

**Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning For Winnipeg's Exchange District**

BY

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

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Department of City Planning  
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**Of**

**MASTER OF CITY PLANNING**

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## **Abstract**

The Exchange District is a historic warehouse district in downtown Winnipeg, Manitoba. It is considered by many conservation professionals to be one of the finest collections of intact turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup> century industrial architecture in North America. Economic growth in the area has been slow, resulting in few development pressures. Consequently, many of the buildings retain their original character-defining elements because of the lack of pressure to redevelop. Initial revitalization strategies made positive contributions to the area; therefore the Exchange District's current profile as a fashionable, cultural hub is increasingly aiding in its redevelopment, albeit potentially at the expense of its heritage character.

The City of Winnipeg currently has no statutory management plan to guide sympathetic adaptive reuse and infill development for the district. As a result, the heritage values and character-defining elements (on which the district's national historic designation rests) are threatened. Focusing a planning strategy on heritage conservation alone will not address concurrent long-term goals of economic sustainability and community diversity; these characteristics are critical to the appreciation and protection of the district's heritage resources and cultural character.

This project will explore integrated heritage conservation planning and its application to the maintenance of the Exchange District's heritage resources and character. Integrated heritage conservation planning practice views heritage conservation policy alongside those policies that govern economic and social sustainability in a historic district.

# **1 Chapter One: Introduction**

## ***1.1 Introduction***

As globalization pits city against city in competition for attracting business and culture, the innovative management of the urban historic environment is a pertinent issue. Historic districts are at the core of most cities in Canada and while some stakeholders may perceive heritage designation as slowing development in this fast-paced urban world, conserving cultural built heritage is central to a city's identity. This thesis explores the degree to which integrated heritage conservation planning can fuse the heritage resources of the past with present solutions for the future of a diverse Canadian society.

This project is concerned with the integration of heritage conservation into conventional neighbourhood planning within the context of Winnipeg's Exchange District. I have explored post-modern planning and heritage conservation theory to better understand integrated heritage conservation theory for which little scholarly literature has been written. After a description of the Exchange District to place it in context, I explore case studies from British, American, and Canadian cities where integrated heritage conservation planning has been applied. Considering all this background research, I conducted a focus group and key stakeholder interviews to gain a sense of their values regarding the District. Based on these findings, I conclude with an examination of the issues facing the District and an exploration of the value of integrated conservation to Winnipeg's Exchange District.

Integrated heritage conservation planning, or integrated conservation, observes heritage conservation as a primary purpose of urban planning while maintaining economic and social sustainability. The concept of integrated conservation took form in

the 1970s in Europe when documents such as the Declaration of Amsterdam and the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage outlined its principles. Integrated conservation is the point at which the discipline of heritage conservation meets contemporary urban planning, being the next step in the evolution of heritage conservation planning. While there are practical examples of integrated conservation and a significant body of literature on technical conservation practices as well as a growing number of studies on place, there needs to be more exploration of a theoretical framework for the subject of integrated conservation.

Integrated conservation is in practice in many British, American and Canadian cities, though it may not go by that name. In fact, as we will see, the absence of a common language among practitioners, stakeholders and theorists is a recurring source of difficulty in these efforts. One of the most recognizable rubrics under which integrated conservation is practiced is the historic district designation. This designation protects not only historic buildings, but historic urban form, landscapes, and street patterns.

The three nations approach integrated conservation differently as a result of the difference in laws, urban form, and planning history. In Chapter 5, a study of various cases from the United Kingdom (UK), United States (US) and Canada will be used as a source of lessons that can be applied to Winnipeg's Exchange District.

The Exchange District is a historic warehouse district in Winnipeg, Manitoba, located north of the downtown core. Considered by many conservation professionals to be one of the finest collections of intact turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial architecture in North America, it has remained so as a consequence of limited economic growth in the area. Many of the buildings retain their original character-defining elements, but without

a plan, there is no way to ensure the economic rebirth of the area will be sensitive to the architectural heritage.

The area has been experiencing a transition from an industrial and commercial district to a mixed-use neighbourhood for the last 30 years. The commercial activity has shifted from that of mainly manufacturing industries to creative commercial industries, entertainment and educational institution. The more recent increase of multi-family residences is changing the use of many of the historic warehouse buildings as well as emphasizing the need for local amenities and services. Private developers are conducting the majority of housing developments, setting the price point for higher income households. Initial revitalization strategies have had positive impacts; therefore the Exchange District's current profile as a fashionable, cultural hub is increasingly aiding in its redevelopment, but potentially at the expense of the heritage character.

Presently, The City of Winnipeg has no management plan to guide the evolution of the District. As a result, the heritage values and character-defining elements are threatened. Taking an integrated conservation approach that encompasses the collaborative practices of post-modern planning will ensure the continuance of the Exchange District's heritage character and its unique place within the cityscape.

## ***1.2 Organization of the Thesis***

This project will explore an integrated heritage conservation planning approach to maintain the Exchange District's heritage resources and character. Chapter 1 explains the structure of the thesis by outlining the problem statement, key research questions, and objectives along with research methods, biases, limitations of the research, and organization of the document. Chapters 2, 3, 4 set a theoretical framework for the

project. The first of the theoretical chapters is a view of relevant literature on city planning theory and Sandercock's post-modern planning practice. Chapter 3 addresses heritage conservation theory and its relationship to city planning. The fourth chapter explores integrated heritage conservation planning and its supporting theories. In Chapter 5, I explain the background of the Exchange District to set the context in which to apply the lessons learned in Chapter 6. Case studies of British, American and Canadian integrated conservation planning approaches for historic districts are distilled into lessons that are applicable to the planning of Winnipeg's Exchange District. Chapter 7 discusses the analysis of data gathered from a focus group and key stakeholders interviews in order to gain a sense of the values regarding the District. Finally, in Chapter 8, I make recommendations for an integrated heritage conservation planning approach for Winnipeg's Exchange District.

### ***1.3 Problem Statement***

Winnipeg currently has no statutory management plan to guide adaptive reuse and infill development that is sympathetic to the heritage character of the Exchange District. As a result, the heritage values and character-defining elements, on which the District's national historic designation rests, are threatened. Focusing a planning strategy on heritage conservation alone will not address the long-term issues of economic sustainability and community diversity; these characteristics are critical to the appreciation and protection of the District's heritage resources and cultural character. Planning initiatives in the past have been specific to either economic development or heritage values. The new downtown zoning by-law for the area brings an added dimension of residential needs and priorities. All these interests are moving

independently of one another without a common vision of the Exchange District. The Exchange District is not only a historic sector but also one of the most mixed-use and culturally alive areas of Winnipeg where increased collaboration and communication would benefit all groups.

This research was undertaken in order to determine how best to foster such a collaboration. To do so, it was first necessary to identify the stakeholders in the ongoing conservation and growth of the Exchange District, and to answer some key questions.

#### ***1.4 Key Research Questions***

This research will explore answers to the following research questions:

- What tensions currently exist between heritage conservation and property redevelopment in the Winnipeg's Exchange District?
- How can these tensions be mitigated by an integrated planning approach to the Exchange District?
- What practices will best protect the heritage values and character-defining elements of the Exchange District while accommodating the economic and social health of the city?

#### ***1.5 Objectives***

This study will investigate the value of an integrated heritage conservation planning approach to Winnipeg's Exchange District, specifically to balance redevelopment pressures and heritage issues.

The objectives of this project are the following:

- identify types of hindrances to sensitive redevelopment of heritage resources within the Exchange District;
- investigate the value of integrated heritage conservation planning to the planning process for the Exchange District; and
- identify best practices and policies for integrated heritage conservation planning for historic districts from other Canadian, American, and British cities that may have application in the Winnipeg context.

### ***1.6 Research Methods***

The research methods for this project include gathering information from both primary and secondary sources. The research is analyzed according to a constructivist paradigm, basing much of the inquiry on qualitative study of a variety of sources from which to build feasible conclusions (Guba 1989,158).

The primary research focuses on the following themes:

- current perceptions of the District;
- identification of issues, opportunities, needs and priorities; and
- future vision for the District.

The primary research was gathered through three methods: focus group, key informant interviews, and primary document interpretation.

The secondary research focuses on themes such as:

- urban planning theory
- heritage conservation's history; and
- integrated heritage conservation planning theory and practice.

These themes were explored through written scholarship and electronic means to construct a theoretical background on which to build primary research findings.

The analysis of the research concentrates on assessing the potential tensions that may exist among the various stakeholders' perceptions of heritage conservation issues and redevelopment and to what degree integrated heritage conservation planning may be able to mitigate these tensions (Del Balso, 255). Finally, my conclusions offer recommendations for maintaining the heritage character of the Exchange District while encouraging sensitive redevelopment.

#### **1.6.1 Focus Groups**

The method of conducting a focus group was chosen for several reasons. Fundamentally, it was chosen to clarify the key values, goals and vision of stakeholders in the Exchange District. Secondly, the focus group was conducted to initiate discussion among interested parties to create a collaborative environment for subsequent planning initiatives. Finally, a focus group often creates a social learning environment in which new ideas and approaches are explored; whereas an individual interview would not foster the same synergy (Krueger and Casey, 2000). As such, the focus group, in which individuals with potentially competitive interests meet face-to-face and discuss their needs, constitutes action toward fostering collaboration as well as research.

The focus group, which consisted of nine of the ten individuals invited, was conducted on April 6, 2004 for the duration of one and a half hours. The common tie amongst the participants was their vested interest in seeing the character of the Exchange District protected for various reasons. The participants were chosen for their experience in their fields as well as their involvement with organizations that influence the direction

of the Exchange District, including heritage conservation professionals from the three levels of government and the business community, in addition to municipal and development representatives. This focus group did not include residents or the public because the purpose of the focus group is to identify the key values and features that require protection in the Exchange District from the perspective of secondary level involvement.

While the focus group was a useful exercise in initiating community-building and refining the topic and goals of this work, the primary research method was the key informant interview, chosen because participants often speak more frankly when in a one-to-one situation. Sixteen semi-structured interviews, which ranged from thirty to ninety minutes in duration, were conducted in January and February 2006 with interested individuals and parties. These included city officials, area residents and heritage conservation professionals, property owners, real estate developers, the business improvement zone (BIZ) organization, and long-term business tenants (Zeisel, 1981). Individuals or groups have been interviewed about their perception of redevelopment and heritage needs as well as their priorities within the Exchange District (See Appendix A for sample questions).

The data gathered from key informant interviews was analyzed for and interpreted into common themes around the topics of values, barriers, and vision for the District. These topics have been read reflexively and integrated with the knowledge gathered from primary policy research and focus groups along with secondary research to conclude in recommendations for planning in the Exchange District.

### **1.6.2 Survey of Precedents**

The primary policy research consists of case study research on three heritage planning documents. They were investigated according to the following:

- Location
- Background
- Process and Goals
- Administration and Implementation
- Best Practices

The cases were chosen because of their similar urban form, location, historic land-use, statutory status, and integration of heritage conservation and neighbourhood planning process and principles. Case studies are investigated to shed light on practices and policies that can inform a planning approach for the Exchange District. Sites in the UK, the USA, and Canada have been explored.

### **1.6.3 Literature Review**

A literature review will be presented in Chapter 2, 3, and 4. This draws on scholarly journals, published books, websites and planning documents (such as past and present zoning by-laws, historic building files, strategic action plans, design guidelines, interpretation strategies, a Commemorative Integrity Statement, and statutory charters).

### **1.7 Biases and Limitations**

As in any research project, my personal assumptions, biases and values greatly influence my approaches to the research. For the sake of honesty, I will outline the more obvious biases and limitations:

- Heritage conservation should be a central value to a city as it is a significant factor in its overall health and identity.
- Municipal government's primary role is to promote a high quality of life for its residents; therefore it is government's responsibility to take the leadership in safeguarding cultural resources.

These biases have not fallen from the sky, but are a result of my upbringing as well as my work experience with Parks Canada and the City of Winnipeg, Heritage Unit. I worked for Parks Canada for approximately seven years in various roles regarding heritage conservation, protection, and presentation. More recently, during 2004-2005 I was employed by the City of Winnipeg as an urban planning intern. I assessed various planning options for the Exchange District and other historic Districts.

Regarding limitations, the demographic information is now five years dated, which will make a difference in the assessment of the area. In general, there is little empirical data available by which to measure the growth or decline of the area; most of the data available is anecdotal, but it is difficult to find facts to support some of the assumptions made by the interviewees. While it is difficult to quantify the benefits of heritage conservation, I have made the assumption that there are social, economic, and ecological benefits.

## **2 Chapter Two: Overview of Planning Theory**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The overview of planning history briefly outlines the development of planning theory and its consequent effect on urban form and attitudes to built heritage. This discussion provides background to understand why present attitudes to heritage conservation differ in the three nations (United Kingdom, United States and Canada) and in what ways they are similar.

The discussion then moves to contemporary post-modern planning theory, focusing on Leonie Sandercock's principles of post-modern planning. According to Peter Hall (2000), the past century of urban planning history can be organized into four categories of roughly 25-year durations. The first 25 years covers the optimistic time from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the First World War. The next period features the social disillusionment of the interwar years to the end of the Second World War. The third period, from 1948 to 1972, explores the massive rebuilding and technology boom following the war. From 1973 to the present time, planning theory has shifted along with the values of western society. While Hall himself states that these are not tidy categories (since developments in planning theory have spanned the entire century in some cases), these categories help us understand the social and economic influences on intellectual thought and resulting management of urban form.

#### **2.1.1 1898-1922: Optimism in Social Development**

Key players in the establishment of modern town planning lived and worked in Britain (Hall, 2000), where they frequented each other's lectures and attended the same conferences. Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard, and Thomas Adams addressed major

questions about overcrowding, housing, and social dysfunction; yet these concerns were not solely found in the UK, but across North America and Europe as well (Hall, 2000).

In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published his work, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, effectively starting the discipline of modern planning theory, according to Peter Hall (2000). Howard is best known for his Garden City movement that created new satellite cities around major centres, organized to alleviate crowding in the Victorian industrialized city. Using the relatively new technology of mass rail transit, Howard's plans called for the decentralization of the city throughout a region, which would influence urban form for the rest of the twentieth century.

It was Patrick Geddes, a Scottish naturalist and social evolutionist, who recognized the link between a city's people, its form and its region. He saw the social interchange of people as intrinsically connected to their physical environment and social development. Geddes' point of view privileged ideas about the linear progression of society looking to the past to understand the present and also what to expect in the future. Historic aspects of the city were understood as invaluable to unlocking understanding of the next steps in a society's progression (Meller 1980).

Howard's physical plans and Geddes' social evolutionary work responded to the urban problems brought on by the second wave of the industrial revolution in the 1850s. Over the intervening 50 years, there was unprecedented urbanization of the workforce. Consequently, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, cities in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States experienced appalling health conditions due to crowding and poor housing. Much of the planning initiatives undertaken in these countries arose from medical health concerns to fight outbreaks of disease in the slums. These conditions,

partnered with the prevailing attitudes regarding social development, brought about a concern for the morality of a city's citizens. The two ideas of health and physical environment were viewed together as determinants to the general moral success of a city (Armstrong, 1959; Freestone, 2000; Hall, 2000).

In Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier introduced an act to establish a Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources in 1909. The commission covered an array of areas, from experimental farming to waterpower to natural parks and game reserves. Two important disciplines the Commission oversaw were federal health service and housing and town planning. It is from these same roots that heritage conservation, through the natural conservation movement (and eventually the formation of Parks Canada) and urban planning developed in Canada. Central to the success of the town planning aspect of the Commission was the invitation of Thomas Adams from England to counsel the Commission (Armstrong, 1959). Adams was instrumental in fostering an understanding of town planning techniques in response to the health and social problems Canadian cities were experiencing.

Prior to and as a result of the First World War, there was a strong sense of national identity. Canada, in particular was just coming into its own as far as national identity was concerned as well as having some substantial numbers in population. Hodgett is quoted as saying, "population is our most valuable national asset" in the general proceedings of the Commission (Hodgetts, 1915, p.27 in Armstrong, 1959, p.18). A strong and healthy population meant the continuation of the nation.

Planning during this era was inextricably linked to housing reform and its accompanying social problems of disease, crime and poverty (Armstrong, 1959; Hall,

2000). The prevailing attitude was that of optimism, a belief in social reform based on a scientific approach, and an appreciation of the potential for humanity to improve living conditions. The technology of the railway made possible plans to decentralize large cities and repopulate rural areas. The urbanization of the population necessitated its physical organization within the city, as Dr. Hodgetts of the Commission for Conservation stated:

There are two important factors in the question of national conservation, the physical and the vital. The former relates the protecting of our land, our forests, our minerals, our waters, our sunlight, our fresh air; the latter, to the prevention of diseases, to health and to the prolongation of life. In housing and town planning we are dealing with most of the former and all of the latter (Hodgett, 1912, 50ff in Armstrong, 1959, 16).

There was no question of integrating physical form, ecology and social welfare; these were already seen as vital factors in a nation's overall health.

### **2.1.2 1923-1947: Utopian Ideals**

The response to the social problems of the early part of the century was to create a new city form that would naturally foster healthy citizens. Physical determinism and utopian ideals drove the works of Howard, Geddes, Wright, and Le Corbusier (Fishman, 1997; Collins, 1970; Hamer, 2000, 199), along with decentralization. Modernism and Bauhaus' "starkly functional" style would factor into urban design (Hall, 2000, p.25) as would the technologies developed for the First World War.

The attitude towards planning became very rational and technical in light of the war. Hall writes of the European approach to housing needs:

The predominant form was long, generally straight terraces of houses or apartments, typically based on walk-up access and so between three and five storeys in height, surrounded by mainly collective open space, and with predominantly straight or modestly curved streets. It was a deliberate reaction against the picturesque neo-vernacular style of the earliest garden cities and suburbs (Hall, 2000,p.25).

Hall suggests that this form was not as prevalent in England; rather England and America looked to mass transit to connect suburbs to the city, either through subway construction or above-ground streetcars in small centres. However, the response to housing needs differed between the two. England remained faithful to Howard's vision of the garden city and also to government pattern books that dictated how much of the housing would be built. US and Canada brought in legislation to improve building codes and zoning, thereby improving housing standards. It was also more common for owner-occupation to occur in North America (Hall, 2000, p. 25), where real estate was more affordable. While many of these utopian ideas were hatched during the war years, their influence manifested later in the post-war rebuilding.

### **2.1.3 1948-1972: Rebuilding and Expanding**

The conditions of middle of the twentieth century were ripe for the theories of the first half of the century to be put into practice. The time following the Second World War was one of such disillusionment with former social ideals that there was no desire to remember failures of the past, so all things new were valued (Hamer, 2000).

In the UK in particular, there was considerable rebuilding to be done after the war, whereas Canada and the US were more concerned with finding housing for the returning troops and the subsequent baby boom. As a result of the devastation of the two World Wars, faith in humanity and its intrinsic goodness to ameliorate society shifted to faith in engineering and rationality to construct communities. Perhaps as a reaction against the World Wars and the ensuing Cold War, the climate of planning during this era was one of top-down control of public administrators with little citizen involvement or private planning. Hall writes, "The underlying assumption was that this was all part of a comprehensive programme to create a welfare state, administered by well-meaning public professionals – invariably, architect-planners – with little involvement either from the private developer, or from the ordinary citizen" (Hall, 2000, p. 26).

The UK put Howard's garden city vision into practice in light of the need for housing after the war. Cities such as Stevenage and Hatfield were constructed, followed by Milton Keynes and Peterborough later in the same period. In fact, twenty-eight new towns were constructed in the UK during this time (Hall, 2000, p. 27). Since many of the industrial cities were badly bombed in the war to slow production of war supplies, industries could be more easily transferred to these new cities along with the new industries growing as a result of the population boom. If there was any time ripe for such a shift in the urban landscape, the post-war period was it.

As in the UK, US planning employed a top-down approach. This approach allowed the implementation of urban renewal and slum clearance programs of the US, which displaced whole sectors of the lower income strata. The communities that were undergoing urban renewal were frequently ethnic minorities. Often there was little

conversation between the professional planners and the community for whom they were planning. The urban renewal schemes were intended to improve the city by tearing down derelict buildings and reconstructing housing and commercial properties. The result was a segregation of ethnic minorities in publicly-built neighbourhoods in the inner city and white suburbs to the exterior (Hall, 2000, 27).

In addition to the social upheaval such programs caused, urban renewal schemes resulted in a great deal of urban built heritage being lost. Usually the inner city is the oldest part of the city. Unless buildings are properly maintained as they age, the property values decline, resulting in lower-income inhabitants. Rather than rehabilitate derelict or compromised buildings and landscapes, these schemes called for their complete demolition and new construction. Jane Jacobs' seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, draws attention to the importance of maintaining older districts of a city in the maintenance of community (Jacobs, 1961; Hamer, 2000). This volume encapsulates the sentiments of grassroots groups and point to a shift in planning values in the next period.

#### **2.1.4 1973-present: Shift in Values**

The last quarter of the century marks a distinct change in public values and planning practice. Hall sets out three planning themes that emerged during this period: bottom-up planning, environmental concerns, and adaptive urban change. This was largely as a result of the political and social changes brought about by the 'baby boomer' generation that "rejected many of the values of its parents" (Hall, 2000, 29-30). Civil rights issues came to the fore as a response to the large-scale reorganization and marginalization of minority groups in the midst of urban renewal. All these social and

political changes were occurring in the midst of an economic shift from a manufacturing-based economy to an information-based economy throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

The social upheaval resulted in a complete flip in planning approach. Rather than planners making decisions based on rational comprehensive planning, planners now sought the perspective of the communities for which they were planning and acted as advocates to communicate with civic government (Bolan, 1967; Davidoff, 1965 cited in Hall, 2000). From here, rational comprehensive planning and other planning approaches that weighed heavily upon quantifiable data gave way to qualitative measures that give weight to collaboration and participation of all those involved in the planning process.

Also at this time environmental and cultural conservation interests grew. As suburbs and new towns were expanding into the countryside, there was new concern for protecting wilderness areas. Out of the same spirit came heritage conservation groups who were concerned with maintaining the heritage fabric and cultural communities in cities' downtowns (Hall, 2000).

The rehabilitation of urban areas has been the vehicle through which planners have addressed the concerns of maintaining communities, heritage fabric, and environmental or sustainable development. It has not simply been a means of fixing up derelict areas of urban centres, but of reinventing uses. The purpose of city centres has shifted from that of economic centre to one of entertainment and housing (Hall, 2000; Florida, 2002; Birch, 1984).

## ***2.2 Post-modern Planning Theory***

Post-modernism is an elusive term or movement to categorize, and in fact, its very nature goes beyond set boundaries. Philip Allmendinger spends at minimum two

chapters of his work, *Planning in Postmodern Times*, attempting a working definition for post-modernism. One of his definitions for post-modern is “a celebration of difference and a suspicion of foundation and truth” (Allmendinger, 2001, 24). The dialogue of modern theory versus post-modern theory and what Sandercock (1998) calls the ‘borderlands’ of planning in the context of heritage conservation planning is necessary to move forward into an exploration of integrated heritage conservation theory. Surprisingly, there is little written on the subject while many disciplines address similar issues in their literature.

Allmendinger (2001) writes that modern planning theory in the 1960s and 1970s followed two distinct, yet connected areas of theory: systems and rational approaches. The systems approach sought solutions by creating models through computer use and quantifiable data. Rather than design being central in planning, economics came to have more sway on decisions. Rational planning claimed to be ‘value-free’ because it was meant to be a ‘logical’ process. Consequently, it was the values of the planners and politicians than plans were based on, not pure rationality (Allmendinger, 2001, 94).

Rational comprehensive planning has been the prevalent planning paradigm for the past twenty years and is considered by many to be synonymous with modernist planning practice. Rational comprehensive planning attempts to make planning decisions through a reasoned and logical means based on predominantly quantitative data. Leonie Sandercock (1998) has distilled modernist planning, based on principles developed at the University of Chicago in the late 1940s, down to six “pillars”:

1. Planning – meaning city and regional planning – was concerned with making public/political decisions more rational. The focus, therefore, was predominantly on advanced decision-making; on developing visions of the future; and on an instrumental rationality that carefully considers and evaluates options and alternatives.
2. Planning was most effective when it is comprehensive. Comprehensiveness was written into planning legislation and refers to multifunctional/multisectoral spatial plans as well as to the intersection of economic, social, environmental and physical planning. The planning function was therefore said to be integrative, coordinative, and hierarchical.
3. Planning was both a science and an art, based on experience, but the emphasis was usually placed on the science. Planners' authority derived in large measure from a mastery of theory and methods in the social sciences. Planning knowledge and expertise were thus grounded in positive science, with its propensity for quantitative modeling and analysis.
4. Planning, as part of the modernization project, was a project of state-directed futures, with the state seen as possessing progressive, reformist tendencies, and as being separate from the economy.
5. Planning operated in 'the public interest' and planners' education privileges them in being able to identify what that interest is. Planners presented a public image of neutrality, and planning policies, based in positivist science, were believed to be gender- and race-neutral

6. Planning stood apart from politics, and was regarded as value-neutral (Sandercock, 2003, 33).

These pillars describe the prevalent approach to planning in Western cities for the last fifty years.

Regardless of the intent of modern planning to create an equitable system through rationality, Leonie Sandercock argues that many groups are marginalized because their strengths are not easily measured through quantitative means, and their knowledge is not recognized by the rational planning model. Sandercock writes of the need to recognize different stories and knowledges of the many cultures, ethnicities, and religions that “bump up” against each other as our world experiences globalization. These heritages are competing for a means of expression in the landscape. Sandercock essentially asks the question: do we need to compete or is there room for everyone to find their voice? Do we have the literacy to understand what is being said to us? Sandercock’s approach to planning is to include the many stories of the varied communities when considering future plans. In essence she is describing the mixing of a variety of heritages and recognizing them when creating new places, new chapters in existing stories (Sandercock, 2003).

The following list is Sandercock’s principles for Radical Postmodern Planning Practice, which answers the six modern planning principles outlined above:

1. Means-ends rationality continues to be a useful concept – especially for building bridges and dams – but we need greater and more explicit reliance on *practical wisdom*.

2. Planning is no longer exclusively concerned with comprehensive, integrated, and coordinated plans but more with negotiated, political, and focused planning. This makes it *less document-oriented and more people-centered; deliberative as well as analytical*.
3. There are different kinds of appropriate knowledge in planning. Local communities have experiential, grounded, contextual, intuitive knowledges, manifested through speech, songs, stories, and various visual forms (from cartoons to graffiti, from bark paintings to videos). Planners have to learn to access these *other ways of knowing*.
4. The modernist reliance on state-directed futures is not misguided – we cannot do without the state – but it is not the whole story either. Community-based planning, geared to *community empowerment*, is essential complement to and control over the hubris of top-down processes. But...
5. We also have to deconstruct both ‘the public interest’ and ‘community’, recognizing that each tends to exclude difference. We must acknowledge that there are *multiple publics* and that planning in this new multicultural arena requires new kinds of *multicultural literacy*. And...
6. Planning with multiple publics requires a new kind of democratic politics, more participatory, more deliberative, and also more agnostic. Planners, and planning activity, are embedded in these politics and therefore operate in conjunction with citizens, politicians, and social movements, rather than standing apart from them (Sandercock, 2003, 35).

Sandercock’s principles for practice seek to shift planning theory from its social-sciences focus to one that recognizes the epistemology of the communities for which

planners are creating plans. Post-modern planning celebrates the value of communication and the numerous and varied means by which we can communicate. By placing equal value on gaining knowledge through story, myth, and culture as well as scientific and quantifiable information, planning decisions can be made to address not only the physical realities of planning, but cultural and social realities that are shaping the cities in which we live. This approach to planning naturally enfoldes the values and principles of heritage conservation planning.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

Planning's history and Sandercock's approach set the practice for heritage conservation planning in the future. Planning theory and practice has moved away from only planning for the physical space of a city and now must consider the cultural and social needs of the people living within the neighbourhoods. Closely following the themes of social history throughout the past one hundred years, the planning overview describes how attitudes toward the built environment are linked to the management of the physical city. In the same way, heritage conservation has had to evolve its management of historic sites to reflect social values.

### **3 Chapter Three: Heritage Conservation Theory**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The shift from large-scale comprehensive plans to more localized neighbourhood plans occurred in the 1960s. It was during this scaling down of planning thought that historic conservation expanded its purview from historic objects, buildings and landmarks, to sites, districts and neighbourhoods. The two disciplines met over the planning of older neighbourhoods and the conservation of existing communities within them (Birch, 1984). Sandercock articulates the vision for a post-modern planning practice that has matured over the intervening 50 years. The focus on story, though relatively new to planning, has been central to the conservation movement, yet the question of whose story is one that both historians and planner alike are challenged to answer given the shifting perspectives of the post-modern, globalized world.

##### **3.1.1 The Umbrella of Heritage Conservation**

First, it is important to clarify the terminology of managing heritage assets. The main terms used in this discussion are *history* and *heritage* along with *conservation*, *preservation*, *restoration*, *rehabilitation*, and *reconstruction*. The understanding of each of these terms (as described below) helps place management approaches along a continuum of interventions for built heritage and the interpretation of history.

Jean Friesen writes of three kinds of history from which heritage is gleaned: remembered history, recovered history, and restructured history (Friesen, 1990, 193). Remembered history recounts oral traditions, folk songs, religious festivals and customs. Recovered history is history studied through investigation of articles such as archives, archaeological findings, photographs, ledgers, diaries, biographies, and artifacts. It

recognizes these articles as records of past events. While recovered history argues to be the most 'scientific,' it is often subject to contemporary worldviews in its interpretation. Restructured history is the history that is in essence an educated guess, a compilation of the remembered and recovered histories. This approach to heritage is common in heritage conservation planning practice (Friesen, 1990, 193; and Lewis, 1975).

Often history is seen as an objective version of the past, whereas heritage is viewed as a subjective recount; however, according to Leonie Sandercock, the objectivity of history is strongly questioned and 'official histories' are espoused to the exclusion of a multitude of groups and their 'unofficial' stories (Sandercock, 1998, 33; Roth, 2003, 397). Sandercock exposes archetypal plots found in history such as "the hero's tale, the rags-to-riches tale, the fall from grace, the effects of villainy, the growth to maturity, the Golden Age lost, the pioneer's tale, the stranger comes to town, and the young man leaves home in order to discover himself/make his place in the world/escape from the provincial straightjacket". For example, Anglo settlers to Canada tell their foundational history as a pioneer's tale, overcoming a new land and its challenges, while the First Nations of Canada view the story of Canada's nation-building as a Golden Age lost to the settlement of Europeans (Sandercock, 2003, 183-184). Both histories, in essence, are true, yet Canada's culture makes a value judgment through its policies and planning about the validity of each history. Parks Canada, the agency responsible for the protection and presentation of Canada's national historic sites, has issued policy to focus on the designation of women's history and ethnic groups (Parks Canada, 2004a), taking an official step toward telling various stories.

Heritage is a more nebulous term. Friesen uses it to mean, "the moral tale that

history offers” (Friesen, 1990, 193) When used by Parks Canada in the phrase, “heritage value” it means, “the aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present or future generations. The heritage value of a historic place is embodied in its character-defining materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings” (Parks Canada, 2003).

Heritage, according to these definitions, is not confined to material expression, but manifests physically in the form of an artifact, document, building, or landscape as well as through the immaterial means of skills, knowledge, story or custom.

According to Peter J. Larkham, heritage has taken a step beyond immaterial values to being understood as a process. Heritage is “neither history nor place; it is a process of selection and presentation of aspects of both, for popular consumption” (Larkham, 1996, 14). He quotes Schouten as writing, “Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity (Schouten 21 in Larkham, 1996, 14). Larkham’s point is that heritage is not an absolute, but a manufactured concept to achieve a set goal, such as placemarketing.

Once exploring the distinctions between history and heritage, there comes the question of their adjectival use. Historic preservation is a term used primarily in the US (Kennet, 1972, 13; Moore, 1998, xi; Murtagh, 1997, 12; Tung, 2001 3; Tyler, 2000, 15) to refer to what in Canada and the UK is deemed ‘heritage conservation’ (Larkham, 1996, 13; Parks Canada 2003; Friesen 1996, 193-194; ). However, in Parks Canada’s *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*, the glossary defines preservation as one approach to conservation, among restoration and rehabilitation. This meaning of preservation is found in the American literature as well, but referring to all

interventions as a means of historic preservation shows the philosophical preference towards preservation. William Murtagh and Norman Tyler, both historic preservationists, offer definitions of these terms that coincide with those of Parks Canada, for the most part, but they introduce the idea of *reconstruction* and Murtagh introduces the subcategories of *reconstitution* and *replication* (Murtagh, 1997, 12-13). This practice falls outside of Parks Canada's umbrella of conservation and is less common in Canada. The following definitions shed light on the terms regarding conservation as they will be used in this discussion:

- **Conservation:** all actions or processes that are aimed at safeguarding the character-defining elements of a cultural resource so as to retain its heritage value and extend its physical life. This may involve "Preservation," "Rehabilitation," "Restoration," or a combination of these actions or processes (Parks Canada, 2003).
- **Preservation:** the action or process of protecting, maintaining and/or stabilizing the existing materials, form and integrity of a historic place, or of an individual component, while protecting its heritage value (Parks Canada, 2003).
- **Reconstitution:** is the use of some of the original materials on a building's original site, but too few to consider it a heavy restoration (Murtagh, 1997, 22).
- **Reconstruction:** the act or process of reproducing by new construction the exact form and detail of a vanished building, structure, or object, or a part thereof, as it appeared at a specific period of time (Murtagh, 1997, 20)

- **Rehabilitation:** the action or process of making possible a continuing or compatible contemporary use for a historic place, or of an individual component, through repair, alterations and/or additions, while protecting its heritage value (Parks Canada, 2003).
- **Replication:** is a completely new construction based on research, drawings and archaeology, produced without the use of original materials or evidence of original craftsmanship, and possibly located on an alternative site (Murtagh, 1997, 22).
- **Restoration:** the action or process of accurately revealing, recovering or representing the state of a historic place, or of an individual component, as it appeared at a particular period in its history, while protecting its heritage value (Parks Canada, 2003).

Figure.1 below illustrates the continuum of heritage conservation.

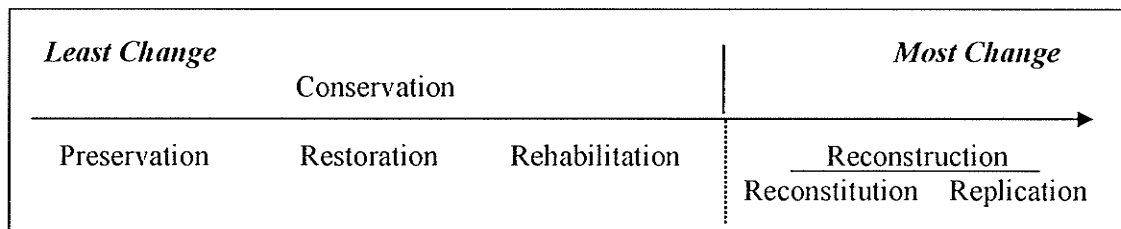


Figure 1. Continuum of Conservation

These terms are explored to mark the differences between approaches and meanings. For the purposes of this research study, historic preservation is considered one element of heritage conservation and is primarily concerned with maintaining historic structures associated with a specific story. Heritage conservation, however, casts a much broader net across landscapes, structures, skills and stories in an attempt to render the

past relevant to contemporary society. The language shows heritage conservation to be a technical pursuit that is primarily concerned with the physical and spatial aspects of the built environment. It appears that the discussion of 'what' and 'why' to protect a certain site is left to historians and social scientists. As the scope of heritage conservation increases, there will be a need to develop a vocabulary that gives insight into the protection and presentation of cultural identity and multiple histories through physical form.

### **3.1.2 Approaches to Heritage Conservation**

There is extensive literature on historic preservation from an American viewpoint; the majority of it is technical and assumes the primary value of heritage conservation is to retain as much of the original historic fabric as possible. The Canadian and British literature uses the language of heritage conservation and incorporates a slightly broader approach to heritage.

The two names most recognized in the literature as affecting the current philosophy of heritage conservation are the French architect Eugene Viollet-Le-Duc (1814-1879) and English conservationist John Ruskin (1819-1900). They are perceived to be at opposite ends of the conservation spectrum by Larkham (1996, 33). Viollet-Le-Duc is associated with a restoration approach to historic structures based on sound observation and scientific research. He viewed architecture of the past as a "teacher" of contemporary architects, who learn its lessons and apply them to current problems. Jukka Jokilehto quotes Viollet-Le-Duc from the eighth volume of his *Dictionary* with the following definition of restoration:

The term Restoration and the thing itself are both modern.

To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time (Viollet-Le-Duc in Jokilehto, 1999, 151).

Based on this definition, it is commonly perceived that Viollet-Le-Duc justified an approach to conservation that remakes historic structures with current technology and materials available, replacing much of the original fabric. He placed the value of the building in the intent of the architecture and not in its material and construction (Jokilehto, 1999, 152; Murtagh, 1997, 16; Taylor, 2000, 18-19). Consequently, old buildings, once restored, looked new and the defects in material or workmanship were replaced with the best technology of the time to fulfill the perceived intent of the designer. Many of these buildings were symbols and monuments of society and the perspective was that the buildings should be maintained with the skills current to society's knowledge. Viollet-Le-Duc is attributed to being the one who established the profession of heritage architects and the study of heritage conservation (Jokilehto, 1999, 152).

In contrast, John Ruskin led the conservation movement in England by his writings. Two of his works, *The Stones of Venice* and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* are the basis for current conservation guiding principles and values (Jokilehto, 1999, 174; Taylor, 2000, 21). Ruskin rallied strongly against the restoration approach of Viollet-Le-Duc, declaring,

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed... Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end (Ruskin in Jokilehto, 1999, 175).

Ruskin's approach was to let a structure show its age and fall to ruins. Taylor writes that Ruskin "argued that a society has no right to improve, or even restore, the craftsmanship of another era" (Taylor, 2000, 21).

These two views fall to the extremes of the current conservation spectrum and focus a great deal on the historic materials and their treatment in the Western world. The approach to heritage conservation found in China and Japan focuses on the symbols and the techniques used to create their temples and historic sites. The stories, writings, and songs connected with a site are as important as, if not more so than, the historic fabric, since the predominant construction material is wood, which has a limited service life (Deakin, 2004; Roth, 2003, 415; Taylor, 2000, 21-22).

This non-material view of heritage conservation is currently challenging many Western views of material and architectural conservation in the post-modern age. The philosophical questions of heritage value and presenting multiple perspectives on history need to be addressed in heritage conservation literature. For the most part, the literature on historic preservation/heritage conservation follows from the influence of John Ruskin

with the scientific approach to compatible styles of Viollet-Le-Duc, when restoration is needed. Most heritage planning now incorporates the principles of the numerous charters and conference declarations in its practice, focusing on values and common goals among stakeholders.

### ***3.2 Value-Based Heritage Conservation Planning***

Heritage conservation planning has developed well-beyond the dichotomous view of Viollet-le duc and Ruskin. Numerous charters, declarations, conventions and conference documents from international bodies such as the Council of Europe, ICOMOS, and UNESCO have created frameworks from which to approach heritage conservation. These frameworks suggest more than pure heritage interests are relevant to cultural heritage; they also recognize social, political, and even economic values have bearing on heritage conservation.

Value-based management is the exploration of these various interests, or values, as a basis for decision-making regarding historic sites. According to Randall Mason, there is a 'multivalence' or 'aggregate of values' to cultural heritage. He uses the example of a church building to explain that there are spiritual, historical, aesthetic, economic and political values attached to such a site. He writes that this recognition, "logically suggests a pluralistic, eclectic approach to value assessment" (Mason, 2002, 8) and that recognizing heritage value need not denigrate other associated values.

Parks Canada approaches planning for its historic sites according to the Principles of Value, Integrity, Understanding, Public Benefit, Respect. The intent of such principles is to achieve the goals of value-based management, and identify value beyond the

physical material of the cultural resource. In particular, the Principles of Value in section 1.1.4 of the policy directly correlates to value-based management:

Cultural resources will be valued not only for their physical or material properties, but also for the associative and symbolic attributes with which they are imbued, and which frequently form the basis of their historic value (Parks Canada, 1994).

Furthermore, in section 1.3 of the policy regarding the Principle of Understanding, it reads, "Parks Canada will integrate the contributions of relevant disciplines in planning and implementing cultural resource management, and will place a particular importance on interdisciplinary teamwork"(Parks Canada 1994). These policies clearly display the intention of integrating values and skills to better communicate and understand the role of heritage within society.

Value-based management shifts the view of heritage conservation from that of strictly preserving the materials of art objects or sites to opening discussion around the values that form society, which in turn form society's view of cultural heritage. It recognizes the subjectivity of interpreting the story surrounding cultural heritage and that any physical interventions, though intended to be objective, are themselves making a statement of how material culture should be cared for in any given cultural context. While recognizing that this plethora of factors affect cultural heritage, value-based management builds an understanding of how to navigate and identify values, finding common values, and set a foundation for collaborative and integrated heritage

conservation planning. These values lead us to an understanding of the history, or stories, that constitute its meaning in the first place.

### ***3.3 Heritage Conservation in the Post-Modern Planning Milieu***

Story imbues heritage and history. Recent scholarship in history, heritage conservation, and planning has raised the concern about whose story is being told and whose story has been left untold (Dubrow, 1998, 57; Sandercock, 1998, 33; Roth, 2003, 397) in the existing practice of heritage conservation planning. For the most part in North America, 'official' history, historic sites and monuments recognize white, wealthy, European-descended men, leaving out the story of the women and ethnic minorities, not to mention gays and lesbians (Dubrow, 1998, 57). Parks Canada has issued policy to focus on the designation of women's history and ethnic groups (Parks Canada, 2004a), taking an official step to telling various stories, yet Canadian culture is still slow to recognize the contributions of women and marginalized people. CBC television aired a series named, "The Greatest Canadian" (CBC, 2004), in which all of the ten finalists were men and only one was a visible minority. The Canadian public voted who they believed deserved the title, nominating persons alive and dead. This profoundly indicates a lag in the initiatives to recognize marginalized histories between policy and the awareness of the culture.

The profession of heritage conservation has evolved to become more than protecting buildings, structures and monuments; the profession is also interested in conserving the stories of the people and their land. There has been a tremendous shift in how people relate to the built environment because of the increased mobility of a globalized workforce; therefore there is a shift in how they understand and communicate

their heritage. Globalization has resulted in a more itinerate society, one whose identity is not as strongly connected with its nationality. The individual functions at an international scale more often, so the nation-scale has become less significant. International affairs do not only take place between nations any longer, but between corporations, trade organizations, or religious groups. Consequently, monuments of national pride lose their power to provoke national patriotism.

Heritage conservation in the U.S. was originally a means of instilling patriotic pride in the people of America (Birch, 1984; Murtagh 1997, 12). Monuments and buildings were recognized for their role in American nation-building and held-up as reminders of the “foundational story” of the nation (Sandercock, 2004, 191). The ‘melting pot’ founding culture of America supported a homogenous view of American history and therefore of historic sites. This approach fostered a strong appreciation of historic buildings and sites, yet only in the context of one story. In Canada, the story is slightly different. The multicultural policy, or ‘cultural mosaic’ of Canada encourages the retention of one’s cultural identity, making the Canadian culture a mix of all. The majority of historic sites in Canada coincide with the European, nation-building story; yet the support and interest of the general public in these historic sites is markedly less than the U.S. It is somewhat troubling that these historic sites do not receive as much appreciation, yet it is understandable considering there is not one homogenous culture behind which the society focuses its attention. As Parks Canada broadens its mandate to recognize other stories through designation of sites and landscapes, there is potential for increased ownership and identity found within Canada’s historic sites and monuments (Parks Canada, 2004a).

The interests of heritage preservationists/conservationists were originally much narrower than they are today. In planning terms, heritage conservation would be considered a form of advocacy planning: a special interest group that lobbies for its point of view within the planning process. This was especially the case when conservation dealt mainly with single buildings or properties, but since conservation planning has expanded its scope, advocacy planning is a less viable approach. As a general statement, historic preservation started as the past time of society women, especially in the US. One of the motivating factors in preservation was to present a cogent story of the American Dream and its heroes to new immigrants coming to the US (Birch, 1984). In this context, the special interest group had a common story and a common culture on which to promote its interests. Conservation of cultural heritage now undertakes to express many cultures and many stories within the landscape, making the advocacy approach outdated and inefficient. The advocacy planning approach also explains in part the unspoken rift between physical planners and conservationists, since the original relationship set one against the other in competition for power rather than seeking common goals and values on which to base planning decisions.

Heritage conservation planners currently struggle to weave historic sites and districts into the undulating urban fabric of the cities around them. Where they were once only asked to consider the management of a single object, house, or collection in a museum, they are now asked to consider all the intricacies of a neighbourhood or city, including the many stories and cultures of a globalized society. Sandercock's (2003) new planning paradigm of post-modern planning can shed some light on how heritage conservation is evolving to respond to the cultural shift:

1. greater reliance on practical wisdom;
2. more people-centred planning;
3. recognition of different kinds of appropriate knowledges;
4. community empowerment;
5. acknowledgement of multiple publics with a multicultural literacy;
6. and more participatory, more deliberative and agnostic types of democratic politics (Sandercock, 2004, 24).

Current modernist planning practice, for the most part has been adapted for heritage conservation planning, but the field has adapted in certain ways.

The intention to have a greater reliance on practical wisdom is in response to modernist planning placing a higher value on what one knows more than what one can do. Heritage conservation as it is practiced with historic buildings, requires skilled technical trades to maintain and repair buildings. There is a shortfall of tradespeople who have the practical knowledge of these heritage trades (BBC, 2006). While the built heritage remains, the tacit heritage skills and crafts are no longer being practiced. The conservation of heritage buildings requires more than the retaining the result, but the conservation of skill and story.

The idea of focusing less on comprehensive plans and more on negotiating around people's needs can also be applied to heritage conservation planning. Protecting the built heritage and historic fabric of a building was once the most important outcome of heritage conservation. Deathly "accurate" reenactments and restorations of the 1970s and 1980s became more the focus rather than the overall message. With shifting the focus to

people and their experience of the heritage site, the story of the place has the chance to resonate with many different kinds of peoples and their similar stories.

The recognition of different kinds of knowledges is particularly important to an inclusive practice of heritage conservation. Much of the interpretation of heritage sites is based on recovered history. In the example of North America, it was the Europeans who had a written language, not the First Nations (who have a strong oral tradition). If only those stories from diaries, ledgers, and letters are told, than only the European story can be recounted. The oral tradition among First Nations still exists and recognizing these histories in connection with the cultural landscapes of Canada can help complete the story of the place. The belief that history could be a scientific discipline by using only that which is provable and based on recovered history has shifted to include oral stories and the collective memory of a community.

Community empowerment is the origin of heritage conservation. When a bureaucratic system threatens that which a community has identified as important to their story, their response has been to advocate for heritage structures. Often heritage districts are designated because a community requests it. As heritage conservation planning becomes more involved with the sustainability of a neighbourhood or city, the health and vitality of the community supporting the heritage district will directly affect the viability of its heritage structures.

The acknowledgement of multiple cultures has begun to take place in heritage conservation in Canada. As previously mentioned, Parks Canada has mandated that women's history, First Nation's history, and the history of ethnic groups be the focus of future commemorations. While these designations may identify the contribution of these

various marginalized groups, there still exists a need to create what Sandercock refers to as “multicultural literacy” (2003, 34). In the past, historic sites were meant to be one place that is significant to all Canadians. Now, there are multiple sites on multiple themes that are important to multiple groups, creating what Sandercock refers to as “silos of significance”. What Sandercock proposes is the interaction of “intercultural” understanding of various groups (Sandercock, 2003, 88). Each group has its own story and understanding of a good life, yet each is incomplete. The intercultural exchange of ideas and beliefs will help in the understanding of our heritage places.

The last principle has to do with how we practice planning in a political world. Modernist planning viewed itself as outside of the political realm. Sandercock’s principles recognize that this is unrealistic and that all planning necessarily must take place somewhere along the spectrum of a democratic government (Sandercock, 2004, 34-35). The majority of historic sites in Canada and the US tell of the political creation of nation, describing the story of those in political power. A great deal of Canada’s historic sites are owned by governments of various levels and the resources budgeted to them is significantly impacted by the political climate. It is naïve to think that history and whose history is told are apolitical issues. History itself is frequently the result of politics.

The biggest challenge to Canadian society is the intercultural literacy needed to appreciate and understand multiple, parallel and intersecting stories that are set in the same landscape and are continually being retold. Finally, the Getty Institute recognizes the shift from heritage as material to heritage as process:

Echoing a great deal of social science and humanities  
research on culture in the postmodern era, heritage should

be considered a very fluid phenomenon, a process as opposed to a static set of objects with fixed meaning. Building on this insight, heritage conservation should be recognized as a bundle of highly politicized social processes, intertwined with myriad other economic, political, and cultural processes (Avami, 2000, 6).

Heritage conservation planning has embraced some of these principles already. The specific outcomes and effectiveness of their application is yet to be seen.

### ***3.4 Tensions Between Heritage Conservation and Redevelopment***

The revitalization efforts of the 1960s and 1970s sparked the historic preservation movement in both Canada and America. Heritage conservation was one response to the demolition of older areas of the city in an attempt to revitalize the city with new development. The pressures of the economy and real estate markets threatened historic places or heritage neighbourhoods as they do today. As urban centres grow in size and status in the global marketplace, so do the tensions between heritage conservation and property development as restoration and revitalization projects cannot be excluded from the evolution of the built environment. The onus is often put upon those representing historic places to prove their value to a city, which will include its economic value. Fundamentally, the two questions to ask when faced with cultural heritage are: what to conserve and how to interpret it. This leads to questions of identity and authenticity interlocking with questions of tourism and economical viability.

#### *3.4.1.1 Economics, Transportation, and Tourism*

The question of economic development is ubiquitous when contemplating heritage conservation, especially when it involves entire historic districts. Often, these districts are in a state of decline or dereliction as a consequence of urban economic cycles. In the case of post-industrial sites, the entire economic reason for the district has to shift for it to survive and maintain its role within the city. The main reasons for the decline of heritage sites is that its original use has become obsolete.

However, there are strong arguments that historic conservation can be a driver for economic development and revitalization, creating jobs, tourism, and improved property values (Rypkema, 2003, 1; Mason, 2005, 5). That increased economic activity, if left unmanaged, can contribute to further degradation of the neighbourhood through increased traffic, gentrification, and a lost sense of identity for the community – as business and infrastructure are often geared toward the needs of tourists and economic growth, rather than residents or the cultural heritage.

Transportation needs are also often at odds with the values of heritage conservation. The increased use of the automobile not only puts pressure on roadways designed for much smaller vehicles, if any, but the need for parking, especially in downtown areas, puts pressure on derelict buildings to be torn down to create parking lots, for example. Widening roads for quicker passage with the resulting pollution dull the building facades and put pressure on the heritage landscape. Yet, without the proper infrastructure for contemporary economic activity, tourists can not get to the site or park their cars, they will not spend their tourist dollars and the rest of the city's economics are slowed, which indirectly affects the health of the heritage district.

Donovan Rypkema argues that “we are in the midst of changes in North America that will move towns and cities of all sizes from being driven by location economies to be driven by place economies” (Rypkema, 2003, 4; Florida, 2002).” By ‘location economy,’ he means the original reason why a city grew up in its location, whether by the sea for shipping or another natural resource such as coal mining. By ‘place economy’ he means the intangible qualities and atmosphere associated with a certain location that causes economic activity to happen there. In light of this shift, he argues that economically competitive cities “make a conscious effort to avoid cultural globalization” (Rypkema, 2003, 5) because “in economics it is the differentiated product that commands a monetary premium” (Rypkema, 2003, 9). In other words, no one will pay more for something which is the same as what one can get at a cheaper price elsewhere. Therefore, those cities that maintain and cultivate their heritage assets are architecturally and culturally distinct from other cities that do not, thereby attracting population and investment.

A significant industry that supports place economics is the tourist industry. What citizens value about their place has been more recently seen as an opportunity to attract tourism. This has the potential to evolve into ‘placemarketing’, the concept of promoting the experience of a place. In extreme cases, placemarketing has been compared to the Disney phenomenon, where the entire environment is constructed to convey certain feelings and atmosphere, but may not be entirely authentic. Playing upon ideas of nostalgia, customers are drawn to visit and shop in the area. While some see this as selling off the community values, J.A. Jackle suggests that tourists are better able to experience the qualities of a place than residents because tourism “involves the deliberate searching out of place experience” (Jackle, 1987, 8). This fits with current post-modern

attitudes that view a collection of experiences as more valuable than a collection of souvenirs. There is a fine line between the practice of placemarketing and a mandate to share the heritage presented in a certain place, but a large difference philosophically.

The integrity of a heritage site in the context of placemarketing is dependant on the goals of those marketing the area. If the intent is to educate and interpret the history of the site, often the same financial goals can be met as those who view heritage as a commodity to trade. Parks Canada's five Principles of Cultural Resource Management are necessary when maintaining an authentic quality of place in historic and heritage landscapes (Parks Canada, 2004b). In essence, these principles are a broad guide to protecting and presenting heritage values while not inhibiting their continued use or economic viability. The Commemorative Integrity Statement (CIS), (a document produced by Parks Canada) outlines those character-defining elements that must be retained in the midst of a site's evolution for it to retain its value as a heritage site. If these principles or character-defining elements are overlooked, what often occurs is the creation of a heritage-inspired place that borrows images, symbols, architectural features and even identities from other places, but its own story is cut short. It is in the rehabilitation or adaptive-reuse of buildings or sites where historic preservation, in the sense of keeping everything as it was, robs the future of telling its story through the built environment.

#### 3.4.1.2 Values: Identity, and Myth

While the conflict of economics versus culture is an obvious point of contention, it finds its source in the broader question of values; the value of identity and collective myths regarding heritage conservation areas. Values have the ability to align different groups around a common goal; yet they are more frequently found to be the source of conflict for the management of historic sites.

The reason why heritage designation was created was to safeguard identity, often national identity (Birch, 1984). The two ideas are symbiotic: identity is based on myth and myth perpetuates identity. 'Myth' in this sense, does not mean 'fiction', rather it is used in the way that Bruce Duggan used in his presentation entitled *Winnipeg: An Urban Myth?* (2006); myth is simply a narrative that is communicated through various media, at times based on fact, other times not, but it is a real and significant part of how a society is viewed and views itself.

Sandercock makes reference to the importance of identity and myth to one's understanding of the city in what she refers to as the City of Memory:

... memory, both individual and collective, is deeply important to us. It locates us as part of something bigger than our individual existences... Memory locates us, as part of a family history, as part of a tribe or community, as a part of city-building and nation-making (Sandercock, 1998, 207).

Memory, myth and story all contribute to a particular account of history, which is now considered by many scholars to be subjective (Dubrow, 1998, 57; Sandercock, 1998, 33;

Roth, 2003, 397) rather than an objective social science. Duggan relates that these myths can be benign or toxic, leading to greater civility or oppressing the society that tells and retells the myths to among its members. The stories have the power to move a city to believe itself powerful or beautiful, or to squelch progress by reiterating that nothing of importance has occurred there, creating a self-fulfilling prophesy that nothing ever will (Duggan, 2006).

Nevertheless, the landscapes and buildings tell the story of the people over time who have contributed to its present form (Cameron, 2000, 77). Historic designations recognize the power that history brings to a geographic location. For some the power is in the knowledge of his or her heritage, some in the ambiance, and some in nostalgia, but for all, the power is in the personal stories that it tells about identity.

The tension occurs when a decision must be made about what urban form, buildings, or architectural details, to protect as well as the means of conservation. Hienke Alberts writes, "Changes in political and economic conditions as well as in attitudes toward historic preservation are reflected in what is being preserved and which preservation methods are being used" (Alberts, 2005, 391). As buildings become obsolete for their original purpose, they become derelict if a similar or new use cannot be found. The degree of change that a society can bear or desires in its built heritage says much about the myths of the society, as well as who is in charge of making such decisions. Hamer writes that the political will causes cities to look at their urban heritage as a means of making a connection between the built heritage and urban identity (Hammer, 1998, 204-205). So the issue of what and how an environment is conserved is

shared with the tensions between a collective identity and individual stories within society.

There is potential for myth and identity to obscure the built form's own story, especially in the restoration of areas for economic development. M.C. Boyer writes of city 'tableaux', which are not unlike theatre sets, created to house the drama of the city. She writes that these tableaux "represent the past through filters – creating a mood through architecture" (Boyer, 1994, 190-191). Historicizing the landscape, she continues, is to "estrangle, to make different between then and now, between an authentic and simulated experience" (Boyer, 1994, 199). She goes as far as to write:

[City tableaux] 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 (Boyer, 1994, 189).

In the same way, Sandercock's focus on stories and various knowledges resounds with Boyer's thoughts by asking the question: "Whose story is being told?" This question is the constant question that faces heritage professionals and a society-at-large as it expresses its values through the myths and identity by what material heritage it retains and what is replaced.

### **3.5 Conclusions**

The theory of heritage conservation planning has expanded its scope within the last forty years from concerning itself with artifacts and small sites to entire neighbourhoods. Understanding the umbrella of heritage conservation and the associated terminology helps to articulate the different approaches to heritage conservation along a continuum from replication to preservation. As a result of heritage conservation's expanded role in city planning, tensions have occurred between economic interests and historic authenticity as well as the subjectivity of the history being presented. The establishment of a common language for heritage conservationists and planning professionals is essential for the two to integrate more readily.

## **4 Chapter Four: Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning Theory**

### ***4.1 Introduction***

Heritage conservation and conventional land-use planning started from a common interest in civic pride of place, but have largely run the course of the twentieth century separately down parallel streets. Integrated heritage conservation planning is not a new concept; it articulates the need for the integration of the two streams of planning to make the best decisions about the built environment and the quality of life for those living, working and visiting historic districts.

Though integrated conservation has been discussed in planning for the last 30 years, there is surprisingly little theory written about it. However, since the topic itself is multi-disciplinary, the theory of urban planning and heritage conservation will inform the theoretical framework for this study.

### ***4.2 Principles of Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning***

In 1975, the Council of Europe met at the Congress of Amsterdam, resulting in the documents of the Declaration of Amsterdam and the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage. These documents express the importance of Europe's cultural heritage to the world and to work toward its protection through integrated heritage conservation planning. They outline principles to combine heritage conservation with the process of urban and regional planning, while considering social, spiritual, cultural, and economic values. The documents also call for the participation of the whole of society in the roles of education, planning, legal and administrative measures in protecting the region's architectural heritage (Getty, 2004).

The Declaration of Amsterdam emphasizes the following considerations:

- Apart from its priceless cultural value, Europe's architectural heritage gives to her peoples the consciousness of their common history and common future. Its preservation is, therefore, a matter of vital importance.
- The architectural heritage includes not only individual buildings of exceptional quality and their surroundings, but also all areas of towns or villages of historic or cultural interest.
- Since these treasures are the joint possession of all the peoples of Europe, they have a joint responsibility to protect them against the growing dangers with which they are threatened – neglect and decay, deliberate demolition, incongruous new construction and excessive traffic.
- Architectural conservation must be considered, not as a marginal issue, but as a major objective of town and country planning.
- Local authorities, with whom most of the important planning decisions rest, have special responsibility for the protection of the architectural heritage and should assist one another by the exchange of ideas and information.
- The rehabilitation of old areas should be conceived and carried out in such a way as to ensure that, where possible, this does not necessitate a major change in the social composition of the residents, all sections of society should share in the benefits of restoration financed by public funds.
- The legislative and administrative measures required should be strengthened and made more effective in all countries.

- To help meet the cost of restoration, adaptation and maintenance of buildings and areas of architectural or historic interest, adequate financial assistance should be made available to local authorities and financial support and fiscal relief should likewise be made available to private owners.
- The architectural heritage will survive only if it is appreciated by the public and in particular by the younger generation. Educational programmes for all ages should, therefore, give increased attention to this subject.
- Encouragement should be given to independent organizations – international, national and local – which help to awake public interest.
- Since the new buildings of today will be the heritage of tomorrow, every effort must be made to ensure that contemporary architecture is of a high quality (Council of Europe, 2004).

This declaration recognizes the gaps in conservation and practice, setting out intentions and values that local authorities should consider when managing heritage assets.

During the same congress, the Council of Europe adopted the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage. These eight principles emphasize the need for a broader appreciation of heritage and its role in the health of contemporary communities:

- 1 The European architectural heritage consists not only of our most important monuments: it also includes the groups of lesser buildings in our old towns and characteristic villages in their natural or manmade settings.

- 2 The past as embodied in the architectural heritage provides the sort of environment indispensable to a balanced and complete life.
- 3 The architectural heritage is a capital of irreplaceable spiritual, cultural, social and economic value.
- 4 The structure of historic centres and sites is conducive to a harmonious social balance.
- 5 The architectural heritage has an important part to play in education.
- 6 This heritage is in danger.
- 7 Integrated conservation averts these dangers.
- 8 Integrated conservation depends on legal, administrative, financial and technical support.

While the principles from both these documents have been put into place in conservation throughout Europe, there is surprisingly little theory exploring their permutations.

#### ***4.3 Integrated Conservation***

Integrated conservation is simply an approach to planning that recognizes historic conservation as a key value in the planning process for a historic district. In essence, it supports that urban and regional planning ought to integrate architectural conservation with urban planning in historic cities. It recognizes the values of heritage beyond “bricks and mortar” and a greater understanding of a site’s context. Erica Avami et al writes:

As a field, we have come to recognize that conservation cannot unify or advance with any real innovation or vision if we continue to concentrate the bulk of conservation discourse on issues of physical condition. Conservation

risks losing ground within the social agenda unless the non-technical complexities of cultural heritage preservation, the role it plays in modern society, and the social, economic, political, and cultural mechanisms through which conservation works are better understood and articulated (Erica Avami, Randall Mason, Marta de la Torre, 2000, 6).

It encourages a sustainable approach where the social and economic needs of a community are considered alongside those of historic areas.

According to the Centro de Estudos Avançados da Conservação Integrada (CECI), integrated conservation planning considers the following:

- Integrated conservation is part of the general process of planning and management of cities and territories, according to a multi-referential perspective (economic, political social, cultural, environmental and spatial);
- It centers on (but does not limit itself to) the physical and spatial aspects of consolidated urban areas that are socially recognized as of cultural value and seeks to maintain integrity, authenticity and continuity of the urban areas of cultural value for present and future generations;
- It emphasizes the conservation of the physical and spatial aspects within the development/transformation process of the city, while seeking sustainable development by treating the cultural values of the city as assets that aggregate value in all dimensions of the development process (economic, political, social, cultural, environmental and spatial)

Integrated conservation benefits from the expertise of many disciplines such as landscape architecture, planning, transportation, archaeology, and business, to name a few. Each perspective has valuable knowledge on how heritage can contribute to the planning of a healthy city (CECI, 2004). I have come to understand integrated conservation as a heritage plan that has authority alongside or within statutory development plans.

Integrated conservation's roots come out of the overlapping of interests between land-use planners and heritage conservationists. Eugenie Birch and Douglass Roby suggest that the cooperation of the two interests rests in two connected concepts: "each movement's evolving definition of its function in American society, and the changing nature of public-sector involvement in urban development" (Birch, 1984, 194). The reshaping of the roles of each has caused planners and conservationists to redefine their scope. Birch and Roby write, "In the past fifty years, many planners have slowly narrowed their focus from analysis of regional and citywide trends to concentration on neighborhood efforts. During the same period, preservationists have broadened their agenda to include the conservation of urban districts and neighborhoods as well as isolated, individual structures" (1984, 194). The two disciplines "bumped" together first when neighborhood preservation and historical preservation were both threatened by urban renewal projects.

During the same time, governments started introducing heritage conservation protection into its laws, zoning and regulations for development along with joint funding programs. In the US, Birch and Roby argue that that federal government initiatives "contributed most substantially to joint efforts by planners and preservationists" (Birch,

1984, 195) through tax reforms, funding, and administrative practices. It is this consideration of funding housing needs, for example, and the rehabilitation of old neighbourhoods or warehouse conversions that shows the intent of integrated conservation.

Integrated conservation is different from rational comprehensive planning because it starts from the point of qualitative values, rather than quantifiable data. The historic value of a district is the primary lens used to address issues affecting the urban form and, possibly used as a means to solve economic and social concerns for an area. They both, however, place emphasis on the physical form. An integrated plan sets out exactly what is desired and expected in the area in regards to new construction, additions, alternations, landscapes, and streetscapes for any development in the district. Historic buildings have often been viewed as museum pieces and treated as anomalies within the urban landscape. This integrated approach changes the impression of historic buildings from obsolete hindrances, to useful contributions to the city.

Overall, integrated conservation takes a more holistic understanding of how the typical elements of a city, say, transportation, land-use and infrastructure, can affect the quality of the historic environment. The recognition of built heritage's contribution to future generations must necessarily be considered a part of the present urban fabric and processes. This brings the intention of providing atmosphere and quality of life for residents that a land-use plan seldom considers. Integrated conservation brings the reality of the changing needs of a city to bear on historic districts. As the second principle of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage states, integrating architectural heritage is "indispensable for a balanced and complete life."

#### ***4.4 Conclusions***

Integrated conservation, while not necessarily statutory, seeks to become part of primary development plans, which are generally legal requirements of planning districts. It is a far more holistic approach to planning for historic districts than previous heritage planning approaches that looked solely at the physical attributes of a historic site without understanding the broader social and economic influences. In light of the demand for new construction, redevelopment, and neighbourhood transition, the integrated heritage conservation planning method offers a strong model to address many of the threats and opportunities within Winnipeg's Exchange District.

## **5 Chapter Five: Context of Exchange District**

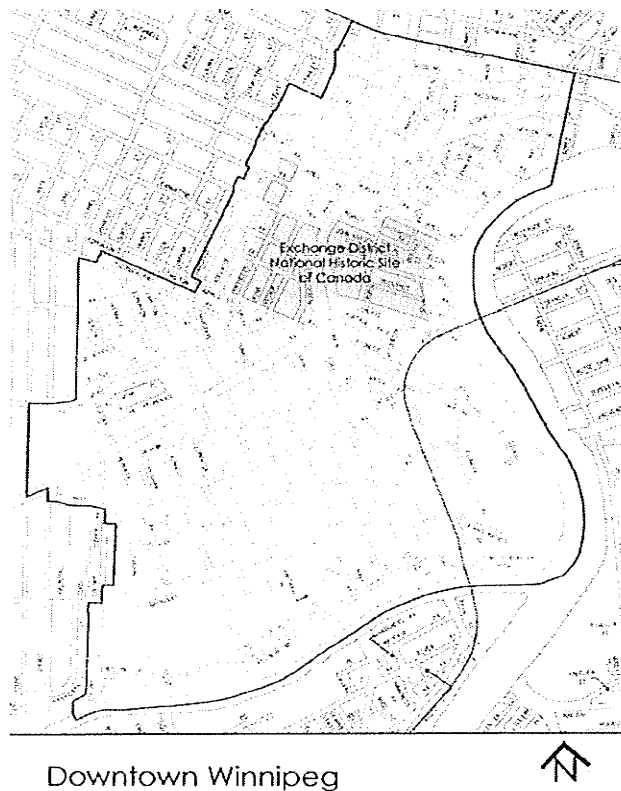
### **5.1 *Introduction***

The Exchange District is evolving from a commercial district to a heritage mixed-use neighbourhood. While there has been some residential presence in the area for many years, the area's recent popularity has caused an increase in the number of heritage warehouse conversions into residences. This type of dwelling and location appears to appeal to a certain population, namely single men or childless couples. This may be due to the perception of the area as unsafe, making it an undesirable place to raise a family. As well, the relative lack of green space and apartment living is often not the first choice of location for families. The demographics show that a high percentage of individuals who currently live in the area are well educated and rank at the top of the income scale. The mix of economic activity has shifted from that of manufacturing to creative commercial industries, entertainment, and boutique shopping. It functions as a mixed-use community, though it lacks amenities and social institutions.

### **5.2 *Geographic and Physical Context***

#### **5.2.1 *Location***

It is located north of Portage Ave and Main Street, west of the Red River, in the heart of Winnipeg's downtown. The Exchange District is a 20 block area of Winnipeg's downtown located to the north of the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Main Street bisects the District running north and south. Upstream on the Red River are industrial areas and downstream is the Forks National Historic Site.



**Figure 2. Downtown Winnipeg—City of Winnipeg**

### **5.2.2 Boundaries**

The boundary of the Exchange District has evolved over time. In 1978, the City of Winnipeg first recognized the Exchange District as a unique district in Winnipeg's downtown. The original boundary included only the west District and excluded those buildings along Main Street because it was feared the District designation would stifle economic growth. Through subsequent by-law amendments, the boundary of the District expanded to include the east side of Main Street to the edge of the Red River. In 1988, the Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-law 4800/88 recognized the area as 'Historic Winnipeg', which was then subject to design review by committee. Additional by-law

amendments and finally a new by-law describe the boundary of the District as it is understood today, which includes the new Red River College complex and excludes Stephen Juba Park and the Waterfront Drive developments.

According to the Exchange District Commemorative Integrity Statement (CIS), a document detailing the character-defining elements of historic value to the District, the boundary is based on Downtown By-law 4800/88. Since Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-law No. 100/2004 came into effect June 2004, the recognized boundary of the Exchange District, within which design review is conducted, has been replaced by a new boundary, one of the Character Districts of the downtown. This boundary is meant to reflect the urban form, rather politics (Werier, 1978) or the history of the development of the District. The previous by-laws excluded Main Street from the original designation because of political pressures. The waterfront was important as a transportation corridor before the railway, but no longer strongly represents the historic urban form. There is a boundary within this Character District denoted as the Exchange District National Historic Site, but it has no legal definition in the City of Winnipeg by-laws.

The Character District boundary encompasses slightly more land, buildings of post-1913 construction, and excludes a previously designated segment of the Exchange District along the river. Therefore, there is a discrepancy between the nationally recognized heritage district and the municipal character boundary. The CIS states that if the by-law is amended, the proposed changes are to be submitted to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) for reconsideration. Based on the new definition of the District, the status of the national historic designation comes under

question. In addition, the boundary of the Exchange District Business Improvement Zone, is not congruent with either of the previous two boundaries.

The multiplicity in boundaries shows the ad hoc planning of the area, and more importantly, the lack of collaboration among the national and municipal heritage bodies, the city planning department, and the business community of the area. This is one of the first indications that a common language for understanding the definition of the District is wanting along with the necessary collaboration to move the historic district into the future of the city of Winnipeg. The change in the Downtown By-law, however, affords the opportunity to open communication and to adjust the boundary to better reflect the story of the District as the many players understand it. For the purposes of this study, the boundary of the District found in the Downtown By-law 4800/88 that denotes the Exchange District National Historic Site has been used because it maintains the bulk of the District that exists within the many borders and it was the boundary recognized by the national historic designation.

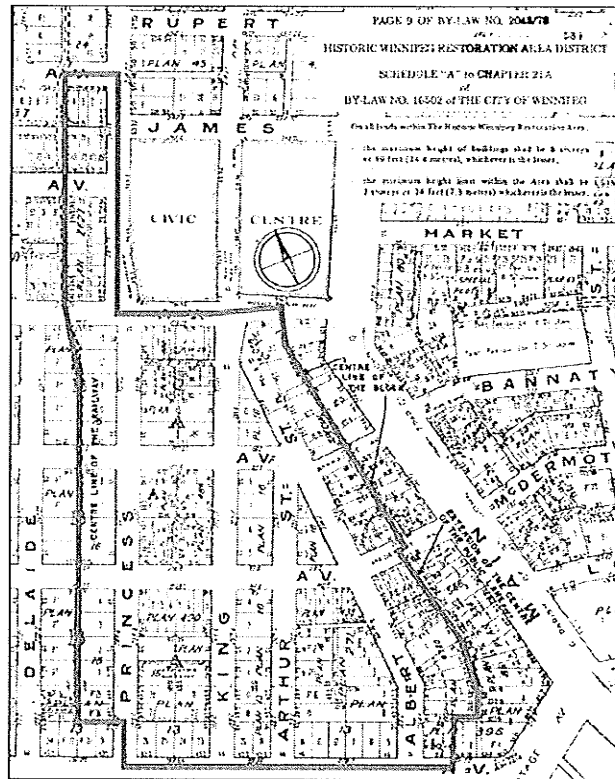


Figure 3. Exchange District Boundary 1978

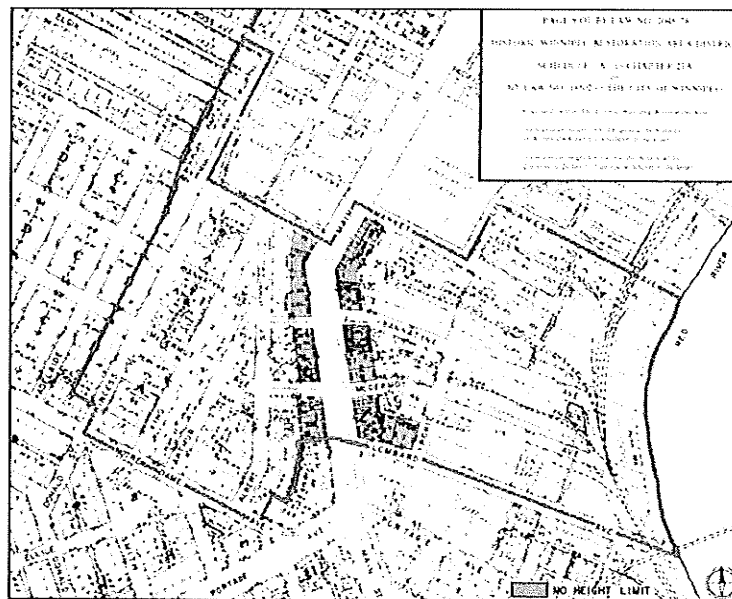


Figure 4. Exchange District Boundary 1986

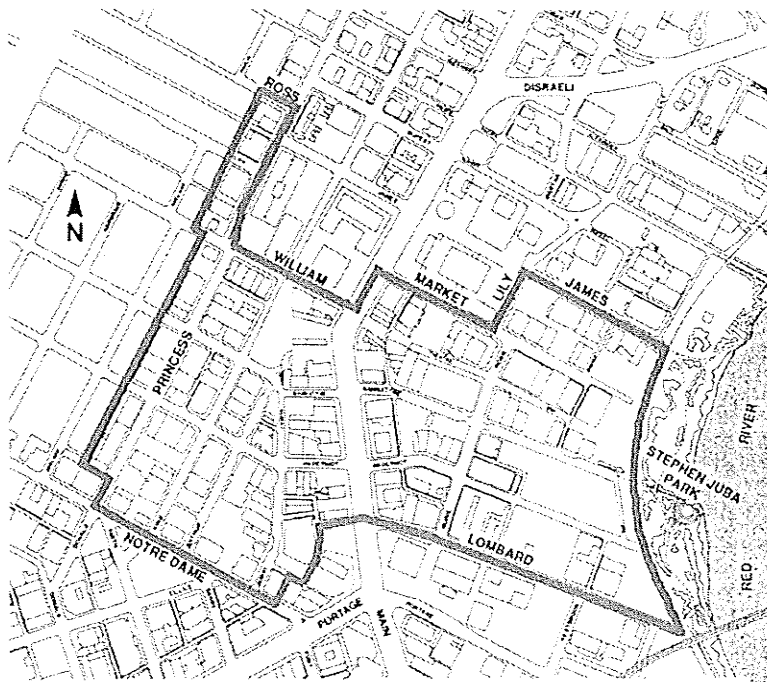


Figure 5. Exchange District Boundary 1988

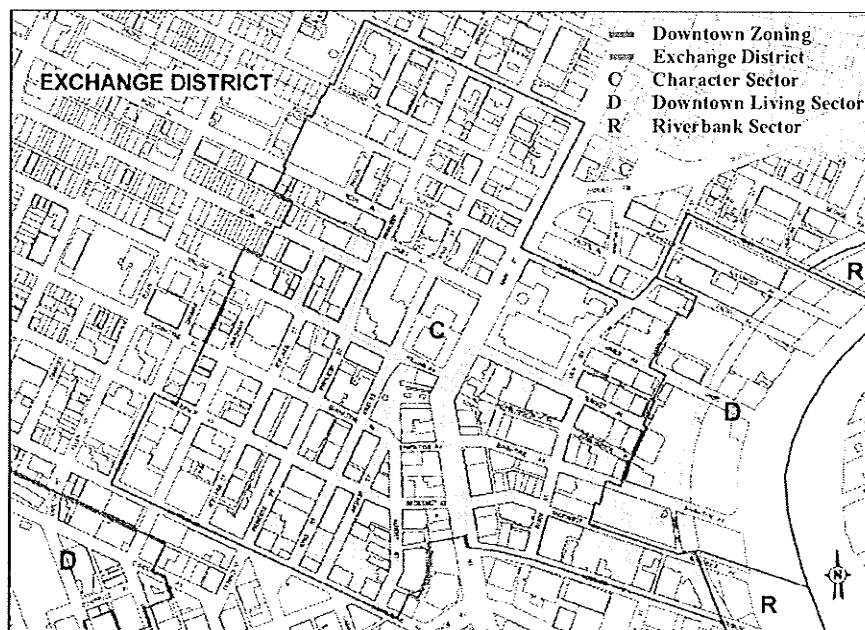


Figure 6. Exchange District Boundary 2004

### ***5.3 Physical characteristics***

The area's physical character is one of its most distinguishing features. Part of its designation as a national historic site is due to the concentration of buildings constructed prior to 1913 and the resulting streetscapes. The warehouses are large-massed buildings built out to the sidewalk and ranging between one to eight storeys. Although commonly thought of as the 'Warehouse District' this area also includes early skyscrapers, office buildings and a collection of institutional structures such as banks and corporate offices. The architectural style is a collection of Italianate, Neo-classical, Romanesque, Sullivanesque, Edwardian, Gothic Revival, and the Chicago School buildings. The articulation of these styles and the street patterns, which resulted from the railroads, set this area apart from the rest of Winnipeg's downtown. The remaining industrial details such as hydrolines, painted sign ghostings, fire escapes, and railroad tracks authenticate the experience of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial district.

### ***5.4 Historic Context***

The history of the Exchange District is fundamental in explaining its urban form, as well as how it has managed to retain a great deal of its historic character through the years to present day. It starts with the growth of Winnipeg and the opening of Western Canada to development and the story of the railroad.

Winnipeg's Exchange District was instrumental in the development of Western Canada because it was the transportation node through which manufactured goods, grain, and finance flowed back and forth from east to west across the nation. Once the transcontinental railway came through the city in 1881-1882, the pace of development accelerated. Consequently, it quickly became the largest city in the West. Winnipeg

entertained hopes of becoming the “Chicago of the North” as it appeared there were no bounds to its financial and architectural progress during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Exchange District boasts works by many of North America’s leading period architects whose clients were attracted to the bustling promise of Winnipeg. However, this ideal of becoming a thriving metropolitan hub never reached its potential.

The economic momentum slowed in Winnipeg when the Panama Canal was opened in 1914. It became less expensive to ship goods through the canal rather than by rail through Winnipeg. This change in shipping route, the social conflict of the 1919 Strike added to WWII and the stock market crash of 1929, all but halted Winnipeg’s growth. Low market rates and a sluggish economy are reasons why the warehouses of the Exchange District remain remarkably intact to the present day. It was designated a national historic site by the federal government in 1997 to mark its significant contribution to the settlement of the Canadian West.

### ***5.5 Planning Context***

The recent history of the Exchange District picks up the story years after the downturn in the economy following the stock market crash of 1929. The area steadily declined, while still maintaining factories and warehouses. In the early 1960s, Mayor Stephen Juba initiated an urban renewal plan, which resulted in demolishing the gingerbread-style city hall and market building to replace them with a new Civic Complex and Public Safety Building, as well as the Centennial Concert Hall and Manitoba Museum Complex across Main Street. The new construction failed to have the revitalizing effect on the adjacent warehouse district, since the vacancy rates continued to

rise while rental values declined, making it “viewed as an eyesore by most Winnipeggers” (Memo to Bernie Wolfe, 1980).

The area maintained its industrial uses, but the banking institutions shifted their focus to the properties surrounding Portage Avenue and Main Street, resulting in the closure of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in 1969. Following this, the Department of Environmental Planning published the *Historic Winnipeg Restoration Area* study in 1974. This study was the initiative that set the framework for the designation of the District as unique in history and urban form from the rest of Winnipeg. From that point, a national heritage lobby group, Heritage Canada, took note of the study and commissioned their own from the Manitoba Historical Society, publishing *Winnipeg's Historic Warehouse Area* in 1976. As a result, Heritage Canada offered to invest \$500,000 to create a historic district, on the condition that the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg made similar commitments.

These studies prompted the redevelopment of several properties in the area whose owners, along with existing business owners, created the Old Market Square Association (OMSA) to give a collective voice when speaking to the local government as well as promote the area. The OMSA started a farmers' market in the square that became quite successful until health regulations became its stumbling block. The OMSA lobbied the City of Winnipeg to improve the streetscaping and landscaping of the park to support the market and plans were being made to close Albert Street to create a pedestrian mall.

The concern for conservation in the area resulted in the Historical Buildings By-law 1474/77, which established the Historical Building Committee. This committee was responsible for creating criteria and procedures for listing of historic buildings across the

city, not just within the Exchange District. During the time that the by-law was going through Council, demolition applications were filed for the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and the adjacent Bank of Hamilton buildings on Main Street. The City designated them as historic buildings amid the controversy.

Shortly thereafter, the By-law 2048/78 was established that denoted the Historic Winnipeg (HW) zone of the downtown. Within this zone, there was design control and review by the Historic Winnipeg Advisory Committee (HWAC), a group of heritage professionals, architects, property owners and tenants. Many buildings were designated as historically significant under the 1474-77 by-law as well as falling within the design review purview of the 'HW' zone, setting the tone for heritage conservation in the City of Winnipeg. This zone went through several boundary changes, but was at length denoted as HW in the Downtown By-law 4800/88. The HW zone's by-law and design review gave statutory authority to historic conservation of the District by integrating heritage concerns with land-use zoning of the area.

As a consequence of the OMSA, Heritage Canada's financial commitment, and the City's support and protective by-laws, the area experienced an upswing in activity in the 1970 into the 1980s. However, there are two significant reasons why the growth of redevelopment in the Exchange District halted into the 1980s and early 1990s: interest rates increased and The Forks redevelopment. During the 1980s interest rates rose to around 21%, which resulted in the bankruptcy of many of the development projects and businesses. The farmers' market in the Old Market Square continually had disagreements with the City health regulators and so, recognizing the success of the market concept, the Forks Market and surrounding area was redeveloped with this in

mind, creating an indoor market to comply with health regulations. This move shifted the focus away from the redevelopment of the Exchange District to the Forks.

It became evident that the business community could not redevelop the area privately, so the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (WCAI) was a two phase program that invested \$96 million of federal, provincial, and municipal funds into Winnipeg's downtown, \$4.9 million of which were allocated for the heritage district. The WCAI recognized the arts uses that were already occurring within the Exchange District because the affordable rents and large lofts spaces in the historic warehouses fit the needs of visual artists. A study was conducted in 1983 to propose spaces for arts groups in the District, which found that approximately "half of historic buildings in core area stand empty" (Jager, 1983).

The arts uses and a desire to see more residential use in the area led to two significant redevelopment projects that were implemented under this program. Artspace was developed as a non-profit visual and literary arts centre and the Ashdown Warehouse was converted into approximately 100 residential condominiums. These two projects set a new direction for the vision of the District as an upscale artists' village.

In 1989, the Exchange District Business Improvement Zone (BIZ) was created via by-law. Its purpose is to promote the District's business interests through marketing and promotional programs. It services those businesses that pay the BIZ levy on their business taxes, replacing the OMSA, and taking on much of the de facto responsibility for planning in the District.

The 1990s saw a regrouping of strategy regarding the Exchange District to promote it as a tourist destination. Quoted by many as the "finest collection in North

America” (Park, 1982) of warehouse buildings, it was designated a National Historic District in 1999. Also during this time, local supporters of the Exchange District discussed promoting the site for nomination as a World Heritage Site, but this promotion never materialized. To support the restoration of the buildings, provincial legislation was amended to allow for the Heritage Tax Credits Program and other grants created at this time, which are still being administered, along with another one-time grant program, the Winnipeg Development Agreement Program 13A that was established to fund the rehabilitation of vacant and under-utilized buildings. Ultimately, in 1999 the CentreVenture Development Corporation was established as an arms-length agency of the City of Winnipeg to administer the heritage grants and loans as a means of developing vacant city properties, many of which have historic designation.

More organized planning started to occur in the Exchange District from various groups. In 1996, The Exchange Partnership, a collective of heritage professionals, business persons, arts groups and resident representatives, published *The Exchange District Strategic Action Plan* under the Winnipeg Development Agreement and the Exchange District BIZ. In the executive summary it states:

The Exchange District is not just a grouping of old buildings. It is also a collection of individuals, enterprises, and organizations who collectively own, operate and participate in the variety of commercial, residential, theatrical, cultural and recreational activities in the Exchange. They are the collective soul of the District (The Exchange Partnership, 1996)

This is the first sign of planning for the District that expressed the goal of integrating heritage conservation with community and economic goals. While addressing many of the issues of the District, there was no one body responsible for its implementation. Regardless, many of its actions have been set in motion or achieved, making it out of date to guide current development in the Exchange District.

The Exchange District BIZ was also a major stakeholder in the three-level government project, *Exchange District Interpretive Strategy*, which was developed to guide interpretation of the national historic site. This document was not intended to drive development in the District, but outline means and methods by which to communicate the historic themes of the area along with the story of the architecture and urban form.

There are other high-level plans that give direction to the Exchange District, but not in specific ways. *Plan Winnipeg 2020* is the city's primary statutory plan to guide development across the whole of Winnipeg. It addresses principles to encourage downtown development and sensitivity to heritage conservation, but it is not detailed enough to address specific conservation concerns within the District. *Centre Plan* deals more directly with Winnipeg's downtown, but again, it is a non-statutory visioning plan for the whole of the core-area and is not specific to the Exchange District or heritage conservation issues.

The Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-law 100/2004 has attempted to address the changing dynamics in the District within its regulations. It repealed Downtown By-law 4800/88, thereby repealing the HW zone and dissolving the HWAC design review process. In its place, the Urban Design Advisory Committee (UDAC) reviews design

throughout the downtown, including heritage conservation in the Exchange District in conjunction with the Historical Buildings Committee.

This clearly shows a need for a statutory plan for the guidance and protection of heritage districts in Winnipeg that would remain in place over by-law amendments and repeals. The laws governing Winnipeg allow for historic district planning to be recognized through the adoption of a secondary plan specific to the area; however it is not the same as historic district designation.

As the planning context reflects, the frontier mentality that brought the Exchange District into its glory days still exists, only now it is to its detriment. Those who have a stake in the direction of the District make their own plans for lack of clear guidance or communication among groups that would lead to integration of interests.

## ***5.6 Social and Community Context***

### **5.6.1 Demographics**

Overall, the demographic profile of the Exchange District population generally lies outside of the Winnipeg average. This indicates an enclave of well educated, highly paid, couples or single men with no family who live in small households. There is also a low-income population, though the statistics are unclear whether this indicates destitution or a student population. Anecdotally, however, there exists a population that struggles with social issues within the District, creating a polarized community.

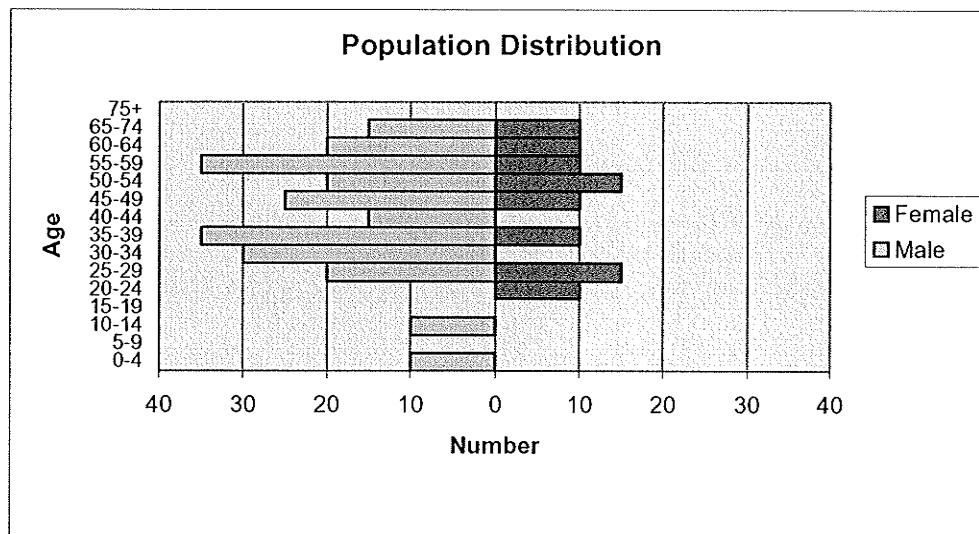


Figure 7. Population Distribution of Exchange District 2001

- Population of Exchange District in 2001: 345.
- There are more males than females living in the Exchange District.
- It has a higher average of Aboriginal residents and a lower average of visible minorities than the Winnipeg average.
- The average education level is much higher than the Winnipeg average.
- 46.9% have some university and higher (Winnipeg 27.8%)
- The male income is significantly higher than both the Winnipeg average and female income.
- The average household income is polarized between low income and high income, with a greater weight on the higher income.
- Under \$10,000 12.9% (Winnipeg 6.5%)
- \$100,000 and over 22.6% (Winnipeg 10.3%)

- Family structure is almost exclusively couples without children or without children at home, making 1.4 persons per household on average (City of Winnipeg, 2001).

### **5.6.2 Dwelling Type and Condition**

Due to its history as a warehouse district, the dwelling units almost exclusively consist of rehabilitated industrial space to multi-family dwellings. The majority of the buildings used for residences were built before 1946, yet have been recently renovated into residential units; therefore they require only regular maintenance and are in good condition. The average number of rooms is 3.8 per dwelling, which is less than the Winnipeg average of 5.8, and the number of bedrooms is 1.4 on average, compared to the Winnipeg average of 2.5.

Within the last five years, the activity surrounding warehouse conversion to multi-family dwellings had increased. Currently there are housing units being developed that include both rehabilitation of existing buildings and infill development. The infill construction of mixed-use residential and commercial units on Waterfront Drive, along the eastern edge of the District, fills a niche for high-end housing in Winnipeg, with units less than 1000 square feet starting at approximately \$250 per square foot. As it stands, the development is driven by private developers. Consequently, there are few affordable housing options being developed, though there are some that already exist, including housing co-ops and seniors' residence just outside of the District.

### **5.6.3 Institutions and Services**

Currently, there are no primary or secondary schools within the District, yet all of the three major post-secondary educational institutions, the University of Manitoba, University of Winnipeg, and the Red River College, have campuses in the Exchange District. There is little to no institutional architecture in the Exchange regarding places of worship, yet there is a storefront church that holds services in the area. The Civic Campus lies just to the north of the District boundary, which includes the administrative headquarters for Winnipeg Police and Emergency Services. Other significant landmarks to the north are the Manitoba Museum and Concert Hall. In like manner, the Health Sciences Centre/Winnipeg General Hospital is nearby in the adjacent neighbourhood to the west as well as fire and police stations and grade schools.

### **5.6.4 Entertainment and Recreation**

With many theatres and art galleries in addition to artists' studios and creative professional offices, such as architectural firms, present in the area, it has long been established that the Exchange District is Winnipeg's cultural and theatre district. The successful Fringe Theatre Festival and Winnipeg Jazz Festival, along with many other up and coming arts festivals in connection with the film industry, make use of various industrial spaces and theatres for performances. In the evening, there are nightclubs, restaurants and pubs that complement these cultural activities.

### **5.6.5 Green Space**

Sizeable green spaces in the area are located in Old Market Square and the redeveloped Stephen Juba Park. The park, in conjunction with revitalization strategies

for the waterfront, increases the connectivity to other downtown districts such as The Forks and St. Boniface through bicycling and walking paths.

#### **5.6.6 Transportation**

Main Street, the major north/south transportation corridor, is the spine of the District, making both public transit and automobile access obvious, whereas navigation through the one-way streets may not be as clear for motorists.

The new Waterfront Drive along the Red River is an automobile connection between South Point Douglas and the Forks, and while intended to be a meandering slow drive, it has created a shortcut through downtown for motorists, increasing traffic down streets connecting Main Street to Waterfront Drive. Nevertheless, the Alexander Docks on the north boundary of the site, and the water docks, pedestrian and bicycling paths running through the adjacent Stephen Juba Park create alternative transportation opportunities that connect the Exchange District to other neighbourhoods.

#### **5.6.7 Parking**

Parking in the Exchange District is a ‘hot button’ not only in the District, but throughout Winnipeg’s downtown. The BIZ newsletter, *extra*, reported that businesses in the District “indicated that parking enforcement and a lack of parking spots are two of the top challenges to doing business in the Exchange District (BIZ, 2005). Considering 68.5% of Winnipeg residents travel by automobile and a small percentage of the city’s population lives downtown, it can be assumed that the majority of the District’s workforce and clients require parking (City of Winnipeg, 2001).

However, under the Downtown Winnipeg Zoning By-law 100/24, parking is no longer a requirement to accompany development in the area, making it easier to redevelop a property, but perhaps more difficult to attract businesses to lease the space. Several studies done for the City of Winnipeg conclude there is adequate parking for the needs of the District currently, recognizing the increased need for parking in the evening over the daytime use. A mix of surface, parkade, and street parking in the area may not always be adjacent to a motorist's destination, so it is often perceived that there is insufficient parking. However, development north of the Exchange and along Waterfront Drive in addition to Red River College and vacant lands in the area will increase the pressures for parking as demand goes up and available space for parking declines.

Those business owners interviewed expressed concern about the type of parking available, more than the number of spots. The major complaints echo the BIZ's survey results, reporting that casual parking is lacking and the issuing of parking tickets is detrimental to doing business. One business owner reported averaging \$1500 in parking tickets per month, an expense of doing business in the Exchange District, because it was impossible to leave his meetings to "plug the meter." Winnipeg Parking Authority hopes to alleviate this problem with a new system of solar-powered meters that will allow more spaces and longer payment options for parking downtown (Exchange District BIZ, 2005).

Balancing new parking demands in the District and the development of the area will be challenging. A partnerships between the City of Winnipeg and other groups is being investigated to construct an additional parkade on the east side of the District, as this area is perceived as requiring the most additional parking in the near future.

### **5.6.8 Safety**

According to the 1996 Safety Audit conducted for the Exchange District BIZ (City of Winnipeg, 1996), the Exchange District does not have a safety problem since the incidents of crime are less than in other areas of the downtown or suburban Winnipeg. The problem in the Exchange District is that it is perceived as unsafe. The study identifies safety issues regarding low lighting, poor sightlines, and entrapment areas, phone placement, movement predictors, sense of isolation, ownership, and parkades.

Considering the study is now ten years old, it is out of date. Those stakeholders interviewed reported no concerns for their safety, saying that panhandling was an issue, but not one of safety. Twenty years previous, the area was known for its street prostitution (Jager, 1983), but again, this is a social issue rather than one of safety and there appears to be no further signs of it in the area. It appears that the question of 'safety' is a euphemism for the results of social concerns of the downtown area.

### **5.7 Economic Context**

The Exchange District is the historic center of Winnipeg's commerce and industry. Banking, warehousing, the grain trade, the newspaper industry, theatre and manufacturing are all represented in the architecture and landscape of the Exchange District. The area has experienced decline since its height in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, yet the Grain Commission and the Canadian Wheat Board still remain in the area in addition to some garment manufacturing. The banking institutions have shifted their locations slightly south of the District to Winnipeg's current commercial center at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street.

New business and commerce consists of art galleries, small retail boutiques, restaurants, theatres, coffee shops and nightclubs. In addition, there are many professional and technical services that house their offices in the District. Festivals and farmers' markets also infuse the economy of the area. While there is commercial activity in the Exchange District, those interviewed reported that it is mostly specialized shops that do not offer the amenities that are needed to support a residential population.

Another important economic activity for the Exchange District is the film industry. The fine collection of heritage buildings makes an excellent setting for movies. It is therefore important that the architectural details and authenticity of the buildings and landscapes be maintained, since filmmaking is a quickly growing industry in Manitoba (Inter Group Consultants and OARS Training Inc, 2003).

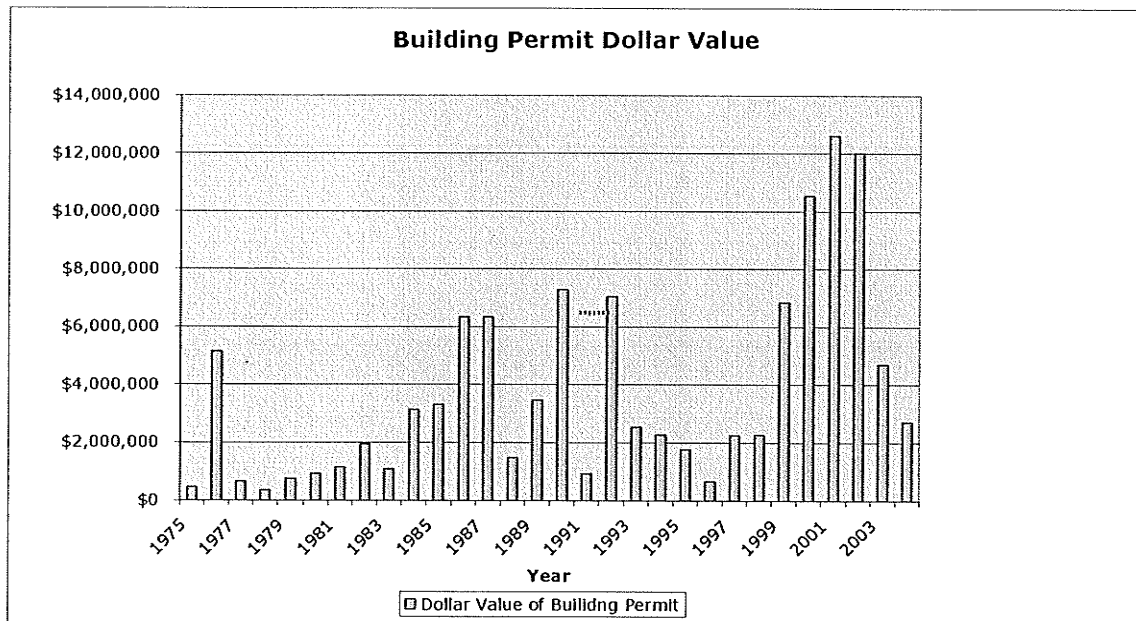


Figure 8. Building Permit Dollar Value in the Exchange District

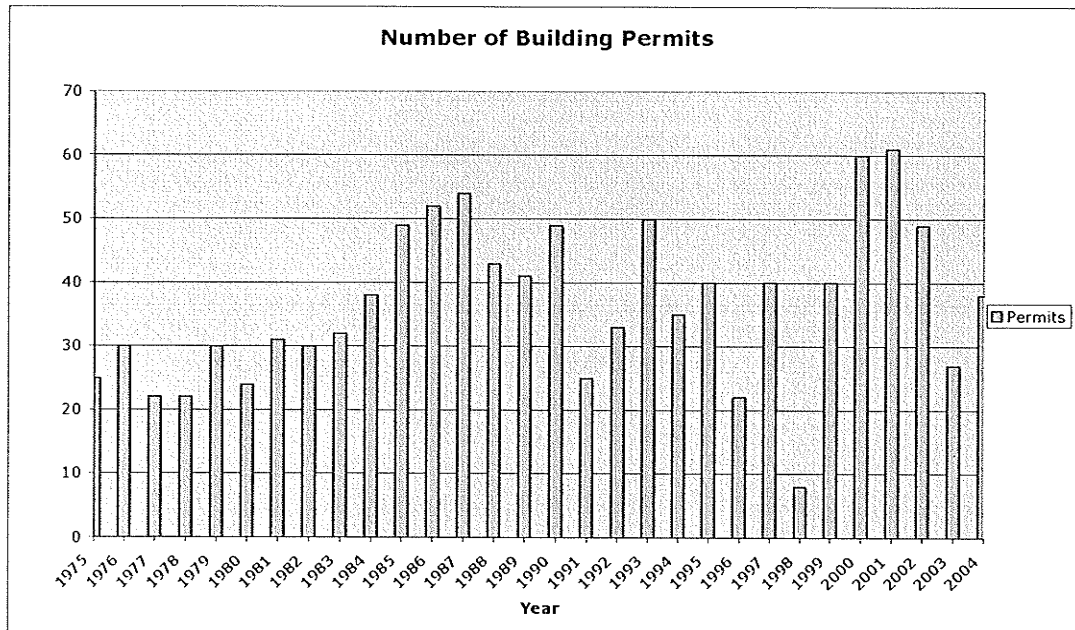


Figure 9. Number of Building Permits

Property redevelopment in the area is an obvious picture of economic growth. The infill development along Waterfront Drive as well as the recent investment in the infrastructure of Stephen Juba Park and Waterfront Drive itself has been significant to the image of the area as experiencing a recent revitalization. However, those interviewed felt that the revitalization had been occurring over a long time, but that larger projects have drawn attention to the area. In spite of this activity, there has been little attention paid to setting measures to track the economic growth of the District. However, the redevelopment of existing structures shows a steady increase over the years, with two spikes in activity, one during the late 1980s, early 1990s and again just after 2000. These numbers are inconclusive as far as significant growth is concerned and echos overall

economic trends in the Canadian economy. Distinct economic measures and tracking for the Exchange District is needed to gain a sense of the rate of development in the area.

### **5.8 *Conclusions***

The Exchange District is an area that has been in transition from primarily industrial and commercial uses to a creative arts professional and retail sector. Most recently, more housing is being added as many of the historic warehouse buildings are converted into condominiums or newly constructed units. The presence of numerous art galleries, small boutiques, coffee shops, film sets and nightclubs characterize this area as a cultural and artistic enclave. While the commercial success of the area appears to be increasing, there are few amenities provided for the small, but growing residential population.

Independently minded and freethinking people are an appropriate fit for this area because their creative energy is needed to make the transition from this once-industrial area to a neighbourhood. Districts in the UK, Canada and the US have made similar transitions of land-use in their historic cities with the aid of an integrated approach to their planning process.

## **6 Chapter Six: Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning Practice**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Integrated conservation “is now an accepted part of urban planning in most developed countries” (Larkham, 1993). In European urban centers, a significant portion of the city is considered historic. In Canada, however, integrated conservation mostly applies to districts, considering the majority of Canada’s built heritage is relatively young. Consequently, there are few land-use plans in place that address historic districts in Canada. However, there is very little theoretical and practical literature of the Canadian context on which to base decisions regarding urban historic districts.

Exploring the national policy frameworks for heritage conservation in each of the three nations will highlight comparisons and contrasts amongst them. From there, three case studies of integrated conservation planning documents, one from each nation is surveyed for process and goals, administrative and implementation framework, and best practices from which lessons learned can be applied to Winnipeg’s Exchange District.

#### **6.1.1 UK Policy and Legislation**

Conservation areas received considerable protection in the UK because of the Civic Amenities Act of 1967, where the number has increased from 1250 before the Act to a current estimate of 8000 areas (Barrett, 1993, 435; Hubbard, 1993, 359). This ensured an area’s protection, but it is in the last fifteen years that legislation has required conservation areas to plan. The Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act of 1990 specifically addresses integrated conservation by providing “specific protection for buildings and areas of special architectural or historic interest.” It recognizes the “close link between controls over listed buildings and conservation areas and

development control decisions” and that “development and conservation issues will generally need to be considered together” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006). The Town and Country Planning (Development Plan) Regulations 1991 require that local governments must consider environmental factors when creating their plans, the policy stating “The protection of the historic environment, whether individual listed buildings, conservation areas, parks and gardens, battlefields or the wider historic landscape, is a key aspect of these wider environmental responsibilities, and will need to be taken *fully* into account both in the formulation of authorities’ planning policies and in development control” (ODMP, 2004, emphasis mine). Furthermore, in the Planning Policy Guidance 15 document in section 2.2, it states, “Structure, local, and unitary development plans are the main vehicle for ensuring that conservation policies are co-ordinated and integrated with other planning policies affecting the historic environment”, requiring in section 2.3 that “plans should set out clearly all conservation policies relevant to the exercise of an authority’s development control functions... where development and conservation issues are linked and will need to be addressed together” (ODMP, 2004).

This legislation is federal, though exercised at the local level, letting each local authority express its own policies. However, it clearly relates the importance the UK places on its cultural heritage. As well, it expresses a desire to see cultural heritage as a viable factor in current planning and development decisions and the city for that matter, suggesting that plans “also include a strategy for the economic regeneration of rundown areas” (ODMP, 2004).

The UK, has fully embraced its built heritage as part of the urban fabric, not only because they have a great deal of it due to its long history as a nation, but also because

there is a general culture of conservation found within the consciousness of its society. Much of the recent scholarship on conservation and integrated processes comes from British scholars (Larkham, 1993; Hubbard, 1993) who write of a, "widening appreciation of our built heritage and an increasing desire to conserve it" (Barrett, 1993, 435) as well as the "interest among professional, academics and the public remains high" (Larkham, 1993, 351). Philip Hubbard argues that this interest is "a result of new approaches to conservation planning that are being undertaken in recognition of the heightened role that heritage tourism and place-marketing play in the British post-industrial economy," (Hubbard, 1993, 360) recognizing that the concern may not be that altruistic. Larkham writes that the reason for the success of conservation areas in Britain is because "the British public appears to be inherently conservative, strongly resistant to change especially on a large scale" (Larkham, 1993, 352).

#### **6.1.2 US Policy and Legislation**

The approach to conservation in the United States is markedly different than in the UK or Canada. While it may seem insignificant on the surface, the fundamental difference comes out of the language, and consequently the approach to cultural heritage. As discussed in Chapter 2, the terms 'historic preservation' and 'preservationists' conjure up images of exact replications of histories, and in the case of buildings or districts, a 'freezing' of time in a certain era, disregarding previous or subsequent history. While this approach is relaxing in recognition of what Sandercock refers to as 'multiple stories', and the desire to integrate built heritage into the urban fabric, some early examples of American historic districts were museum pieces at a large scale, such as colonial

Williamsburg, Virginia and Charleston, South Carolina, in its early days as America's first historic district.

American federal legislation, while not as explicit as British federal law, has contributed to the integration of historic conservation with urban planning. Not surprisingly, the US has achieved this through financial means of incentive, rather than proscriptive regulations. However, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) 1966 is significant to the protection of historic sites and districts, while leading the way into consideration of urban plans. According to Birch and Roby, the NHPA "established important intergovernmental bureaucratic links; and insertion of key provisions in the Transportation Act (1966) and the National Environmental Protection Act (1969), both of which require federal administrators to take special care to protect historic sites" (Birch, 1984, 1995). The funding and tax reforms that contributed to integrated conservation can be traced to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Tax Reform Act of 1976. A study of HUD revealed that approximately 43% of its funds were used to rehabilitate structures and preserve historic buildings while the tax reforms made it economically feasible to rehabilitate structures in light of the clearance programs being employed at the time (Birch, 1984, 1995).

The US has had a more difficult time integrating the two disciplines of historic conservation and urban planning because the approach to heritage conservation has been so rigidly preservationist for many years. Still, the policies addressing historic areas are weighted to financial benefits, directly or indirectly, for historic preservation, which explains the approach taken by the federal legislators.

### **6.1.3 Canadian Policy and Legislation**

“Of all federal historic places, only the National Historic Sites under the jurisdiction of Parks Canada receive any protection in law. Historic places managed by other federal departments or agencies are protected, if at all, only by policy” (Parks Canada, 2005). This quotation is from Canada’s own agency, Parks Canada, which is charged with the protection, presentation, celebration and service of Canada’s cultural heritage. Clearly, integrated conservation practice is not well-represented in Canada’s federal legislation, not even protecting its own House of Parliament (Parks Canada, 2005). The Heritage Railway Stations Protection Act is a rare piece of legislation that obliges the railway companies of Canada to conserve railways stations and is one of the few legal directives found in federal legislation for heritage sites. Nonetheless, the majority of protection and integration of the country’s heritage fabric falls to the municipalities within which it is situated. Some are afforded provincial protection, however, it is usually only through development agreements for funding that the federal or provincial governments have any say in the treatment of historic sites.

There is, however, Parks Canada policy that addresses cultural heritage within the Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies (GPOP) (Parks Canada, 1994), which is intended to guide the management of all designated national sites. The first section is the Policy Overview and the Guiding Principles of the document, stating the overall vision and mission of the organization along with the intention of the policies. The second section contains the Activity Policies, which are the policy documents specific to the reason for designation, such as the National Historic Sites policy. The Cultural Resource Management policy (CRM), section III of the GPOP, elucidates five principles

of cultural resource management: the principles of value, public benefit, understanding, respect, and integrity. These principles when combined with the CRM practices of inventory of resources, evaluation, consideration of values, and monitoring, as well as the CRM activities of corporate direction, planning, research, conservation, and presentation, create a framework for management planning of historic sites (Parks, 2004b).

The CRM policy is only enforceable to those national historic sites that are owned by the federal government, but those sites in private ownership and considered within “Canada’s Family of National Historic Sites” are not legally subject to the policies. However, the designation of a site can be withdrawn in light of mismanagement.

For the most part, legislation that protects heritage sites is within the purview of the provinces and municipalities. The provinces oversee the passing of development plans for municipalities. Also, the provinces are responsible to bestow regulatory powers to its municipalities, which can result in two of the most common tools for heritage protection: zoning by-laws and heritage designations.

In the case of Manitoba, the Heritage Resources Act describes legislation governing provincially historic sites. The Act also gives municipalities the ability to designate heritage sites. However a site is defined in section 1 of the Act as:

- (a) an area or a place, or
- (b) a parcel of land, or
- (c) a building or structure, or
- (d) an exterior or interior portion or segment of a building  
or structure,

within the province... (Heritage Resources Act, 1985).

This definition is ambiguous as to a municipality's ability to designate a district.

District designation is further complicated by the authority of The City of Winnipeg Charter Act, which is a separate Act regulating the City and does not clearly give the power to designate historic districts. It does, however, allow for the creation of secondary development plans in section 234(1) of the 2002 City of Winnipeg Charter.

The Charter allows the City of Winnipeg:

to provide such objectives and actions as council considers necessary or advisable to address, in a neighbourhood, district or area of the city, any matter within a sphere of authority of the city, including, without limitation, any matter...pertaining to economic development or the enhancement or special protection of heritage resources or sensitive lands (Government of Manitoba, 2002).

To officially designate Winnipeg's Exchange District as a historic district, The City of Winnipeg Charter Act would have to be amended to give the powers on the City of Winnipeg.

In light of these laws and policies mentioned, the following case studies are examined for lessons to apply to Winnipeg's Exchange District. They have been chosen as examples because of the districts similarity in urban form and history to that of the Exchange District. Also, the examples from the UK and US give some understanding of practices under different legal systems yet somewhat similar cultures.

## **6.2 Case Study: Liverpool Unitary Development Plan**

### **6.2.1 Location**

Liverpool, England

### **6.2.2 Background**

In 2004, Liverpool's historic waterfront was designated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a World Heritage City. This is due to its magnificent collection of cultural resources that speaks to its industrial and importance as an international port. The significance of the Liverpool World Heritage Site is that

its surviving architectural and technological interest is of  
outstanding universal value and because it strongly reflects  
the successes of the civilization that created it (Liverpool  
World Heritage City, 2006).

The city boasts the largest collection of Grade I buildings in all of England.

Unemployment and its consequences have been major obstacles to the city; however, the city will be named a European Capital of Culture in 2008 to showcase its thriving arts and culture community. Significant changes are occurring in the city as it reinvents itself as a post-industrial city of culture.

To manage the change, there have been many planning documents to guide physical development and address social change in the city. The Liverpool Unitary Development Plan (LUDP), is the statutory plan that oversees them all. This plan makes considerable concession for heritage conservation because the City recognizes its cultural

assets as world-class and able to contribute to its economy. The Liverpool World Heritage City Plan is a broad policy document intended to guide the management of the site; however, it is not statutory and concerns itself only with heritage conservation management, acting in like manner to the Commemorative Integrity Statements of Parks Canada.

The LUDP does not give heritage policy on a conservation area level, but does show how integrating heritage conservation policies directly with other neighbourhood planning policies creates a more unified approach to planning in heritage areas and for the city overall.

### **6.2.3 Process and Goals**

The process for the plan follows closely that expressed in the Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister as well as Regional Planning Policy. According to the PPG 12, there are two points in the process that are open to public consultation, both having a minimum duration of six weeks. The plan does not outline exactly what steps were taken to inform or collaborate with the community, but that it did occur.

### **6.2.4 Administration and Implementation**

The City of Liverpool takes responsibility for the LUDP and its administration, yet recognizes that it has partners who may take on the implementation of certain policies of the plan. The plan observes three means by which it will achieve implementation: development control, city council programs, and partnerships (LUDP, 2004, 4).

The development controls consists of the regulations and approvals that must be met through the planning department of the City of Liverpool. This is a reactive approach rather than proactive, creating “a climate of confidence and stability for long-term investment”(LUDP, 2004, 4). The City Council programs, however, are proactive to implement policies. These programs will be administered by the City, where the funding is directly sourced. The partnerships are with arms-length agencies where funding can be collected from a number of sources to achieve larger goals. These partnerships allow for flexibility and integration of policies and programs that may be difficult for the City alone to provide.

#### **6.2.5 Best Practices**

Along with the obvious integration of the heritage conservation policies right into the development plan, the chapter, *Environmental Context and Appraisal of UDP Policies*, assesses how the policies will affect the environmental context of Liverpool, with cultural heritage considered part of that context. The matrix reports on whether a policy on, say, transportation, will positively or negatively affect the City’s cultural heritage (LUDP, 2004, 29).

#### **6.2.6 Lessons Learned from Liverpool**

The LUDP is a good example of how heritage conservation policies are woven directly into a primary statutory document and are regarded as important by all levels of government. A whole chapter is dedicated to Heritage & the Built Environment. The physical form of the city is one of the major themes of the plan, yet heritage conservation is addressed in the General Policies, Corporate Policy Context, and in the chapter called

Environmental Context & Appraisal of UDP Policies assesses the impact of one policy on other objectives in the plan.

Winnipeg would do well to recognize the integration of heritage conservation in the UK planning regulations that move from national through to local levels of government. Beyond that, the LUDP takes the time to cross-reference its policies to analyze whether one may negatively or positively influence another, and cultural heritage is included in this assessment. As well, the UK legislation allows for local government to name conservation areas, whereas the Winnipeg Charter does not explicitly allow it for Winnipeg; however it does grant the power of creating a secondary plan to designate certain regulations within a given area, in effect achieving the same goal.

### **6.3 Case Study: Gastown Heritage Management Plan Draft 2001**

#### **6.3.1 Location**

Gastown is located in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Known as the ‘birthplace of Vancouver’, Gastown is located in downtown Vancouver along the waterfront.

#### **6.3.2 Background**

Gastown includes “some of Vancouver’s most notable examples of Victorian Italianate and Edwardian Commercial styles in buildings,”(Spaxman, 2001a) of the turn of last century. Like the Exchange District, Gastown and adjacent Chinatown have the highest concentration of historic commercial and industrial buildings in the city region. As the western terminus for the Canada’s transcontinental railway and an international port in the late 1800s, Gastown has been instrumental in the growth of Vancouver to become western Canada’s largest city.

There are two provincial Acts that directly provide for municipal heritage conservation: the Heritage Conservation Act and the Vancouver Charter. The Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act of 1994 amended the two provincial Acts, allowing for a range of new initiatives for heritage conservation, though does not give the power to the City of Vancouver to designate heritage conservation areas. The HA-2 zoning district, as part of the City of Vancouver Zoning and Development By-law 1996, describes the boundary, land uses as well as basic height and massing restrictions for the Gastown Heritage Area.

### **6.3.3 Process and Goals**

The Gastown Heritage Management Plan (GHMP) 2001 draft is one step on a path lined with study and consultation leading to heritage conservation. In 2000, Discussion Papers were produced that asked the questions: what do we have, what concerns do we have, and what alternatives can we consider. These questions were asked according to the main topic headings of the plan:

- Vision and Goals,
- Built Form and Public Realm,
- Management and Administrative Framework,
- Regulations, Protection and Enforcement,
- Standards and Guidelines, Conservation,
- Design Guidelines,
- Maintenance Standards,
- Conservation Incentives,
- Economic Implications, and
- Costs and Revenues/Proforma.

From those considerations, an Interim Report was developed for February 2001.

The Interim Report outlines the potential pathways to achieve conservation goals, including a review of tools and the public consultation process. The consultation process consisted of stakeholder committee meetings and public open houses. The interim report states that “attendance at the first public open house was low...” and it was “difficult to draw conclusions about the key issues from the public’s point of view.” However, the consultation did identify the first priority of those in attendance as “addressing the social

issues and create a stable neighbourhood” along with sensitive heritage conservation (Spaxman, 2001b). It appears that from the number of reports and discussion papers and admittedly poor attendance at the open house that this plan rested on professional insight more than public input. It may also speak to the methods of public consultation employed as not being successful to garner adequate public input.

Nevertheless, the planning committee identified five goals for the GHMP:

- Obtain agreement on a clear vision for the heritage management of Gastown
- Define authentic heritage conservation
- Remove existing barriers to conservation
- Provide new city incentives for conservation
- Seek new provincial and federal incentives for conservation.

While the GHMP mentions in several places the social and economic concerns of the area, it seeks to address it through a course of heritage conservation, “promoting economically viable rehabilitation and reuse of these historic buildings” (Spaxman, 2001a).

The GHMP recognizes that it is only one part of a revitalization scheme for the area. However, this plan is intended to “develop a vision for heritage conservation in Gastown,” and that following it “an overall community vision for the area should be developed in the future when other initiatives listed under Gastown Revitalization are completed” (Spaxman, 2001a). In other words, the GHMP is a first step in protecting the physical heritage components of the area so that they will exist to support community development at a later date.

#### **6.3.4 Administration and Implementation**

One of the major topics addressed in the plan is Management and Administration, where the issue of complicated and bureaucratic City of Vancouver procedures and by-laws is handled. Along with addressing out-of-date provincial legislation, committees and City by-laws, two of the recommended actions are notable. First, the plan's call to appoint a manager whose job it is to "promote and facilitate the rehabilitation of heritage structures..." (Spaxman, 2001a) meeting and assisting building owners with issues while guiding them through the conservation process. The second notable recommended action is the goal to improve city staff service to the Gastown Heritage Conservation Area (as it would be known). In other words, educate those building inspectors and development staff about heritage conservation issues and what is in the GHMP.

In the way of administration, the plan calls for the creation of a Gastown Heritage Commission (GHC) to replace the current advisory group, Gastown Historic Area Planning Committee, which had a weak mandate. The mandate of the GHC would be to provide conservation and design review of permit applications within the heritage area. In addition, the plan calls for a revision to the by-law to reflect this new commission. The GHMP also suggests that the City of Vancouver lobby the Province of British Columbia to change the city's charter to allow for the delineation of heritage conservation areas.

The Implementation section simply calls on the City to put in place the regulations and recommendations of the plan. Since many of the recommendations are about regulatory controls, standards and guidelines for heritage conservation along with amended City processes, the onus is put upon the City because it is the regulating

authority. It does not, however, go into detail on how to achieve these changes or which department or supervisor would be responsible to carry out the recommendations.

#### **6.3.5 Best Practices**

This plan sets the groundwork for heritage conservation as the primary concern for the Gastown area, with secondary attention to the economic incentives as a means to support conservation. There appears to be no previous plan on which to build, therefore attention to language and vision is fundamental to the planning process.

Foremost, the intent of the heritage area plan is to ensure that the area retains its authenticity in light of economic and development pressures. The plan's definition of 'authentic conservation' reflects the accepted global conservation principles used by Parks Canada and international conservation organizations. The definition of this term also sets the expectation for conservation in the area, which leads to a clearer vision of the future of the District. Creating a vision statement for the area supports the desire to gather the interested parties onto a common ground.

##### *Vision Statement*

Gastown is the birthplace and historic core of the city of Vancouver, and a source of pride to its citizens. Its historic character, buildings and built form would be authentically conserved within an historic context for future generations, while allowing a broad range of uses. The economic viability of the entire area would be assured by making it safe, livable, inspirational, and attractive. Gastown would be the home a vibrant and diverse community, containing a

mixture of businesses, housing and income levels and be a good place to visit, work live and conduct business.

It not only addresses the historic value of the area, but the tacit energy of the environment along with its economic stability.

The emphasis placed on economic incentives is necessary to make the connection between a viable neighbourhood and sound built heritage. GHMP recognizes that the existing frameworks, or lack thereof, contribute to the degradation of the historic district, therefore through its recommended actions, it intends to address basic conservation principles as well as an easily accessible administration to economically and support and offer guidance to those stewards of the buildings and district.

#### **6.3.6 Lessons Learned from Gastown, Vancouver**

The Gastown Heritage Management Plan addresses an area very similar to the Exchange District in size, form, and location. The topics dealt with in the plan also reflect the same concerns identified for the Exchange District. The planning process for Gastown and the Exchange District seem to follow similar paths with the distinct focus on the authentic conservation of the built form. The Exchange District appears to have already set up a similar administrative framework as far as having a dedicated review committee and documentation outlining the heritage values to be maintained, which exists in the Commemorative Integrity Statement for the National Historic Site. Comparatively, Winnipeg is losing ground because the Heritage Winnipeg Advisory Committee no longer exists, but has been replaced by a broader review board for the entire downtown. Furthermore, the Exchange District does not have a clear vision

statement like Gastown that includes more than heritage conservation vision, yet recognizes the intent for a historic district to be a vibrant part of the city and community.

The Exchange District could also benefit from the policy recommendation of a dedicated city employee who would guide developers through the process of conservation as well as other development needs. In addition, policy recommendations around simplifying the process and administration for development in Gastown, while maintaining authentic conservation speaks to the fundamental goals of integrated conservation and would support the Exchange District's redevelopment in light of Winnipeg's sluggish growth cycle.

#### **6.4 Case Study: Seattle's Pioneer Square Neighborhood Plan 1998**

##### **6.4.1 Location**

Pioneer Square is located in Seattle, Washington, on the United State's west coast. It borders Seattle's waterfront, business district, International District, and includes the football stadium and exhibition centre.

##### **6.4.2 Background**

According to Seattle's Municipal Code, Pioneer Square Preservation District, was designated historic because it "is the site of the beginning of Seattle" (1985). Consequently, Seattle's first industries, businesses and homes were located in this area. The District's commerce and transportation were central to the development of Seattle, and for that matter, the state of Washington (Seattle Municipal Code, 1985). In short, Pioneer Square is a post-industrial site of national historic significance.

Pioneer Square has the distinction of being the US's first national historic district, designated in the 1970s. Seattle City Council recognized the area in May 1970 with an ordinance that established the square as a district within Seattle. There was a 1974 Pioneer Historic District Plan that stood alone, but it was not until disinvestment and safety issues were concerns in the area that the neighbourhood planning process was initiated. According to the 1998 Pioneer Square Neighborhood Plan (PSNP), in 1991 the City updated the historic district plan, which became a "model neighborhood plan" and highlighted significant capital projects, first linking economic investment and historic planning. However, the current plan only recognizes that the "Pioneer Square Historic District has been actively participating in the City of Seattle's Neighborhood Planning

Process since late 1995” (Pioneer Square Planning Committee, 1998). Yet, this 1991 plan is still valid since it includes plans for the development of publicly-owned sites, policy recommendations and design guidelines for the District’s public spaces; the 1998 plan is meant to supplement and update the 1991 plan, explaining its relative lack of heritage conservation content.

#### **6.4.3 Process and Goals**

The process of planning for the 1998 PSNP was a two-phased process, spanning three years. There was considerable public consultation, three key initiatives being the 1996 Survey, The Mariners Ballpark Mitigation Process, and the establishment of the Community Development Organization. The survey generated a list of four major community themes:

- Preserve and protect historic character
- Beautify and maintain streets, parks and alleys
- Sustain a safe and sanitary environment for all
- Promote and develop housing, the arts, small business and quality social services

These results combined with the other initiatives led to the identification of five major issue areas: communication and collaboration; public spaces; range of housing stock; the economic base; and infrastructure including parking, transportation and utilities. The Recommendations of the Plan addresses each of these issues through the following topic headings found within the PSNP:

- Principles and Policies
- Improving Public Spaces

- Broadening Housing Availability
- Strengthening Our Economic Base
- Improving Infrastructure: Parking, Transportation, and Utilities

Within each of these sections, guiding principles are listed as well as recommendations, which described specific outputs that can easily be implemented into an action plan.

In addition to the major themes, the PSNP identifies seven projects that it believes “transcend thematic boundaries and have the potential to set in motion a cascade of good effects” (PSNP, 1998, 3). In some cases, the projects are specific to the redevelopment of a site, but the others are more general projects that follow the main recommendation headings within the document.

#### **6.4.4 Administration and Implementation**

The PSNP suggests that the area is in the midst of an “unprecedented development boom” (PSNP, 1998, 23). A frank example is the redevelopment of the Kingdome stadium site into a new football stadium and exhibition complex. This development has caused concern about its impact on adjacent communities. Such concerns no doubt speak to the reason to update the 1991 plan with the 1998 plan. Set within the plan in each section is a box highlighting the mitigation recommendations for managing the impact of the new complex, suggesting where mitigation funding can be put to use.

The main planning body for this plan is the Pioneer Square Planning Committee, which is not defined within the plan, but is likely a group consisting of municipal planning officials, heritage professionals and private planning consultants. There are numerous groups involved in the planning of the District including community groups

such as: Pioneer Square Community Council, Pioneer Square Business Improvement Area, Pioneer Square Community Development Organization, and the Pioneer Square Preservation Board. These community groups together with contributing to the statutory plan, co-located to collaborate as a group known as Merged Interests, with the intent of mobilizing behind the common goals set out in the plan.

The responsibility for the implementation of the plan is somewhat unclear. Under the title, *Action Planning*, the PSNP states, "Pioneer Square is utilizing the neighborhood planning process to identify what we want and to bring key players to the table to implement projects. This is an alternative process of planning in that it structures the process of realizing the plan concurrent with creating it" (PSNP, 1998, 23). It does not claim to offer a complete list of partners and stewards, but relates that the stewards and partners are those "who achieve the results" (PSNP, 1998, 23) of the plan, expecting the momentum of the development boom and community partners to carry the implementation of the plan through.

#### **6.4.5 Best Practices**

There are several clues that speak to the integration of historic conservation principles and neighbourhood planning in this document. To start, it is named a 'neighborhood' plan rather than a historic conservation plan, yet its first words of the plan address the area as "The Pioneer Square Historic District..." (PSNP, 1998, 2). Looking at the recommendations, one would think that there is little to endear it to heritage conservationists, but a closer look shows that the 'historic identity' is considered within the recommendations, along with the fact that the 1991 plan with design

guidelines for public spaces still applies. As is the case with most plans, this 1998 neighborhood plan does not stand alone, but is supported by city ordinances and code requirements for historic conservation along with other neighbourhood groups and policies.

Upon investigation into the Pioneer Square Preservation Board, the ordinance under the Seattle Municipal Code, Chapter 23.66 defines the intentions of the Pioneer Square Preservation District, Special Review District. The reasons for designation are more than just preservation of the built heritage, but are:

- to return unproductive structures to useful purposes;
- to attract visitors to the City;
- to avoid a proliferation of vehicular parking and vehicular-oriented uses;
- to provide regulations for existing on-street and off-street parking;
- to stabilize existing, and encourage a variety of new and rehabilitated housing types for all income groups;
- to encourage the use of transportation modes other than the private automobile;
- to protect existing commercial vehicle access;
- to improve visual and urban relationships between existing and future building and structures, parking spaces and public improvements within the area;
- and to encourage pedestrian uses... (Seattle Municipal Code, 1985, 23.66.100 A).

This is reflected in the by-law that dictates who shall sit on the board, and it includes business persons, community representatives, in addition to architects and heritage professionals. In fact, the PSNP 1998 encourages the Board to “analyze these responsibilities in light of current practices, and consider expanding their purview to more fully engage the range of responsibilities detailed in its by-laws” (PSNP, 1998, 4). It appears that the planning professionals are inviting the input of the preservation board into a more integrated view of the District and its role in the urban core as well as having the planning document that the city by-laws can support and upon which to find their grounding.

The clear presentation of the process and goals is easily communicated to a broad range of audiences. For the most part, the document is free of jargon and pleasantly illustrated, though a clear map of the boundaries of the site would have grounded the plan in better context. The plan identifies concepts and projects of concern and joins them with the recommended outputs, having an overarching objective to guide the recommendations. Some plans falter by being too general and others by being too specific, but this plan transparently delineates its intentions.

The PSNP addresses issues that the free market does not address, such as middle income housing targets and protecting the existing artists’ space. As well, it calls attention to the needs of a population that is not usually counted in formal census activities such as the low-income, transitional population as well as artists who may be living in their commercial studio space. These issues, while not explicit, if addressed properly can contribute to an overall healthy community and an appreciation for the historic urban form of such a district.

As far as its processes, this plan goes beyond integrated conservation to collaborative conservation. The extensive community engagement and developer partnership-building through the three-year process before the writing of the plan and the scheduled potluck gatherings to gain feedback on the draft plan afterward, displays a commitment to communication with stakeholders. The document recognizes the potential for disagreement, but seeks to focus on common goals. On page three the PSNP states:

Out diversity is one of the attributes we love most—we will not agree on every issue. Nevertheless, Pioneer Square must find common-ground issues and speak with a unified voice on these issues. We accomplish this by keeping the community informed, involved and education... These development partners are stakeholders and must acquire a sense of ownership and responsibility for the care of the Historic District (PSNP, 1998, 3)

It is this focus on common goals through collaboration that articulates a “shared vision” for those stakeholders of the District. This practice above the others, sets the compass for the future of heritage planning.

#### **6.4.6 Lessons Learned from Pioneer Square, Seattle**

Of the three examples, Seattle’s plan is perhaps the best example for Winnipeg’s Exchange District to follow. The scale of the site and plan of Pioneer Square, not to mention the urban form and social concerns, are all similar to the Exchange District. The values of what is considered ‘authentic conservation’ is outlined in the Exchange

District's CIS and while the national Standards and Guidelines (Parks, 2003) have been recognized by the City of Winnipeg, it would do well to articulate specific design guidelines for the District as Seattle has done in a previous document.

The Pioneer Square's plan addresses the urban issues of development, parking, and social concerns through a collaborative means. More than simply integrated the goals of heritage and neighbourhood planning, the planners have moved beyond this into collaborative planning to achieve heritage neighbourhood planning that is value-led rather than issue-led. This achieves a greater 'buy-in' from all groups that were involved in the process.

### **6.5 Conclusions**

It is clear that the processes and regulations for planning for heritage districts of the UK are by far more integrated than the US or Canada, because its sheer number of historic landscapes and urban form demands it be so. The US and Canada have more localized concerns for historic districts and it shows in their planning approach. Even still, the American example in Seattle shows a level of sophistication for integrating economic and social concerns with heritage fabric above what was displayed in Gastown. Nevertheless, Gastown's plan is setting a strong foundation for heritage values upon which economic development can be built to sustain the District as it links into the greater city.

The Exchange District can benefit from all these examples of integrated plans through their process, policies and implementation. The process for planning in Seattle's Pioneer Square was extensive and collaborative, whereas the other two examples appeared to be less so. The policies of the Gastown plan focused on the benefit of the

heritage buildings and form before other concerns and as a means to address economic and social policies. The Liverpool plan showed the benefit of a high degree of integration of multi-level government support and the analysis of how policies positively or negatively affected each other. All the planning areas exhibit similar urban form of post-industrial sites and are well-suited as examples of integrated planning for Winnipeg's Exchange District.

## **7 Chapter Seven: Values, Barriers, and Vision Identification for Winnipeg's Exchange District**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The primary research undertaken for this project included a focus group of heritage professionals, government representatives, planners and community development organizations as well as key stakeholder interview of residents, developers, heritage professionals, government representatives, business owners, and community development organizations. The intention is to identify the values, barriers, and vision that stakeholders in the area feel are significant to the area's redevelopment. The values appear to be similar and coincide quite closely with the vision. The barriers, of course, polarize different interests, but much less than might be expected. Overall, there are common themes that run throughout the conversations and the focus group findings.

### **7.2 Focus Group Findings**

In 2004, a focus group of invested stakeholders who wish to ensure the heritage character of the Winnipeg Exchange District is preserved in the process of revitalization strategies, was conducted. The goal of the focus group was to gain insight about what the heritage and planning community in Winnipeg feel are the key values, goals and vision in the context of developing a management plan for the Exchange District. The participants were solicited by letter and chosen according to their professional involvement with the area.

The outcomes of the focus group answer the initial goals set out, but in unexpected ways. The goals of initiating conversation among organizations holding interest in the Exchange and better understanding the focus group method were more

fully met than finding out the values, goals and vision of the individual stakeholders. While the researcher was expecting concrete examples of cultural resources and values, the overarching theme of the dialogue was that a single comprehensive plan for the Exchange District should be produced and implemented through a collaborative process. This was seen as the best way to proceed in the planning process for the Exchange District.

The first goal—to initiate conversation among the difference organizations that have interests in the Exchange—was met with more enthusiasm than was expected. At the end of the session, one member of the group suggested meeting again to form a steering committee and several heads nodded in agreement; however, this is yet to take place. Conversation was quiet fluid and disagreements kept to a minimum. Over the issue of sensitive development of the area, there was a slight polarization, according to interests. This was read through body language, quickness of response to comments, and the actual comments themselves. It did not, however, slow down discussion or halt collaboration.

The goal of gathering data on the values, goals, and vision for the Exchange District was met in a manner of speaking. The outcomes were unlike that of a workshop where distinct statements are produced illuminating the group's opinions. Rather, a more nebulous, yet concrete goal to collaborate on some sort of guiding document that carried legal weight was the prominent theme. The questions regarding visioning were not explored for two reasons: there was insufficient time to discuss this topic and it would not have fit into the process at this point in time.

The data coalesced into several categories while being read for literal content.

The following table describes the themes and the tallies according to the number of times the topic is discussed, whether vocally or in written format.

**Figure 10. Tally of Themes**

	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Written</b>	<b>Comments</b>	<b>Total</b>
1	Must have community and property owner input in planning process		5	5
2	A higher level of awareness, education, and marketing of the value of the District is needed.	10	8	18
3	Downtown workers are not drawn to the Exchange		5	5
4	Better connectivity needed to other neighbourhoods	2	2	4
5	Addressing perceptions of safety	1	1	2
6	Success of the Exchange is challenging its unique character	7	6	13
7	Not enough variety of stores or mixed-uses at street level	8	2	10
8	Need rules, regulations, and legal protection for District	2	5	9
9	Small incremental decisions undermine overall character of District/ Need for a single comprehensive, collaborative plan	7	7	14
10	Deterioration of buildings/ architecture is critical to preserve	4	1	5
11	Money needed for conservation of buildings	2	2	4
12	Design review process insufficient to protect the District	4	3	7
13	Parking needs to be addressed	4		4
14	Needs more residential/critical mass to support businesses and neighbourhood	6		6
15	River edge and parking development puts pressure on ecology	4		4
16	Encourage adaptive-reuse of buildings rather than new buildings or demolition for parking lots	1	2	3
17	Public transit services area adequately	1		1
18	Need for family activities and support a neighbourhood planning approach	5		5
19	Address the cleanliness of Exchange District, including graffiti	1		1
20	Shady property owners—not enough good quality, affordable housing	2		2

21	Loss of heritage circulation patterns.	3		3
22	Lack of city leadership/clear leadership, too many interests	2		2

Three main themes were discussed the most and by more than one person. The most common theme was the level of awareness, education, and marketing of the unique value of the Exchange District. According to some members of the group, the downtown working population has a “high-level of awareness” of the Exchange District, yet does not make the effort to patronize the District even though they work in close proximity to the District. In addition, articles written throughout 2003 and 2004 in the local newspaper over the past year have raised the profile of the Exchange District in Winnipeg. In contrast, the question arose as to whether the boundaries of the Exchange were known by the general public. Though there was some talk about increasing the numbers of visitors to the Exchange, the overall concern was that those stakeholders responsible for the condition and planning of the District, such as property owners, residents, merchants and city departments, are not adequately aware of the unique heritage character of the area or have confused or inadequate guidance on maintaining the quality of the buildings and streetscape.

The next two issues are closely aligned and may be viewed as one concern: that the success of the District is causing small, incremental changes to the fabric of urban form and eroding the collective heritage character of the area; therefore there is a need for a single comprehensive planning document to guide development and conservation. There is definite concern that as the area becomes more popular, pressures such as parking space, new development and traffic circulation will threaten the existing structures and landscape. However, there is recognition that economic feasibility is

needed for the heritage district to be viable. Frustration was expressed about the existing design review process and its inability to protect the District from small infractions such as signage. It was identified to be either overly bureaucratic for property owners to gain approval or there is simply a disregard for the authority of the design review process. There was also concern expressed that changes to this system will see the Exchange District handled in the same way as other “character” districts when it appeared that there was consensus that it is unique in history and form.

There was some discussion of appropriate housing, safety issues, mixed-uses, and development plans, but these were not discussed with the same sense of urgency as the heritage issues. This is for the most part due to the interests of the group members whose role is heritage preservation, but even those individuals who are less involved with heritage conservation appeared to recognize this aspect of the Exchange District as being essential to its unique character.

There was also a sincere expression of concern from more than one individual to have more strict rules, regulations, or legislation to protect the heritage nature of the District. In connection with these comments, it was recognized that public participation would be required to set such guidelines so that the District reflects the values of the community and the guidelines would gain wider acceptance. This was the desired approach over that of a policing role or “strong-arming” property owners to comply with regulations. Another point in connection with this theme was the need for funds to support owners of historic properties in caring for and maintaining their buildings.

From analysis of the data of the focus group, a single comprehensive collaborative plan for the Exchange District was identified as being needed for the

protection of its heritage character and sensitive economic development of the area. Since there are many levels of government and various organizations who have interests in the Exchange District as well as a variety of regulations and guidelines, it would be most helpful to the property owners, merchants, and residents if there was a “single-window” access through which they could receive information, guidance, and design review once a collaborative plan is finalized.

### **7.3 Key Informant Interviews**

Key informants who have interest in the Exchange District were interviewed to identify values, barriers, and vision for the future evolution of the District through a semi-structured interview (see Appendix A for interview questions). These individuals were representative of heritage professionals, businesses, area residents and development organizations working within the District.

Once the interviews were completed, the data was visually posted to expose similar themes from which an affinity map was created. The affinity map visualized main themes around the stakeholders’ values, barriers, and vision for the Exchange District.

### 7.3.1 Main Themes

#### 7.3.1.1 *Values.*

The values identified by the interviewees were essentially homogenous and in agreement. The following main themes were identified:

- historic architecture and urban form;
- character and vibe; and
- support for arts and culture

The historic architecture and urban form of the area is clearly a value to virtually all those interviewed. The reasons, however differed according to interest. Most consider the buildings and urban form as a cohesive unit, valuing the official history, the number, and completeness of structures that remain intact together. Some value the buildings for their sheer architectural details, massing and construction, while separately, maintaining the historic streetscape and urban form are viewed as barriers to pedestrian life.

Increasing sidewalk widths and corner curbs, while improving the pedestrian experience, erode the historic street pattern. Others valued the pedestrian scale and layout of the District, but felt rigid adherence to historic architecture of all buildings within the District was “tyrannical fanaticism,” and considerable alterations should be allowed for economic viability. While almost all spoke of their love of the architecture and form, further prompting uncovered that to some this was ‘lip service’ and that the buildings were simply an interesting framework on which the overall atmosphere of the area is hung. There were various levels of commitment to the integrity of the historic architecture, yet to all, the historic architecture was inextricable from the character of the District.

It was apparent that the character, or atmosphere, was a strong value amongst those interviewed. Inherent in this were the various activities which take place in the Old Market Square and on the street, such as the Fringe Festival, an annual drama festival, to the arts, culture, and creative industries that house themselves in the converted warehouse spaces. The nature of the economic activity manifest in independent, specialty or “esoteric” businesses creates a different atmosphere from that of “suburban strip-mall development,” which is valued throughout the interests in the Exchange District.

The use of the term ‘character’ was problematic because it had different meanings according to one’s perspective. To some, it meant ‘heritage character’ according to Parks Canada’s definition and to others it communicated a general mood of the environment, including the arts and culture activity that is strongly present in the District. This highlights the need for a common language among heritage professionals, businesses, residents, and development organizations to be the first step to truly integrate heritage conservation values with neighbourhood planning practice.

#### *7.3.1.2 Barriers*

The barriers to redevelopment mostly revolved around economic conditions and leadership and are described by the following:

- slow economic growth of Winnipeg,
- cost of construction,
- City support and bureaucracy,
  - plans and guidance
  - services and education
- parking

- vacant image
  - key development sites
  - perceived safety concerns

The story of slow economic growth in Winnipeg is the reason why the Exchange District has not been under intense pressure to change in its physical form. However, this reason also explains why there is a lack of maintenance or rehabilitation of structures.

The lack of viable tenants and relatively low property values, coupled with a number of absentee land owners does not generate a reasonable return on investment to justify private investment in maintenance and heritage conservation. Long-term business tenants interviewed related that the recognition of the arts and culture interest in the area has increased its appeal, causing rents to increase sharply. Ironically, the fledgling independent businesses that contribute to the increased appeal are unable to establish themselves sufficiently before rents increase.

The same issue of cost is considered when discussing the residential population of the Exchange District. It was reported that many visual artists have been known to “squat” in their studios, unofficially using them as living space. Considering the increase in rents, many artists have relocated from the area to Point Douglas, a distressed neighbourhood just north of the District, to find cheaper rents and living accommodations.

The housing options being developed in the Exchange District are higher-income condominiums. The reason given by the private developers for this price-bracket is because of the high cost of construction, rendering middle to low-income housing options uneconomical business ventures. While the cost of purchasing the building is relatively

inexpensive, the cost of renovating and construction is high, especially in buildings that require upgrades to comply with fire and safety codes. Also, many of the buildings still requiring renovations are either too large for a small developer to finance, or the projects are too small to be worthwhile to large development corporations. This highlights a need to diversify the means by which housing is developed in the area, beyond relying on private development.

The lack of City of Winnipeg support and its bureaucracy were also named as barriers to development by interview participants. This was expressed in a number of ways, from the simple lack of sidewalk maintenance to the complexity of urban development plans. There was concern, especially amongst the heritage professionals, that there was no plan to guide development in the District, resulting in piecemeal changes that have a cumulative negative effect on the area's heritage character. Moreover, there was concern for a lack of civic leadership in both economic planning and expertise to guide development projects as well as conservation projects.

Some developers mentioned that while it is welcomed, heritage financial incentives in isolation are not able to drive redevelopment of the District. The tax credit system is only beneficial to those projects that will see a steep increase in property tax, yet in some cases, taxes will decrease as a result of change of use, yielding little benefit to the developer upfront. Considering the unwillingness of private developers to assume the risk of redeveloping the area in the context of Winnipeg's slow economic growth, the heritage incentives alone do not infuse enough funds to impact overall redevelopment. The projects that have significantly impacted the District have been government-supported through a number of departments, Red River College being the prime example.

While it is simple to explain redevelopment issues of a neighbourhood as a lack of funding, interviewees also communicated that the bureaucracy, lack of accessible expertise in navigating conservation and redevelopment issues, and lack of education were frustrating. Developers found that communication among City departments was poor, often requiring conflicting standards for safety and heritage, for example. Even if the guidance is available, it is not easily identified or accessed by those facing questions arising from redevelopment, whether these concern building standards, heritage conservation values or zoning requirements. One developer expressed that it appeared that with each issue, it was as though the City had encountered it for the first time; there appeared to be no corporate knowledge legacy from which to draw solutions. He suggested a designated person who could be a one-point knowledge source for development projects in the District, offering collaborative solutions to the number of problems redevelopment and heritage projects face.

The lack of education on heritage conservation values and the official history of the District was a concern of heritage professionals and other stakeholders alike. Many interviewees responded that the history of the area did not contribute to their everyday enjoyment of the area because it was either not of interest or not known. One interviewee expressed that the history was one of business, not of arts and culture, the latter of which was more pertinent to his interests. Many communicated stories about the District from the past thirty years, which were of interest to them, but not part of the official history for which the area is designated. However, many interviewees did express that the history did contribute to their enjoyment of the area. This identifies a discrepancy between an

appreciation of the area's official history and its unofficial history according to those who have lived and worked in the same district in the past.

What did register as important to the interviewees was the lack of City support for regular maintenance of the area, including snow removal on sidewalks and streets, condition of roads, garbage removal, the maintenance of the Old Market Square and the condition of the streetscape furnishings. This communicates to the stakeholders a lack of commitment to the area on the part of civic leadership. Some long-time stakeholders expressed that the political whims of City administration shifted focus according to popularity and would like to see a continued commitment to the area by all three levels of government.

Appropriate parking was commonly mentioned as a deterrent to business development in the Exchange. Often it was the type of parking, such as metered parking, and the strict enforcement of parking that was seen as a deterrent, rather than the number of spaces available. Many participants felt that free casual parking would improve the business atmosphere.

While the "raw" and "anarchistic" village vibe of the Exchange District is valued, it in some ways contributes to a poor perception of the area in terms of vacant buildings and derelict sites. Key development sites identified as contributing to the overall health of the District were Old Market Square, the Union Bank Tower (504 Main St.), Ryan Building (104 King St.), the surface parking lot north of the TD tower on Main Street (one lot south of 436 Main St), as well as the James Avenue Pumping Station that is just north of the Exchange District National Historic Site boundary. Three of the sites identified are contiguous and centre on the Old Market Square, a hub for activity in the

District. Many interviewees shared that while safety is perceived as a problem by the greater population of Winnipeg, but beyond feeling awkward when face with visible social concerns associated with panhandling and transient individuals, they have not felt in danger of their person or property.

#### *7.3.1.3 Vision*

The vision of the stakeholders interviewed was in many ways homogenous, making reference to the following elements for a successful precinct of the city:

- potential for vibrant arts and culture village
- avoid gentrification
- increased residential population
- animated streetlife and public space
- mixed-use
  - housing income options
  - small, independent businesses on storefronts.

A vibrant village bustling with arts and cultural activities, residents walking through the streets with bags of shopping from mundane errands and esoteric boutiques, or visiting at the coffee shop on their way to the latest gallery exhibit are all images used to describe the vision stakeholders have for the Exchange. A mix of people, incomes, styles, ideas, homes, and economics describes the collage that many hope the Exchange District to express. The images are based on other times and places, a veritable Jane Jacobesque urban neighbourhood. More than the actual desire for robust activity, however, is a tacit value to maintain the raw potentiality of the area. As long as the area is

yet to be fully developed, the creative minds of the stakeholders can construct their own Greenwich Village or Vancouver in their imaginations. For the artists and creative professionals, the potentiality of the area is a big draw, and for the heritage professionals, the industrial grittiness that speaks to its history and raw urban roots. Many fear a smoothing of the rough edges of the District's qualities in efforts to attract high-income investment and forms of gentrification.

Increasing the downtown residential population is an expressed goal of Plan Winnipeg. All of the interviewees expressed a belief that more residents in the Exchange would benefit the area by creating a need for amenities, increased sense of safety, and general vitality. Few stated that they would live in the District, however, citing cost and a desire for a single family dwelling with a yard as the two inhibitors.

Streetlife and public space were two goals that interviewees expressed as able to contribute to the redevelopment of the area. The Fringe Festival was cited by many as a perfect example of the creative buzz of people needed to encourage continual economic growth. One suggested the closure of Albert St. for a pedestrianized mall and envisioned a European approach to town centres which encourage walking and revolve around a town square.

Mixing of housing income levels, land uses and types of businesses, among the mixing of ideas and activities appears to be among the values and goals of those involved in the area. There is a desire to see modest income earners and students have a place in the Exchange District as well as those high-income earning professionals. Moreover, there is a desire to see a mix of independent, small storefront shops rather than national chain stores, which will sustain the needs of the community and contribute to the artistic

sensibilities of the culture. Considering one of the values identified for the District is its unique character, it is not surprising that the vision for the area includes a greater mix of activities and people.

#### **7.4 *Conclusions***

For the most part, the findings of the focus group support those of the key stakeholder interviews. The values revolve around a concern for the arts and cultural atmosphere of the area, to which the architecture and urban form are a meaningful backdrop. The barriers vary according to the main interest of the interviewee, but were perhaps more moderate than expected. Communication, economics, and city support topped the list of the majority of interviewees as barriers to redevelopment. The vision for the area continues along the same path as what is currently valued, however it centres on economic activities and atmosphere rather than the physical architecture of the area.

## **8 Chapter Eight: Conclusions**

### ***8.1 Threats and Issues Facing the Exchange District***

As any neighbourhood must recognize, there are issues that face the Exchange District as it redevelops and also threats that jeopardize the heritage and community values that currently exist. This generally results from something being out of balance: too much of one thing or too little of another. By identifying those things in surplus and those in scarcity, there can be a shifting of energy to stabilize the neighbourhood for healthy growth. Issues such as neighbourhood transition, communication, vision and guidance, and lack of resources have all been identified as difficulties within the District.

#### **8.1.1 In Transition: Historic District to Neighbourhood**

When the Exchange District was first delineated by the City of Winnipeg as a precinct, it was as a historic district; therefore its primary identity is that of a collection of historic buildings. Economically, the neighbourhood has been transitioning over time from a strongly mixed industrial and commercial area to neighbourhood of small-scale independent businesses and arts and cultural entertainment. At a finer scale, there is a shift occurring from the area supporting visual fine artists to commercial arts, in combination with the film industry and Red River College's course programming. More recently, the area is adding more housing as a result of a political directive achieved through a change to the zoning by-law. This current shift is adding a residential population to the mix, which will increase the services needed in the area and will change it from a city precinct to a neighbourhood. This transition requires the attention of planning resources that are beyond heritage conservation, but of neighbourhood planning.

### **8.1.2 Communication**

Based on the focus group and interview findings, there are common goals and a vision for the District, but a relative lack of understanding that residents, developers and heritage conservation professionals hold these same views. While many have the same or similar goals, they may not agree on the best means by which to obtain those goals by balancing economic and heritage conservation activity.

As well, the lack of communication or integration amongst the planning development, zoning, heritage, and licensing departments of the City of Winnipeg appeared to be a frustration for those having to comply with city regulations regarding their rehabilitation projects. Consequently, communication between the City of Winnipeg and the public is inconsistent and at times, conflicting.

In addition, many interviewees reported that there are improper perceptions regarding the safety, crime and atmosphere of the area. While this did not appear to be an issue with those well-acquainted with the area, many thought that the greater population of Winnipeg had a misinformed view of the area's relative safety and low crime rate.

### **8.1.3 Lack of Resources**

The lack of resources is a ubiquitous claim of any project. However, the economic growth of a city such as Winnipeg is slow and this, coupled with the cost of construction, makes rehabilitation of heritage buildings unattractive financially. It will require more than private investment alone to keep the buildings and streetscapes of the Exchange District in good maintenance in such an economic climate. There must be

advantages and incentives to attract private investment, along with supportive government financial programming.

#### **8.1.4 Vision and Leadership**

There is not a lack of vision for the area, as the interviews confirm, but a lack of strong leadership to guide its future path, lack of methodology to achieve the vision, and a lack of guidance overall. Every cause needs a champion, and the guiding of the Exchange District through its physical and social transitions is no different. There is not a group that includes representation from all interests in the Exchange District to collaborate to set direction for the area and speak with one voice regarding issues the area faces.

The fact that there is yet to be a plan that addressed both heritage conservation and neighbourhood planning for the area speaks to its low planning priority. As such, the zoning by-laws have no rationale for their regulations and are more easily varied than statutory plans. The existence of a plan guides the regulatory framework and lays out a long-term vision for the area to protect against piecemeal development that can occur by granting variances of a by-law.

#### **8.1.5 Infrastructure and Transportation**

Concurrent with the issue of leadership is the issue of responsibility. Frustrations with parking, infrastructure, traffic and city regulations are easily targeted at civic government. Developing a plan that addresses these issues sets out responsibilities of all parties involved and assigns accountability. However, the issues of infrastructure, parking, and traffic go beyond the Exchange District and affect the whole of Winnipeg's

downtown; yet considering its unique urban form, the historic district is even more sensitive to its impacts. Such “nuts and bolts” details are nevertheless critical to the activities, whether economic or social, of the District.

#### **8.1.6 Toxic Mythology**

There are no firm records kept to measure economic development or social indicators for the Exchange District. Consequently, the area functions on myths that are passed through “official” histories, newspapers, radio, TV news, tourism ads, politicians, and oral history, and urban form (Duggan, 2006). These myths affect all areas of the District’s development.

The story of Winnipeg’s promise to become a major centre is a mythology that remains in the general Winnipeg consciousness today (Duggan, 2006). Duggan relates that there are central mythologies that construct a city’s narrative and therefore its architecture and urban form. These myths may or may not be based on facts; however they have the power to move people beyond that which logic and facts alone can do. As a result, these myths can be toxic or benign in their effects on Winnipeg culture.

The founding myth of the Selkirk Settlers, while positive in its inception, is now working against integrated and collaborative planning in the city. There persists a ‘frontier’ mentality of independent, rugged, pioneers who are given their own land and are masters of it. This staunch sense of individuality makes it difficult to knit the city together into a whole garment.

Of the eight myths<sup>1</sup> that Duggan says define Winnipeg, at least half have overarching themes of failure or conflict, including the stories of “Chicago of the North”, the 1919 Strike, and the urban regeneration projects of the Centennial Echo, which are included in the Exchange District’s history. Of these myths, the “Chicago of the North” myth has the strongest ties to the District and while it can be viewed as a myth of failure, it also contributes to an undaunting sense of optimism for the Exchange District to reach its potential.

Bruce Duggan speaks of myths that comprise Winnipeg’s narrative and impact its culture. He classifies the “Chicago of the North” myth as toxic because its main theme is failure. The architectural histories of the buildings speak of rapid growth, prominent designs, and great expectations of future prosperity. However, since this great prosperity did not materialize, the underused and derelict buildings remind the city in a tacit way that its dreams were never realized.

This reminder of former glory was based on the image of another city, namely Chicago. The interviewees expressed their vision for the Exchange District in terms of other cities such as “Greenwich Village”, “Manhattan”, and “Vancouver,” as well as expressing the “potential” of the area. As a consequence of this “Chicago” myth, Winnipeg has constantly been measuring its success as a city against other major centres. Or, it could be argued, Winnipeg has not defined itself adequately, other cities have created a myth by which to measure the city, since “myth abhors a vacuum” (Duggan,

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<sup>1</sup> The eight myths are the stories surrounding the Selkirk Settlers, Riel Rebellion, Chicago of the North, The 1919 Strike, the Flood of 1954, The Centennial Echo, The J.J. Harper Shooting, and the Loss of the Jets.

2006). In either scenario, Winnipeg is operating under toxic myths; it must realistically consider what these myths are and make efforts to define new ones to guide the city.

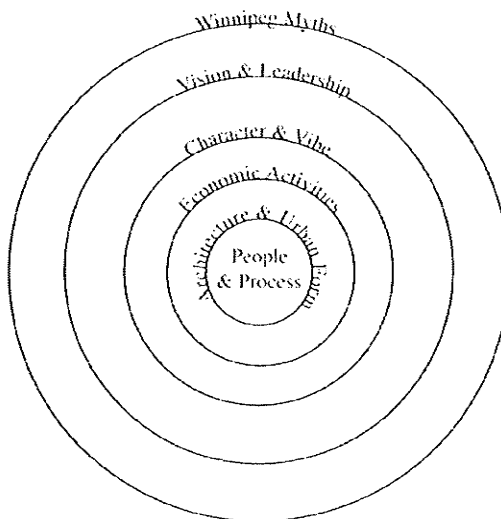
In an effort to “brand” the image of Manitoba, the provincial government has just recently launched an advertising campaign with the slogan, “Spirited Energy” (Government of Manitoba, 2006). This campaign is precisely the tool needed to develop a new mythology for Manitoba, and ultimately, Winnipeg. The new slogan, however, says very little about what it is that makes Manitoba “spirited” and has not critically assessed the toxic myths that already exist to either reform or combine them as a means of creating an effective new mythology for Winnipeg. It is not linked very strongly to those myths that Manitobans already believe about themselves—in a negative or positive way—and may have little impact on the tacit beliefs of Winnipeggers and Manitobans. Nevertheless, it is a recognition that some of the current mythologies of Winnipeg and Manitoba are unproductive and offers a positive alternative.

## **8.2 *Value of Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning to the Exchange District***

### **8.2.1 Integrated Policy Development**

Through reflexive analysis, the main themes identified through the case studies, focus groups, and interviews coalesced into major topics for policy consideration. These major topics have been nested according to Ken Wilber's Great Holarchy (Wilber, 2001). A holarchy is, in essence, a nested hierarchy, "a whole that is a part of other wholes" (Wilber, 2001, 40). He uses the example of "atoms to molecules to cells to organisms" (2001, 20) to describe how one nest is a complete entity on its own, yet is built from and envelopes yet smaller, but complete nests, and is dependent on that nest for its structure. By nesting the broader themes in this way, it allows for an integral analysis of policies and how they might affect one another. The broader themes of policy development are:

- People & Process
- Architecture and Urban Form
- Economic Activities
- Character & Vibe
- Vision & Leadership
- Winnipeg Myths



**Figure 11. Nest of Issues Facing the Exchange District**

Looking at the District as concentric rings rather than simply from a heritage conservation perspective allows the values of heritage conservation to permeate the nest at all levels. For example, addressing communication amongst people at the core level will ultimately affect the stories Winnipeg tells about itself, but myths cannot exist without people to formulate them. Currently, the community involved in the Exchange District is running in isolated silos with little communication between the groups. By nesting their concerns and goals in this manner, there is an opportunity to approach the planning of the District in a way that articulates common goals while understanding how each concentric nest affects the others.

### **8.2.2 From Integrated to Collaborative**

Throughout this study, integrated conservation has simply meant the mixing of heritage conservation policy with neighbourhood planning. The Exchange District has experienced integrated conservation according to this definition in minor ways, primarily

as having by-law protection for design review. There have been various plans for the District, but not one that addresses all the urban needs of a historic district. Integration requires moving across disciplines.

Nevertheless, at this point in time, integrated conservation alone would not be sufficient as a planning approach for the Exchange District. There is a need for better communication among interest groups and for their input into the process and articulation of values and goals. It is from here that integrated conservation must combine with Sandercock's approach of postmodern planning practices. Her second point expresses this best by espousing the idea that planning is no longer merely about comprehensive and integrated policy, but about communication, making it "less document-oriented and more people centered: deliberative as well as analytical" (Sandercock, 20003, 34). Many stakeholders would agree that heritage conservation values are important, but a deliberative process would tease out whether this is "lip-service" or among their true core values.

The collective vision of the Exchange District's stakeholders would go a long way to alleviate piecemeal development and alterations. Combining an integrated heritage conservation approach with collaborative measures would ensure that each stakeholder's view was addressed. Moreover such a plan creates a cornerstone by which decisions affecting the District can be judged and defended. Through the planning process, the handling of heritage issues from many professions or viewpoints necessarily educate and foster understanding of those less informed.

Finally, integrated heritage conservation is interested in weaving the value and benefit of an historic built heritage into the daily experience of the city. Canada has

recognized the value of the Exchange District as important to all Canadians. Winnipeg has recognized this area as distinct through past regulations and currently through new financial and cultural investment. As it becomes more attractive to development, there needs to be a clear understanding and vision of the historic district's future. City planning is necessary to manage the changing needs of the city. Integrated planning will ensure that the tangible and intangible benefits of Winnipeg's Exchange District are not compromised as it transitions from one expression of urban form to its new role in the city.

### ***8.3 Best Practices for the Exchange District***

The best practices outlined in this section are based on the primary and secondary research regarding integrated heritage conservation planning. In some cases, the practices may already be in place in the Exchange District, or at beginning stages which are yet to be realized.

#### **8.3.1 People**

The best practices that can be achieved for people in the Exchange District include:

- creating a communication strategy among civic government departments and the public,
- increasing community collaboration,
- addressing social issues,
- providing affordable housing options, and
- protecting artists and existing residents.

Based on the results of the focus group of heritage professionals and government representatives, a higher level of awareness, education, and marketing of the value of the District is needed. This result along with reports from key stakeholders that there is not sufficient support for redevelopment efforts on the City's behalf indicate a broken communication link between the two. The goals articulated in the research gathered indicate similar goals amongst all groups involved, yet there is little understanding that this is the case. A communication strategy or protocol to collaborate amongst civic departments involved in redevelopment and heritage conservation would alleviate misinformation and shirking of responsibilities.

The interviews show that interviewees felt there was insufficient community collaboration or true consultation in any planning processes or decisions that involved the District. Increasing collaboration would strengthen the community that currently exists in anticipation of an increased residential population in the area and 'buy-in' from property owners. In addition, the process of collaboration has a social learning effect, addressing the goal of improving education and awareness of the District's value.

Unless there is a healthy population upon which to base a neighbourhood transition, efforts to improve the area will not take root, or will displace an already distressed population. Currently, the social issues of the area are described in terms of 'safety' concerns, but in reality it is problems with panhandling and intoxicant use. While these issues reach beyond the Exchange District as a neighbourhood, the Seattle Pioneer Square plan recognizes the presence of the problems and attempts to contribute solutions through economic development.

Concurrent with the social concerns is the concern that there are few affordable housing options available within the District. To achieve the vision of a healthy social mix, there must be affordable housing. Considering the cost of construction of rehabilitation of the historic structures, the private market is providing higher-income options. Therefore, community housing providers or cooperative agencies, both of which exist currently in the District, should be encouraged and given incentives.

The presence of artists in the area is arguably the most significant catalyst for neighbourhood change and rehabilitation of the historic structures. However, as the area becomes more popular, the space the artists once occupied have become too expensive for their lifestyle. The presence of arts and culture in the area registered as a high priority for those interviewed. Many expressly articulated protection for those contributing to the arts and culture and who live and work in the District, in an effort to avoid gentrification. Programming aimed at supporting and maintaining the presence of visual artists in the area would contribute to the social mix and mixed economy of the area.

### **8.3.2 Architecture and Urban Form**

The best practices in handling the historic architecture and urban form in the Exchange District include:

- defining design guidelines that describe conservation for historic buildings and urban form specific to the District,
- providing accessible education and guidance on conservation for design professionals, property owners and tenants, and
- identify key rehabilitation sites.

The *Exchange District Commemorative Integrity Statement* (CIS) is a document that outlines the heritage values of the District. The *CIS* and the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (SG) are excellent tools for conservation, but in and of themselves do not recount a planning process. The cultural fabric of the area needs design guidelines and standards that are specific to its form and context. Such guidelines existed at one time, but are out of date and are in need of revision. A more prominent declaration of the values of the site is needed along with the means of translating these into proper rehabilitation of existing buildings will set the level of expectation for new construction within the District.

Both heritage conservation professionals and small-scale developers expressed a desire for more education and awareness of conservation as well as support for redevelopment. This can be achieved through a number of ways: a designated position that supports rehabilitation and conservation in the District, publications outlining conservation principles and standards, and presentations and workshops, to name a few.

Interviewees also identified key development sites that would impact the revitalization of the area, two of which are located adjacent to the central hub, the Old Market Square. Focusing energies and resources on the revitalization of key sites or key clusters would create the largest visual impact, rather than scattered attention across the District. The Seattle's Pioneer Square Neighborhood Plan identified key sites that would be addressed within the scope of the plan to achieve the articulated objectives goals.

### 8.3.3 Economic Activity

The best practices for encouraging economic activities in the Exchange District include:

- providing economic incentives to attract investment and business, especially amenity services, and to off-set conservation costs,
- controlling rents for new business tenants until enterprise is established,
- encouraging and supporting arts and cultural enterprise, including commercial arts and entertainment, and
- maintaining mixed land-use and mixed economy.

There are already economic incentives available for historic buildings in Winnipeg, and even more available for those in the downtown. However, there are other disincentives, such as the business tax and BIZ levees that apply as well. In light of the slow economic growth, it is unlikely that private investment will be willing to fill the entire need to rehabilitate structures. In the meantime, however, the buildings will continue to deteriorate if they remain unoccupied. The three-levels of government as stewards of a national historic site and civically designated District must creatively attract economic activity to the area. The interviews indicate that encouraging the arts, cultural events, and entertainment in a mixed-use economy of independent storefronts, amenities, and residences is the vision for the area; therefore incentives that attract and support this activity is recommended.

### 8.3.4 Character & Vibe

The best practices to cultivate and protect the Exchange District's character and "vibe" include:

- defining boundaries for area;
- facilitate streetlife, pedestrianization and public space; and
- facilitate events.

Defining the boundaries for the area is important for setting policy. The multiplicity of boundaries for various groups is the anti-thesis of an integrated planning approach. A clear boundary is necessary to delineate which by-laws, historic conservation standards, or financial incentives apply.

The Exchange District was constructed in a finer grain than newer developments in Winnipeg, lending itself to a pleasant pedestrian environment. Results of the interviews show that streetlife and public events are highly desirable to stakeholders and they wish to encourage more of this type of activity. This can become an issue between heritage conservation values of the streetscape configuration and pedestrian comfort, however there are many creative means by which to achieve this goal. There have been actions taken to ameliorate the two large green spaces, Old Market Square and Stephen Juba Park, yet the initiatives run on their own accord without a plan to guide them. However, the study of Old Market Square to improve its function as a public event space shows that there is awareness of the goals of the stakeholders.

### **8.3.5 Vision & Leadership**

The best practices to articulate vision and leadership for the Exchange District include:

- creating an Integrated Conservation Plan
- redefining administrative framework

By far the most important recommendation of this research is to develop a secondary heritage conservation plan based on Sandercock's post-modern planning practices. A secondary plan establishes policy for the physical environment (e.g. design guidelines, parking, street patterns) and requires Council support for amendment. The adoption of a secondary plan will legally define the area as a historic district, offering the highest level of protection currently available under the Winnipeg Charter for a heritage district. Creating a plan with clear direction for the future bolsters confidence from private sector investment. If the plan is developed with a focus on the collaboration of stakeholders, the process will achieve some of the communication goals and establish 'buy-in' from the community, increasing its effectiveness. A plan shows leadership and responsibility and can address stumbling blocks such as parking and conservation standards against piecemeal development, and has the ability to speak to most, if not all of the recommendations of this research.

To support a plan there must be adequate administrative framework. In addition to the necessary integration of planning among city departments concerning the Exchange District, the UDAC design review board conducts the design review of the District in conjunction with HBC. Its role is to review design of the whole of Winnipeg's downtown and it has a set of guidelines by which it will base its decisions. The role of

the UDAC may be too general for the specific cultural resource of the Exchange District, yet the input from HBC is an attempt to bring more expertise to the process. If UDAC was compared with to Vancouver's Gastown's plan establishing a design review committee for Gastown alone, it could be argued that Winnipeg is regressing in its planning for historic districts rather than progressing. The former HWAC was the closest entity there was to a group that represented an array of stakeholders for the area, however there is a need for an advisory group that speaks for the social and economic communities of the District, and not only the political and heritage conservation perspectives. The research shows that these groups have the same visions, but that they operate on unsubstantiated information about the other groups and their intentions.

#### **8.3.6 Winnipeg Myths**

The best practices in addressing Winnipeg's mythology will be to identify toxic myths associated with the Exchange District. Bruce Duggan suggests five points for understanding metanarratives or myths that constitute a city:

- Myths endure
- Even false myths endure
- Myths work
- Myths are morally fluid
- Unexamined myths can bite you in the ass (Duggan, 2006)

Duggan states that myths endure; that long after the event has occurred, the myth remains in the consciousness of the city and affects future decisions. In this case, the "Chicago of the North" myth has endured for nearly a century. While it has kept

Winnipeg's population buoyant with optimism, it is also a reminder that the city has never reached its potential as a major industrial or cultural centre.

Even if the myth is not based on fact, it can continue to influence the decisions a city makes about its physical form. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was unprecedented building in Winnipeg in expectation of phenomenal growth, but just as the footings were set, the economics of the city declined and have been slow ever since. Winnipeg has never been a city with the same population or economy as Chicago, yet there is debilitating, wishful thinking that another wave of economic prosperity will wash over the city. This myth feeds the desire to recognize any development as 'good' development in the city because it feeds the myth that the city is growing. This attitude is particularly harmful to the cultural fabric of the Exchange District.

Whether myths are based on fact or fiction, they have real power to influence social perceptions. Rational argument and the presentation of facts are no match for a well-developed myth. Decisions are made for emotional reasons, not rational ones and this is the role of myth in city planning.

Furthermore, Duggan states that myths are morally fluid and can be presented on either side of a moral debate (Duggan, 2006). He used the example of Winnipeg's positive myth of communal helping and volunteerism. This myth is used by charity organizations to encourage giving, yet the same myth was used by politicians to rationalize cutting welfare, explaining that Winnipeg's community spirit would support those whom the government could no longer support.

Above all, it is necessary for Winnipeg to examine its myths – especially the toxic myths that hold the city back from developing a positive identity. In the case of the

Exchange District, it is commonly boasted through tourism literature, among other sources, as an arts and cultural village; yet it is questionable if those who are artists are a few lone souls or a community located in the District. A recent article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* highlights that Winnipeg artists making a living through their art is less than 1% (Walker, 2006, C5), falling behind smaller centres such as Regina on a per capita basis. With Winnipeg at a population of approximately 700, 000, one percent would equal 7000 artists in total across the city, only a fraction of which could be located in the Exchange District according to recent statistics. It is possible that the artistic community has left the Exchange District and is centred in other neighbourhoods. While Winnipeggers may enjoy and support the arts more than other cities, a close examination of the myths surrounding the city would greatly influence all the other nests that rest within Winnipeg's myths. Consequently, rather than fighting toxic myths with facts, new myths or histories must be discovered, created or combined to lead the historic district into a new chapter of prosperity and vitality.

#### **8.4 Next Steps**

The previous sections have answered the questions posed at the beginning of this study:

- What tensions currently exist between heritage conservation and property redevelopment in the Winnipeg's Exchange District?
- How can these tensions be mitigated by an integrated planning approach to the Exchange District?

- What practices will best protect the heritage values and character-defining elements of the Exchange District while accommodating the economic and social health of the city?

Nevertheless, there remains the questions of, “What is next?” or “What form should all this knowledge take to move forward?” It is at this point that a potential framework for action can be suggested to support the goal of protecting the Exchange District’s historical, social and economic interests in the long-term.

I recommend that the action that best addresses the identified tensions within District based on the research presented is to embark on a collaborative and integrated heritage conservation planning process that results in a secondary plan in accordance with The City of Winnipeg Charter Act. To refer to an integrated heritage conservation plan as a secondary plan simply is to refer to its legal status under The City of Winnipeg Charter Act and Plan Winnipeg 2020 (Winnipeg’s primary plan). A secondary plan is the means by which an integrated heritage conservation plan would be recognized and implemented. While it may not afford immediate and explicit protection, a plan constructed through collaboration has the manifold benefits of educating practitioners and stakeholders about the opportunities of reaching common goals; communicating with a common language to create understanding across disciplines and interests; articulating common goals, vision and myths for heritage and economic interests alike as well as leadership roles and responsibilities; creating a social learning environment to tackle shared concerns; supporting programs and actions that will lead to increased awareness, protection and appreciation of cultural resources; and identifying areas to focus

development and conservation funds for the best results among many other reasons previously stated.

Furthermore, a secondary plan is the statutory means by which planning for neighbourhood and historic district is currently provided. To seek a historic district designation would entail amending the Charter Act, which has its own merits and should be considered an action under the integrated conservation plan. In addition, zoning by-laws, design guidelines, design review, and the creation of a representative body of stakeholders are all proven tools that should be explored in light of a broader, inclusive vision and articulation of goals through collaborative planning. Without a holarchic sense of the topics facing the District, the tools created out of context are limited in their effectiveness.

The following suggestions outline a framework for action to launch a collaborative planning process:

#### Articulate the Scope of the Plan

- Identify the scope of the plan
  - Identify area the plan will cover
  - Identify intended outcomes of plan (i.e. integrated heritage conservation)

#### Strike a Steering Committee

- Appoint a project leader to instigate and facilitate the creation of a integrated heritage conservation secondary plan for the Exchange District
- Create working groups to focus on segments of the plan, such as Heritage Conservation, Administration and Economic Development, and Neighbourhood Promotion.

#### Identify Issues Facing the District

- Identify the pressures and toxic myths
- Seek a number of sources for identification of issues (e.g. study, reports, statistics, anecdotes, public consultation)

- Commission studies on which there is no substantive data such as vacancy rates, housing needs and preferences, and set economic indicators of growth.

#### Set Vision and Goals

- Adopt a clear Vision Statement for the Exchange District for the heritage management of the site
- Identify a set of significant values of the Exchange District that the plan will uphold and protect. (This may be different from—or in addition to—the historic professional's list of values recorded in the CIS)

#### Engage Public Consultation and an Advisory Committee

- Seek input on public priorities and needs at various points in the planning process
- Address communication and language discrepancies
- Cultivate understanding and open dialogue amongst all interested groups, including the transient population.

After engaging in public consultation, the formal process of secondary planning within the City of Winnipeg to have the by-law passed in Council will apply.

A clear understanding of roles and responsibilities is necessary for a project to move forward. The following table outlines a possible matrix for assigning roles and responsibilities to stakeholders of the District.

<b>Roles</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>
<b>Project Steering Committee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Overall direction of project and decision making</b></li> </ul>
Planning Property and Development: Heritage Unit and Downtown Branch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Direct ownership of the plan as a City Secondary Plan By-law</li> <li>▪ Principle role in writing plan</li> </ul>
Downtown Planner/Project Consultants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Receive direction from Steering Committee</li> <li>▪ Background research preparation</li> <li>▪ Involvement in consultation process—with interested groups and open houses</li> </ul>
CentreVenture Development Corporation <sup>2</sup>	
<b>Project Advisory Committee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Provide input into plan</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Sounding board for ideas and concepts</b></li> </ul>

<sup>2</sup> As August 3, 2006, CentreVenture has shifted its mandate and scope, which may affect its role in redevelopment of heritage properties (CentreVenture).

	▪ <b>Not a directive body</b>
City of Winnipeg, Planning: Transportation Planner; District Planner; Plan Winnipeg Planner; Parks Planner; others	
Winnipeg Transit	
Public Works	
Water and Waste Department	
Community Services	
Winnipeg Police Services	
Fire and Paramedic Services	
City Naturalist	
Film Commissioner	
Historic Buildings Committee	
<b>Other Interested Parties</b>	▪ <b>Idea generation and general information</b> ▪ <b>Input into planning process</b>
Existing Property Owners	
Transient Population	
Tenants and Residents	
Area Developers	
Exchange District BIZ	
Neighbourhood groups	
ArtSpace	
Centennial Centre	
Manitoba Theatre Centre	
Heritage Winnipeg	
Manitoba Museum	

These suggestions are a starting point to embark on a planning process that will address the many knowledges and values of Winnipeg in the planning and protection of one of its prize possessions, the Exchange District. The research conducted displays a desire for a collective vision and plan for the District that is aware of the economic difficulties and slow growth of the city.

### **8.5 Further Research Questions**

The research presented here raises more questions than it answers and brings up theoretical questions about the meaning of “heritage” and “history” in a culturally mixed

society. The broader question is: what "language" does heritage conservation need to use to be relevant in the larger process of neighbourhood planning? What "vocabulary" will give insight into the protection and presentation of cultural identity and multiple histories through physical form?

There is a lack of theoretical literature on integrated planning and how it might move beyond policy to shared values when discussing heritage resources in a multicultural society. It is necessary to move the discipline forward beyond the 'bricks and mortar' to addressing the needs of the whole person within the needs of the whole community.

In terms of the Exchange District, the questions revolve around measures and myth. There are few, if any statistics kept on the District apart from those of Winnipeg's entire downtown, and therefore no ways to measure quantitative growth. There are no statistics on vacancy, housing needs or preferences, or economic growth indicators. There are also no social indicators to evaluate how the community is growing in its transition from an industrial area to a residential, mixed-use area. In light of the vision and goals for the area, the question remains: how are we to know if we are achieving these goals?

The Exchange District is in danger of losing its heritage character and unique atmosphere because of the lack of planning. In the event that Winnipeg's economy grows swiftly, the District will experience pressure to redevelop quickly without vision. Conversely, if the economy of Winnipeg slows, the buildings are vulnerable to neglect and dereliction, resulting in their ultimate demise. A planning process that clearly

outlines the objectives and means to protect the District as a national historic site and a neighborhood will mitigate these pressures.

Furthermore, ascertaining the multiple perspective of Winnipeg's population at-large regarding the values, barriers, and vision for the Exchange District would rescue the Exchange District from its enclave context and set it within the larger context of the city as a whole. By understanding the operating myths Winnipeg has regarding the District, the Exchange District can be better integrated within planning values for Winnipeg.

Integrated heritage conservation is a step towards a more inclusive, collaborative planning approach for historic districts in contemporary cities. It stresses understanding across disciplines and seeks common values and goals on which to base decisions that affect cultural heritage resources.

The Exchange District in Winnipeg's downtown core can benefit from the examples of other cities in the UK, US and Canada that have adapted such an approach to planning. Winnipeg has the opportunity to protect a resource that sets it apart from other North American cities through thoughtful attention to all segments of society. Proper management of the Exchange District stands to help Winnipeg set itself apart as a model for excellent care and attention of its post-industrial historic city centre. While shifting perceptions and attitudes will be difficult considering the toxic myths that contribute to the fabric of the city, it would not be without a myriad of social, economic, and historical benefits. Winnipeg has the unique opportunity in the Exchange District to invest in its heritage to cultivate a culture of appreciation and a legacy of collaborative planning.

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## **10 Appendix A: Ethics Consent Form**

Research Project Title:

**Integrated Heritage Conservation Planning for Winnipeg's Exchange District**

Researcher(s): **Jennifer Jenkins**

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

This project will explore the value of a heritage conservation planning approach to maintain the Exchange District National Historic Site's character and historic attributes. Integrated heritage conservation planning practice views heritage conservation policy alongside those policies that govern economic, ecological and social sustainability in a historic district. Further, heritage conservation goals are linked with how the land is used and community planning. This approach displays the evolution of heritage conservation planning practice from its original intent to conserve art objects to a multi-faceted process including landscapes and culture. The research undertaken in this project is to be used for this purpose.

Interviews, approximately one to two hours in duration, will be conducted with interested individuals and parties. These individuals or groups will be interviewed on their perception of redevelopment and heritage needs as well as their priorities within the Exchange District National Historic Site. There is no potential harm to participants of these interviews that is greater than that which one might experience in the normal conduct of one's everyday life. With your consent, the interviews will be recorded by a tape recorder, and in addition the researcher may take notes. You may, if you wish, choose to turn off the tape recorder during the interview, without prejudice. So choosing will not waive any of your rights as a participant in the research. Confidentiality will be maintained for all participants. All tapes and notes will be destroyed no more than six months following the publication of materials arising from the research and will remain in the researcher's possession until that time.

Feedback will be available to all participants in the form of a summary report, distributed either by electronic means or on printed page.

There will be no remuneration in connection with participation in this research study.

**Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional**

responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Principal Researcher:  
Jennifer Jenkins

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This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research and Ethics Board and is being done as a part of the thesis work for a Master's Degree in City Planning. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail margaret\_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## 11 Appendix B: Semi-structured Interview Questions

The semi-structured interviews will focus the following themes:

- current perception of the district;
- identification of issues, opportunities, needs and priorities; and
- future vision for the district.

The following questions represent examples of the type of questions that will be asked of subjects.

### A. Values

- 1) What is your main interest in the Exchange?
- 2) What do you love about the Exchange District?
- 3) Why is the Exchange District important the city?
- 4) Is the history of the Exchange District significant to your enjoyment/use of the area?
  - a) How do you feel about the heritage character of the area?
- 5) For what purpose do you generally visit the Exchange District?
- 6) Would you live here? Why or why not?

### B. Barriers

- 1) Should there be development of the Exchange District?
- 2) What would that development look like?
- 3) What keeps development from occurring in the Exchange District?
- 4) Does the heritage designation cause a barrier? How?
- 5) Are there any specific issues of which you are aware that are a detriment to development in the Exchange District?
- 6) Is it important to know what other organizations/businesses are planning or allowed to do with their property? Why?
- 7) What would you like to see be encouraged the most in the Exchange District as it develops? (economic development, community development, ecology, entertainment, historic authenticity?) Why is this a priority for you?

### C. Vision, Policies and Practices

- 1) How would you improve the Exchange District?
- 2) What is your vision for the Exchange District?
- 3) Do you think you have similar goals & visions for the Exchange District as other stakeholders?
- 4) What would give you incentive to invest in the Exchange District? Or if you have, why?
- 5) Would you like to have your say in the planning process? How and Why?