing strategies but the shaping and projection of the built environment to support the promotional focus. This leads to the adoption of a more market-focused urban planning for both resident and visitor objectives... (Murphy, 1992: 202).

Among such resident and tourist objectives concerning urban heritage are;

> how effectively have the heritage resources of inner cities been developed and used to help create a sense of place and an attractive tourism product? Do the residents and visitors use such resources in the same way, or are distinctive submarkets present? How effective is the marketing of the inner-

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city heritage product and how well integrated is it into the overall planning and management objectives of the city (Murphy, 1992: 202)?

The Winter 1992 Exit Survey revealed that heritage and cultural activities played a significant role in the Victoria visitors' experience, with 28% of the visitors surveyed visiting a museum or art gallery and a further 19% visiting a historic site. Eight-four percent surveyed strongly agreed or agreed that Victoria had "heritage appeal." In response to an open-ended question on "*what aspects of Victoria pleased them the most,*" 21% mentioned heritage, with particular reference to the Royal British Columbia Museum and the historic buildings. "Such results confirm Victoria's image as an urban destination with substantial heritage appeal, and the majority of its visitors appear to be happy with this feature" (Murphy, 1992: 206).

A study was conducted regarding Victoria's planning strategies and the role its heritage has in developing a sense of place and overall attractiveness to visitors and residents alike. Several questions emerged concerning Victoria's utilization of its urban cultural heritage;

1. How much are the heritage features of downtown Victoria, including Old Town, being appreciated and used by visitors and residents?
2. Are there any differences in the way in which heritage is perceived and used by these two groups?
3. Are there any implications in the visitors and resident patterns that could guide the future marketing and planning of this inner city's heritage appeal?

This study further confirmed the findings of the Winter Exit Survey. Urban heritage has an important contribution to a tourist's exploration of Victoria's downtown area.

> The 111 people in these parties were under surveillance for an average of 23 minutes, with the longest survey period being 87 minutes and the shortest 4 minutes. During the observation periods, the visitors showed a high degree of interest in heritage, with 66% exhibiting some form of heritage-created behavior, a value which lies between the exit survey's 84% who enjoyed Victoria's heritage appeal and the 28% who reported visiting a museum or gallery (Murphy, 1992: 206).

The study revealed that the majority of Victoria's visitors appreciate the heritage features of the downtown area and to a considerable degree actively engage in some form of heritage activity.

> Although the dominant pattern for all visitors was to stroll around the Inner Harbor and downtown area with an occasional stop at some of the heritage stores, there was a substantial number who also *studied* the heritage via plaques and notices or made a time and money commitment to one of the city's heritage/cultural attractions (Murphy, 1992: 206).

The study also investigated resident appreciation and use of the heritage resources in downtown Victoria.

> Forty resident parties were observed, but because the average party size was only 1.45, this produced a sample of only 58 people. These residents were under observation for an average of 12 minutes, with the longest observation period being 1 hour and the shortest 1 minute. Using the same classification system of heritage activity as was used with the tourists, it was discovered that only 10% of the residents exhibited any observable interest in heritage-related items. Three percent of those observed showed signs of looking at the heritage streetscapes or entering one of the heritage building stores (Murphy, 1992: 207).

The residents observed displayed less outward interest in the heritage resources of downtown Victoria than the tourists.

The tourist, according to both the general exit survey and the more specific downtown survey, reveals a strong interest in Victoria's heritage and cultural resources suggesting that Victoria should protect and, where possible, enhance these resources for their tourism appeal. This can occur in two ways. One is the designation of additional buildings and areas to further capture the heritage and traditions of the city and build on its existing tourism image. Second, make better use of existing facilities and investments through a more proactive management style.

On the other hand, the patterns of residents in heritage areas suggest a more pragamatic concern. Their focus was on commercial and business pursuits rather than on heritage interest. However, this does not mean they are not interested in or appreciative of the heritage resources of downtown Victoria.

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> Based on the limited evidence of this study we could speculate that residents might be amenable to events or facilities that permitted them to both conduct their personal business and participate in some form of heritage activity (Murphy, 1992: 209).

Urban tourism is a very competitive market. As many cities compete for limited discretionary dollars of tourists, communities who adopt tourism as part of their economic and physical planning strategies must be prepared to examine the effectiveness of their place image. *"In positioning themselves, they must consider the most appropriate visitor niche markets, their resident markets, and the synergistic opportunities that tourism can provide locally"* (Murphy, 1992: 210; *my italics*).

Taking the example of Victoria as a case study, the survey indicated that cities must be prepared for different perceptions and uses of heritage resources. There exists, as the survey suggests, some significant differences between resident and visitor markets. In addition, the survey also revealed a number of heritage areas that remained underutilized. Two prime heritage attractions, Market Square and Chinatown, were rarely visited by tourists due to the lack of direct and easy access to these places from the Inner Harbour area. More marketing and interpretation would assist in capitalizing on the considerable public and private investment that has been spent on restoration and public works in these areas, which supports the trend of integrating marketing into overall development and planning strategies.

> Urban Tourism is becoming a more visible and desirable agent of economic and social development, but communities should realize it will not be a simple process to succeed in this business ... Apart from the obvious difference that the consumer comes to the production point, bringing social and physical impacts into the equation, tourism requires a great deal of coordination to achieve the synergisms and maximum potential for the host community (Murphy, 1992: 210).

5.2.4 Authenticity and Commoditization of Urban Heritage

The use of local cultural heritage as a tourist attraction would suggest that such use is a process of cultural commoditization prevalent in postmodern culture. In particular,

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local costumes and customs, heritage buildings and sites, rituals, folk and ethnic arts become touristic services or commodities, as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption . The critical issue that arises from commoditization is that it allegedly changes the meaning of cultural products and of human relations, making them eventually meaningless. As Greenwood suggests, "We already know from world-wide experience that local culture ... is altered and often destroyed by the the treatment of it as a touristic attraction. It is made meaningless to the people who once believed in it ..." (cited in Cohen, 1988: 372). Furthermore, according to Greenwood, "since local culture can be commoditized by anyone, without the consent of the participants, it can be expropriated, and the local people exploited" (cited in Cohen, 1988: 372). By definition,

> "Commoditization" is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things and activities is stated in terms of prices from a market..... The principal question in this context is, what happens to the other meanings (particularly religious, cultural, and social) of things (and activities) once they become commoditized, particularly under the impact of tourism (Cohen, 1988: 380).

The second issue raised by commoditization is the destruction of the authenticity of local cultural products; "instead a surrogate, covert "staged authenticity" emerges" (Cohen, 1988: 372).

> As cultural products lose their meaning for the locals, and as the need to present the tourist with ever more spectacular, exotic and titillating attractions grows, contrived cultural products are increasingly "staged" for tourists and decorated so as to look authentic.... Thus, for example, localities may be staged as being remote, or "non-touristic," in order to induce tourists to "discover" them and native inhabitants of "exotic" places are taught to "play the native" in order to appear "authentic" to the tourists (Cohen, 1988: 372).

The term "authenticity", according to Erik Cohen, is "an eminently modern value, whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence" (Cohen, 1988: 373). Massive transformations, fluctuation, and social and physical instability creates a sense of "weightlessness" and loss of reality. Transformation

of the built environment, the loss of familiar settings, contribute to this sense of loss. As Berger suggests,

> If nothing on 'the outside' can be relied upon to give weight to the individual's sense of reality, he is left no option but to burrow into himself in search of the real. Whatever this *ens realissimum* may then turn out to be, it must necessarily be in opposition to any external [modern] social formation..... The concept of authenticity is one way of articulating this experience (cited in Cohen, 1988: 373)

In this view, modern society is continually in the quest for authenticity.

> Since modern society is inauthentic, those modern seekers who desire to overcome the opposition between their authenticity-seeking self and society have to look elsewhere for authentic life.... The alienated modern tourist in quest of authenticity hence looks for the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity. He hopes to find it in other times and other places, since it is absent from his own world (Cohen, 1988: 373).

The origin of the word "authenticity," according to Triffling can be traced to the museum. Here an "expert in such matters test whether objects of art [and by extensions, ethnographic objects] are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore ... worth the admiration they are being given" (cited in Cohen, 1988: 374).

According to Goldberg, tourists indeed seek authenticity in varying degrees of intensity and not for its mere entertainment. Tourists who are less concerned with the authenticity of their touristic experience, will be more prepared to accept a heritage product or attraction as "authentic" while more concerned tourists, applying stricter criteria, will reject as "contrived." This suggests "that "authenticity" is a socially constructed concept and its social (as against philosophical) connotation is, therefore, not given, but "negotiable" (Cohen, 1988: 374). Cohen provides one example:

> Thus, on one of the trekking trips in which this author participated in the course of his study of the penetration of tourism into the hill-tribe area of northern Thailand, a French tourist, a teacher by profession, complained about the fact that the people in a tribal village, which had been opened to tourism only a few weeks earlier, used industrially produced plastic cups instead of indigenously produced bamboo cups. The mere adoption of plastic cups, although unrelated to the penetration of tourism, already offended his sense of cultural authenticity (Cohen, 1988: 378).

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Studying visitors perceptions of Australian historic theme parks, Moscardo and Pearce (1986) provide some empirical evidence elaborating this point. These historic theme parks may not be considered "authentic" as they are *"reconstructions"* of some aspect of Australia's heritage. However, the visitors generally perceived these parks as "authentic" - in the sense of being accurate *reconstructions* of Australia's past - rather than *genuine* historical remains.

Greenwood's studies on the commoditization of culture through tourism found that the commoditized cultural products lose in the process their intrinsic meaning and significance for the local people, who in turn lose their enthusiasm for producing them. Greenwood observes the public ritual of the *alarde* in the Spanish-Basque town of Fuenterrabia which became a major touristic attraction. The authorities declared that it should be performed twice on the same day to accommodate the large number of visitors. Eventually, the local participants lost interest in it. As Greenwood witnessed,

> ... the municipal government was considering payments to people for their participation in the *alarde?* ... just as the gypsies are paid to dance and the symphony orchestra is paid to make music. The ritual has become a performance for money. The meaning is gone (cited in Cohen, 1988: 381).

The once "authentic' public ritual became a staged performance, a cultural "commodity." Does the commoditization of urban heritage, or in other words, the fashioning of urban heritage for tourist consumption, lose its intrinsic meaning for the city's residents such as the *alarde* for the local population?

The Victoria heritage appreciation study conducted by Murphy suggests this. Tourists are highly more appreciative of Victoria's heritage than are residents. Cohen may provide some answer why,

> ... since the process is frequently initiated by culture-brokers and touristic entrepreneurs from outside the local community, it may well lead to the exploitation of the locals and of their cultural resources by outsiders. Finally, the process of commoditization also tends to affect the cultural products themselves. As they become increasingly oriented to an "external public," rituals may be shortened, embellished, or otherwise adopted to the tastes of the tourists (1988: 381).

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They are not oriented towards the local population.

This is the primary problem in the postmodern landscape. Local populations are subjected to manufactured and composed heritage artifacts which exhibit and stimulate the act of consumption rather than support and inscribe a community's needs and desires on the urban landscape. As culture is further commoditized and manufactured for the purpose of entertaining consumers, it is increasingly linked to fluctuations in the market and to income for its existence.

5.3 Urban Heritage and Contemporary Urban Processes

The intention of this thesis is to examine the role of urban heritage in the contemporary urban environment. The second half of Chapter Three examined the literature on the prevailing processes that are determining the shape of the contemporary city and the importance of urban heritage in promoting and enhancing the imageability of cities. It also examined the relationship between urban revitalization (commercial and residential) and the conservation of urban heritage. The growth of consumerism in daily life has linked such cultural elements like urban heritage to the growing activity of consumption. The proliferation of shopping and festival marketplaces most often than not, contain urban heritage elements for providing pleasant and unique shopping experiences. In Chapter Four, by examining the objectives, goals, and results of heritage conservation in three Canadian cities, it was discovered that urban heritage is a vital support for tourism, real estate, and economic development. It is also used as a tool to lure people back to the center by helping create vibrant looking residential neighbourhoods and spectacular urban spaces that are entertaining.

Public institutions, however, have not counteracted private decisions and market forces which determine the shape of urban heritage in today's cities. In fact, public policy has generally provided incentives to increase the levels of private investment and assist market forces in colonizing urban space for its purposes. This has resulted in the general

feeling among many writers on the postmodern city that "public space" and "public will" determining the spatial organization of cities is disappearing and is undermined by such actions.

So far in this chapter, the link between present heritage conservation practice and market forces has been further elaborated. The Washington Study conducted by Dennis Gale supports Zukin's observations that there does exist the cultural appropriation of urban space by higher-income groups. Rather than concern for the issue of affordability, planners have acted in the manner of preserving private investment through heritage designation. Heritage designation usually precedes active renovation and rehabilitative work which generally permeates from homeowners and homebuyers who can pay for them. Its effect, as the Washington study concludes, is the stabilizing of property values during economic decline. However, during overall urban economic real estate growth, heritage designated sites generally reflect overall city patterns. Therefore, these areas witness little decline in economic recessions but, on the other hand, witness growth in favourable economic climates.

This chapter has also examined the important link between heritage and tourism. As shown earlier, tourism is greatly dependent on the quality of historical sites and buildings and natural features. Increasing tourist activity is followed by increasing levels of economic activity in urban areas. By conserving urban heritage, a vital tourism industry is ensured.

However, the results of linking urban heritage to such market forces and focusing heritage conservation activity as a support for such economic activity has had several consequences.

As this thesis has argued, the commoditization of urban heritage - the link between heritage and the market - has created a peculiar experience in the contemporary city. The results have been the creation of urban heritage as a mediating element in the functioning of the contemporary market rather than as a tool in which to promote the sense of

"community" and "place" for local populations. The table below summarizes the relationships and results that have been examined throughout this thesis which have impacted and shaped urban heritage among the predominate urban processes that are shaping present day cities

Table 5.1
The relationships between urban heritage and determining urban processes that shape the contemporary city and its results

Urban Processes	Required Elements	Results
tourism	• new and unique experiences • sight-seeing attractions • entertainment	• heritage theme-parks • heritage-related tourism • historic and natural parks
commercial revitalization	• increase in shoppers • promote shopping • target market niches	• festival marketplaces with historical and cultural themes • market and promote themes of culture and history • package retail spaces with distinctive image to attract shoppers • provide pleasant shopping environments using cultural and historical themes and designs.
neighbourhood revitalization	• renovation and rehabilitation to counteract decay • increase number of higher income groups to stimulate real estate market	• provision of incentives for renovation and upgrading of homes • provision of amenities and pleasant cultural environment to attract home buyers to area
gentrification	• attractive, older neighbourhoods • fashionable residential architecture	• heritage designation to preserve private investments and character.
downtown revitalization	• includes all elements of processes listed above	• includes all results of processes listed above

Table 5.1 summarizes the role of urban heritage with various processes which are transforming the shape of the city. Particularly, the table's third column indicates the results or product that supports these processes. The relationship between urban heritage and these urban determinants which are linked to market forces creates an unstable environment for urban heritage. This means that urban heritage must respond to market fluctuations and market logic for either its existence or destruction.

5.3.1 The Future of Urban Heritage in the Contemporary Urban Landscape

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a significant increase in the tourist industry which benefited the conservation of urban heritage. The growth of tourism, dependent on high levels of disposable income, is contributed to high levels of consumer spending which as a whole grew in the mid-1980s when the economy was strong (about 4% annually in real terms). However, by 1992, spending increased by less than 1% after inflation, and by 1993 it actually fell by over 2%.

The fall in consumer spending during 1992 and 1993 had significant impact on visits to heritage institutions. A Statistics Canada survey found that "In 1991-92, attendance at heritage institutions fell by 5%, overall, with 54.3 million visits reported"[12] (Dugas, 1993: 5). Some provinces and institution types were hit harder than others. As the survey discovered;

> Only Newfoundland, P.E.I and the Northwest Territories reported increased attendance, all between 6% and 10%. Elsewhere visits to heritage institutions dropped, with the province of Manitoba experiencing the sharpest decline at 12%. Decrease in other provinces and the Yukon were of smaller magnitudes, from 2 to 7% (Dugas, 1993: 5).

Recorded visits to museums dropped by 1.5 million visits overall in Canada compared to the previous year. Just over 23 million visits were reported to museums in 1991-92, for a decrease of 6%. Historic sites fared better with attendance down just 1% from the previous survey year, to under 17 million visits.

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[12] see Appendix C

However, the decrease in visits to heritage institutions had little impact on revenues generated by heritage institutions. Total operating revenues were reported at $861 million, an increase of 9%, continuing an upward trend. On the other hand, operating expenditures climbed faster than generated revenues at 10%, to a total of $825 million. Durand describes this situation;

> polling and other data have suggested that in recent years there has been a decline in the number of Canadians who attend or engage in various cultural activities, especially outside the home. This discrepancy between participation and expenditure levels, if it truly exists, would be explained largely by the substantial price increases for cultural goods and services. Consumers are allocating a greater share of their personal expenditures to culture and recreational activities than they did ten years ago, but in many cases as a result of increased prices rather than increased demand (Durand, 1993: 3).

As tourist demand decreases for such heritage products, decreased visits and increasing expenditures may devalue urban heritage as a integral component of urban development. As urban heritage is linked to tourism, the decline in tourist activity may signify the decline of heritage conservation as a vital strategy for urban and community development. Consumer spending predictions indicate this decline will continue;

> The nineties will likely continue to show a decline in conspicuous spending. Consumers will have fewer disposable dollars to spend and there will be enormous competition for their discretionary dollar (Durand, 1993: 4).

The danger with linking urban heritage to economic factors such as tourism, private investment, and revitalization is that market forces dictate its value. As value decreases, urban heritage is replaced by development that the market dictates as higher in economic value.

5.4 Heritage Conservation and Community Culture

As suggested by both Murphy's and Cohen's studies, the local population may lack appreciation of their own heritage when it is frequently controlled and exploited from outside the local community. A recent example in Winnipeg clarifies the perceptions of

residents. In late October, the City of Winnipeg Planning Department advised City Council to put the 85 year old Greenway School in the West End on its heritage building list[13]. Heritage advocates applauded this move to increase the number of heritage buildings in the inner-city neighbourhood. However, the reaction of residents and the school board was quite different. While it was agreed it was a valuable historic artifact, parents of Greenway children and the school board protested that such an "artifact" could no longer serve as a school. As parents' spokesperson Ana Vernaus said "practicality has to outweigh sentimentality on the issue. The 603 children deserved a modern and safe school" (Crampton, 1994: 4). City council took note of the community's wishes and on October 19, 1994 voted 10-5 to not protect the landmark. On October 24, the walls of the school came tumbling down.

However, according to Cohen, the commoditization of urban heritage - i.e. controlled and manipulated for economic purposes - may be necessary for a community to preserve and maintain its heritage.

> One has to bear in mind that commoditization often hits a culture not when it is flourishing, but when it is actually already in decline, owing to the impingement of outside forces preceding tourism. Under such circumstances, the emergence of a tourist market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish. It enables its bearers to maintain a meaningful local or ethnic identity which they might otherwise have lost (Cohen, 1988: 382).

In Cohen's view, commoditization should not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists and shoppers, although it may do so under certain conditions. These conditions may involve the lack of community will, or in Logue's word "public will" in defining what is significant urban heritage. Instead, as Logue suggests, *You cannot trust architects and developers to protect the public interest* (Schmertz, 1987: 9; *my italics*). Defining a city's urban heritage under touristic imperatives alone, alienates the local community from its own cultural heritage. Molding

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[13] see Appendix D and E

urban heritage into an entertaining spectacle may not appear as genuine or authentic to the local community.

While architects and historians may find the rehabilitation of a heritage artifact as "authentic" - in other words, sufficiently representing an aspect of a city's heritage - the local population, on the other hand, may disagree. Cohen suggests that ""authenticity" is a socially constructed concept and its social (as against philosophical) connotation is, therefore, not given, but "negotiable"" (Cohen, 1988: 374). This indicates that in order for urban heritage to develop any intrinsic meaning to residents while performing as a viable tourist attraction which facilitates the conservation of urban heritage, heritage conservation practice must involve a high level of community participation.

Nozick argues that a community's heritage is its life blood, a source of feeling and spirit

> the local ways people do things together, their common feelings and values, the way they express themselves in art, their identification with a landscape, their shared experiences of the past and shared dreams and hopes for a future. Obviously these are not items which can be manufactured, bought or ordered: they are life patterns which evolve over time (1992: 182).

Communities need to reclaim their right to citizenship and revive public life. Human beings can begin to control the shape of their communities, their cities, and their environments most effectively in the community arena. This is in contrast to a growing individualism, disintegration, instability, and alienation that plagues our present communities. Communities in the postmodern urban landscape are plagued the disappearance of public space as the urban landscape is very more determined by forces outside its realm. As Hamel identifies; "The deterioration of the infrastructures and buildings ... suggests that the citizens do not know how to care for their environments" (Hamel, 1993: 17). It must be recognized that our present institutions are failing in maintaining succesful processes in dealing with such problems. We need to begin building new institutions to deal with this situation. Community is the arena in which effective action to achieve this can be made. By integrating heritage conservation with community involvement, the community can

become the primary force which structures the social, economic, and physical shape of a community's heritage.

Perk's and Vliet's *Wilmore scenario* is a good example of what may be expected from a conservation practice which is directed by community "will". In Willmore, every one is active in inscribing their needs and desires on the community landscape. An entire community with diverse networks of cultural experience is created. The character of Dwellnow, the mayor of Willmore, states "that the *small* Choices, and the desires and beliefs weaving together in the minds of people who could feel they had to retrieve Community and Authenticity, Identity, and Own work " (Perks & Vliet, 1992: 22) were crucial in "building a place by small steps of making wholeness that eventually add up to a community wholeness ..." (Perks & Vliet, 1992: 4). This is an example of the notion of incrementalism opposed to revolutionary change. Environmental management should involve an evolutionary process that takes patience and time towards community-building. Nozick extends this view,

> by preserving and rediscovering the particularities of where we live, and by cultivating a local culture tied to our own experience, we can begin to bring back diversity to this world and discover our own identities associated with place. Diversity is one of the keys to building a sustainable world, both in nature ... and in human society, because by appreciating and celebrating diversity, we come to respect our differences as people and as distinct communities (1992: 183).

Community culture exists and is mediated by the form and "image" of places which define the cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes simultaneously reflect a cultural product or outcome and a shaping force or medium in cultural life. This landscape acts as a "medium in which the totality of modern material and spiritual forces could meet, clash, interfuse and work out their ultimate meanings and fates" (Berman, 1982: 316). In the contemporary landscape, such heritage environments mediate and shape tourist culture. *Heritage conservation must extend the role of urban heritage to act as a means to rebuild local culture and appreciation and mediate and shape local community culture as well.* As Nozick finds

we must have some direction for our action to rebuild local culture. My findings suggest that community building is our essential focus for retaining culture, identity and meaning (1992: 183).

Linking community participation with heritage conservation would ensure that urban heritage would act as a integral component of urban development. Thus, heritage conservation would remain a vital urban strategy for our cities.

5.5 The Role of Planning

In chapter one, planning was defined as "the activities and processes of making decisions about the future physical, social, economic, and cultural conditions of our environment ..." (Fram and Weiler, 1981: 4). Two streams of thought exist in planning theory. The first is based on the democratization of the planning process where citizens are major actors within decision-making while the second views planners as experts in making decisions, and therefore, predominate the decision-making process. These two streams theoretically stand in opposition to each other. However, in practice, it is recognized that planning is not just a mere technical exercise in any planning activity. It involves various political and ideological interests that attempt to shape the urban environment. On the other hand, planning that involves citizens in the decision-making process cannot fulfill every desire that a citizen or citizens want. It must recognize present technical limitations.

However, it can be argued that both streams of thought generally reflect either an emphasis on market forces or on community values to determine the shape and organization of urban space. Market forces such as profit-making, capital accumulation, mass production/consumption, etc. are typically determined my mathematical or technical operations. However, community involves so many diverse perceptions, needs, desires, dreams, personal histories that these elements only appear when the planning process is opened to citizen participation and involvement.

In regards to heritage conservation, both market forces and community impact the shape of urban heritage in very different ways. The majority of this thesis has focused on

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the role of urban heritage in supporting market forces. The creation of spectacular urban scenes using urban heritage as an essential feature and the colonization of shopping functions in almost every new development or revitalization scheme, however, threatens the loss of daily activities and routines in communities that occur in public meeting and gathering places. Borgmann describes such prescriptions for the city;

> *The best remedy they can usually think of is a spatially extended and theatrically heightened version of the daily city, busier and more ostentatious kinds of walking and talking, dressing and moving, selling and buying, collected and amassed in a square or plaza* (Borgmann, 1992: 134; *my italics*).

The hyperactive elevation of daily life fails to realize any form of public or community life, as well as the vernacular - the common everyday experiences of the community.

An example of heritage conservation that respects community is the rehabilitation of Carnegie Centre in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Kent Gerecke describes the building;

> The Carnegie Centre is truly the living room of the neighbourhood. Originally donated to the city by U.S. steel magnate Andrew Carnegie as a library, it had been boarded up for many years before DERA[14] was formed. It is a magnificent three storey building with a turreted and pillared corner entrance located at Main and Hastings - the social and geographic centre of the community (Gerecke, 1991b: 13).

> The Carnegie Centre offers a library, chess area, art gallery, classrooms and meeting rooms, and a theatre, used for the DERA monthly meetings. There is also a small gym and weight room, a pool hall, and a seniors lounge with a television (Gerecke, 1991b: 13).

The diverse uses of the Centre catered and provided to as many members as it can - creating it into a true community centre. This process of community participation, involvement, and determination created an important and meaningful place. This strategy entails the organization and building of community through the voices and visions of its members. Change is directed by community members and heritage is preserved through community will rather than imposed.

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[14] DERA refers to the Downtown Eastside Residents Association

Diversity in uses and activities are catered and integrated into the social and physical environment of the community of Downtown Eastside rather than revitalized according to the dictates of the market and organized for the purpose of consumption. With this Gerecke asserts;

> The revitalization of our cities depends on the resurrection of community. With this resurrection, a multitude of actions and projects on an ongoing basis will make the revitalization .... to comprehend the whole revitalization project of DERA is almost impossible. It involves many projects, thousands of people who have contributed, been involved and had their lives changed. Revitalization is the product of collective action .... As well, housing has been built, parks and community services provided, and a voice been earned. The measure is in life - thus community is both the beginning and the everything in urban revitalization (Gerecke, 1991b: 19).

Linking community to revitalization efforts requires a new notion of heritage conservation and urban heritage as described by Jacques Dalibard of Heritage Canada;

> We need a new heritage value system, one that views heritage, like life, as all-encompassing, holistic, ever-changing. This new view of heritage immediately changes the way we approach conservation: instead of being a precious thing that we place in a pickle jar, heritage becomes a living environment to be managed (cited in Gerecke, 1991: 13).

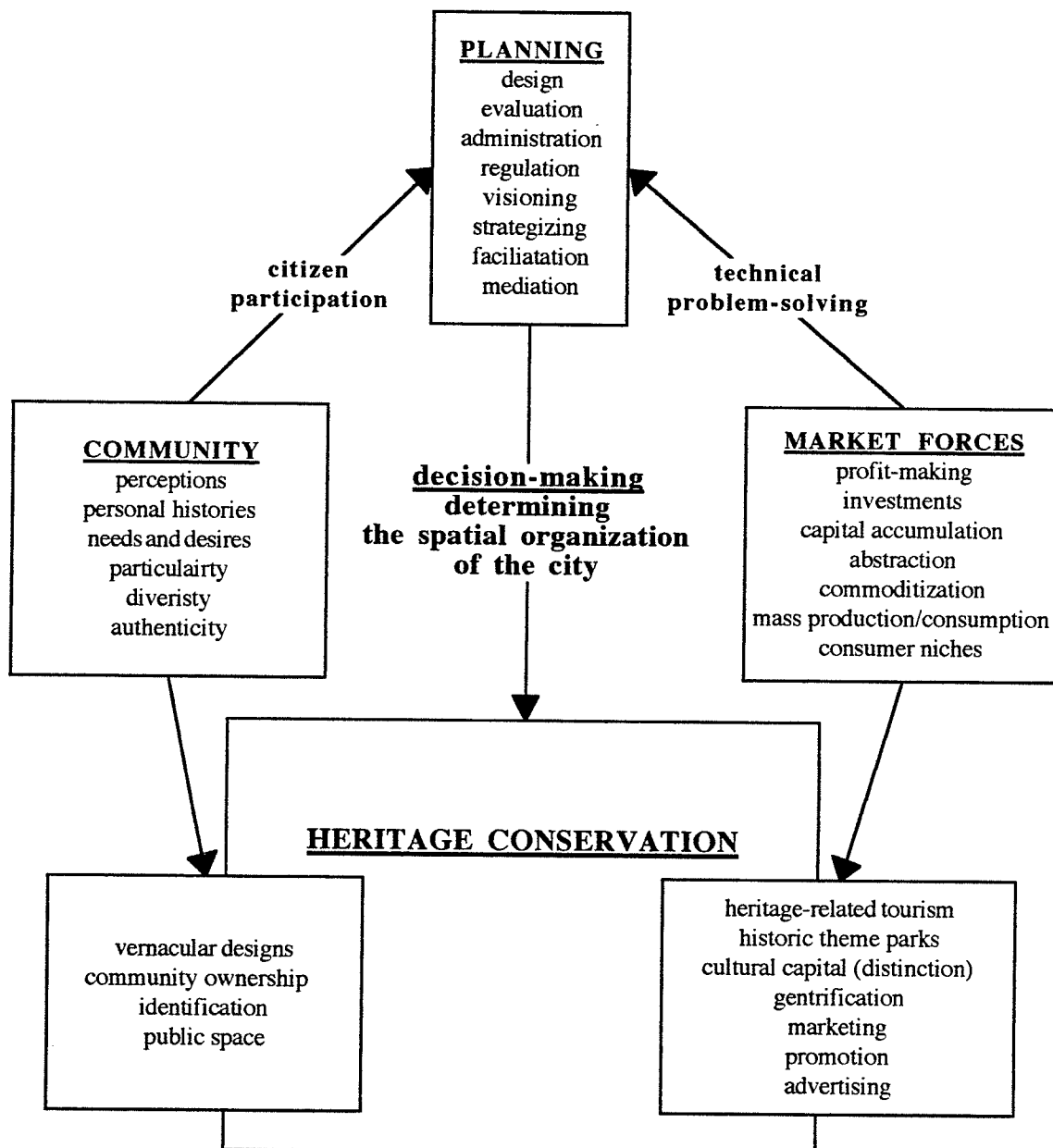Gerecke's personal view on urban heritage echoes Dalibard,

> For me heritage is the dynamic of putting cultural values back into public life. Heritage is an active idea, a verb, to be put to work in the saving of our cities. Heritage so conceived may even be part of a new politics which aligns human intelligence and energy towards a workable utopia, meeting human needs with creativity and enjoyment (Gerecke, 1991: 15).

In light of the impacts community can have on the shape and image of urban heritage and the activity of heritage conservation, planning - since it is conveniently situated as a profession which is concerned with the cultural, economic, social, and physical organization of our cities - must extend the activity of heritage conservation to involve community involvement and determination. In view of present forces that are shaping the contemporary city and undermining the institution of community, planning can ensure such consequences do not occur by mediating between market forces and community. Figure

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5.1 graphically reveals the position of planning practice between community and market and their intended heritage conservation products.

Figure 5.1

Planning and its relationship with community, market forces, and their intended outcomes in heritage conservation

PLANNING
design
evaluation
administration
regulation
visioning
strategizing
faciliatation
mediation

citizen
participation

technical
problem-solving

COMMUNITY
perceptions
personal histories
needs and desires
particulairty
diveristy
authenticity

decision-making
determining
the spatial organization
of the city

MARKET FORCES
profit-making
investments
capital accumulation
abstraction
commoditization
mass production/consumption
consumer niches

HERITAGE CONSERVATION

vernacular designs
community ownership
identification
public space

heritage-related tourism
historic theme parks
cultural capital (distinction)
gentrification
marketing
promotion
advertising

5.6 Conclusion

Urban centres are wealthy repositories of heritage. The conservation and rehabilitation of urban heritage is a necessary activity to revitalize the downtowns and its surrounding communities. This thesis has outlined the economic, social, cultural, and physical benefits generated from the conservation of urban heritage. Heritage conservation is a significant activity that is shaping the urban environment - recognizing the importance of environmental identity and 'sense of place' for people and communities.

In the postmodern city, urban heritage is an integral element in creating a distinctive urban image for cities. This is a crucial goal for heritage conservation activity. However, a distinctive and definable urban image has been far more oriented towards the attraction of tourists or attracting middle to upper income groups to older neighbourhoods by marketing distinctive urban lifestyles.

While postmodern cultural sensibilities have invigorated and emphasized urban heritage, linking postmodern design principles with contemporary urban social, economic, and political factors has significantly assisted in the conservation of urban heritage. Urban heritage serves as a critical support for tourism, commercial revitalization, urban entreuprenialism, urban competitiveness in the global market, and increases in public tax revenues.

In addition, the conservation of urban heritage suggests Roger Trancik, Kevin Lynch, Leon Krier, and others, is an important element in creating distinctive and identifiable places for a community. Such places gives a community an urban landscape which they can identify with and associate meanings to. Such a process would invigorate and rebuild communities crippled by modern development patterns.

However, the tendency with postmodern design is that such places - in the attempt to create a 'sense of place' - tend to exaggerate that distinctiveness or image. Instead, these heritage areas are manipulated and controlled for aesthetic and visual purposes to heighten the image of historical ambience.

For the local population, such developments in heritage areas may appear 'contrived' and 'inauthentic'. In fact, the local population may feel alienated by such designs. Cohen and Boyer argue that may be due to factors of commoditization where the local population have lost touch with the intrinsic value of their urban heritage. Murphy's study of Victoria supports the notion that residents are typically unresponsive to it.

The lack of involvement or interest in urban heritage by the local population indicates that present heritage conservation activity is overlooking an important benefit of urban heritage as a source of community pride and soul. *Heritage conservation must extend the role of urban heritage to act as a means to rebuild local culture and appreciation and mediate and shape local community culture as well.* It also must recognize that the community level is the arena where effective action can be made. Citizens can begin to control the shape of their communities, their cities, and their environments most effectively in the community arena. It is where;

> ... urban heritage is best defined and protected by *community*. The social contract of vital community, especially with cooperative principles and common property ownership, is the best safeguard of history and heritage. Vital, conscious community also allows for healthy renewal uniting past, present and future (Gerecke, 1991: 15).

Involving the local population in defining their heritage while integrating tourism and commercial revitalization with marketing and promotion can effectively capitalize the potential benefits of urban heritage.

Logue argues that the largest problem in heritage conservation is the lack of 'public will' involved in the process. Public institutions, however, are unwilling to fully commit themselves to urban heritage. Instead, it is willing to assist and support private investment as long as it continues to provide various economic benefits. All our institutions have been organized for the benefit of capital accumulation and crisis management. In other words, our institutions have been based on the growth model as a fashion of living and surviving. But in an era of fiscal and infrastructural crises brought on by structural economic changes, heritage conservation has been vital as a urban economic stimulator throughout the 1980s.

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However, in the 1990s, decreasing disposable income and decreasing tourist activity in urban heritage interest have threatened urban heritage's legitimacy as a vital urban environmental element. This thesis concludes that by linking heritage conservation as a community development activity, involving and supporting community-building, it would ensure that urban heritage plays an integral role in the urban environment and remain a vital urban strategy.

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APPENDIX A

Table 2.5

Average Visits per Institution by Province or
Territory and Type of Visitor, 1991-92

Tableau 2.5

Nombre moyen de visites par établissement selon la
province ou le territoire et le genre de visiteur,
1991-1992

Province or Territory Province ou territoire	Average Visits – Nombre moyen de visites			Total Number of Institutions[21] Nombre total d'établissements[21]
	General Public[19] Grand public[19]	Researchers[20] Chercheurs[20]	Average Total Visits[21] Fréquentation totale moyenne[21]	
			no. – nbre	
Newfoundland – Terre-Neuve	15,161	992	14,616	67
Prince-Edward Island – Île-du-Prince-Édouard[26]	8,404	1,010	8,606	15
Nova Scotia – Nouvelle-Écosse	19,875	1,756	19,420	149
New Brunswick – Nouveau-Brunswick	11,245	1,002	10,826	81
Quebec – Québec	53,530	1,211	44,747	317
Ontario	38,604	641	36,022	489
Manitoba	16,446	438	15,748	151
Saskatchewan	8,412	440	8,298	218
Alberta	28,807	640	27,684	187
British Columbia – Colombie-Britannique	30,539	377	28,571	281
Yukon	14,935	x	13,670	10
Northwest Territories – Territoires du Nord-Ouest	6,106	–	6,106	8
Canada[9]	29,426	766	27,499	1,973

source: Statistics Canada. *Heritage Institutions 1991-92.* Statistics Canda, Ottawa:
1992. Page 32.

APPENDIX B

Arizona Centre rises as soothing, vibrant attraction

Phoenix revives downtown

By David Rosenthal
The Baltimore Sun

PHOENIX, ARIZ. — Phoenix is getting a new image.

Not that there's anything wrong with the city's trademarks: opulent resorts, sunny sky and stark, mountain vistas. They have lured millions of tourists, as well as new residents from the Midwest and Canada — so many, in fact, that a local newspaper carries a full-page, weekly account of "News from Home."

More to come

Now, though. Phoenix is rebuilding its long-neglected downtown, bolstering the Valley of the Sun's attractions.

Arizona Centre has brought shoppers back downtown, to a palm-studded urban oasis. American West Arena, home of the Phoenix Suns, hosts thousands of purple-clad fans during basketball season.

There's more to come. A museum of Arizona history is scheduled to open by the end of this year. A major expansion to the Arizona Science Centre will follow a year later. And the city is aggressively pursuing a major-league baseball expansion team, which would play in a planned downtown stadium.

Combine those attractions with others already downtown — the acclaimed Heard Museum and the Phoenix Museum of Art — and tourists have a new destination.

Arizona Centre started the turnaround in 1990.

Its developer, the Rouse Co. of Columbia, Md., already was a national leader in crafting the urban marketplace. But Arizona Centre was challenging — it lacked the distinctive landmarks that characterized similar Rouse projects, including historic Faneuil Hall in Boston and the Inner Harbor in Baltimore.

So Rouse created its own landmark — a soothing garden with fountains — at the centre of the shops and office towers. Today, the tiered garden's brown paths contrast sharply with the bright, light-green grass, while shade from thornless mesquite and palms offers visitors a pleasant break from the desert heat.

Arizona Centre, which has more than 40 stores and restaurants, includes many retailers indigenous to American malls. But shoppers also will find some interesting native species, such as the Arizona Highways store, which features travel books on the region.

SOMETIMES, THOUGH, the merger of commercial and native cultures can be awkward. One Arizona Centre store sells jalapeno-flavored hot fudge sauce; another offers an intricately decorated denim cowgirl shirt made in Madagascar.

A short walk away are two prime performing-arts facilities: Symphony Hall and the Herberger Theatre. In these two centres, you'll find performances by the Phoenix Symphony, Arizona Opera, Ballet Arizona and theatre companies.

Walk another block south and you'll come to America West Arena, site of the NBA all-star game in February. The arena seats nearly 20,000 fans, but tickets are scarce in this basketball-mad city, where fans long for a championship season.

On downtown's northern edge are the Heard Museum and the Phoenix Art Museum — both scheduled for major expansions.

The tidy, compact Heard attracts 250,000 visitors annually.

Visitors can steep themselves in native American culture, learning the subtleties that separate the Navajo, Hopi, Tohono O'odham and others who have made their home in the Southwest. The museum also features an impressive display of arts, from pottery to kachina dolls to turquoise jewelry.

The museum is popular with children, who can get a lesson in building a teepee, making native American designs and playing ceremonial drums. One of the simplest, yet most intriguing, exhibits for children is found just a few feet from the museum entrance — a large rock used to pound corn kernels into meal. Kid seem to tire of it.

The Heard is raising money for million expansion that would near the museum's size, while adding a auditorium and other features. M officials hope to break ground in complete the project about a year

The Phoenix Art Museum, like other things in this young, ambiti growing rapidly. Opened in 1959, nearly 20 exhibitions annually, in several tied to regional strengths.

Among the 1994 exhibitions, for was Cowboy Artists of America, f recent paintings and sculpture. T summer's highlight will be Latin: Women Artists, 1915-1995.

Currently, the museum is stagir Picturing History: American Pair 1770-1930. It features 70 works, in portraits of George Washington at Abraham Lincoln, as well as Wash Crossing the Delaware.

APPENDIX C

SELECTED INDICATORS
Heritage Institutions

Indicator	1987-88	1990-91	1991-92	% Change 1987-88 to 1991-92	% Change 1990-91 to 1991-92
NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS	2, 218	2,285	2,262	2.0	-1.0
TOTAL ATTENDANCE (millions)	104.2	111.5	109.7	5.3	-1.6
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE[1](#)	49,686	51,642	51,228	3.1	-0.8
Museums	19,601	20,609	19,502	-0.5	-5.4
Historic Sites	45,804	46,412	47,008	2.6	1.3
Nature Parks	306,430	329,540	328,252	7.1	-0.4
Archives	1,792	2,692	2,453	36.9	-8.9
Exhibition centres	22,262	26,895	24,839	11.6	-7.6
Planetariums & Observatories	25,880	24,493	29,202	12.8	19.2
Aquariums & Zoos	323,063	303,323	289,141	-10.5	-4.7
Botanical Gardens	244,551	208,706	202,086	-17.4	-3.2
EARNED REVENUE ($ millions)	161.0	220.4	226.7	40.8	2.9
As % of Operating Revenue	20.7	21.3	20.4	...	...
As $ amount per attendee	1.54	1.98	2.07	34.4	4.5
TOTAL GOVERNMENT FUNDING ($ millions)	574.4	751.8	802.0	39.6	6.7
As % of Operating Revenue	73.8	72.6	72.2	...	...
As $ amount per attendee	5.51	6.74	7.31	32.7	8.5
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ($ millions)	261.0	339.2	346.1	32.6	2.0
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT ($ millions)	225.7	288.8	312.9	38.6	8.3
OTHER GOVERNMENT ($ millions)	87.6	123.8	143.0	63.2	15.5
CORPORATE SUPPORT ($ millions)	19.7	34.2	52.7	168.1	54.0
As % of Operating Revenue	2.5	3.3	4.7	...	...
TOTAL OPERATING REVENUE($ millions)	778.1	1,034.9	1,110.1	42.7	7.3
AVERAGE OPERATING REVENUE($ thousands)	384.8	495.4	530.4	37.8	7.1
by size group					
$1,000,000 and greater	4,064.7	4,810.8	5,157.3	26.9	7.2
$500,000 – $999,999	714.3	659.6	663.3	-7.1	0.6
less than $500,000	74.3	86.0	88.1	18.6	2.5
PERSONNEL(#)					
Full-time	11,370	12,414	12,466	9.6	0.4
Part-time	18,469	19,470	19,477	5.5	—
Volunteers	36,329	46,055	49,040	35.0	6.5

source: *Focus on Culture.* Statistics Canada, Ottawa. Summer 1994, vol. 6, no.2: page 10

APPENDIX D

■ City council voted against putting 85-year-old Greenway School on its heritage building list.

Last bid to save school fails

City hall won't stand in the way of the demolition of 85-year-old Greenway School.

Council voted 10-5 yesterday not to put the West End school on its heritage building list even though almost everyone agreed it was a valuable historic artifact.

But parents of Greenway children and the school board argued artifacts don't make good schools and renovating would cost far more than building.

Heritage advocates pleaded for the school's reprieve.

"You can inadvertently destroy neighborhoods when you do these kinds of things," said Coun. Al Golden (St. Vital).

There's no danger of that, said parent Ana Vernaus.

"The community is happy with this decision," she told The Sun.

Coun. John Angus argued the school has already lost many of most historic aspects and would lose most of the rest after a renovation.

"Headingley Jail looks more historic than this building," the St. Norbert rep quipped.

source: *Winnipeg Sun.* Thursday, October 20, 1994: page 4.

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APPENDIX E

Greenway comes down

By James Crampton

The walls of 85-year-old Greenway School can come tumbling down.

City council voted 10-5 to side with the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 request to demolish the West End landmark after a new school is built on the site, rather than spend division dollars upgrading the deteriorating K-6 school.

Victory

But it was not an easy victory for the school division. The city's planning committee agreed with pleas from Heritage Winnipeg that the building should be spared the wrecker's ball and placed on the city's protected list. Then, executive policy committee overturned that decision, setting up the showdown on the floor of city hall last Wednesday.

Former city council-lors Bernie Wolfe and Magnus Eliason made an impassioned plea to save the structure, saying Greenway had historic value.

Heritage

"Heritage is everybody's business," said Wolfe, a former deputy-mayor of Winnipeg. "Someone once said, 'Why do you want to save them all?' Well, if you had three Mona Lisa's, would you keep just one?"

Board chairperson MaryAnn Mihychuk said the level of deterioration at Greenway made it not worth saving if a new school could be built in its place.

The province recently agreed to fully-fund construction of a new school. If the school had to be renovated, the province and the school division would have to split the costs evenly.

Mihychuk also said

Greenway was not a unique structure. There are seven such schools from the era still in use by the division and Greenway by far was the worst off, she said.

Safety

The school division also had the support of the community to tear down the school. Parents' spokesperson Ana Vernaus said practicality had to outweigh sentimentality on the issue. The 603 children deserved a modern and safe school, she argued.

Coun. Amaro Silva (Daniel McIntyre), who represents the area in question, said city council must take note of the community's wishes.

A former student at Greenway himself, Silva said the city should not use the children as pawns in a dispute with the province school renovations are funded.