

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SOME GEOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS ON THE CBD OF WINNIPEG

by

PAMELA M. REISHEL

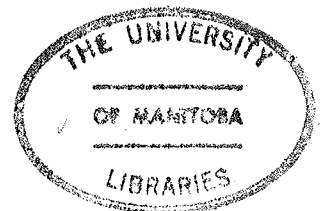
A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Department of Geography

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
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MASTER OF ARTS

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Winnipeg's CBD from a geographical perspective; to determine if it is in decline; to examine methods used elsewhere to revitalize downtowns; to examine local responses; to justify the revitalization of downtowns.

A literature review of city growth and indicators of CBD change determined that four approaches can be used to study the CBD: (1) A principal component analysis of functions at two points in time determines basic patterns and suggests changes. (2) A study of rental rates in the downtown and in the suburbs shows absolute and relative changes. (3) A study of building heights in the downtown indicates level of development. (4) An examination of population changes in the downtown and in the entire city indicates movement of people.

Findings show that Winnipeg's downtown has not really changed although some decentralization of functions has occurred. Based on relative rental rates downtown is viewed by consumers as equal at best in terms of overall shopping amenities to the suburban regional shopping centres. The downtown does not contain a concentration of multi-storey buildings which normally characterize mature CBDs. There is a marked migration of population from the downtown while the population of the City has grown.

The findings indicate that Winnipeg's CBD has never developed into a mature CBD. The introduction of Polo Park Shopping Centre into the system halted its growth. Today the CBD is in a state of inertia and

requires revitalization and development. Its position in the hierarchy of centres has fallen. The CBD is at best at the same level as regional shopping centres. Policy makers in Winnipeg and elsewhere, in cities with mature CBDs that are experiencing decline, are attempting to redevelop the downtown and if coordination between public and private interests, planning, and comprehensive land use and mixed-use developments are stressed the goal can be accomplished. The downtown, although it will never again be the major nucleus, can still be an important office-retail-service centre for most cities. The downtown often gives the city its identity, character and life and thus should not be left to decay. However, suburbanization has spawned the poly-nucleated city and the downtown is only one of the nuclei.

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## CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

The term central business district conveys the geographical concepts of location, function, and areal unit. The CBD, then, is central in location to the whole city; in terms of business it represents those central functions which continue to agglomerate in this central area. The dynamic component of agglomeration indicates that those functions which lose their centrality are replaced by the newer functions with a greater degree of centrality. In theory, if this process of replacement continues the central area will then maintain its uppermost place in the hierarchy of business centres in a city. In other words, an equilibrium exists between centrifugal and centripetal forces. However, in North American cities the centrifugal forces have become dominant. Consequently, equilibrium has been disturbed. Functions and people alike have moved away from the centre of cities and due to the process of suburbanization the decline of the central area was inevitable. However, due to the recent policies of various government levels people and functions have begun to move back to the centre of the cities.

The CBD is most representative of the character and nature of any city as well as its growth.<sup>1</sup> Here one can experience the history of a city as well as its social and cultural make up. Historically a tremendous amount of commercial, social and cultural capital has been focussed on most downtowns. Suburbanization has changed all of this.

Today it is questionable whether the downtown, the area from which most cities grew, will play a vital role in the future in view of the technological, demographic, political and economic changes that have led to continuing suburbanization of both population and firms. Some scholars believe the preservation of the downtown is guaranteed because of the value of fixed capital investments and real estate holdings of large corporations and the existence of central city functions such as cultural institutions and leisure activities of the upper class.<sup>2</sup> The reasoning is that the economic and political elite will not allow the downtown to decline and threaten their investments. Others feel it should not be allowed to decline because of its unique appeal. In many ways it is a synthesis of the entire city - a symbolic summation.

The downtowns of many cities are experiencing obsolescence. The buildings are not suitable for the needs of today. Many are dilapidated and unaesthetic. There is often little open green space. Demolition has left broken frontage in many blocks. There is excess traffic and congestion. Downtowns suffer from a lack of planning in the past as to the best arrangement of functions.

The change in the downtown caused by the proliferation of the highway system and demographic changes has been further impacted by the fact that as cities grow the CBD becomes more off-centre and distance becomes a major factor for people deciding where to shop and work. "All signs point to a continuation of the rapid decline in the CBD and a continuation of rapid growth in most other parts of the urban complex. . . . If current trends continue, the CBD will become but one

of the many nodes of commercial activity in the metropolis, and perhaps not even the dominant node."<sup>3</sup>

Although many believe the downtown to be declining and decaying and accept this as part of the natural evolution of cities, Jane Jacobs, an urban activist, claims "There is nothing economically or socially inevitable about either the decay of old cities or the fresh-minded decadence of the new unurban urbanization [suburbanization]."<sup>4</sup> She believes the secret to vital, healthy downtowns and cities is a healthy street life, neighbourhood and community. If the neighbourhoods are healthy, the problems will be easily solved. Thus, she sees people as the basic instrument for positive growth and change and the city as a system which is open and flexible. In this system, there are opportunities for all, access to government and tolerance of different life styles. She believes people should live downtown and indeed ". . . the inner city as a place to live is not being abandoned."<sup>5</sup>

There is generally unanimous agreement that the downtown is changing, but here the agreement ends. Many feel the downtown should be protected and redeveloped in order to continue as the prime centre of the city while others feel the natural forces should be left to work and the downtown should become but a minor centre within a network of centres. The city of Los Angeles, for example, is too dispersed to have a single CBD. There are numerous centres but no prime centre. "The CBD is an environment of change. Its functions are in the process of modification, and many activities have already been distributed to external localities through urban growth, changes in technology and the

outward movement of population. With the many changes that have occurred over past decades, not one of the activities [traditionally] identified . . . as existing in the CBD must now be located in that locality, though linkages with other activities may continue to provide a strong justification for remaining on the present site."<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the growth and change of Winnipeg's downtown in an attempt to determine whether it is in serious decline today. The responses of planners and various government levels in Winnipeg and elsewhere to the widespread problem of decline in the downtown will be examined and the future of Winnipeg's downtown will be considered.

Although the CBD will be examined in detail, and all functions considered, retailing will be stressed. Retailing has traditionally been strong in Winnipeg<sup>7</sup> and in the CBD in general and the suburban regional shopping centres have probably had the greatest effect on the vitality of the downtown. The hierarchy of shopping centres has been traditionally dominated by the CBD where the most functions are offered. Over time centrifugal forces appear to be working aided by the automobile and other social changes, to make the CBD less important.

Four approaches are used to analyze Winnipeg's downtown and determine the extent of decline. The method used to study the change in the downtown is a principal component analysis which uses data sets of 1972 and 1984. A cluster analysis of blocks for 1972 and 1984 shows groupings of blocks with similar functional characteristics and indicates change in functional composition and location over the 12



year period. A study of rental patterns for retail space is undertaken in an attempt to analyze the absolute, relative and comparative changes over the past ten to fifteen years. Based on a 1957 mapping of building heights the changes are examined to determine the current level of development, specifically vertical development, in the downtown. Finally, a demographic analysis examines the change in population patterns in the downtown over a fifteen year period.

#### Definition of Downtown

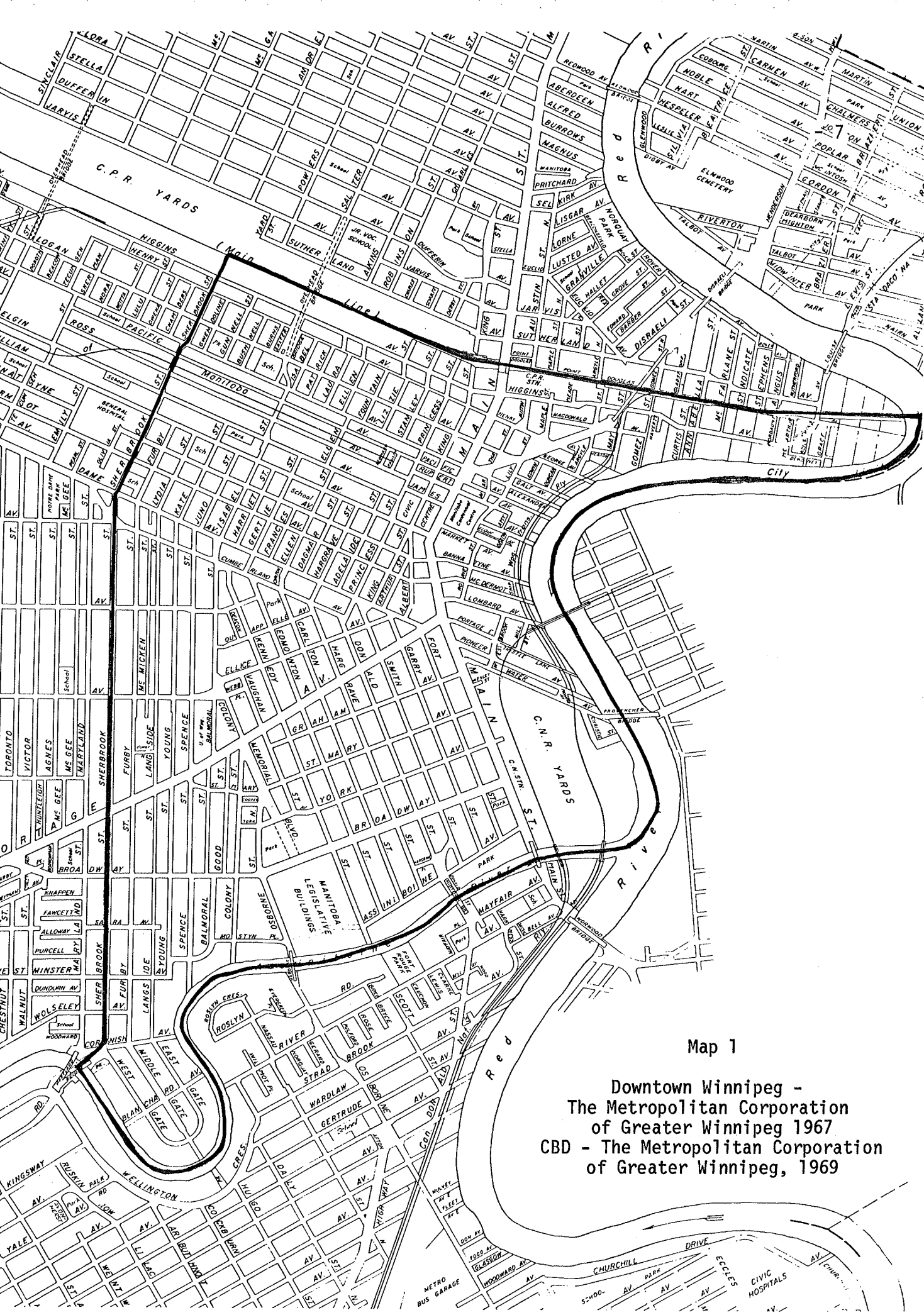
The predominant and strongest image most people, residents and visitors alike, have of a city is of its downtown. When most people speak of downtown Winnipeg they are talking about the area surrounding the Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection including Hudson's Bay Company and Eaton's department stores. "A so-called postcard identification becomes the basis for the mental image of that particular city.<sup>8</sup>" If the downtown is not vital the image of the city suffers.

"The central business district (CBD), as a unique area of the city, is known by various names such as the 'city center', 'the urban core', 'downtown' or the 'commercial heart of the city'.<sup>9</sup> The inner city as a term may include the CBD and it may not. The term is strictly relative. Inner city, downtown and CBD have no clear geographic definition.

The lack of a specific geographical definition for the downtown has resulted in numerous boundaries being given to this area in Winnipeg.

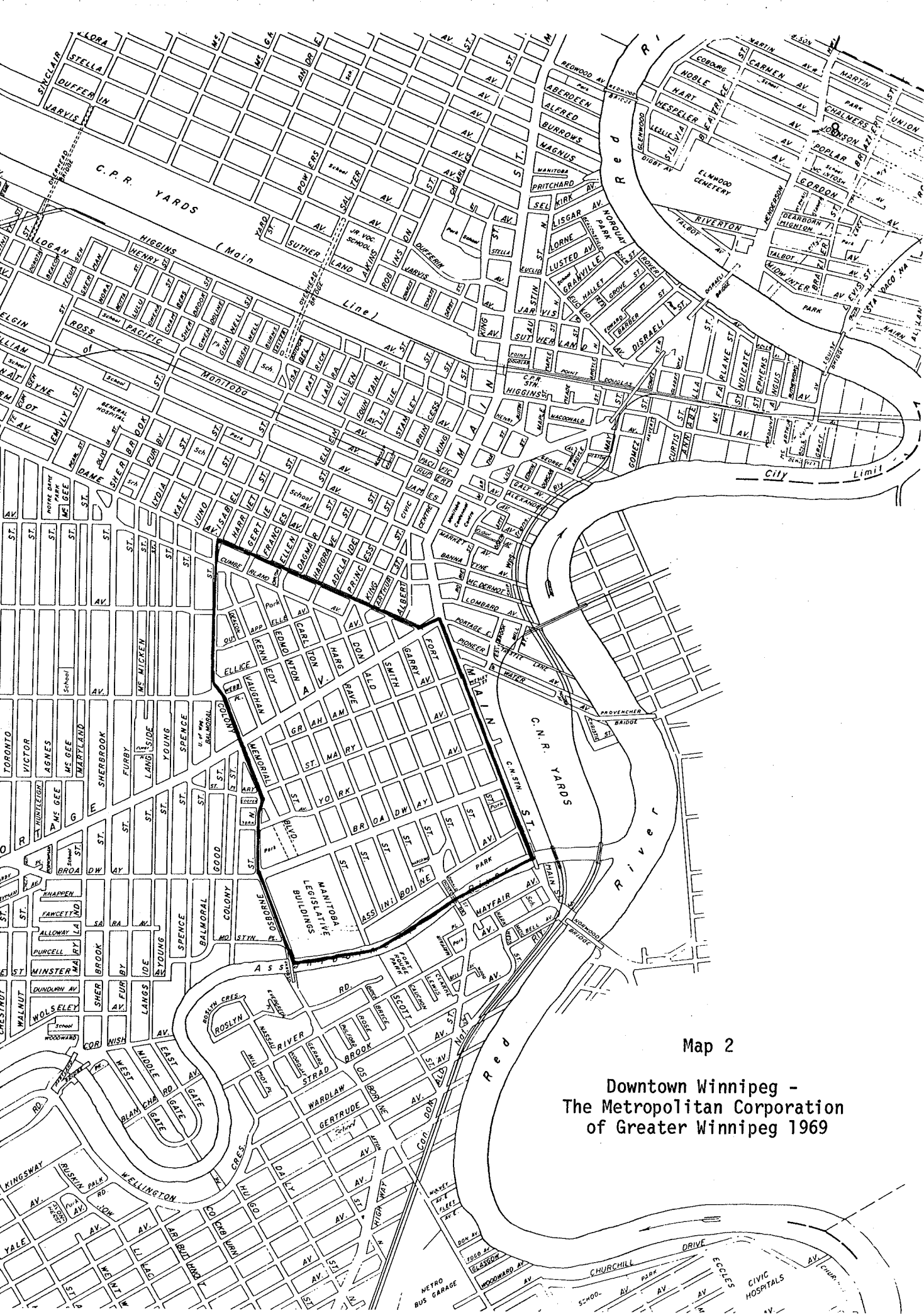
Weir, in 1957, acknowledged that the boundaries of Winnipeg's city centre are in part natural and in part man-made. The Red and Assiniboine Rivers are the natural boundaries. The northern boundary is the tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) and the western boundary is Colony and Balmoral Streets.<sup>10</sup>

In 1967 the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg defined the downtown as being between the CPR tracks, the Red River, the Assiniboine River and Sherbrook Street as outlined on Map 1 . In 1969 they called this same area the CBD. Yet in 1969 the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg defined downtown as the area surrounded by Notre Dame Avenue, Main Street, The Assiniboine River and Osborne Street-Memorial Boulevard- Colony Street. This area outlined on Map 2 is considerably smaller than the area used for planning purposes by The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg in 1967. In 1981, the Streets and Transportation Department of the City of Winnipeg defined the downtown as the area enclosed by the C.P.R. tracks, the Red River, the Assiniboine River and Spence-Young-Langside-Isabel-Ellen-Princess Streets. This area on Map 3 is only a slight reduction of the area defined in 1967. The only boundary which differs is the western boundary, which was moved eastward, thus reducing the size of the downtown. The Institute of Urban Studies uses a much larger area. Church Avenue is the northern boundary of the area outlined on Map 4, called the core. Winnipeg Core Area Initiative boundaries, outlined on Map 4, are the most extensive because the area includes downtown plus adjacent residential and industrial neighbourhoods.



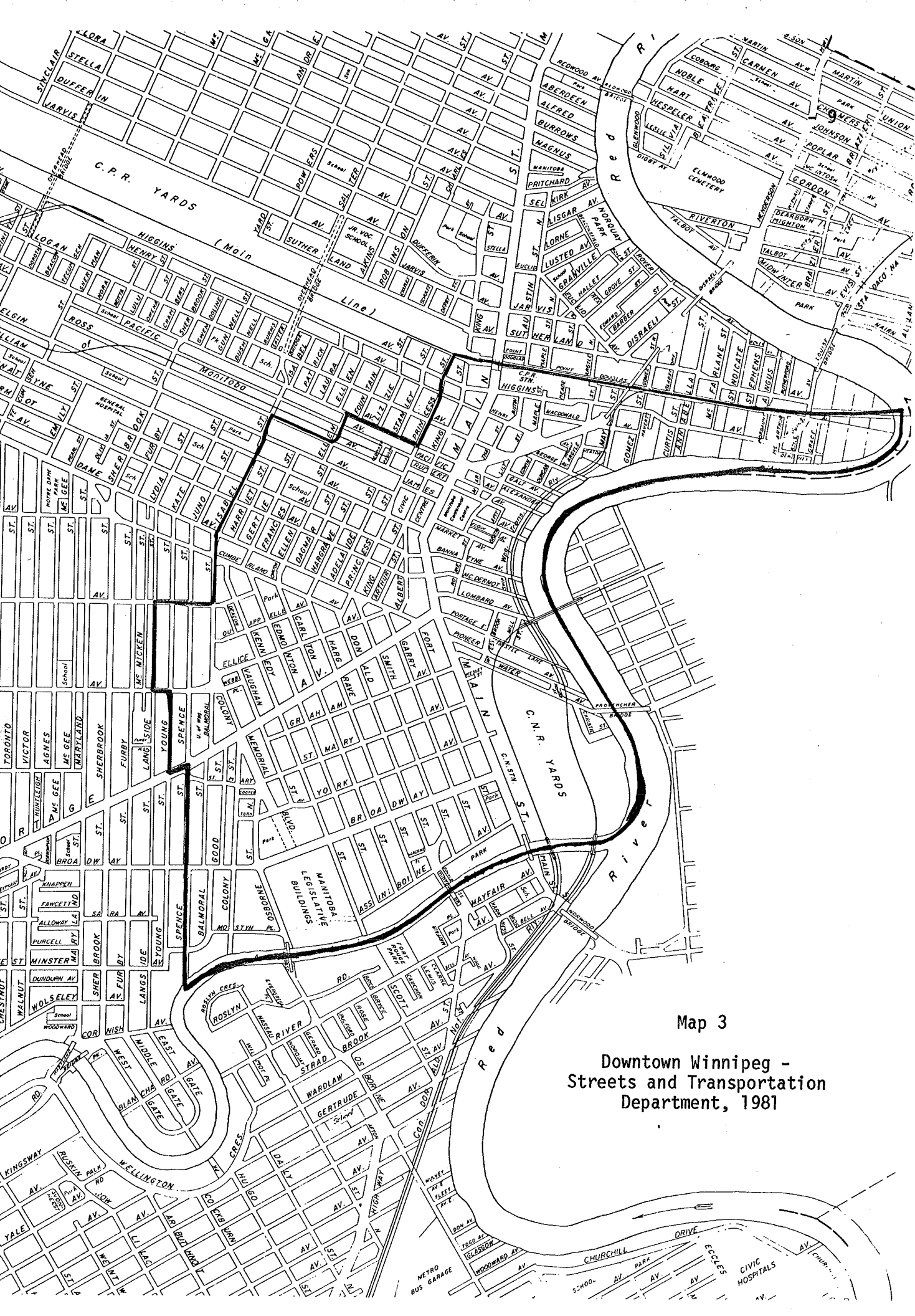
Map 1

Downtown Winnipeg -  
The Metropolitan Corporation  
of Greater Winnipeg 1967  
CBD - The Metropolitan Corporation  
of Greater Winnipeg, 1969



Map 2

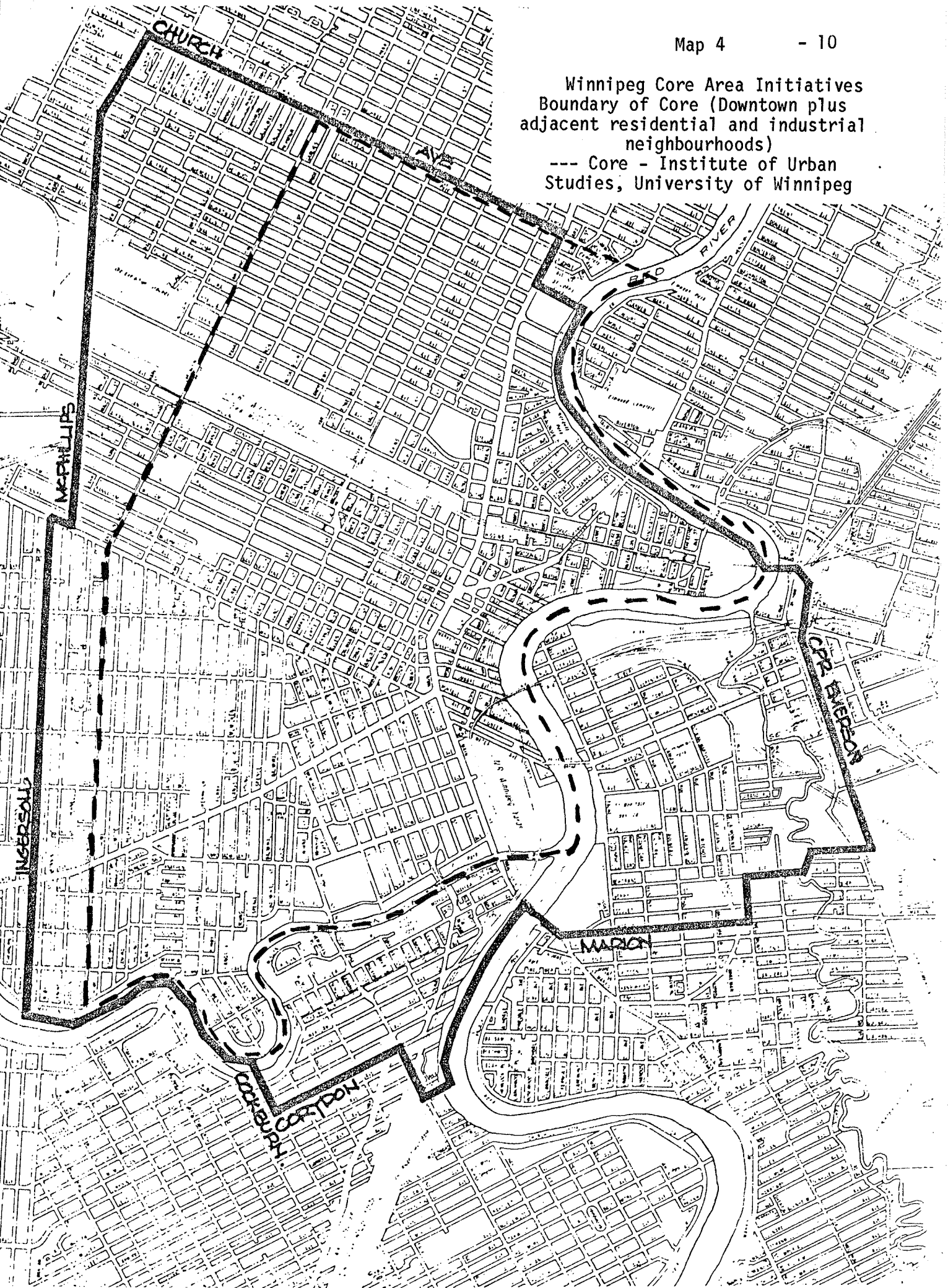
Downtown Winnipeg -  
The Metropolitan Corporation  
of Greater Winnipeg 1969



Map 3

Downtown Winnipeg -  
Streets and Transportation  
Department, 1981

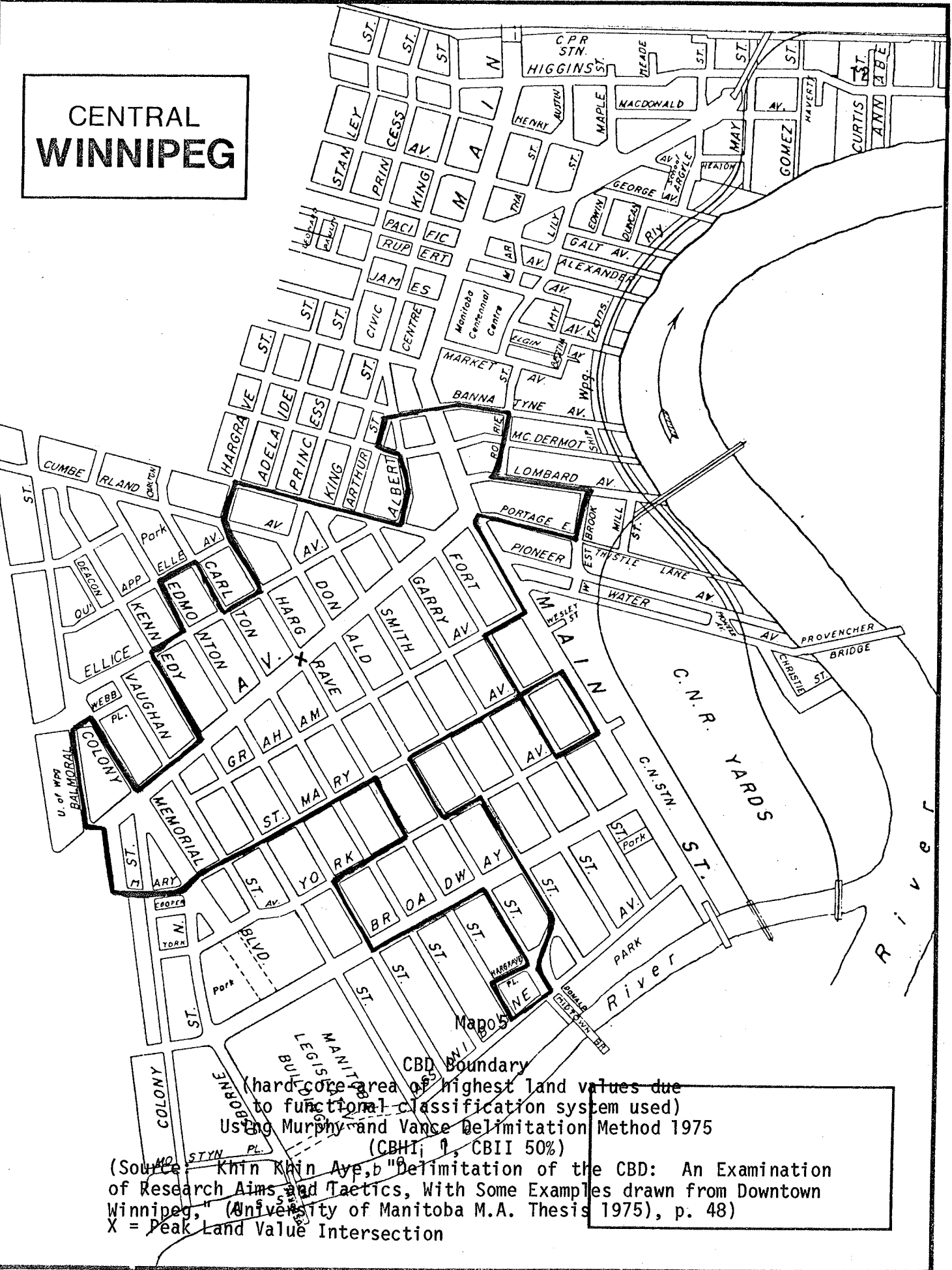
Winnipeg Core Area Initiatives  
Boundary of Core (Downtown plus  
adjacent residential and industrial  
neighbourhoods)  
--- Core - Institute of Urban  
Studies, University of Winnipeg



In 1975 the boundary of the CBD, the hard core, was determined using the Murphy and Vance delimitation method based on the central business index method.<sup>11</sup> The area delimited on Map 5 is much smaller than all other areas defined. The peak land value intersection is at Portage Avenue and Hargrave Street near the centre of this area.

In attempting to define the area for analysis it became clear that there has been little consistency. Various government departments have used different boundaries. The area common to all definitions - Portage Avenue, Main Street, Notre Dame Avenue and the area south of Portage Avenue must be part of the study area. The two rivers provide natural boundaries on the east and south.

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG





1. R.G. Putnam, F.J. Taylor, and P.G. Kettle (eds.), A Geography of Urban Places, (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1970), p. 257.
2. Manuel Castells, The Urban Question, David Harvey and Brian Robson (eds.), (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1977), p. 393.
3. Putnam, Taylor, Kettle (eds.), A Geography of Urban Places, pp. 259-260.
4. Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, (Toronto: Random House of Canada, Limited, 1961), p. 7.
5. Len Gertler and Ron Growley, Changing Canadian Cities: The Next 25 Years (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1977), p. 359.
6. John N. Jackson, The Canadian City - Shape, Form, Quality, (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson Limited, 1973), p. 162.
7. The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, "A Market Analysis for Metropolitan Winnipeg", (Winnipeg, 1967), p. 70.
8. Truman Asa Hartshorn, Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography, (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1980), p. 315.
9. Jackson, The Canadian City - Shape, Form, Quality, p. 156
10. Thomas R. Weir, "Land Use and Population Characteristics of Central Winnipeg", Geographical Bulletin 9, (1957), p. 6.
11. This method will be discussed in detail in Chapter II.

## CHAPTER II - GROWTH AND CHANGE OF THE CBD -

### CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

#### Introduction

... physical arrangement of the city in space reflects ... the shifts and the significance of social, economic, and political patterns ... the use of space allows us to "read" cities for the secrets they contain. Behind every suburban ... shopping center ... [lies] changing economic realities, political decisions and values, and the efforts of people to succeed or merely to survive.<sup>1</sup>

The various stages in the evolutionary process of city growth and the characteristics of the city at any one time in this evolutionary process reflect the relationships between patterns of economic activity, political organization, institutional development, social life and spatial arrangement. Geographers in particular, and sociologists as well, have attempted to theoretically explain the organization of space and the urbanization process. However, each theory is bound by the time in which it was formulated.

Like U.S. cities, Canadian cities are caught between conflicting pressures of concentration and dispersion:<sup>2</sup> concentration implying a mononucleated city and dispersion implying a polynucleated city. The traditional spatial theories concerning the structure of the city come from the school of urban ecology which is the study of interrelationships among social activities, economic functions, mobility patterns and lifestyles. The ecological forces at work create natural areas of land use in the city.

AGE OF THE SETTLEMENT/  
TECHNOLOGY

Pedestrian  
Horse Cars

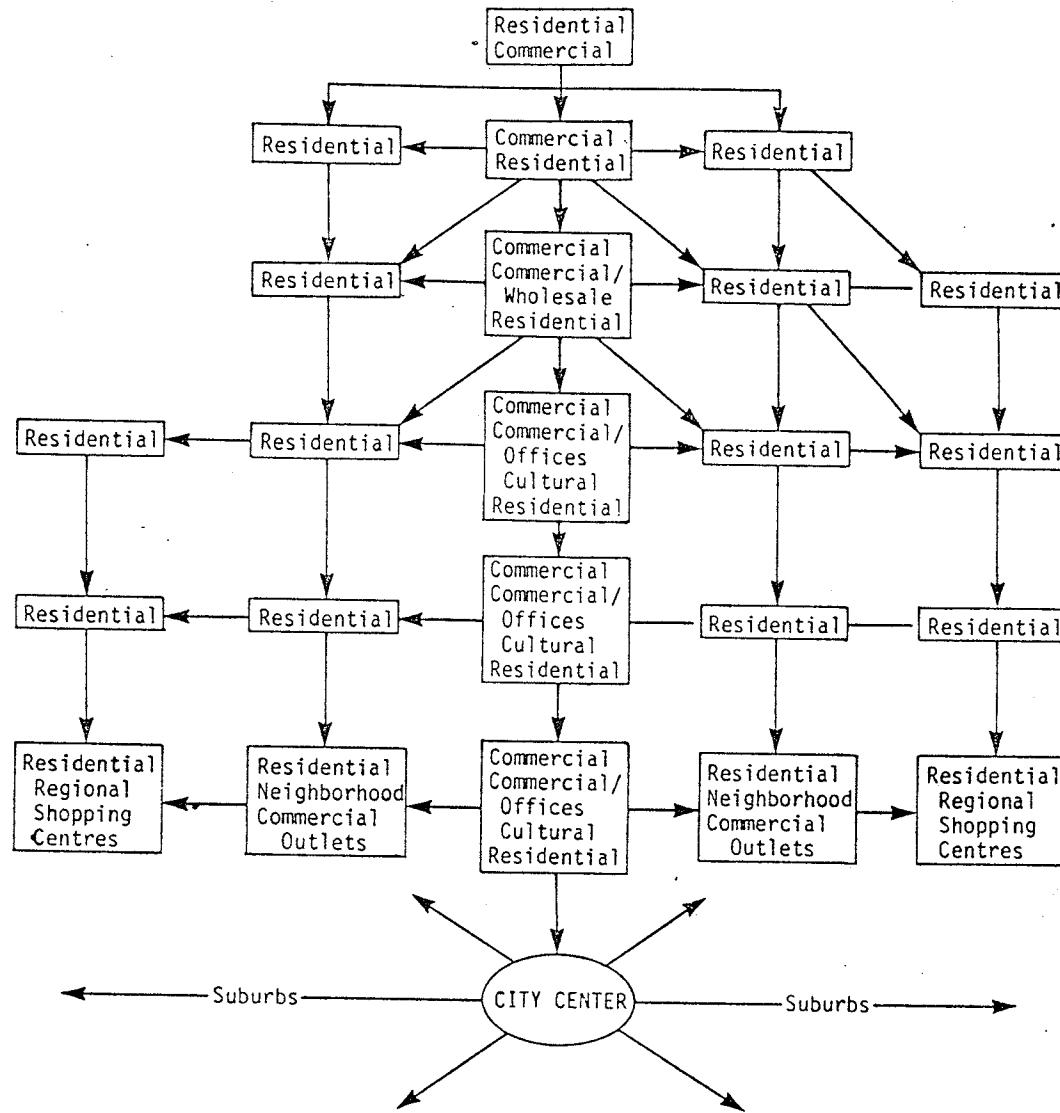
Rapid Transit

Automobile

Freeway

Technology

LAND USE-FUNCTIONS



MODELS

Pre-Industrial City  
Sjoberg - 1960  
Vance - 1971

Concentric Zone  
Burgess - 1923

Sector Model  
Hoyt - 1939

Multiple Nuclei  
Harris & Ullman  
1945

Figure 1  
Urban Growth  
Source: Dr. R. C. Tiwari, Lecture Notes.

Figure 1 is a diagrammatic representation of urban growth. The pre-industrial city is of no concern in the context of North American cities. The model shows the progression from a mono-nucleated city where the principal CBD functions were residential and commercial to a polynucleated city where the number of CBD functions has increased but centrifugal forces have dispersed functions to suburban centers. Improved technology has been a major impetus to this progression.

#### Models of Urban Land Use

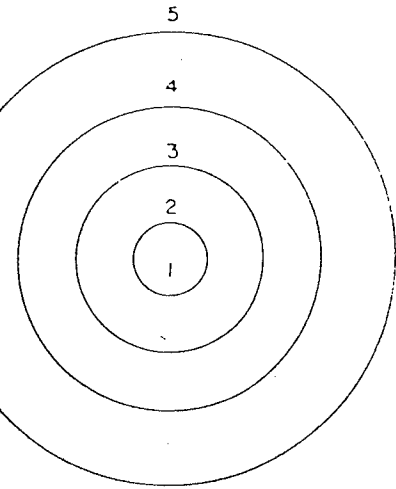
Three explanations as outlined on Figure 2, have been advanced to explain land use patterns in cities. The concentric zone concept and multiple-nuclei concept deal with the entire pattern of use areas. The sector concept deals with the structure of residential areas.

Burgess' (1923) Concentric Zone Theory assumes that population is heterogenous in terms of migration experience, ethnic background and occupation. The zones progress from the focus or central business district to the fringe of the CBD, the zone of transition where the poor live, the zone of the working class and the zone of the upper class. As growth occurs each zone invades the next outer zone.

Hoyt's (1939) alternative theory, the Sector Theory, concentrates on the changing spatial structure of the city. It assumes land uses are found in wedge-shaped sectors and transportation routes play an important part in dividing the sectors. This theory also assumes outward population growth and commercial development from the CBD and, as does Burgess' theory, it assumes that urban growth proceeds by

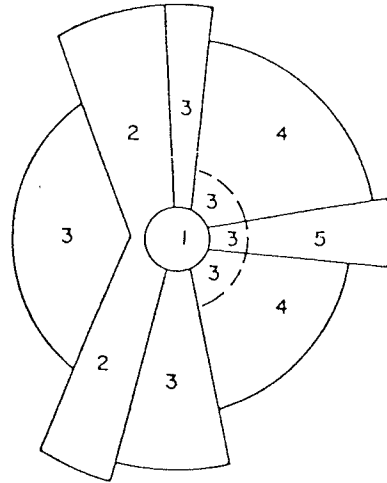
CONCENTRIC ZONE CONCEPT

- Central Business District
- Zone of Transition
- Zone of Workingmen's Homes
- Zone of Better Residences
- Commuters' Zone



SECTOR CONCEPT

- 1. Central Business District
- 2. Wholesale Light Manufacturing
- 3. Low-Class Residential
- 4. Medium-Class Residential
- 5. High-Class Residential



MULTIPLE NUCLEI CONCEPT

- 6. Heavy Manufacturing
- 7. Outlying Business District
- 8. Residential Suburb
- 9. Industrial Suburb

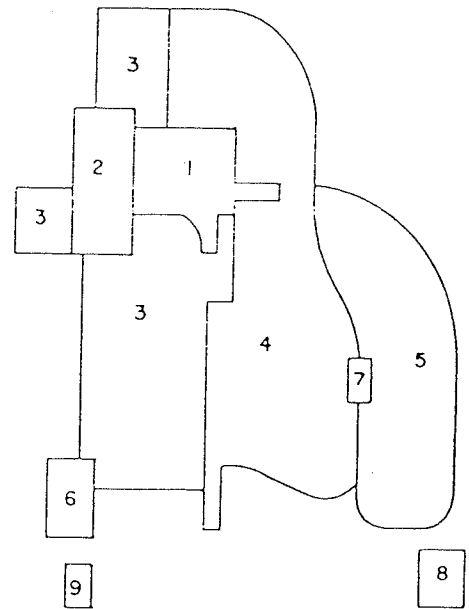


Figure 2

Generalized Explanations of Land use Patterns of Cities

Source: F. Stuart Chapin, Jr. Urban Land Use Planning, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965, pp. 14-15.

transition of neighborhoods from one class of dwellers to another. Both theories describe changes in the basic arrangements of land use patterns.

Harris and Ullman (1945) developed the Multiple-Nuclei Theory, an observation of the structural form of the urban land use pattern at one point in time. They postulated that urban land uses do not develop from one core, the CBD, but from a number of smaller, distinct centers. From the early days of a city specialized retail, residential and other districts develop. The CBD would continue to have the most concentrated retail and commercial activity. Suburbs are part of this model and small business centers exist to serve the suburbs. Separate nuclei in urban land use patterns emerge due to interdependency between activities, clustering of activities which find it mutually profitable to do so and high rents which attract or repel certain land uses. This model is more flexible than the two previous models but less precise. "... it needs elaboration, and probably modification, on the basis of empirical investigations ... before it can become an operationally useful theory of urban land use, and it requires clearer differentiation between factors explaining the structure and dynamics of change.<sup>3</sup>"

Although all three models are very simplistic they may all have some relevance. It is important when considering these models to remember that all three were developed prior to 1950 in the context of growth in the United States. Outward growth and development is assumed by all three. All three models also divide the city into areas of

different land uses. Relationships between location and socioeconomic realities are incorporated into all three models. Two assume a monocentric city and one assumes a polycentric city. Land use patterns, by whatever structure theory they are described, are the aggregate result of the interplay of supply and demand forces acting on urban land.

Weir (1957) undertook a study of central Winnipeg and found there to be three district zones corresponding to Burgess' Concentric Zone Theory which in 1957 was widely accepted as being applicable to most cities. The inner zone, or CBD, is a zone which includes a retail district, large office buildings, and a financial district at the core surrounded by a fringe of less typical CBD uses such as automotive sales, civic buildings, railroad depots, post office, medical clinics, hotels and clubs. The second zone is a combination of mixed-use and wholesale which include storage and light industry. The wholesale district is north of Portage Avenue in the old warehouse section. In 1957 the needle trades were occupying the upper floors of these old buildings. The railway was no longer heavily used by wholesalers who now rely on trucks resulting in congestion in the area. North of the wholesale district and between Broadway Avenue and St. Mary's Street there was a combination of slum housing, rooming houses, commercial and light industrial uses resulting in mixed-use areas in zone two. The third zone represents isolated segments of continuous rooming houses and apartments. Between Broadway Avenue and the Assiniboine River and

between Notre Dame Avenue and Balmoral Street there were such areas in 1957.

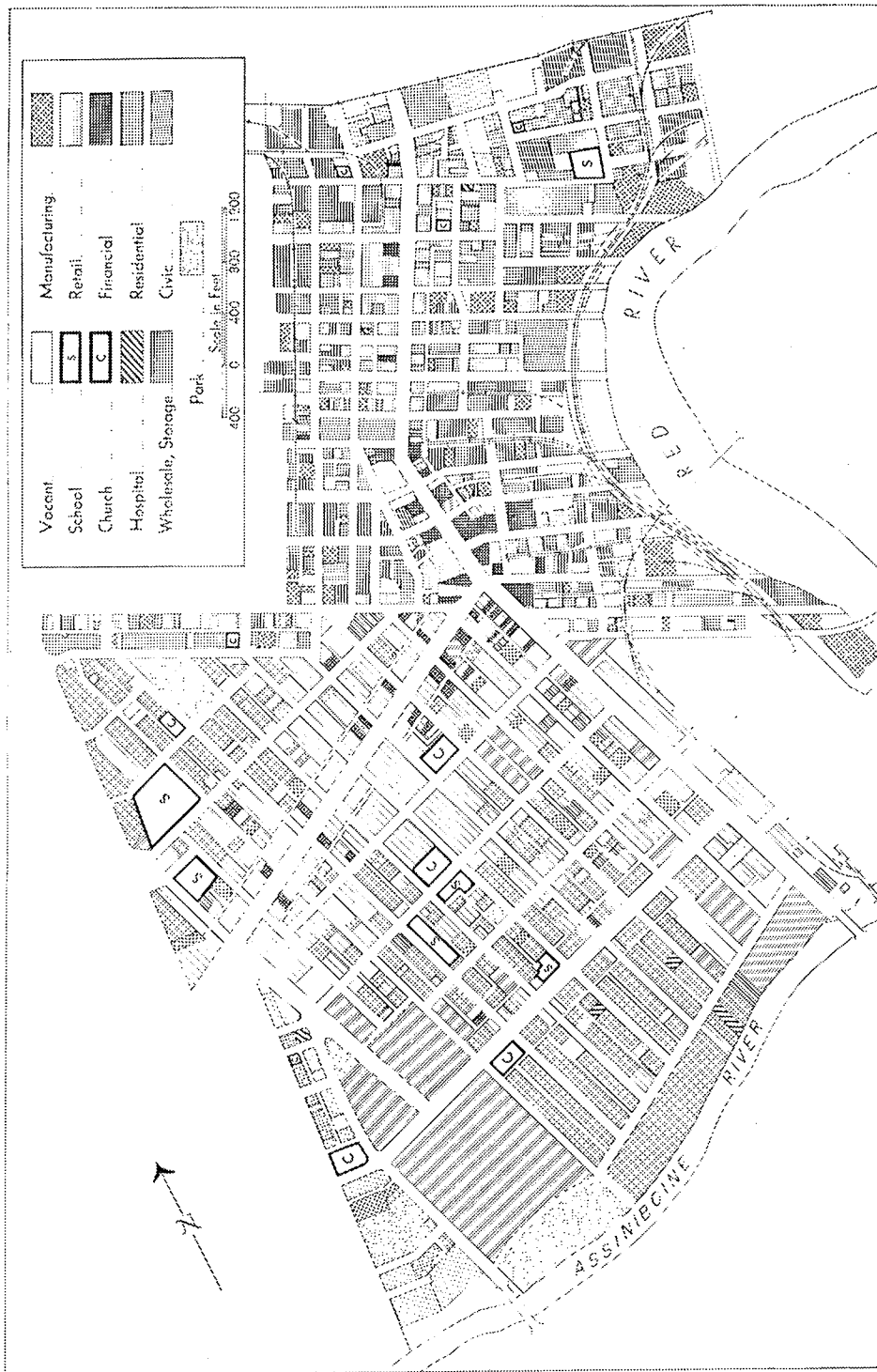
Map 6 portrays land uses in central Winnipeg in 1957. The fringe of the CBD, being a zone of less typical CBD uses, would according to Burgess' theory be invaded by typical CBD uses and would also gradually overtake the mixed-uses of zone two. In 1957, it was apparent that the southern margin of the CBD, the area south of St. Mary Avenue, was showing the most rapid movement into the adjacent zone.<sup>4</sup> The second zone is the zone of deterioration but the expansion of the CBD into this area means it is an area of high land values. The zone of mixed-use, according to theory, will then move into zone three but the change will be very gradual.

Map 7 portrays land use in 1972. One can see that between 1957 and 1972 there was little change in land uses. The financial and retail districts were still predominant in the core with less intensive uses located outside the inner core.

### Central Place Theory

Since this study is concentrating on evolution of the CBD over time and retailing in the CBD the concept of central place is perhaps more significant than the three urban land use models outlined. Urban geographers have long used central place theory to describe interurban structure but it has only recently been applied to intraurban structure. The theory is based on the concept that the importance of a central place, or the level it commands in the hierarchy of central





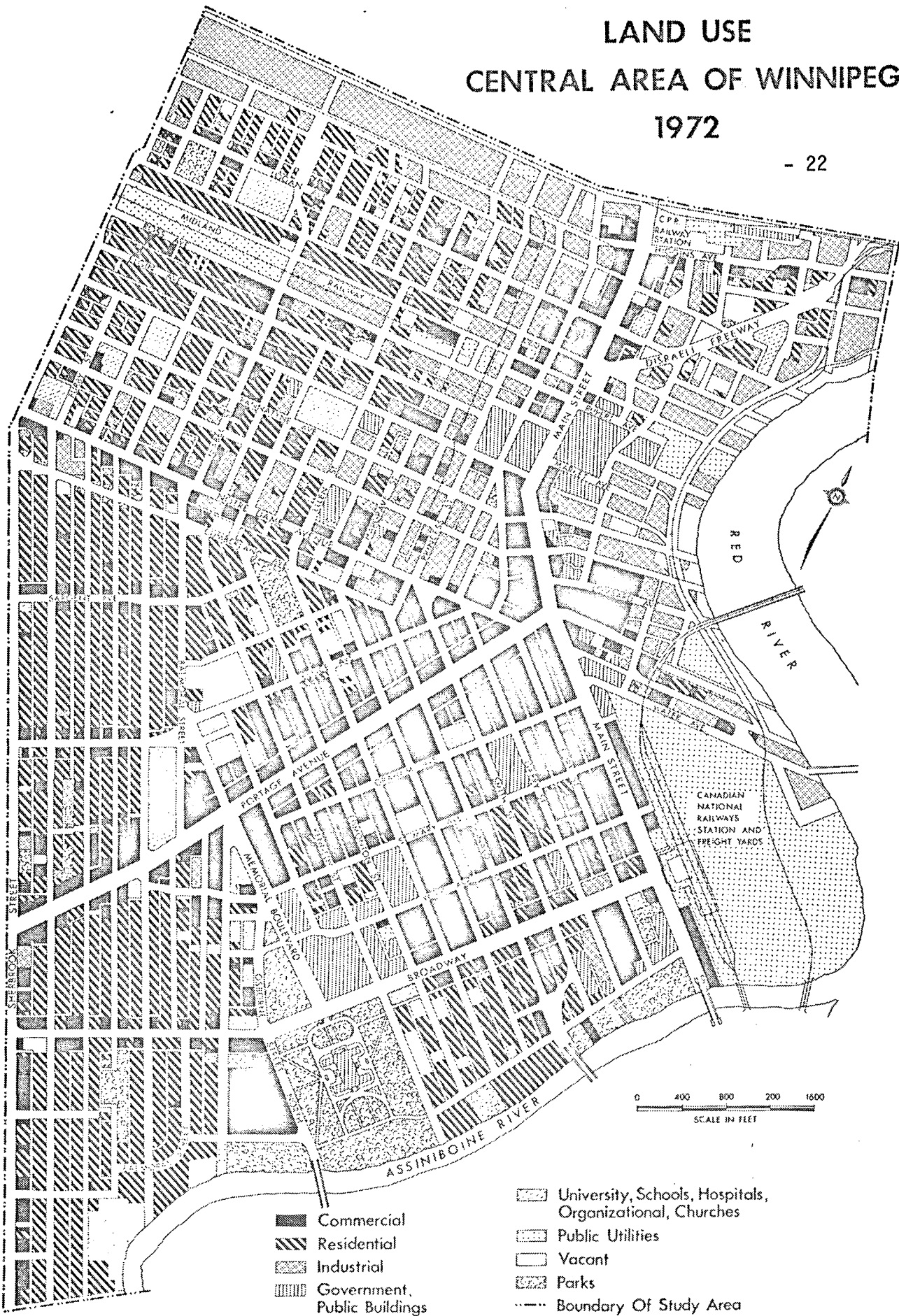
Central Winnipeg—land use.

Map 6

Source: Thomas R. Weir, "Land Use and Population Characteristics of Central Winnipeg" Geographical Bulletin 9 (1957), p. 11.

# LAND USE CENTRAL AREA OF WINNIPEG 1972

- 22



Map 7

Source: Khin Khin Aye, "Delimitation of the CBD: An Examination of Research Aims and Tactics, With Some Examples Drawn from Downtown Winnipeg", M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975), p. 46

places, is based on the number of different kinds of functions, i.e., retail and service businesses, it provides. Central functions are ranked according to the population needed to support them. The greater the population needed to support a central function the greater the level of centrality it needs in space. The places higher in the hierarchy, and therefore more central, attract people from further. The CBD is the central place of highest order. Central place theory based as it is on the notions of centrality, organization of centres into a hierarchy and order of goods from highest to lowest order thus enhances the understanding of city structure by expanding on the three theories and concentrating on commercial structure.

Many researchers have applied the central place hierarchy concept to the classification of the retail structure of a city. Proudfoot (1937) published a classification of retail structure of the city. His classification uses the concept of hierarchy although he did not use central place theory directly. The five types of retail structure according to physical form are CBD, outlying business center around interchange points on mass transit lines, principal business thoroughfare which is a result of cars, neighborhood business district and isolated store cluster both of which are the result of city size and prosperity.

Carol (1960) applied the central place hierarchy concept to Zurich, Switzerland. This was the first attempt to use the central place concept for analyzing the pattern of central functions within the city. Carol saw in the types of business districts the equivalence of ranks

in the general urban hierarchy. His four levels of central places range from local business district to CBD. Distinctions in level are due to number of stores, variety of goods, extent of service area and range of prices and quality.

Berry (1963) put forth a model of the commercial structure of cities. His work is a summary work, drawing on the work before him, being a complete typology of the commercial characteristics of American cities. Its roots are in economic rent theory and it relates to the broader notion of accessibility needs of individual business activities. In his comprehensive functional approach the three kinds of business conformations are based on functional characteristics: centers, ribbons and specialized areas as represented in figure 3. The hierarchy of shopping centers is dominated by the CBD because it has the major concentration of retailing<sup>5</sup>. All of the functions theoretically are represented in the CBD. The hierarchy of nucleated centres, made up of five ranks, provides a parallel to the five ranks of towns within a central place system.<sup>6</sup> Figure 4 shows this parallel. As one moves down in the hierarchy from the CBD and the city there are theoretically fewer functions and the order of functions decreases from highest order at the top of the hierarchy to lowest order at the bottom.

Davies (1972), drawing on Berry's city-wide classification of business conformations and using a British example, says that the central area or CBD, due to its greater size and complexity, manifests in itself a mixture of all of the different kinds of business

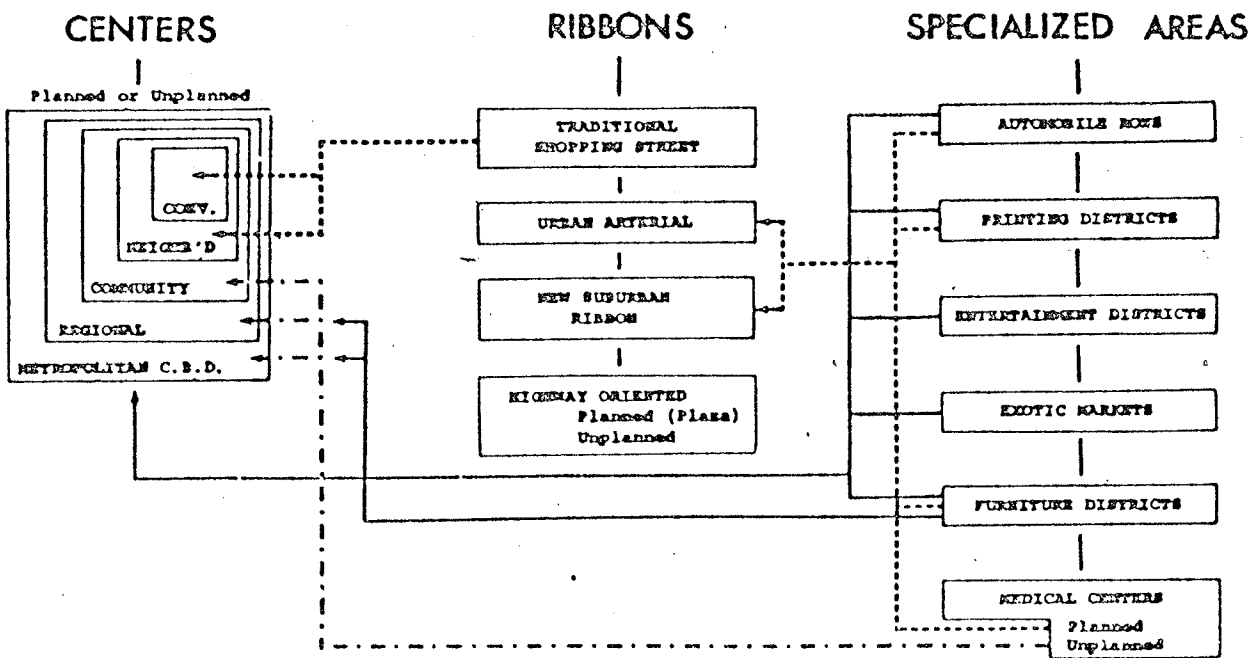


Figure 3

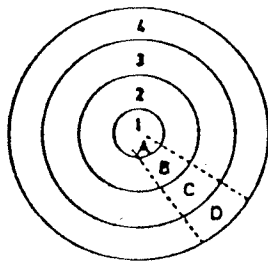
Berry's Classification of Urban Business Conformations. The lines and arrows indicate that there are strong functional linkages between shopping centres, ribbon developments and specialized areas. For example, certain specialized areas can be seen inside community and regional centers and in the CBD.

Source: Davies, 1977, p. 121.

FIGURE 4

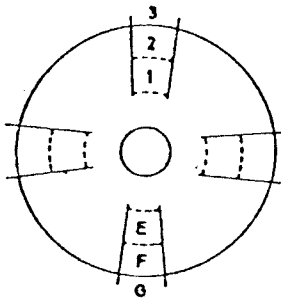
Central Place Theory in the Interurban and Intraurban Context

<u>Intraurban</u>	<u>Functions</u>	<u>Interurban</u>
<u>CBD</u>	$n$	<u>City</u>
<u>Regional Shopping Centres</u>	$n-1$	<u>Large Towns</u>
<u>Community Shopping Centres</u>	$(n-1)-1$	<u>Medium Towns</u>
<u>Neighbourhood Shopping Centres</u>	$[(n-1)-1]-1$	<u>Small Towns</u>
<u>Isolated Stores</u>	$[(n-1)-1]-1$	<u>Villages</u>



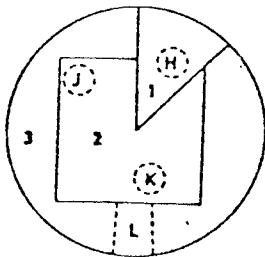
NUCLEATED CHARACTERISTICS

Shop Types	Example Clusters
1 Central Area	A Apparel Shops
2 Regional Centres	B Variety Shops
3 Community Centres	C Gift Shops
4 Neighbourhood Centres	D Food Shops



RIBBON CHARACTERISTICS

Shop Types	Example Clusters
1 Traditional Street	E Banking
2 Arterial Ribbon	F Cafes
3 Suburban Ribbon	G Garages



SPECIAL AREA CHARACTERISTICS

Shop Type	Example Clusters
1 High Quality	H Entertainments
2 Medium Quality	J Market
3 Low Quality	K Furniture
	L Appliances

THE COMPLEX MODEL

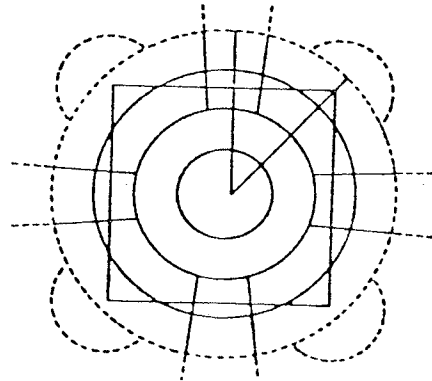


Figure 5

A Structural Model of Retail Locations Inside the Core.

Source: Davies, 1977, p. 147.

confirmations that have been recognized in the rest of the city as represented diagrammatically in Figure 5.

Complications arise, however, because the pattern of nesting with discrete tributary areas implied by theory is not borne out in practice. People do not always shop at the nearest centre. Garner's (1966) studies of intraurban retail nucleations in Chicago seem to suggest that the ordering of the centres in a hierarchy is a matter of simple convenience rather than of inherent character.<sup>7</sup> Garner found location patterns to reflect the distribution of population and purchasing power. Johnston (1966), studying Melbourne, Australia, and Jones (1967), studying Edinburgh, Scotland, reached similar conclusions. "The notion of subsidiary business districts conforming neatly to the ranks of the urban hierarchy and disposed according to a hexagonal central place net has clearly to be abandoned .... The procedure of analysis by ranking of these districts, however, is clearly one to be adopted, but the explanation of the patterns is likely to be found in the complex of city growth, the segregation of its social areas and in consumer evaluation of the costs and means of travel and of the cheapness or prestige of shops".<sup>8</sup> Garner (1966) demonstrated that due to the forces operating in competition for central land the stores selling the highest order goods dominate the centre and those selling lower order goods are found progressively further from the centre thus confirming Berry's typology of centres and the central place notions of centrality, hierarchy and order of goods.



However, the dynamics of urban growth appear to have distorted the hierarchy and the position of the CBD in the hierarchy. Similar functions can today be found in the CBD and regional centres. The CBD is no longer the central place of the highest order. In 1948, the average CBD in United States captured one-third of all metropolitan retail trade but by 1972 it was only 7.7%<sup>9</sup>. "As the area gets more populous, there are also changes in technology, in income and in patterns of consumption. New types of activity are located in the CBD and off-center foci emerge in former central place activities; the CBD plays a diminishing role and the subcenters in their number, size and diversity play an increasing role, relatively<sup>10</sup>". The evolution of functions of the CBD must be treated historically in terms of the changing status, accessibility and spatial relations in the city. With urban growth the importance of the CBD declines. Vance noted that after World War II virtually all of the growth in commercial structures was outside the core. As functions were reassigned between central and outlying districts the core was changing rather than decaying.<sup>11</sup>

#### Delimitation of the CBD

The models considered thus far have been conceptual models of urban structure. It is generally accepted that the CBD is a concept, not a reality, and the edge is a zone rather than a line.<sup>12</sup> Murphy and Vance (1954) introduced the Central Business Index (CBI) Method to delimit the CBD based on land use. One of the most important consequences of their work was that it set in motion a series of

studies on the CBD which prior to 1954 had not been the subject of a great deal of concentrated geographical analysis. Prior to 1954 the terms CBD and retail core had been used but the procedures used to define these areas were crude and depended on the search for discontinuities between retail and other central and non-central uses and upon local opinions or perceptions of what constituted the shopping or downtown area.<sup>13</sup>

Their method recognizes the heterogeneous nature of the central area of the city as well as the varying intensities of land use. The 'hard core', the area of greatest intensity and concentration of uses, is an area without residential land use. In this area is the intersection of peak land value (PLVI) where land value and pedestrian traffic are greatest. Land values, pedestrian traffic and intensity and type of land use change and/or decline from this intersection as one moves outward.

The city block is the basic areal unit and two indexes, the Central Business Height Index (CBHI) and Central Business Intensity Index (CBII), are calculated for each block. Murphy and Vance isolated central business (CB) uses in a negative way by defining non-central uses. These are eight in number:

Table 1

Non Central Land Uses

1. Permanent Residences
2. Government and Public Property (schools, parks)
3. Organizational Establishments (Churches, colleges)
4. Industrial Establishments except Newspapers
5. Wholesaling with stocks and commercial storage
6. Vacant Buildings
7. Vacant Lots
8. Railroad Tracks or Switching Yards

Source: Murphy, The Central Business District, p. 26.

These uses are seen as not contributing to the interplay of retail activities of the CBD.<sup>14</sup>

For each block the two indexes are calculated. The CBHI is the height of each block in floors if all the CB uses were spread evenly over the entire block. A CBHI of 1 indicates a complete ground floor coverage by CB uses. This index does indicate the importance of CB uses but does not indicate the proportion of total available space in CB uses. The CBHI could be 1 but CB uses could possibly not be the major uses. The CBII measures the percentage of all available floor space in CB uses. Since it indicates the relative dominance of CB uses in any block it is a very useful index. All blocks which meet the requirements of CBHI of 1 and CBII of 50% are included in the CBD. Blocks which do not meet these requirements but are surrounded by blocks which do meet them are included in the CBD as are blocks contiguous with at least one other CB block.

Murphy and Vance used their method to delimit the CBD of nine medium sized cities. They found service, financial and offices to occupy 44% of the space, retail to occupy 32% and non-central uses to occupy 24%.<sup>15</sup>

In the early 1950s three methods, based on functional classification, emerged for measuring the spatial extent of the CBD. One of the methods was the hard core method, originated by Murphy and Vance to compare CBDs at one point in time. Another of the methods was the study of shifts in patterns of retailing activities over time. A study by Radcliff, to be outlined, used this approach. The third method involved comparing space used for central business functions over time in order to predict future needs for space and future expansion of the CBD. Alderson and Sessions were the first to do this for Philadelphia for 1934 and 1949. A 1956 study expanded the land uses considered as central business uses to include, for example, residential and government uses, and found the number of establishments in the CBD to decline by 21% and retailing to occupy 16% less space at the end of the twenty year study period.<sup>16</sup>

The CBI method is the major method used to delimit the CBD and has several serious flaws, the most apparent of which are the subjective nature of determination of CB uses and the actual objective of the method. Although the work of Murphy and Vance is recognized for its contribution to an understanding of the commercial structure of CBDs, Garner (1973) believes boundary is not that important and as

decentralization occurs the importance of the CBD in the urban spatial organization decreases.<sup>17</sup>

The earliest modifications of Murphy and Vance were dominated by the delimitation problem but were directed towards the hard core of the CBD where the CB uses reach their greatest intensity.

Horwood and Boyce (1959) in attempting to separate the core from the frame in which it is held presented the core-frame concept. Together the core and frame make up the CBD. The core is characterized by intense vertical growth, linkages between establishments and no residential land use. The horizontal dimensions are limited by the walking distance scale. This basic property of the core will be used in the analysis to follow on Winnipeg's CBD. There may be subcores such as financial districts. The frame is characterized by semi-intensive land use, often horizontal development, and such things as light manufacturing, auto sales and multi-family residences. The boundary is dictated by natural barriers or residential areas. Figure 6 is a diagrammatic representation of the core-frame concept and tables 2 and 3 summarize the general properties of the core and frame. Obviously this CBD is much larger than the CBD of Murphy and Vance and there are no definite boundaries. The core-frame concept is useful in understanding the functioning of the CBD.

Several others, including Davies (1960) and Scott (1959) used the CBI method with slight variations to delimit CBDs in Capetown and Australia respectively. Bowden modified the CBI method and using it to

# DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE CORE-FRAME CONCEPT

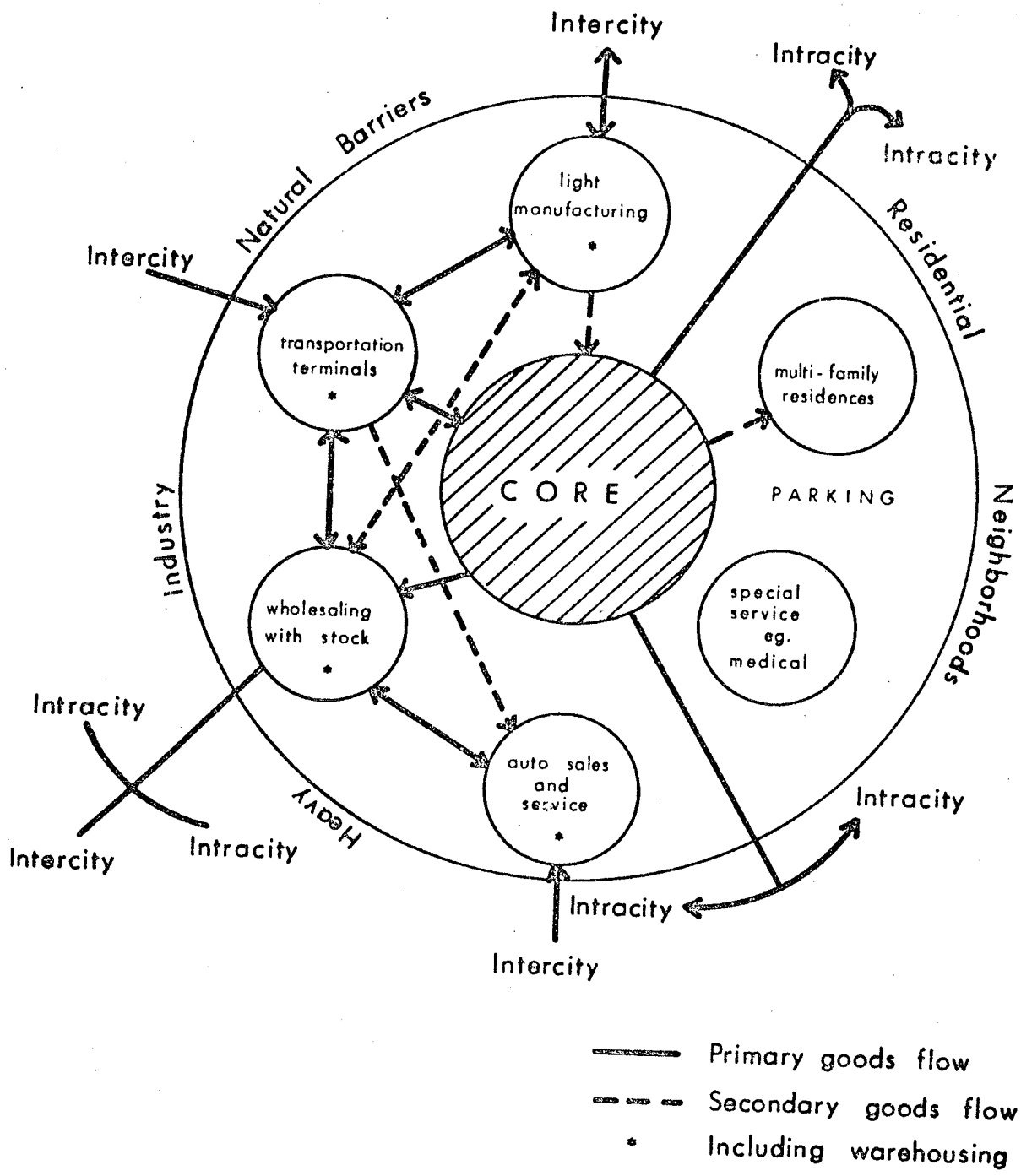


Figure 6

Source: Yeates and Garner, The North American City, p. 321.

Table 2

General Properties of CBD Core  
Source: Davies, 1977, p. 144

<u>Property</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>General Characteristics</u>
Intensive land-use	Area of most intensive land-use and highest concentration of social and economic activities within metropolitan complex	Multi-storied buildings Highest retail productivity per unit ground area Land-use characterised by offices, retail sales, consumer services, hotels, theatres, and banks
Extended vertical scale	Area of highest buildings within metropolitan complex	Easily distinguishable by aerial observation Elevator personnel linkages Grows vertically, rather than horizontally
Limited horizontal scale	Horizontal dimensions limited by walking distance scale	Greatest horizontal dimension rarely more than 1 mile Geared to walking scale
Limited horizontal change	Horizontal movement minor and not significantly affected by metropolitan population distribution	Very gradual horizontal change Zones of assimilation and discard limited to a few blocks over long periods of time
Concentrated daytime population	Area of greatest concentration of daytime population within metropolitan complex	Location of highest concentration of foot traffic Absence of permanent residential population
Focus of intracity mass transit	Single area of convergence of city mass transit system	Major mass transit interchange location for entire city
Centre of specialised functions	Focus of headquarters offices for business, government, and industrial activities	Extensive use of office space for executive and policy making functions Centre of specialised professional and business services
Internally conditioned boundaries	Excluding natural barriers, CBD boundaries confined only by pedestrian scale of distance	Pedestrian and personnel linkages between establishments govern horizontal expansion Dependency on mass transit inhibits lateral expansion

Table 3

General Properties of CBD Frame

Source: Davies, 1977, p. 145.

<u>Property</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>General Characteristics</u>
Semi-intensive land-use	Area of most intensive non-retail land use outside CBD core	Building height geared to walk-up scale Site only partially built on
Prominent functional sub-regions	Area of observable nodes of land utilisation surrounding CBD core	Sub-foci characterised mainly by wholesaling with stocks, warehousing, off-street parking, automobile sales and services, multi-family dwelling, inter-city transportation terminals and facilities, light manufacturing, and some institutional uses
Extended horizontal scale	Horizontal scale geared to accommodation of motor vehicles and to handling of goods	Most establishments have off-street parking and docking facilities Movements between establishments vehicular
Unlinked functional sub-regions	Activity nodes essentially linked to areas outside CBD frame, except transportation terminals	Important establishment linkages to CBD core (e.g. inter-city transportation terminals, warehousing) and to outlying urban regions (e.g. wholesale distribution to suburban shopping areas and to service industries)
Externally conditioned boundaries	Boundaries affected by natural barriers and presence of large homogeneous areas with distinguishable internal linkages (e.g. residential areas with schools, shopping and community facilities)	Commercial uses generally limited to flat land Growth tends to extend into areas of dilapidated housing CBD frame uses fill in interstices of central focus of highway and rail transportation routes



delimit San Francisco, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Washington and London, England found there to be three types of growth to large CBDs:

- 1) small steady expansion as one district expands, displaces another and sets up slow chain reaction
- 2) fast expansion over short period puts pressure on nuclei such as financial district and apparel shopping district
- 3) leapfrogging of an entire district leads to polynucleated CBD in time of fast growth such as in London but eventual infill returns CBD to mononucleus.

At various times throughout their histories cities experience these three types of growth.

Bowden (1971), looking at the CBD through time, recognized the subjective nature of the selection by Murphy and Vance of central business uses. All retail, office and service land uses are central business functions but so too, according to Bowden, are government and public and organizational establishments. Any wholesaler or manufacturer localized more by the pull of centrality than anything else is also a potential central business use.<sup>18</sup> Carol (1960) implied that the tendency to locate in the CBD could indicate a CBD forming establishment<sup>19</sup>. In fact, Murphy and Vance themselves alluded that wholesaling may be a central business function if it locates due to a pull to the core for centrality.<sup>20</sup>

The contribution of Murphy and Vance to understanding the CBD is significant. The exercise of delimiting the CBD must not be an end in itself but a beginning to understanding the dynamic nature of the CBD.

The central district boundary is a sensitive indicator of central district growth, and of growth in the city region ... study and analysis of changing boundaries is an important aid to diagnosis of city and central district growth.<sup>21</sup>

...The CBD is not static. It is highly mobile in spite of the great investment in land and buildings it represents. The picture of the CBD, however sharp and accurate it may seem, is no more than a glimpse of the moment. It reflects the past in the original site conditions and in changes through time, the present in its response to current economic conditions; and it carries a forecast of the future.<sup>22</sup>

Since the boundary of the CBD changes and at any one time delimitation is based on a subjective determination of central business land uses there have been few since Murphy and Vance who have concentrated solely on delimiting the CBD. It was recognized that a larger regional framework is needed for certain analytical purposes. "Indeed much of the discussion following the work of Murphy and Vance has been of the whole central area rather than an isolated CBD."<sup>23</sup>

#### Changes in the CBD Over Time - Historical Process

There have been numerous studies on the changes of the CBDs over time. Richard Radcliff, at about the same time Murphy and Vance were concerned with delimiting the CBD, sought to determine whether peripheral retail growth was at the expense of the CBD or merely proportional to the population increase and spatial expansion. Historical evidence suggested that as cities grow the central area normally accounts for a decreasing proportion of the commercial activity. He did a case study of Madison, Wisconsin over 30 years,

employing a functional approach and subjectively defining the boundaries of the CBD. He found that the variety of goods and services over the 30 year period changed very little. Less intensive uses were replaced with more intensive uses and the CBD was found to have advantages over the suburb in terms of variety of services and range of choice as well as accessibility.

John Rannels (1956) studied the CBD of Philadelphia over a 15 year period from 1934 to 1949 using a similar definition of central functions as Murphy and Vance. He found the interplay between activities and their accommodations to be the root of the changing patterns of urban land use.

Accommodations and facilities have been built up over considerable periods of time in response to repeated demands for space in line with requirements current at each period. As requirements change over time the accommodations are modified to suit: ... But each improvement is designed, as a rule, on its own merit with small regard for the consequences that may follow in its wake [vacancies in abandoned buildings and therefore reduced values].<sup>24</sup>

Rannels presented the CBD in a new way. He did not define it, but stressed that it is an area which is the result of many forces interacting to determine locational decisions. Those forces, he felt, had to be understood.

Historical investigation of the CBD is best exemplified by Ward's (1966) study of the evolution of central Boston. Ward was most concerned with describing the processes which shaped the development of the central area from 1840 to 1900. This was a subjective analysis of the changes in extent and character, a model of the emergence of the

central business district in the U.S.A., and no delimitation was involved. However, such an approach using the evolutionary sequence is a useful way to describe and analyze the internal structural changes in a city. He identified two stages. In the first stage, which in the U.S.A. was generally between 1840 and 1870, the dominating feature is the appearance of a distinct warehouse district, a consequence of increasing commercial activity. At the same time a small but distinctive financial area appeared. In the second stage, between 1870 and 1900, the main process was specialization within the earlier areas. The financial sector grew and spawned an administrative area as urban government developed. Retail trade, which had been scattered among the commercial and financial areas, became the main activity in a specialized shopping area. Ward's model thus shows the development from mixed and intermixed uses to a complex CBD characterized by distinct sub-districts with closely associated uses.

Thomas (1972) did an historical study in Britain of changing boundary lines of the central area. He found that as retailing becomes proportionally less important as an overall central business land use, its distribution within central areas becomes much more compact, more isolated and generally more centralized.

#### CBD Studies Using Bases Other Than Land Use Data

Studies of the spatial extent and well-being of the CBD over time can be based on factors other than the intensity of land use and functional activities (central business or non central uses). Retail

sales attraction, land values and daytime population have been common criteria used to measure and describe the physical and economic characteristics of the CBD.

Retail sales volume in shopping has been often used as an economic indicator of the well-being of a CBD. Although at one time CBD retail stores were more prosperous than stores elsewhere in the city since the 1950s it has been shown that as the city grows the CBD accounts for a relatively smaller share of total retail sales. People continue to go to the CBD for apparel, general merchandise, furniture and furnishings and appliances but not for convenience goods. Over the period 1948 to 1954 a study was made by the U.S. Office of Area Development of the Department of Commerce in Washington, of 48 CBDs and in not one of them did CBD sales increase to the extent that sales in the entire city grew.<sup>25</sup> The extent of the increase in sales in the CBD was found to depend on the size of the CBD and the population growth in the CBD relative to the population growth in the entire city. If the population growth in the CBD equalled that of the city, the sales in the CBD were better than average sales in the 48 CBDs but if the growth was less the sales in the CBD were found to decline. In all 48 CBDs the top three functions were general merchandise stores (department and variety), apparel stores and furniture, home furnishing and appliance stores. All three types of stores had declining sales in all 48 CBDs.

The researchers devised a population expansion ratio to measure the extent to which population is decentralizing. The ratio is as follows:

$$\text{Population Expansion Ratio} = \frac{\% \text{ growth in population in S.M.A. over period}^{26}}{\% \text{ growth in population in CBD over period}}$$

A high ratio indicates substantial population growth outside the CBD and a low ratio indicates a more equal population growth in the CBD and the city. The results of the ratio for the 48 cities can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4

Population Expansion Ratio and change in CBD Sales

<u>Number of CBDs</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>% Change in CBD Sales</u>
7	.7 - .99	5.7
7	1 - 1.39	4.7
9	1.4 - 1.79	3.8
7	1.8 - 1.99	2.6
10	2 - 2.99	-.9
8	3 or more	-.9

Source: Weiss, "The Central Business District in Transition," p. 9.

The results clearly indicate that i) when growth occurs outside the CBD the retail sales fall in the CBD and ii) when the CBD grows along with the rest of the city the retail sales increase in the CBD.

Thus it appears that retail sales volume is a good indicator of the relative health of the CBD.

Land values, which depend on the buildings erected on the land, have long been used as a tool to measure the relative attractiveness of the CBD. Hoyt, a land economist, studied land values in Chicago for the period 1836 to 1926 and found values to increase absolutely but not relatively. Other studies have shown that the point of highest land value within the CBD is usually the middle of the retail shopping

district.<sup>27</sup> Using assessed values to measure trends has not been successful because they do not always match market values. Wright studied assessed values of land and improvements from 1930 to 1951 for Flint, Michigan and found the percentage of total assessed value in the CBD fell by 36%, however, rental rates were high. The decline he attributed to faster growth in assessed values in new subdivisions.

Changes in the CBD structure can clearly be seen using historical data on rents but such information is often difficult to obtain. "... rental patterns in the CBD can be used effectively to substantiate differentiation in the land use pattern."<sup>28</sup> Buildings with the highest rental rates obviously have the best location and the highest priced land. Density and functional maps will not provide this information. Berry (1963) noted that land values were highest at the CBD and grade outwards.

The daytime population in the CBD, composed of those working, at school, shopping, on personal business, enroute, at home and involved in activities, is another way of measuring the intensity of land use in the CBD as well as the actual vitality of the CBD because without people there would be no centralization of functions in the CBD.

Jonassen (1955) said that as the CBD changes, there is a general redistribution of functions and downtown begins to serve more specialized needs.<sup>29</sup> As the city grows, fewer shoppers come to the CBD and most shopping in the CBD is done by workers there. Measures of daytime population show this. Foley, in the early 1950s, found that over the period 1925 to 1950, there was an upward trend in daytime

population in cities with a population less than 1 million, but the opposite in cities with a population greater than 1 million.<sup>30</sup> Thus it seems that as cities grow fewer people shop in the CBD.

All of these methods for studying the CBD and measuring its well-being over time are faced with the same problem of availability of data. For this reason most researchers turn to land uses as the simplest, most available evidence to be used in delimiting the CBD and determining changes over time. An attempt will be made to analyze downtown Winnipeg rental rates on a limited basis with the goal being an indication of absolute growth and relative growth when compared with suburban rates.

#### Current Approach to Studying the CBD

A methodology for studying the central areas of cities has emerged largely as a result of the various studies undertaken since Murphy and Vance delimited the CBD and it is concerned with areal definition and the studying of process.<sup>31</sup> It is an attempt to resolve the heterogeneity and complexity of central areas by using cluster analysis and examining decision-making regarding site selection. Clusters are created by linkages between users of central land. The method is as follows:

1. Objectively define areas by means of cluster analysis.
2. Interpret these areas in terms of the growing city by taking cluster analysis back into the past to identify changes and process by which change occurs.



3. Trace emerging spatial linkages between functions and spatial incompatibility between functions. Certain functions attract certain functions and repel other functions. These are the operative factors in the developmental process.

Varley (1968) using this method for Manchester found there to be a non-retail area in central Manchester though most other areas are characterized by combinations of uses. His study demonstrates the multiplicity of relationships that exist between uses. It appears that the decisions made by each business or individual regarding the selection of a retail site are at the root of the aggregate pattern of land use in the central city. Sites are selected based on such things as trading area potential, accessibility, growth potential and compatible land uses.

Investigations of the central areas of cities today stress the dynamic interaction between location and activity rather than accessibility alone. Rannells realized in 1949 that the physical city is the result of the activities of people as they accumulate and are accommodated at definite locations in establishments.<sup>32</sup>

According to Bowden (1971) the type of growth in the CBD depends on the scale of demand for space by certain types of linked establishments that form nucleations and this demand ultimately rests on the extent and rapidity of the growth of a city.<sup>33</sup>

Whitehand (1978) has attempted to identify innovation in building technology as it affects the city centre and the diffusion of change

within the centre. Profitability determines the location of change. As buildings diverge from their most profitable use the probability of renewal increases.

One can see that the understanding of the processes at work in the city centre which result in land use patterns is not yet complete.

Careful and detailed study of process is essential. This involves an effective realization of the interests of users of central land, the activities in which they are involved, the links which they require and the resources, both economic and political, which they can deploy. This must be carried out in the context of continuing change and flux over time.<sup>34</sup>

FOOTNOTES

1. D.R. Goldfield, B.A. Brownell. Urban America: From Downtown to No Town. (Geneva, Illinois: Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1979) p. ix.
2. Len Gertler, Ron Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities: The Next 25 Years. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1977) p. 364.
3. F. Stuart Chapin Jr., Urban Land Use Planning. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 20.
4. T. R. Weir, "Land Use and Population Characteristics of Central Winnipeg" reprinted from Geographical Bulletin, 9, (1957), p. 7.
5. Convenience Centers, Neighborhood Centers, Community Centers and Regional Centers are other levels in hierarchy from lowest level up to regional.
6. The ribbons and specialized areas are not considered here because the CBD is the primary focus.
7. Harold Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, (London, England: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1981), p. 116.
8. Ibid, p. 120.
9. Charles M. Christian, Robert A. Harper (ed.) Modern Metropolitan Systems. (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1982), p. 209.
10. John N. Jackson, The Canadian City - Space, Form, Quality. Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson Limited, 1973).
11. James E. Vance Jr. "Emerging Patterns of Commercial Structure in American Cities", \_\_\_\_\_, 1960, p. 485.
12. Raymond E. Murphy. The Central Business District, (Chicago: Aldine - Atherton, Inc., 1972) p. 37.
13. Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, p. 198.
14. Murphy, The Central Business District, p. 27.
15. Some blocks included even if do not meet minimum values if are near PVL I or are surrounded by CBD blocks and thus non-central uses are included.
16. Shirley F. Weiss "The Central Business District in Transition" Research Paper 1, City and Regional Planning Studies, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Department of Regional Planning, 1959), p. 21.

17. Barry J. Garner. Review of The Central Business District, by Raymond E. Murphy in The Canadian Geographer, Vol. XII, No. 1, Spring 1973.
18. Larry S. Bourne (ed.). Internal Structure of the City ended. (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1982) p. 333.
19. H. Carol. "The Hierarchy of Central Functions Within the City" Annals of Association of American Geographers, 50 (1960): 434.
20. R. E. Murphy, J. E. Vance Jr. "Delimiting the CBD". Economic Geography, 30, (1954): 203.
21. Bourne, Internal Structure of the City, p. 341.
22. Murphy, The Central Business District, p. 63.
23. Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, p. 231.
24. John Rannels. The Core of the City, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956) p. 40.
25. Weiss "The Central Business District in Transition", p. 8.
26. SMA in US equals CMA in Canada (census metropolitan area) or entire city.
27. Weiss, "The Central Business District in Transition", p. 10.
28. Ibid., p. 12.
29. C.T. Jonasson. The Shopping Center Versus Downtown. (Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1955) pp. 95-97.
30. Weiss, "The Central Business District in Transition", p. 15.
31. Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, p. 219.
32. Rannels, The Core of the City, pp. 16-17.
33. Bourne, Internal Structure of the City, p. 341.
34. Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, p. 235.

## CHAPTER III - DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

### Introduction

Retail patterns are the product of evolution of many competing activities. During this evolution there have been three locational processes working to create shopping centers, ribbon developments and specialized functional areas.<sup>1</sup> The processes at work have been:

- i) Need for centrality (accessibility) to customers
- ii) Need to be near main arteries due to dependence on automobiles
- iii) Need for businesses to agglomerate to take advantage of a larger scale economy.

The retail pattern has also been affected by two other major changes which have taken place to varying degrees since World War II. These are the migration of people first and then retail functions to the suburbs and away from the core and the specific changes to the city brought about by the various fragmented governments in the city and the resulting fragmented planning favouring the suburbs over the core.

The emergence of chain stores and 'superstores' and thus changes in the scale-economies of businesses has pushed retailing into the suburbs where there is accessibility to the consumer and servicing as well as cheaper, larger sites. Retailers are no more dependent on wholesale facilities in the core. The traditional hierarchy of business transactions has been replaced by separate networks of activity in the suburbs. This is a function of improved transportation. The availability of land in the suburbs and the almost total dependence on

the car for shopping have brought about these changes as has the economic climate which has been conducive to huge speculative investments on shopping centers. The lack of bureaucratic and/or planning constraints in the suburbs has in the past given great flexibility to the retail owners. In most cities taxes are higher downtown because the land is deemed to be more valuable. Taxes are low in the suburbs. This favours the developer who encourages the system to remain as it is even though the downtown land is often overvalued. The public has accepted mass merchandising and this has also allowed the development in the suburbs to succeed.

#### Demographic Changes

Demographic changes and the accompanying changes in tastes and habits created the suburbs probably more than any other factor. The younger, richer, more mobile families moved to the suburbs in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and retailing followed.

Whereas in the past few decades the population was young, expanding and well-off the "baby boom" generation is changing the composition of the population. The composition of the population affects where, how and why people shop. The population is aging. Households are becoming smaller. Consumers are becoming both richer and poorer. Two income households, professional and single-person households and empty nesters whose child-rearing responsibilities are over are becoming richer. Traditional households where there are children and a non-working mother, single-parent households and retired people living on

relatively fixed incomes are becoming poorer. The traditional household is on the decline. In 1981 the proportion of women who work outside the home rose to 51 per cent. In 1971 it was 39.4 percent.<sup>2</sup>

The result of these demographic changes is that

The suburban market ... is moving closer to the city and living in less space. It's a sociological shift characterized by single people forming more households, fewer families with working fathers and stay-at-home mothers, and a reduced demand for large suburban homes ... [and] New downtown retail complexes ... will move in to draw customers away, ..."<sup>3</sup>

The first time exposure of the baby boom generation to a serious recession in the early 1980s has also permanently changed consumer spending habits and thus shopping center development.

#### Downtown Revitalization - The Shift Back to Downtown

Pope (1981) has written that the suburban shopping center is doomed and will be replaced by multi-level downtown malls with the covered pedestrian walks<sup>4</sup> but it is more likely that suburban facilities will occupy similar levels in the shopping centre hierarchy with downtown facilities because the shopping center is not simply a suburban phenomenon. It can also be successfully developed downtown as will soon be shown.

The three classic spatial models of urban structure describing the land use pattern in the traditional North American city are products of the time in which they were developed. All assume continued outward growth from the core. This is the process of urbanization. These three theories are very strong and still accepted. Only after 1960

with the coming of the freeway did the CBD decline. These theories predate this development. However, it seems as if in the late 1970s and 1980s there is a move to counter urbanization or move back to the downtown to revitalize it. The key to revitalization of the CBD has been identified as retailing.<sup>5</sup> None of the theories on urban growth allow for this move back to the core.

Whereas the regional shopping centers in the suburbs offered, above all, convenience to shoppers the new downtown centers provide a limited array of convenience items and promise unique and more expensive merchandise for the adventurous shopper.

In response to the demographic and other changes experienced in the late 1970s and 1980s there has been a definite trend for developers to revert to downtown areas in Canada. Planners and various levels of government have encouraged and aided this move. Since the 1950s the CBD has been losing its locational superiority for certain functions. Before the street cars all economic and social life took place in the CBD but with the advent of the street car the specialization of the CBD began. Once again the CBD is being reborn as a new urban center. The catalysts for redevelopment of the CBD have been government centers, cultural centers, sports centers, convention centers, historic districts, adaptive uses and mixed use developments.

"At the beginning of the 1980s, the future of our cities' core areas seems bright. Past efforts have proven that decay and decline can be deterred and stabilized. Recent efforts have demonstrated that carefully conceived revitalization is now not only possible but has widespread public support. Observers of the death knell now see not just the breath of life but the potential for new growth and vigor."<sup>6</sup>



The development opportunities in the CBD however are a function of the dynamics of the market in the particular city. For a CBD to be vital the region must be vital and growing. The development of a CBD must have economic, social and political objectives. The Urban Land Institute in the United States has determined that development of the CBD should focus on:

1. Making the CBD the main office center - strong financial, service, Head Office and government center.
2. Stabilizing or expanding the retail function to meet the demands of the expanding population base.
3. Convention marketing to support the CBD.
4. Restoring old buildings for retail, office and residential uses.
5. Improving transportation.
6. Creating high quality housing.
7. Stabilizing and expanding system of entertainment facilities (theatres, museums, urban parks, art centers).

"The expansion of office activity and the other advantages that cities have traditionally offered - cultural facilities, interesting architecture, historic places and pedestrian-oriented physical environs - have created, and can be expected to continue to enhance, conditions ripe with opportunities to attract middle - and upper-income households to city neighborhoods and to increase retailing."<sup>7</sup>

The reurbanization of the city or the redevelopment of downtown is a major force in the eighties according to the literature and the examples in many American and Canadian cities but it is important to understand that the downtown is not being redeveloped into the predominant center. It is merely one of many nuclei or centers in the cities today much as Ullman theorized.

"... the future economic potential for central cities is somewhat mixed. Clearly the forces of decentralization leading to a more complex and sprawling urban structure with multiple activity centers will dominate the next decade of growth .... Still, while many central cities may face general shrinkage of their overall economies and populations, the expansion of downtown office, residential, and retail activities will provide the basis for new investment and development opportunities in the cities."<sup>8</sup>

#### Methods Being Used to Revitalize the Downtown

Before outlining recent attempts to revitalize the CBD it is useful to understand the types of retail projects which have been advocated for the CBD. Downtown revitalization can involve the introduction of downtown shopping malls with one or two department stores, specialty retail in buildings which have a cultural, historical and architectural heritage and distinctive physical and locational characteristics, mixed use projects and retail street renovations.

Of all four developments in the downtown the mixed use development, which was pioneered in the 1950s, may be the best answer for treating blight and decay. Such a development is able to bring life to areas which were dead after 5 p.m., maintain and improve the environment and provide a means for organizing metropolitan growth. These developments have been designed at a human scale and have been able to keep central cities alive and make cities a viable organism. A mixed use development differs from a shopping center in various aspects. It has three or more significant revenue producing uses, such as retail, office, residential, hotel and recreation, which are mutually supporting. There is significant functional and physical integration of the components including uninterrupted pedestrian connections.

Development must be according to a coherent plan. It has been said that "Mixed use projects ... represent a rediscovery of urbanity through integration of a rich mixture of mutually supporting activities into a single development project."<sup>9</sup> This change in land use has allowed the built environment to be more efficient, enjoyable and relevant to human needs. Such land uses often incorporate living, working, shopping and recreation. The shopping center as a distinct commercial land use type is a retail merchandising complex that generates supplementary land uses and influences community values.

The mixed use development is a response to forces affecting the form of urban development. It is a natural progression in the evolution of the post World War II shopping centers. Multi-functional regional shopping centers attracted people because they could carry out several activities simultaneously without separate trips. Such multi-functional centers tended to generate growth. Developers of course saw this and the mixed use project was the outcome. Contemporary concerns have allowed this land use to be successfully developed in the CBD. "New urban retail developments will be limited but, as developers break away from past formulas and, with extensive cooperation from government, move toward the implementation of new center design, they will be responding effectively to the needs of cities and their commercial core."<sup>10</sup>

The move by developers back to the CBD, especially with mixed use developments, reinforces the underlying social and economic trends of today. These developments have a potential metropolitan wide market.

They are a retail, social, cultural and recreational point of regional significance. This new land use may foreshadow a major change in urban functions as mixed use developments become new nuclei around which metropolitan growth is organized. The result would be several nuclei and the downtown will probably evolve into an office and financial district since offices are usually the dominant function in mixed use developments and retail is a supportive function. In cities such as Houston, Texas the CBD is dynamic and growing but it is only one of many nuclei.

The mixed use development is a microcosm of the city and is not like the haphazard growth of the suburbs and for this reason alone is probably the best method for revitalizing central cities.<sup>11</sup> This concept allows the planner to reduce to manageable size the crisis he faces and allows him to reintroduce community and civic pride into the city.

#### Downtown Revitalization in Canada

Recent attempts to revitalize the CBD in many Canadian cities have been successful. The Toronto Eaton Centre is one of the best examples and although there is relevance to the argument that a city with the population and growth rate of Toronto can easily sustain a major centre in the CBD and a city such as Winnipeg cannot, there is still a lesson to be learned from the basic design. This innovative mixed use complex not only uses land in a way that has improved the quality of the living environment it is also an excellent example of cooperation between the

public and private sectors. This joint venture of Cadillac Fairview Corporation, a major Canadian and international developer, T. Eaton, the Toronto-Dominion Bank and the City of Toronto includes as anchors Eaton's and Simpson's and over 300 shops and services, two major office buildings, two parking garages, two subway stations providing access from the City's public transit system and two truck receiving facilities. "The Eaton Centre offers evidence of how various interests, including the developer's can be served without necessarily compromising public objectives."<sup>12</sup>

Yonge Street, a main artery in downtown Toronto along which the Eaton Centre is located, had been losing its higher income merchandising outlets to midtown and suburban locations prior to the development of the Centre. The entire area, once the principal retail district, was becoming dilapidated. The development of Eaton Centre, facing the new City Hall and numerous other historical landmarks was able to regenerate the area.

Eaton Centre is a huge complex but it was built with the needs of the downtown and people in mind. Pedestrian routes in the complex are open 24 hours a day. This encourages people to think of it as a public and accessible street. However, it is also very viable. Sales per square foot among ancillary tenants increased 10.2% in 1982 to \$443., the highest average in North America.<sup>13</sup> There are no vacancies. In fact there are waiting lists for space. The Centre is also Toronto's No. 1 tourist attraction. It has been able to successfully compete with suburban malls and has at the same time provided a pleasant and

stimulating pedestrian environment. It does tend to dominate the surrounding retail area, however, and has not helped create retail activity along Yonge Street as was originally planned. It also seems to have aggravated a serious social problem in downtown Toronto with runaways, prostitutes and drug dealers. Eaton Centre is a gathering place for these people. Nevertheless, this experiment in urban development has had more successes than failures and proves that development in the downtown can benefit the entire city and its people. Eaton Centre has changed the face of downtown Toronto.

Rideau Centre, a 1.3 million square foot shopping center in the heart of downtown Ottawa, is "... a place where people can see concerts, movies, or just relax in the midst of a 5.2-acre rooftop park with beautiful landscaping."<sup>14</sup> A posh 500-room Westin Hotel is part of this center which has over 200 stores plus Eaton's, Ogilvy's and The Bay as anchor tenants. Being close to the Parliament Buildings it is also a tourist attraction. Above all, however, this center seems to function as a cultural type of meeting place for people rather than as just another place to shop. It has also brought vitality back to a deteriorating downtown.

Ottawa and Toronto are both very different from Winnipeg and it is perhaps not advisable to assume that what works there will work in Winnipeg. Regina is probably more similar to Winnipeg. Downtown Regina had a huge problem. There was little retail activity in the downtown of this city where 25 per cent of Saskatchewan's retail trade takes place.<sup>15</sup> A land assembly by the Province of three city blocks

and the creation of business improvement districts by way of an amendment to the Urban Municipalities Act began the revitalization of the core. Three major office towers were built on the expropriated land, Eaton's opened a 280,000 square foot four-storey retail store and a two level shopping mall linked it. In 1981 this development, Cornwall Center, opened and it was fully leased. Today it is still leased and there is vacant space in the suburban shopping malls. The fact that Regina has a serious oversupply of retail space and this center has no vacancy means that it fills a need and is revitalizing the downtown.

Place Ville Marie in Montreal is a downtown center which links a hotel and office building. It is a specialty center, with small shops and no major anchor. It caters to special needs. Tourists are very important to such centers. There is an underground pedestrian network emanating from Place Ville Marie. This center has been very successful primarily due to tourists and office workers.

Presently Cadillac Fairview Corporation Ltd., the developers of Eaton Centre in Toronto, is proposing a \$150 million downtown redevelopment project in Montreal. This project would include a major downtown shopping center, an office building and a concert hall with emphasis on people, accessibility and attractiveness.

These few examples from Canadian cities confirm that there is indeed a move back to redevelopment in the downtown and also illustrate that many of these projects are well planned, people oriented, innovative and successful.

Conclusion

Winnipeg's downtown has generally evolved over the last century as have other cities in Canada but its evolution has been unique in many aspects. The evolution will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter VI will outline the current attempts to revitalize Winnipeg's downtown and the current emphasis on directing future growth to the core and stopping growth in the suburbs. Retail growth in particular is to be controlled because retail development is seen as a major impetus for encouraging further growth downtown.

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## CHAPTER IV - THE EVOLUTION OF WINNIPEG

### Introduction

The evolution of Winnipeg will be considered in an attempt to put into perspective the present state of the downtown. In order to revitalize the downtown one must understand why and how it evolved. Many of the current problems are due to events which occurred or did not occur in the past. Referring back to Figure 1 this description of Winnipeg's evolution will describe how Winnipeg grew from a city with a dominant and thriving CBD to a city with a weak and struggling core competing with the suburban centres. The automobile allowed the suburbs to expand and as people moved out to the suburbs so too did land use functions move from the city centre.

### Prior to Incorporation

Winnipeg is a city with a very intriguing and colourful history and to a large extent the Winnipeg of today pales in comparison to the Winnipeg of old. The City has traditionally revolved around its two rivers, the Red which runs north-south and the Assiniboine which runs west-east. For hundreds of years before the first white man came to this area the meeting point of the two rivers was also the meeting place of prairie native tribes. French explorers and fur traders came to this area in the early 1700s but not until 1738 did LaVerendrye and his voyageurs build the first building, Fort Rouge, on the south side of the junction of the two rivers. In 1810 the North West Company,

after the conquest of Canada by the British, built Fort Gibraltar. It was not until 1812 that the first agricultural settlers arrived and erected Fort Douglas. Soon after it was burned. A new Fort Douglas was built using the wood from the demolished Fort Gibraltar. Its final destruction came about in 1826. Meanwhile, the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company were amalgamated into Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and rebuilt Fort Gibraltar which later came to be known as Fort Garry. By 1830 the colony was stable and in 1835 the second Fort Garry was built on the present site of Main Street at Broadway Avenue.

#### Winnipeg's Early Growth - The Boom Years Prior to 1913

In 1870 Manitoba became Canada's fifth province and the settlement which was to become Winnipeg consisted of 215 people. In 1873 Winnipeg was incorporated. From its early days to the present time the focus of business and commercial activity has shifted several times but the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers has always been near the center. The road which in 1873 traveled north from the forks to Lower Fort Garry and Lake Winnipeg, Main Street, and the two roads which travelled west, Portage and Notre Dame Avenues, have been the main thoroughfares of shoppers and sellers since Winnipeg's earliest days.

In the beginning the centers of business and of the public life were the various forts culminating in Upper Fort Garry. At these forts one could find the widest selection of dry goods and hardware.

By 1873 the population was between 2,000 and 3,700 persons. Andrew McDermot and A.G.B. Bannatyne among others began to challenge the

monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company and built structures on the trail north of Lower Fort Garry (Main Street). By 1874 there were over twenty private traders who set up shop on Main Street and along the streets running from Main Street to the landings on the Red River. This was the second business district. By the fall of 1874 the population was 3,000 and the assessed value of the city property was over \$2,000,000.<sup>1</sup> Between 1874 and 1880 the population doubled.

In 1881 the decision was made to pass the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway through Winnipeg. This, many felt, guaranteed that Winnipeg would be the hub of commercial activity in the Northwest. The real estate boom of 1881 to 1882 which ensued has never been equalled again in Winnipeg. Between 1874 and 1913 Winnipeg grew into a full-fledged metropolis but "The fact is that Winnipeg in her feverish desire to grow, only to grow, was not in the least concerned to grow properly and healthfully, .... [and was] blinded ... to the fact that cities cannot live by growth alone."<sup>2</sup>

Prior to 1874 most residents lived in the area between Main Street and the Red River. Boarding houses were built on Main Street. Many residences were built after 1874 west of Main Street on streets running parallel to Notre Dame Avenue. After 1877 the most desirable residential district was south of Notre Dame Avenue. At this time there was no distinct working-class district. After the boom of 1881-1882 there began to be segregation of classes and ethnic groups, unequal distribution of municipal services and varying quality of residences and thus distinct neighbourhoods. After 1885 real estate

prices in the core were too high for residential use and thus the core became almost exclusively commercial (including the wholesale trade). "In general, then, Winnipeg's spatial growth was marked by a core of middle- and working-class elements, surrounded on the south by the upper class, on the west by the middle class, and on the north by the working class."<sup>3</sup> As long as there was in-migration and a constant supply of upwardly mobile residents no area experienced decline or blight and the city continued to grow outwards. The North End, since the turn of the century, has been an area for immigrants because there was little housing in the center of the City and vast numbers of immigrants.

From 1878 Market Square began to emerge west of Main Street at the site of the present City Hall. The large market building built in 1890 was to be a landmark for generations. This became the center of trade with the Grain Exchange, hotels, and liveries nearby. Gatherings of all kinds occurred here. The transcontinental railway had redirected business west from the wharf area along the Red River to the Market Square area. When this happened the area became the business and wholesaling center for the prairie west. By 1890 there were 12 railway lines passing through Winnipeg. Favourable freight rates and the established distribution centers in the Market Square area encouraged wholesale firms to locate in Winnipeg. In this period the Whitla Block, Gault Block, Marshall-Wells Building, Crane Building, and J.H. Ashdown Warehouse east of Main Street were erected. Farm implement manufacturers such as Harris and Company and the Massey Company also

built buildings in this area as did companies associated with world grain trade. Lake of the Woods Milling Company located on McDermot Avenue and to the north of the warehouse district Ogilvie Flour Mills set up the base of its world-wide empire. The Grain Exchange Building, built in 1892 on Princess Street, was a major commodity trading center in the heart of the market district.

The growth of the wholesale and manufacturing operations was paralleled with the growth of financial institutions. By 1882 there were eight chartered banks in Winnipeg (branches of eastern banks) and seven private banks. There were twelve loan and investment companies which had their western headquarters in Winnipeg. The bank buildings along Main Street at the turn of the century were fine examples of architecture. At the same time, Great-West Life Assurance Company built their first head office building on Lombard Avenue. By 1910 there were steel frame buildings up to ten stories high such as the Confederation Building and the Hamilton Building.

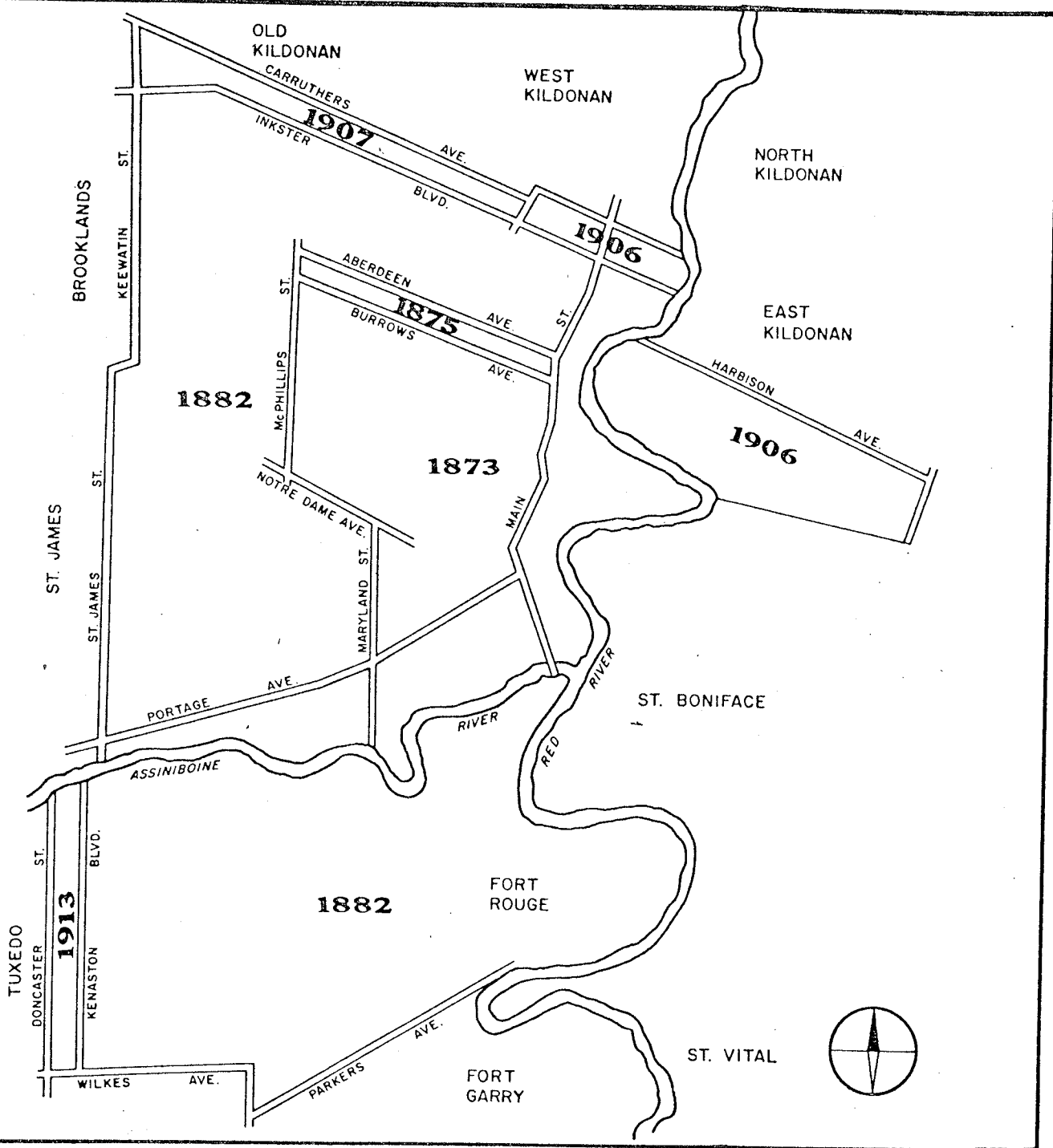
Public institutions were developed in the 1880s and 1890s to provide regulation and services for the people. The Police Court and Jail on James Street, Pantages Theatre on Market Street (now Playhouse), Maw's Garage (now Old Spaghetti Factory) on Bannatyne Avenue and the Hydro Substation on King Street were a few of these buildings.

The population grew from 42,000 in 1901 to a population of 150,000 in 1913.

The early influx of immigrants was from Great Britain and Ontario. In this way the essentially Anglo-Saxon nature of Winnipeg was developed. After 1900 many of the immigrants were Slavs and Jews. The number and variety of foreign born was a unique experience in Canadian urban development.<sup>4</sup>

The growth of the street railway system increased the pace of suburbanization especially to the exclusive west and south districts. Developers encouraged the distinction between homes in the north as opposed to the south and west. The south and west were for the British middle and upper class. In the core between the three districts were the working middle-class people. This general spatial and social pattern which was laid down so early in Winnipeg's history remains largely unchanged today.

This brief and condensed description of Winnipeg's growth from incorporation into the first decade of the 1900s indicates that the growth of Winnipeg was very rapid and largely unplanned. Map 8 delineates the boundary extensions over this 40-year period. By 1911 there were twenty-four railway lines radiating out from Winnipeg, giving Winnipeg a commanding position in Prairie trade in terms of both receiving products of the west for shipment east and distributing throughout the west merchandise originating in the east or Europe.<sup>5</sup> Many were predicting that Winnipeg's population would reach 750,000 at least, and possibly 1,000,000 by 1920. In 1913 Winnipeg was the largest city in the Canadian west and was the region's industrial, financial and marketing center.



Winnipeg Boundary Extensions 1873-1914

Source: Artibise, 1975: 135



Prior to discussing the decline of Winnipeg after 1913, it is imperative to explain the shift of the focus of business and commercial activity for the fourth time away from the Albert Street Market Square area. In 1905 Timothy Eaton built Winnipeg's first major department store flour blocks west of the Intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. For many people to this day Eaton's is the focus of Winnipeg's retail area. The new Grain Exchange Building was built in 1906. This also helped to create the shift. After 1918 most commercial construction was along Portage Avenue and the parallel streets to the south. Between 1918 and the early 1960s there was very little construction in the warehouse district, the third focus of business and commercial activity, bounded by Notre Dame Avenue, Rupert Avenue, Princess Street, and the Red River.

#### Winnipeg's Growth From 1913 Through World War II - End Of Boom

In 1913 there was a recession which drastically reduced the rate of expansion. The war years, 1914 to 1919, restored prosperity as usually occurs with wars. The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 began a thirty-year period of stagnation. The Panama Canal was completed in 1914 and thus Vancouver became a major competitor for grain and merchandise traffic. Winnipeg lost most of the freight rate privileges which had contributed greatly to the concentration of western wholesale facilities within Winnipeg prior to 1914. Winnipeg manufacturing firms fared better than did the wholesale houses. New construction consisted primarily of homes and institutional buildings rather than wholesale

buildings or factories. There was no new growth until the late 1920s. Although the wholesale trade of other Western cities increased substantially in the late 1920s, the wholesale trade of Winnipeg declined substantially.<sup>6</sup> This decline was partially offset by the increase in manufacturing activity. By 1926 Winnipeg was a garment center of importance. The new Hudson's Bay store was completed in 1927. Several large American merchandising organizations purchased land downtown for stores. Although there was growth during the latter years of the 1920s the pace of local economic activity did not match that of other Canadian cities.

The stock market crash of 1929 evolved into the Great Depression. Between 1930 and 1933 the wheat economy sank deeper into depression as did everything else. The output of manufactured goods fell by one-half. The level of business activity began to rise after 1933 as there was a steadily growing demand for the services of Winnipeg firms. For example, in 1937 the Swift Company built a \$2,000,000 abattoir in St. Boniface. There was an increase in freight haulage by CNR. The industrial structure of Winnipeg grew in size and diversity during this period. The reduction of the wholesale trade in the late 1920s had left many vacant warehouses and wholesale buildings which were now used for light industry. The number of manufacturing establishments increased further during this period. Between 1933 and 1939 the local clothing industry doubled. In 1937 Air Canada located their repair and overhaul base in Winnipeg because of its centrality.<sup>7</sup>

The war years of 1939 to 1945 restored full employment and kept local firms busy. After the war there was also general prosperity and manufacturing and wholesale firms were unable to fill all the orders they received from Winnipeg and Western Canada. In the 1940s and 1950s Winnipeg was able to stabilize its economic position. Winnipeg reached the stage of self-sustaining growth. Winnipeg changed from a "gateway city" to the west to a "central place city" for Manitoba, northwestern Ontario and Saskatchewan.<sup>8</sup>

#### Post World War II Growth - Suburbanization

Beginning after the war Winnipeg's dependence on wheat was reduced. Resources such as oil, gas, and minerals generated new markets for the wholesalers and manufacturers. The revolution in agricultural technology created a need for factories to produce new equipment. The manufacture of farm implements became very important to Winnipeg's local economy. Winnipeg also remained a major distribution centre for implements made elsewhere and shipped into western Canada. One of Winnipeg's historic functions was transportation and this continued to be a major activity. Winnipeg's location in the centre of North America allowed it to become a focus for Canadian truck haulers.

Another historic function, wholesaling, was never to regain its pre-World War I status but to this day is important. Many local hardware firms after World War II remained the largest in the West. Head offices and main depots ship hardware and clothing to chains of stores in small towns throughout the West.

After World War II the majority of the population growth was in the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg. "The division of work and home became even more common as the dispersal of the population which had first been facilitated by the street railway was completed by the automobile."<sup>9</sup> Most of the growth prior to 1960 did not have the advantages of long-term planning and thus urban sprawl occurred.

Although the local infrastructure grew substantially after 1945 with the addition of such facilities as schools, recreation facilities and downtown and suburban hotels the predominant trend in growth was suburbanization. People moved to the suburbs and everything else followed. Many warehousing and manufacturing firms moved into suburban industrial parks where land was cheaper, more readily available and horizontal construction was possible. The result was a supply of old and vacant industrial buildings in the core. Retailing followed the people to the suburbs.

Between 1956 and 1970 passenger automobile registration in Winnipeg increased by 100 percent. This factor and the accompanying need for economical and convenient parking along with the new needs due to the growth and expansion of population into the suburbs, increasing purchasing power, changed consumer buying habits and congestion downtown combined to create a reorganization and adaption of the retail network. The shopping center evolved to meet all of these new needs. The shopping center is a group of commercial establishments, planned, developed, owned and managed as a unit with off-street parking on the property and related in location, size and type of shops to the trade

area it serves. There are three types of centres - neighbourhood, community and regional. Table 5 outlines all of the differences.

Four neighbourhood centers were built between 1955 and 1959.<sup>10</sup> However, in 1956 only 37.65 percent of the population of metropolitan Winnipeg lived in the suburbs. In 1959 shopping center development began in earnest with the construction of Polo Park, the first regional center and for over fifteen years it was to have the entire city as its market.

In 1960 the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was formed. Metro Winnipeg included seven cities, five suburban municipalities and one town. The Metropolitan Corporation was given jurisdiction over services which were common to all areas. For the first time since the end of the War Winnipeg began to deal with its problems. The Metropolitan Development Plan was the first master plan for urban growth.

#### Late 1960s-1980s - Increased Suburbanization

In 1969 the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg conducted a major study on downtown Winnipeg, the area they defined as being between Notre Dame Avenue, the Assiniboine River, Main Street and Memorial Boulevard - Colony Street. Their conclusion was that "... Winnipeg's Downtown, like that of many North American cities, is declining"<sup>11</sup> but due to the major public and private investment in downtown it should not be allowed to decline and be dispersed through the slow process of decentralization, attrition and neglect. What many

Table 5

STANDARDS FOR TYPES AND SIZES IN SHOPPING CENTRES

	NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRE	COMMUNITY CENTRE	REGIONAL CENTRE
MAJOR FUNCTIONS	Sale of Convenience Goods and Personal Services	Functions of the Neighbourhood Centre plus soft line and hard line goods	Functions of the Community Centre plus general merchandise, apparel, furniture and home furnishings in full depth and variety
LEADING TENANT	Supermarket or Drugstore	Variety Store and Super Market	One or two full line Department Stores
SITE AREA	4 - 10 Acres	10 - 30 Acres	30 - 100 Acres
AVERAGE GROSS LEASABLE AREA	50,000 Sq Ft	150,000 Sq Ft	4000,000 Sq Ft
RANGES IN GROSS FLOOR AREA	30,000 - 100,000 Sq Ft	100,000 - 350,000 Sq Ft	350,000 to over 1,000,000 Sq Ft
NO. OF STORES AND SHOPS	5 - 15	15 - 30	Minimum of 30
RADIUS OF SERVICE AREA	1/2 - 1 mile	1 - 2 miles	3 - 7 miles
MINIMUM POPULATION OF SERVICE AREA REQUIRED TO SUPPORT CENTRE	7,500 - 40,000	40,000 - 100,000 to 150,000	100,000 to 150,000 or more

Source: Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg.

have claimed to be a natural trend beginning in 1873 was identified as a man-made and reversible trend. The consensus was that the downtown expresses the character and personality of a city and the image of the downtown becomes the image of the city. Thus the downtown must be vital and attractive. The problem is that the image of the downtown is confused and contradictory. The downtown is seen "... as a business center, a cultural capital, a commercial hub, or ... an area of rampant crime, of disadvantage and despair."<sup>12</sup>

The 1969 downtown study found that the downtown population decreased by 44 percent between 1941 and 1966 whereas the metropolitan population grew by 68 percent. Retail sales for the downtown were 36.7 percent of the total metropolitan sales in 1961. In 1966 they were 31.8 percent of the total. Apparel and accessory sales grew by 10.6 percent over this same period in the downtown but in the city as a whole they grew by 27.7 percent and in the census tract which contains the regional Polo Park Shopping Center they grew by 46.9 percent. In 1962 39.48 percent of employment was in the downtown. By 1976 it had decreased to 27 percent.

The study found that in 1969 23 percent of the downtown was vacant or used for surface parking. This fact, they concluded, meant that redevelopment and revitalization of Winnipeg's downtown could be accomplished with greater ease than in many other cities.

Starting in the 1960s but increasing in activity in the 1970s there were many buildings built which have been very important in the growth of Winnipeg. Many have worked to draw people back to the core for

work, for entertainment and cultural activities as well as living and shopping. Red River Community College was built. The two buildings which make up the City Hall site, erected in 1964, are connected underground to the Public Safety Building and Public Parking Garage. The Manitoba Centennial Concert Hall, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and Planetarium were built in 1967 on the east side of Main Street between Market and Rupert Avenues. The Delta Inn (originally north Star) was built on Portage Avenue. In 1969 the 3.5 acre, \$30,000,000 Lombard Place Complex was developed by James Richardson and Sons Ltd. at Portage Avenue and Main Street. It includes the 34-storey Richardson Building, the first and still major high rise office building, Westin Hotel, and the Bank of Canada. By the late 1970s an underground parking garage for 1100 cars owned by the City, a connected shopping-office complex of 300,000 square feet owned by Trizec Corporation and a new Bank of Nova Scotia, were able to remove pedestrians from the congested corner of Portage and Main. This development is also connected to the Bank of Montreal, recently renovated, and the Royal Bank Building located on Portage Avenue beside the Bank of Nova Scotia and constructed in 1964. In 1970 the Manitoba Theatre Centre was built east of the Playhouse Theatre. The Eaton Place development, a retail-office- parking complex, is another major addition to the downtown. The old Eaton's Catalogue building and adjacent land were redeveloped. There are theatres, restaurants and shops on 180,000 square feet of rentable space. In 1974 the Winnipeg Convention Centre, jointly funded by the Province and City, with a



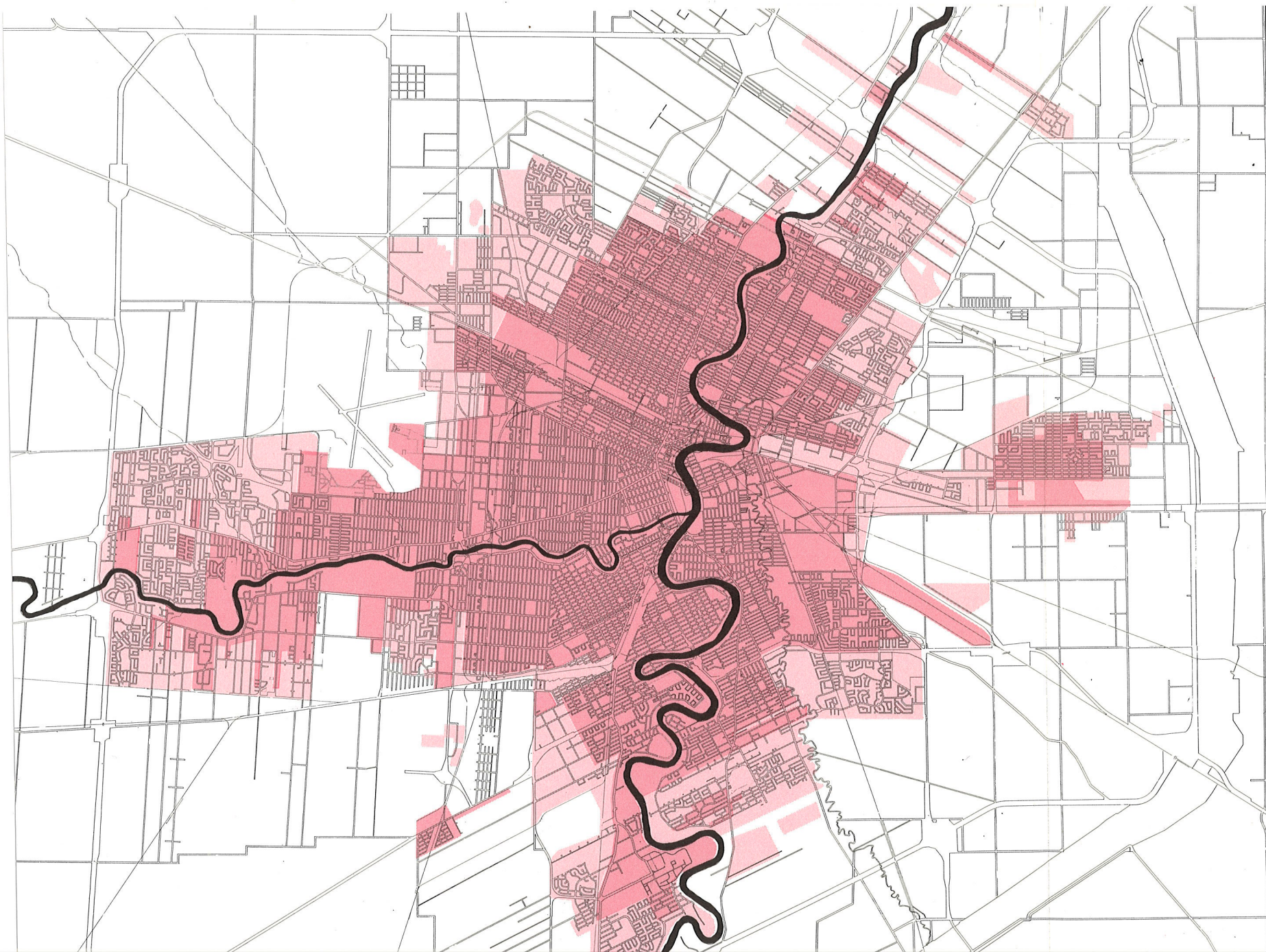
capacity for 8,000 people, 2,000 seat dining, a 600 seat movie theatre and a 680 car underground garage was completed at a cost of \$23,000,000. It is interconnected by two skywalks to the Lakeview Square office-retail complex and Holiday Inn. In the same year work began on the Centennial Library located on Graham Avenue beside Eaton Place. Less than 26% of the Class A and B office space in the area bounded by William Avenue, Red River, Assiniboine River and Osborne Street was built prior to 1970. Eighteen percent alone was built in 1980.<sup>13</sup> Such moves back to downtown seem to indicate a move back to integration and community life and away from the social segregation which has always characterized Winnipeg.

Another major development in the history of Winnipeg which is an integrating force was the formation of Unicity in 1972. With this move Winnipeg was able to rid itself of a two-tier metropolitan government and assume one metropolitan government for the entire area. It is interesting to note that Winnipeg was the first major city to do this. The community committee system allows people at the local levels such as in St. James or St. Boniface to become involved. Such a government makes it much easier to control growth and implement consistent policies.

Between 1961 and 1966 there were 16 shopping centers built in Winnipeg. In 1972 there were 23 shopping centers (1 regional, 8 community and 14 neighbourhood) and only two were on the periphery of the inner city. The rest were in the suburbs. Planners, in 1972, concluded that there were enough neighbourhood and community centers

and more would only be needed as new subdivisions were developed.<sup>14</sup> In 1972 they recommended that Garden City, a community center built in 1970, be expanded into a regional center to serve North Winnipeg and Grant Park Plaza, a community center built in 1963, be expanded to serve south Winnipeg. A fourth regional was needed, they felt, to serve the market east of the Red River.

Between 1962 and 1981 the suburbs flourished. As Map 9 shows development of suburbs occurred on all boundaries. In 1975 Unicity Mall (gross leaseable area 474,053 square feet) was built near the western extremity of the City on Portage Avenue. St. Vital Mall was constructed in 1979 (gross leaseable area 635,000 square feet) to serve the south end of Winnipeg. Shortly after in 1980 Kildonan Place (444,500 square feet gross leaseable area) was opened to serve the eastern end of Winnipeg. Garden City was also expanded during this period into a regional shopping center to serve northern Winnipeg. Map 10 shows all shopping centers built up to 1982. Only 39 percent of the total gross leaseable floor space was developed prior to 1966 and 27 percent of the total was developed since 1979. Large suburban shopping centers were mainly responsible for adding 266,040 square metres of retail space over the 1971 to 1982 period in which sales remained almost static. Downtown, meanwhile, had 3,600 square metres less retail space available and 15,345 square metres more vacant space in 1982 than in 1971. Today 40.6 percent of the total gross leaseable floor space for shopping centers is in regional shopping centers. Map 10 indicates that distribution is quite even throughout the city.



# EXTENT OF DEVELOPMENT 1962-1981





## LEGEND

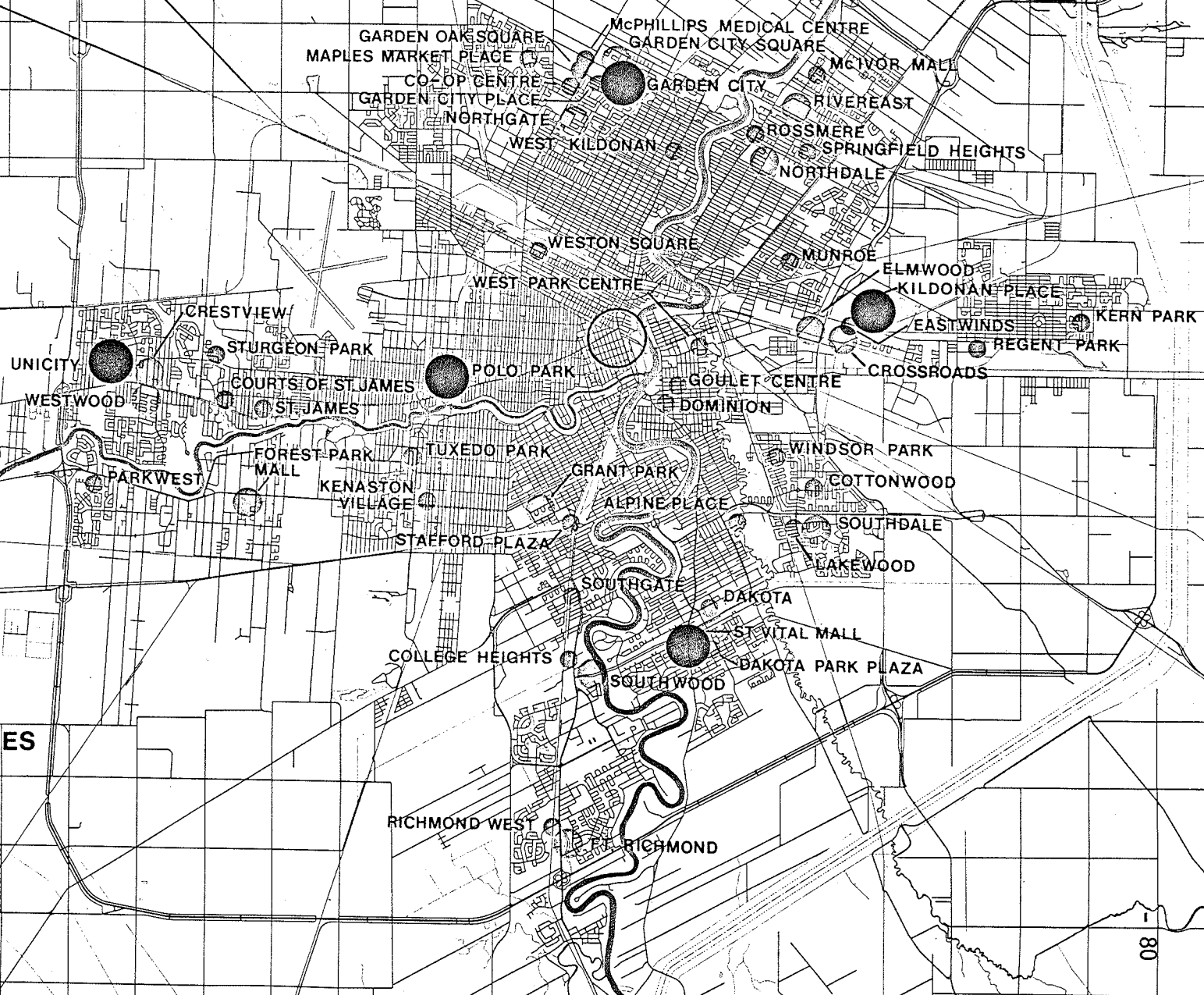
-  1962 Developed Area
-  1981 Developed Area

Source: Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg

Map 10

### WINNIPEG SHOPPING CENTRES 1982

-  CBD
-  REGIONAL
-  COMMUNITY
-  NEIGHBOURHOOD



Planners firmly believe the existing inventory of major shopping centers will serve the local market for many years.<sup>15</sup>

### Winnipeg Today

Although Winnipeg has not grown like cities in Western Canada it still is a major manufacturing centre. In fact, it is the second largest secondary manufacturing centre in Canada.<sup>16</sup> The traditional industries associated with Winnipeg's history, such as being a distribution, financial and rail transportation centre for the West, have declined but they have been replaced by other industries. These include food processing, garment manufacturing, farm equipment manufacturing and also space manufacturing. Winnipeg is also the headquarters for several national trucking firms. This diversity gives Winnipeg an economic stability that avoids the boom and bust cycles of more resource based cities.

This brief history of Winnipeg's growth lays the basis for understanding the social and physical problems faced by the City today. It also helps one to understand why these problems are for the most part unique and requires unique solutions. Winnipeg is today at the crossroads. Should the suburbs expand at the expense of the downtown? Has the downtown in fact deteriorated? How has it deteriorated, if in fact it has? Is it worth saving? These questions will be examined in the following chapters.

1. Alan Artibise, Winnipeg - An Illustrated History. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1977) p. 23.
2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (ed.). The Canadian City, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977) p. 312.
4. Winnipeg Business Development Corporation, Where The New West Begins, 1980.
5. Ruben Bellan, Winnipeg's First Century. (Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing Co., 1978) p. 100.
6. Ibid., p. 174.
7. Repair and overhaul base was located here in 1937 due to centrality but in 1960 it was moved to Montreal. The Finance Department remained in Winnipeg.
8. Artibise, Winnipeg - An Illustrated History, p. 166.
9. Ibid., p. 178.
10. Four neighbourhood centers were Stafford Plaza at 651 Stafford Avenue (1955), St. James at 2527 Portage Avenue (1958), West Kildonan at 1650 Main Street (1958) and Alpine Place at Fermor Avenue and St. Anne's Road (1959).
11. The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Downtown Winnipeg, (Winnipeg, Manitoba, April 1, 1969) p. 1.
12. L. Axworthy and D. Christie. Winnipeg's Core Area - An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg. October, 1975) p. 1.
13. Colin Reid, "Winnipeg Real Estate Market", Winnipeg, 1984, Table I.
14. The City of Winnipeg Planning Division. "The City of Winnipeg Shopping Centres 1972" (December 1972), p. 48.
15. Department of Environmental Planning, "Information Winnipeg - Shopping Centres" (Winnipeg, June 1983).
16. In 1979 only 13% of the employed labour force was employed in manufacturing as opposed to 18% in trade and 26% in service industries.

## CHAPTER V - ANALYSIS OF DOWNTOWN - WINNIPEG

### Introduction

The main purpose of this research is to determine whether the downtown is in a state of decline and if so then what is the extent of the decline. Following Garner's (1973) lead that more scientific methods should be used to study the CBD, principal component analysis is used and three additional approaches are used to determine if the patterns found by the principal component analyses are upheld. The following four approaches are used in order to study the change in Winnipeg:

1. Principal Component Analysis using 1972 and 1984 data and accompanying cluster analysis.<sup>1</sup>
2. Rental Patterns in Winnipeg comparing suburban and downtown rates over a time period.
3. Building Heights in the CBD from 1957 to 1985.
4. Downtown Population Patterns 1966 to 1981.

### 1. Principal Component Analysis

"A fundamental aspect of most scientific work is the attempt to order and explain a set of experiences [observations] that may initially appear unique, by extracting from them their common characteristics....the act of classification is one of the most basic and scientific human procedures: it involves putting quite unique objects together into conveniently similar groups. By attempting to minimize the differences in the various groups, and by attempting to maximize the differences between the groups, any classification scheme imposes a sense of order and understanding upon a fairly chaotic jumble of ... observations."<sup>2</sup>

As stated above, Garner (1973), in reviewing Murphy's book The Central Business District, suggests that for future research it would be rewarding "...to apply the now standard regionalization and factorial ecology procedures to the CBD. This would certainly enable the basic dimensions of variation in this part of the urban system to be identified ..."<sup>3</sup>

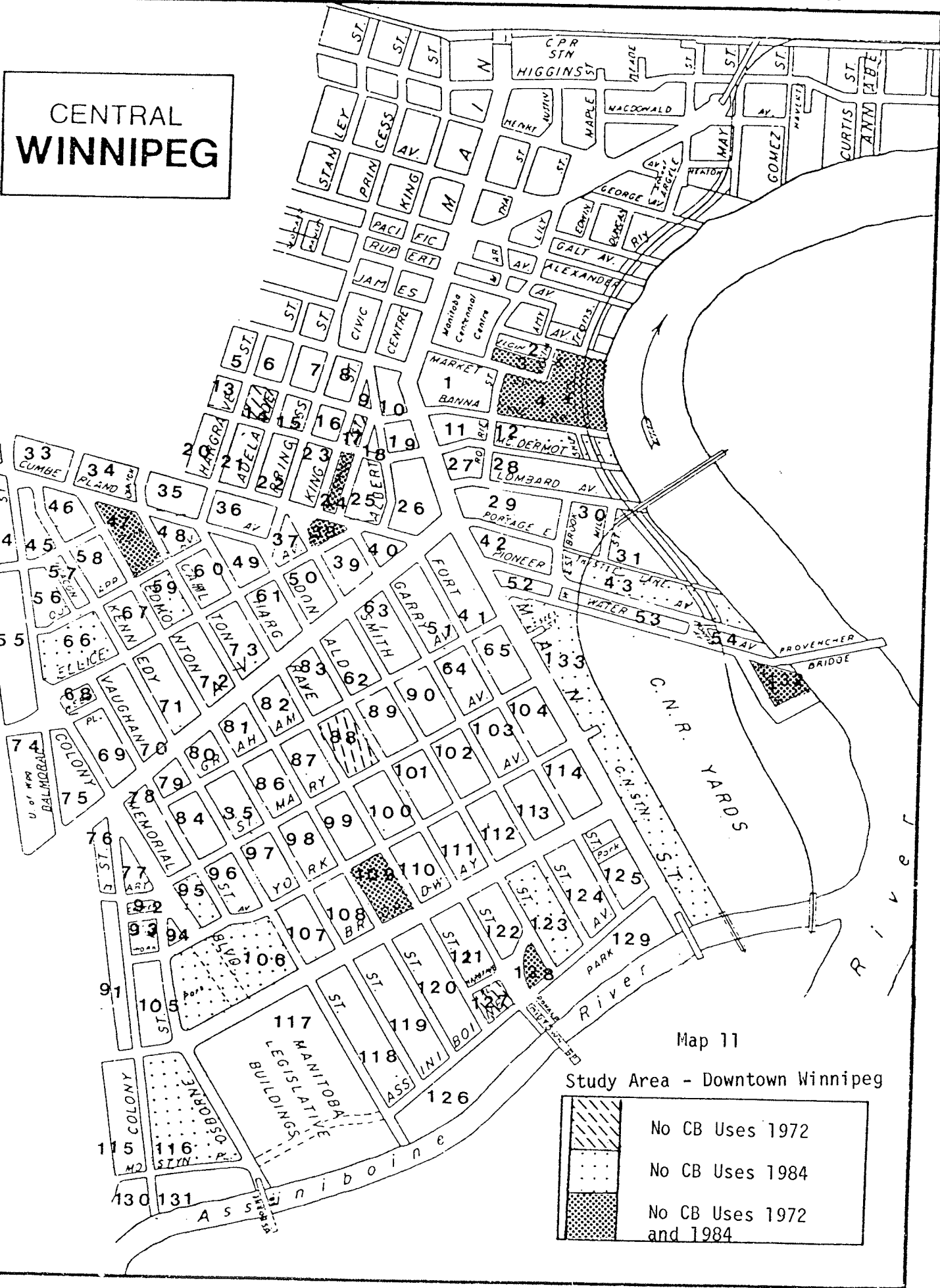
Consequently, a principal component analysis of selected blocks (133) and a number of selected functions (22) has been performed. Principal component analysis is a multivariate technique used by geographers, and other social scientists, to identify underlying dimensions exhibited by a group of variables. This type of analysis has been preferred over factor analysis because it assumes that all of the variance is contained in the matrix. This means one does not have to estimate the diagonal values.

#### Selection of Blocks

Garner (1973) also infers that the boundary derived using the Murphy and Vance method is not the actual boundary and may exclude some genuinely central business functions. Consequently, the study area is broader than the area delimited on Map 5 as the CBD using the Murphy and Vance method and smaller than the areas used by various government departments. The government studies tend to use areas which are basically census tracts in order to utilize already published data. Map 11 shows the study area.



# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 11

Study Area - Downtown Winnipeg

	No CB Uses 1972
	No CB Uses 1984
	No CB Uses 1972 and 1984

Table 6  
Functional Categories

Following are the 22 functional categories and the functions each category includes. There are 116 separate functions included in the 22 categories.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Functions Included</u>
1	Food stores	supermarkets, grocers, meat markets, delicatessens, bakeries
2	Department stores/ Variety stores	Department stores, dry goods, general merchants, variety stores (5 & 10)
3	Shoe and Clothing Stores	Shoe stores, men's clothing, women's clothing, family clothing, fur shops, children's clothing.
4	Furniture/Appliances	Furniture, appliances, home furnishing
5	Drug Stores	Drug Stores
6	Retail	Liquor store, fuel dealer, garden store, jewellery store, book store, stationary store, sporting goods, bicycle store, florist, tobacco, news stands, gift and souvenir, music stores, photographic supply, optical goods, office furniture
7	Pawn/Secondhand Stores	Pawn shops, secondhand stores, auction marts, army navy surplus.
8	Antique and leather shops	Antique shops, luggage and leather goods and other retail stores
9	Men's and Women's Hairdressing	Men's barber, women's hairdressing, beauty salon

Table 6

<u>Category</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Functions Included</u>
10	Restaurants and Bars	Restaurants, bars, public houses
11	Personal Services	Photographic studio, shoe repair shop, drycleaners, fur storage, costume and dress suit rental, coin operated laundromat, turkish bath or sauna, other
12	Repair Shops	Interior decorating services, general auto repairs, car washes, watch and clock repairs, furniture repairs, electrical repairs, lawn mower repairs, typewriter repairs, other
13	Entertainment	Movie theatres, drive ins, theatres, concert halls, billiard and pool halls, bowling alleys, skating rinks, swimming pools, dance halls and dance schools, amusement parks, shooting galleries, other recreation centers
14	Lodging	Hotels, motels, rooming houses
15	Financial	Banks, finance companies, trust companies, credit unions
16	Agencies and Accountants	Accountants, advertising agencies, employment agencies, detective agencies, window display, insurance agencies
17	Office Services	Photocopying, typing, other
18	Professional Services	Doctors, dentists, vets, opticians, lawyers, consultants, engineers, architects, marketing research, planning consultants, laboratory analysis, other

Table 6

<u>Category</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Functions Included</u>
19	Schools	Business Schools, language schools, driving schools, sports schools
20	Wholesale agents and Manufacturer's Sales Offices	Wholesale agents no store on premises, manufacturer's sales office
21	Institutions	Private schools, hospitals, churches, welfare offices, union offices, religious offices
22	Public Buildings	Public buildings

### Selection of Functions

Table 6 lists the 22 functional categories which include 116 separate functions. In order to reduce the number of variables a number of functions are grouped together on the basis of similarities of locational requirements. The functions are based on Horwood and Boyce's (1959) general land use characteristics of the CBD core as outlined on Table 2.

Ground floor functions are used as opposed to functions throughout the floors of the buildings. Ground floor land uses are representative of central business uses because the ground floor is accessible to the most people and here is where most circulation occurs. As one goes up in the building there is less traffic. Above the ground floor most space is usually used for offices and other non-retail uses. Since the basic concern is with retail decline the floors above the ground floor are not considered of major significance because they do not compete with shopping centres. Horwood and Boyce (1959) in their core-frame concept specify that the core is geared to a walking scale.

### Data Sets

The data sets are for 1972, the year in which Unicity was formed, and 1984, which is the most recent year for which data is available.<sup>4</sup> In 1972 there are 12 blocks with no CB functions. These blocks are shown on Map 11. In 1984, there are 17 blocks with no CB functions. They are shown on Map 11. Eight of these blocks are the same for both years. Many of these blocks are used for parking lots,

residential uses, apartment blocks, parks, industry or are vacant. They are included in the study area because they are surrounded by CB blocks.<sup>5</sup>

Analysis

The following table is the summary of the principal component analysis and also shows the number of components retained for detailed analysis:<sup>6</sup>

Table 7  
Summary of Principal Component Analysis  
and Components Retained for Detailed Analysis

	<u>1972</u>	<u>1984</u>
Number of Blocks	133	133
Number of Functions	22	22
Number of Components above Eigenvalue of 1	8	8
Percentage of Variation Explained	64%	65%
Number of Components Used in Analysis (after Scree Test in Figure 7)	4	4
Total Variance Explained by Components Used in Analysis	38.9%	40.2%

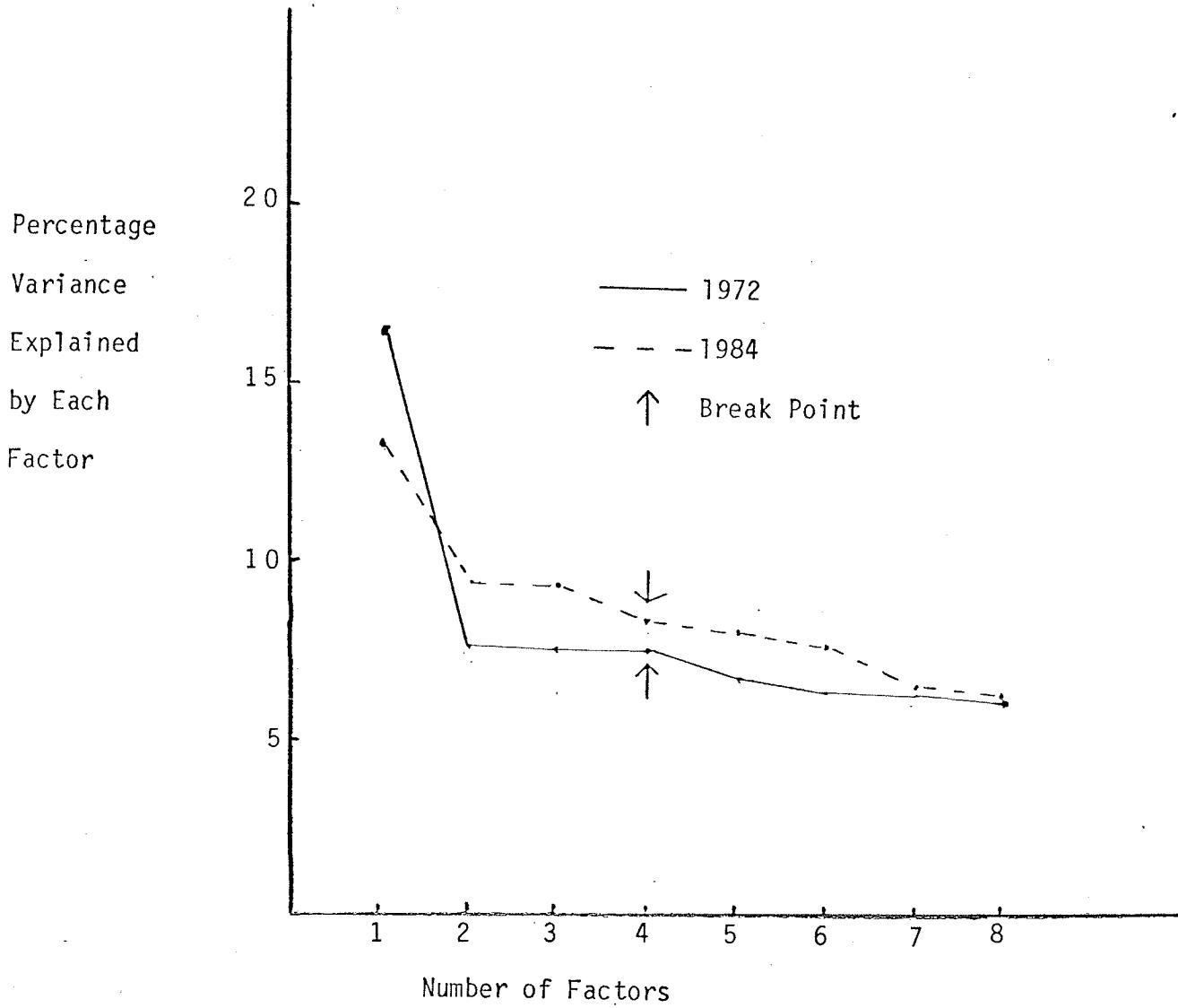


Figure 7  
SCREE TEST

The following discussion will deal first with the 1972 analysis. This will be followed with the 1984 analysis.

1972

Table 8

Factor I - Service/Financial/Retail

<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Drug Stores	.73
Financial	.72
Hair Dressing	.72
Personal Services	.67
Clothing and Shoes	.66
Retail	.66
Professional Services	.48
Restaurants and Bars	.40

Factor I is very important. The loadings on this factor indicate that personal services, financial and retail are major CB functions in 1972. This is to be expected because these functions, specifically financial and retail, are the major functions in the core of most CBDs. This also conforms to the patterns suggested by the concentric zone model (1925) and core-frame concept (1959) outlined in



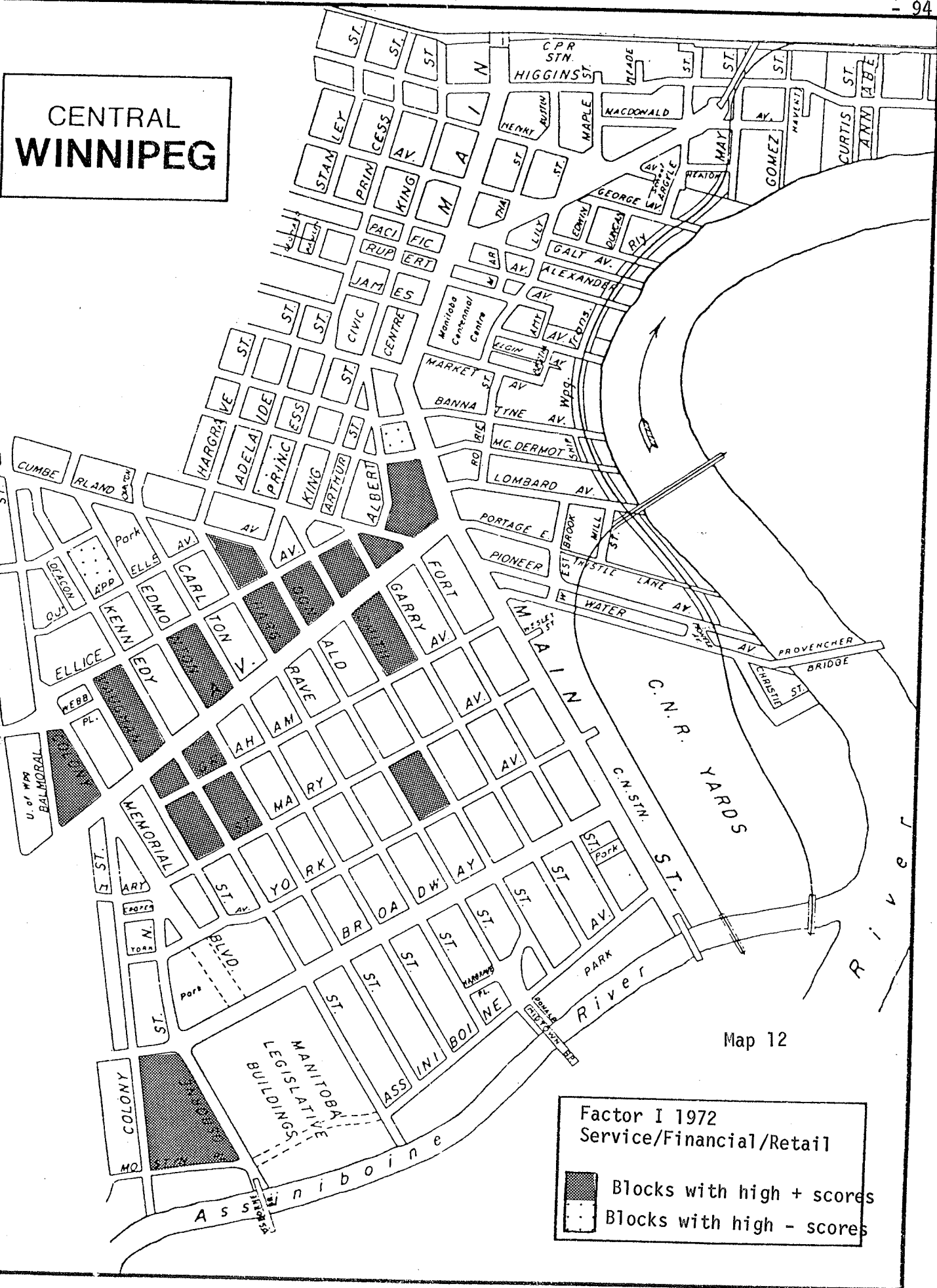
Chapter II. The only surprise is that drug stores are significant. However, their significance may not be unexpected because they do locate near retail functions to take advantage of the economics of agglomeration. Many of the drug stores in downtown Winnipeg are old established businesses, located near the numerous doctors and clinics in the CBD. The drug stores also exhibit a great degree of functional diversity. Many have postal stations and lunch counters.

The distribution of the blocks with factor scores greater than +1 is shown on Map 12. Block 80, located on Portage Avenue between Kennedy and Edmonton Streets, has the highest factor score of 5.1. Shoe and clothing stores, hairdressing shops, banks or financial institutions, drug stores and personal services are located on this block. All of the major functions making up this factor are on this block which makes it very representative. The other blocks with high factor scores also display similar functions.

Although there are no high negative factor loadings, as table 8 shows, blocks did emerge with high negative factor scores. The blocks which have high negative factor scores are characterized by functions such as pawn shops, repair shops, restaurants and bars and rooming houses. These are not high order CB functions.

In general, the blocks which score high positively on this first factor are located along Portage Avenue or one block removed from Portage Avenue with the exception of two blocks. Block 116 is the block which houses Great-West Life Assurance Company's head office, banks, a liquor store and a drug store. Block 101, although somewhat

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 12

Factor I 1972  
Service/Financial/Retail

- Blocks with high + scores
- Blocks with high - scores

removed from the majority of blocks which score high on this factor, does display similar functional characteristics.

The inference from the above analysis indicates that in 1972 the north Portage Avenue area is not really in a state of decline because the blocks directly to the north as well as to the south of Portage Avenue score highly on this important service/financial/retail factor. The blocks with high negative scores, scores which imply decline or non CB functions, are in the northern reaches of the study area. It appears as if decline is beginning on the northern edge of downtown.

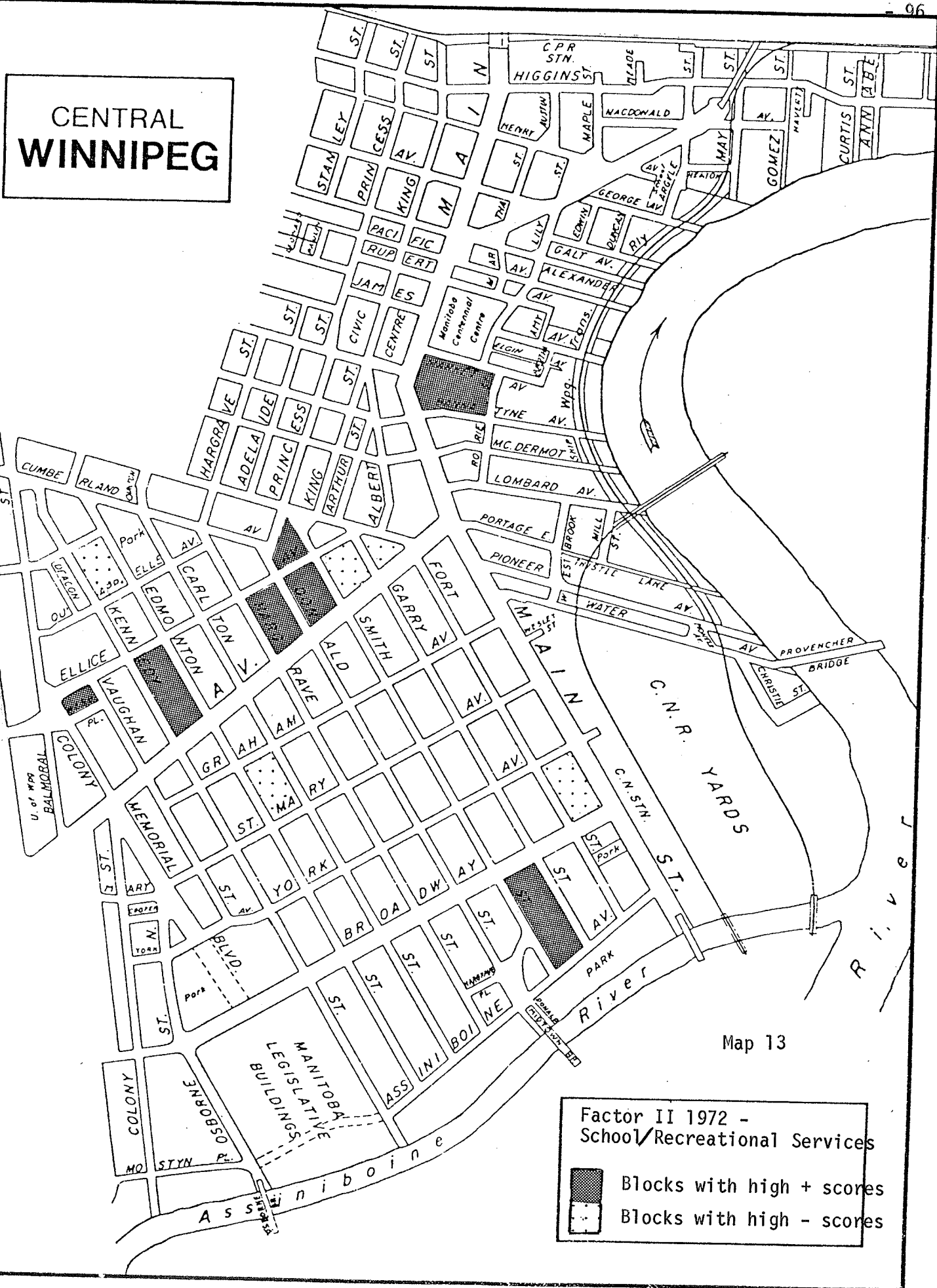
Table 9

Factor II - School/Recreational Services

<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Schools	.83
Entertainment	.74



Map 13 shows the blocks with factor scores greater than +1. Of the seven blocks which score high positively on this factor block 1, at the junction of Main Street and Bannatyne Avenue, has the highest score of 6.2. The Manitoba Theatre Centre and the Playhouse Theatre as well as a theatrical school are located here. Blocks 68 and 71, both north of Portage Avenue, also score very high. The former is the Y.W.C.A. which has recreational facilities as well as a school on its ground floor. Block 71 has a dance school and hall and a business school along with

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 13

**Factor II 1972 -  
School/Recreational Services**

-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

assorted retail shops. The remainder of the blocks do not all contain schools but most have more than one entertainment function, especially movie theatres. The block which is removed from the others, between Assiniboine and Broadway Avenues, is the location of a cadet school and entertainment facility.

Blocks which score high negatively emerge, even though there are no high negative factor loadings, and are dominated by functions which have similar locational requirements. Many of these blocks contain shoe and clothing stores, retail stores, hair dressing shops and repair shops. Blocks with these functions are not found in the same location as blocks with school and entertainment functions.

In general, the predominant functions (schools and recreational services) seem to need a high degree of centrality. Some movie theatres have moved out to the suburbs but most are still downtown as are cultural entertainment facilities. Secretarial, typing and general business training schools also still need centrality. The market for both is large. People will make a special trip to frequent these establishments. Although these functions locate downtown they do not locate near financial and retail functions which require maximum centrality at the core. Most of the blocks scoring high on factor 2 are located north of Portage Avenue. It appears from this analysis that these functions may move out of the central area as the suburbs grow and people use entertainment and recreational and educational facilities near their homes where there is also more parking. The movie theatre which is located in Polo Park Shopping Centre is such a

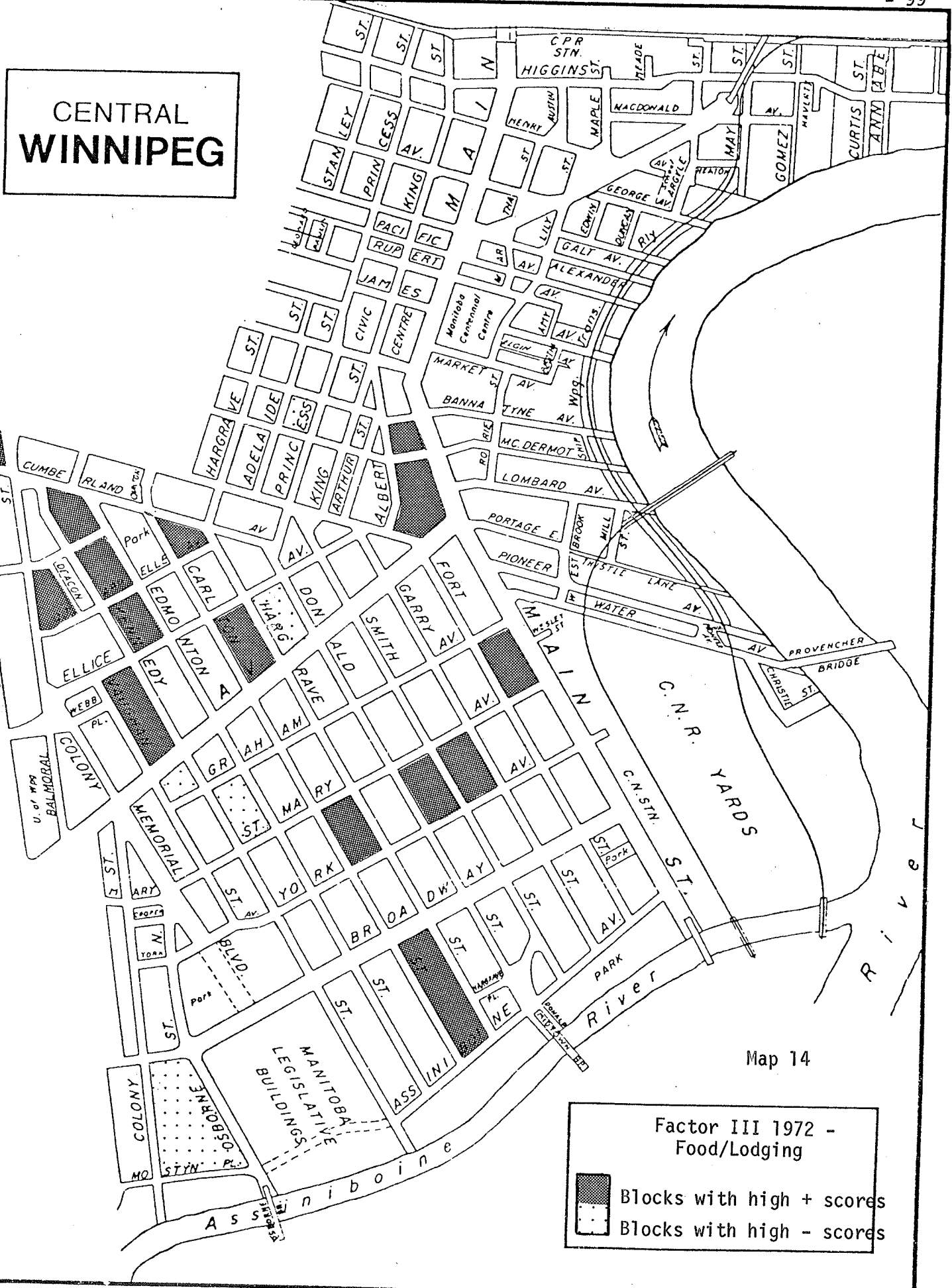
suburban facility. A distinct entertainment and educational district may also continue to exist downtown.

Table 10  
Factor III - Food/Lodging

<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Food stores	.79
Hotels	.69
Antique stores	.52



Map 14 outlines the distribution of all blocks with factor scores greater than +1. Block 70 on Portage Avenue between Vaughan and Kennedy Streets, scores the highest with a score of 6.1. The Y.M.C.A., numerous motels, antique and leather stores and food stores are predominant functions. Of all of the blocks which score highest all are located north of Portage Avenue except for one block south of Portage Avenue. This block consists of apartments primarily, a non CB function, but has two small grocers and older rooming houses as well. Most of the blocks north of Portage Avenue are dominated by rooming houses and/or older hotels. Small food stores locate near these older structures but as time goes on both are replaced. Antique and leather specialty shops are found in many of the blocks. These stores serve a city-wide market. The Birt Saddlery Company Limited and Macdonald Shoe Store Ltd. are such stores, both dating back to the early days of Winnipeg. There are no stores similar to them elsewhere in the city.

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 14

Factor III 1972 -  
Food/Lodging

-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

The blocks south of Portage Avenue are a mixture of old and new hotels. The new hotels are on York Avenue and the old hotels and rooming houses on Fort Street and Broadway Avenue.

There are blocks which score high negatively on this factor even though there are no high negative factor loadings. Basically, they are all similar. They are dominated by high order CB functions such as retail, drug stores, professional services and financial services. These blocks have a mix of functions which locate due to the benefits to be derived from being near each other.

This factor does indicate the potential for change. The old local food stores and cheap rooming houses are prime targets for urban renewal. The population patterns which will be examined later in the chapter will clarify this. If the population is declining these functions will leave. However, specialty stores, including ethnic stores, continue to occupy the locations they have occupied north of Portage Avenue for many years, implying stability. The market for these stores is city-wide. The newer and established hotels, such as the Fort Garry, will remain south of Portage Avenue to serve business and convention travellers.

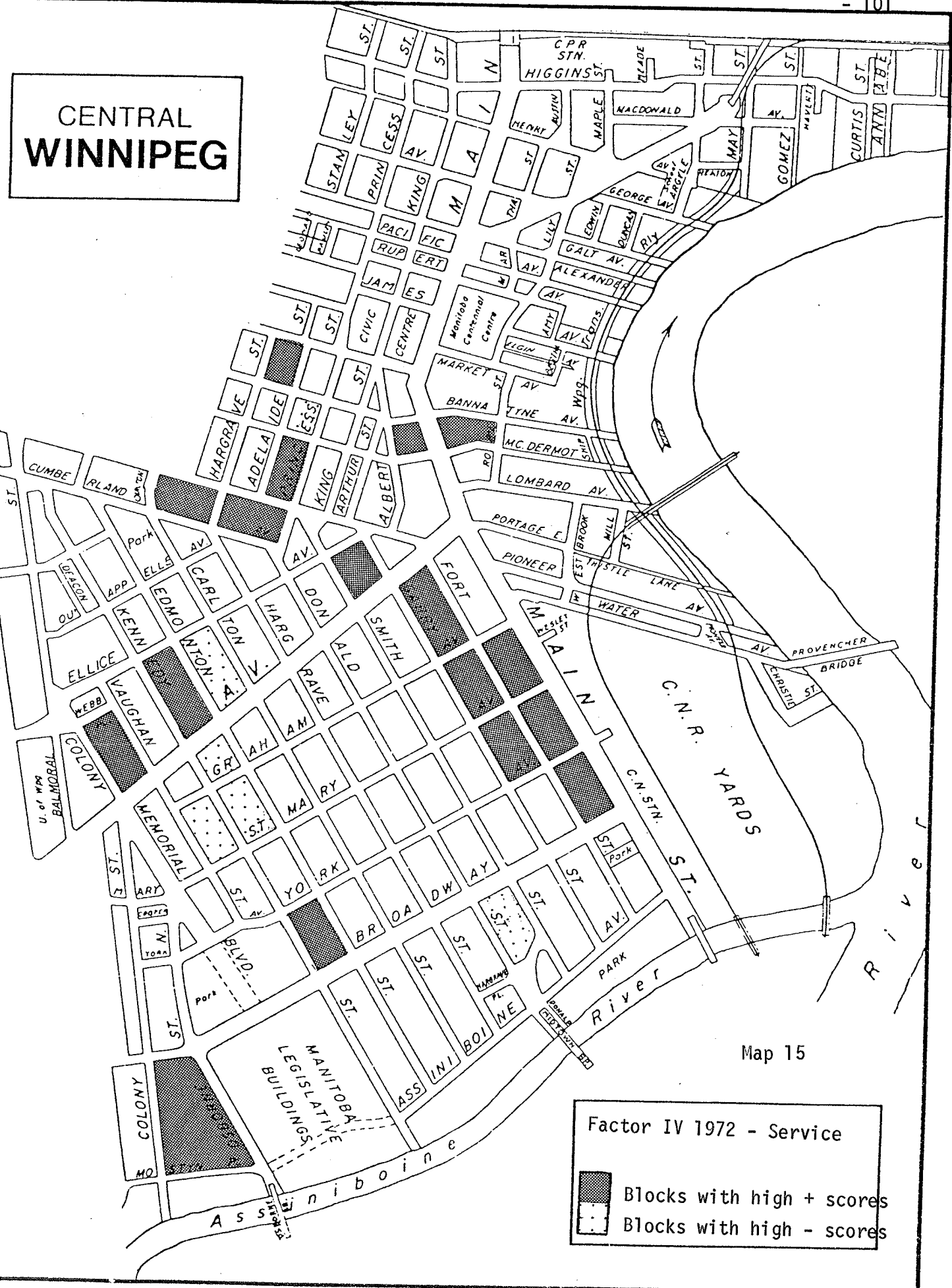
Table 11

Factor IV - Service

<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Repair Shops	.79
Office Services	.73





# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 15

**Factor IV 1972 - Service**

-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

The distribution of blocks which score greater than +1 are outlined on Map 15. The three blocks located near the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street have similar high scores of approximately 4. Three other contiguous blocks also score high on this factor. These blocks serve the office workers and provide specialty repair services. The three blocks which score next highest are on Notre Dame Avenue. These are all north of Portage Avenue and repair shops are the dominant functions although some office services also exist. It seems that both of these functions depend on nearby offices to provide customers. The services are subsidiary and the blocks are in subsidiary locations. These functions do not occupy central locations.

There are blocks which score high negatively on this factor, even though there are no negative factor loadings. These blocks are all dominated by retail, financial, hairdressing outlets and drug stores to various degrees. As discussed before, these are high order functions which occupy the central positions in the core of the CBD.

The analysis of this factor seems to indicate that repair and office services locate near small offices and low order type retail functions on which they depend for their market. Small ground floor offices and retail stores use their photocopying and typing services as well as repair services. The predominant blocks are focused on Main Street and Notre Dame Avenue, the two oldest streets in Winnipeg.<sup>7</sup> The blocks which score negatively on this factor represent high order business types which depend on the large, above ground floor offices and have a larger market.

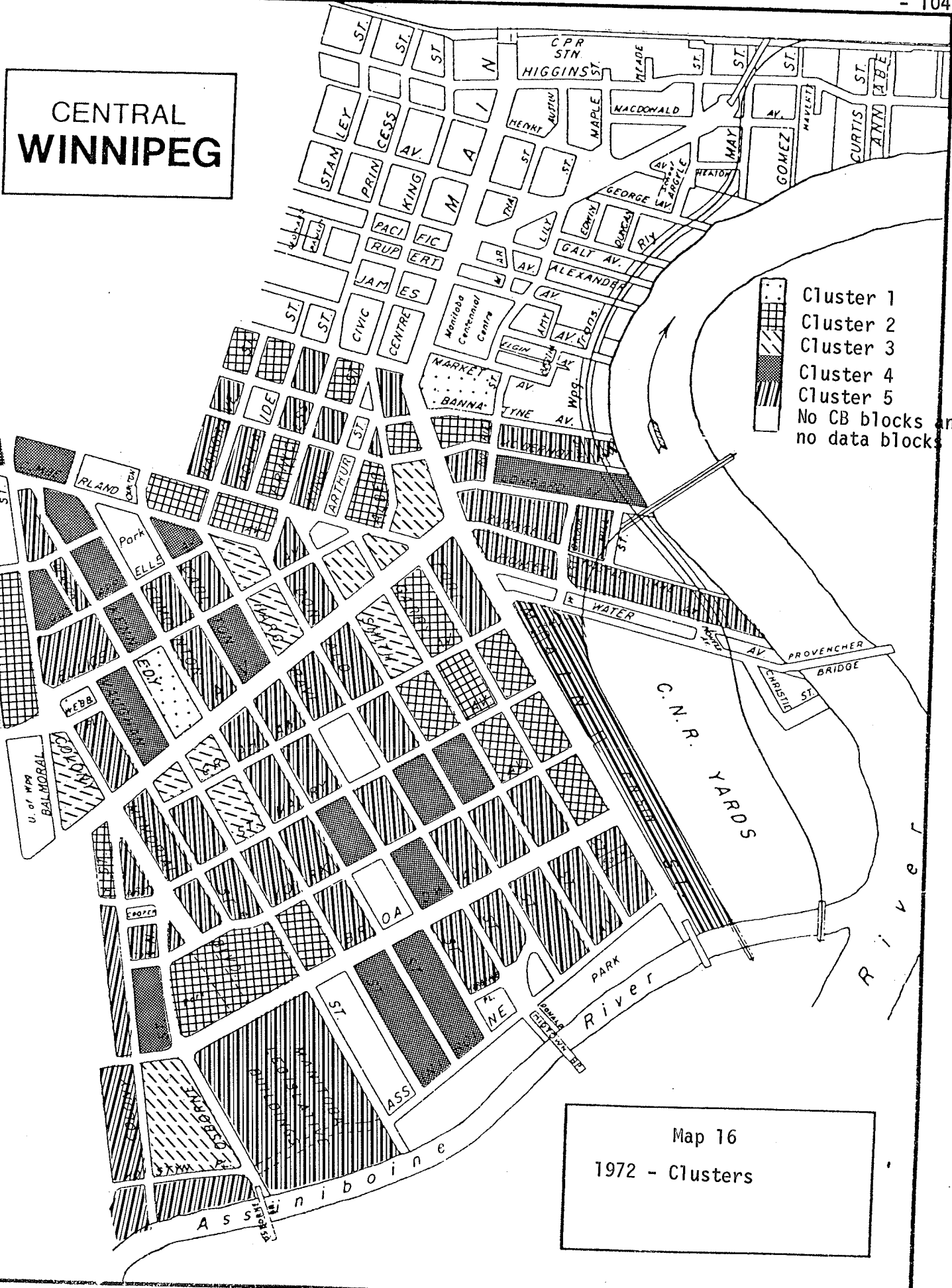
### Cluster Analysis

The cluster analysis is intended to group together blocks which are functionally related. The functional distance between blocks within each cluster will be at a minimum if the blocks have similar functional characteristics. The first four factors from the principal component analysis are used as input for the cluster analysis.

Map 16 shows the five clusters. These five clusters are maintained because any fewer clusters results in loss of detail. Cluster 1 includes blocks north of Portage Avenue which have similar school and entertainment functions such as the Y.W.C.A. and the Manitoba Theatre Centre. Cluster 2 tends to occupy the area north of Portage Avenue and south Main Street, an older commercial area. Public services, repair shops and office services are the dominant functions. Cluster 3 is found around the Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection, along Portage Avenue and on blocks adjacent to the blocks on Portage Avenue. The main functions are financial, retail and personal services. The Great-West Life Assurance Company block, block 116, is included in this cluster because these functions predominate. Cluster 4 is made up mainly of blocks north of Portage Avenue but includes seven blocks facing onto York and Broadway Avenues. The dominant functions are food and lodging, mostly rooming houses.

Cluster 5 is the largest cluster. The cluster analysis includes, within this cluster, the blocks with no CB functions and the blocks with no data. Most of these blocks are either under construction, or ground level car parks or vacant lots indicating that

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 16  
1972 - Clusters

the CBD in 1972 is underdeveloped. Theoretically, all of the land use should be in CB functions if the CBD is fully developed. Eaton's mail order house is one of these blocks. This non CB function occupies an entire CBD block in 1972. The remainder of the blocks in this cluster are primarily service oriented which reinforces the non CB nature of this cluster.<sup>8</sup>

Map 16 summarizes the 5 clusters:

- 1) School/Entertainment - north of Portage Avenue
- 2) Services/Repair Shops - north of Portage Avenue/south Main Street/Notre Dame Avenue
- 3) Financial/Retail/Personal Services - Portage Avenue predominantly
- 4) Food/Lodging - north of Portage Avenue and blocks off York and Broadway Avenues
- 5) Service/No data blocks/Non CB blocks - scattered

The following discussion deals with the 1984 analysis.

1984

Table 12

Factor I - Personal Service/Retail

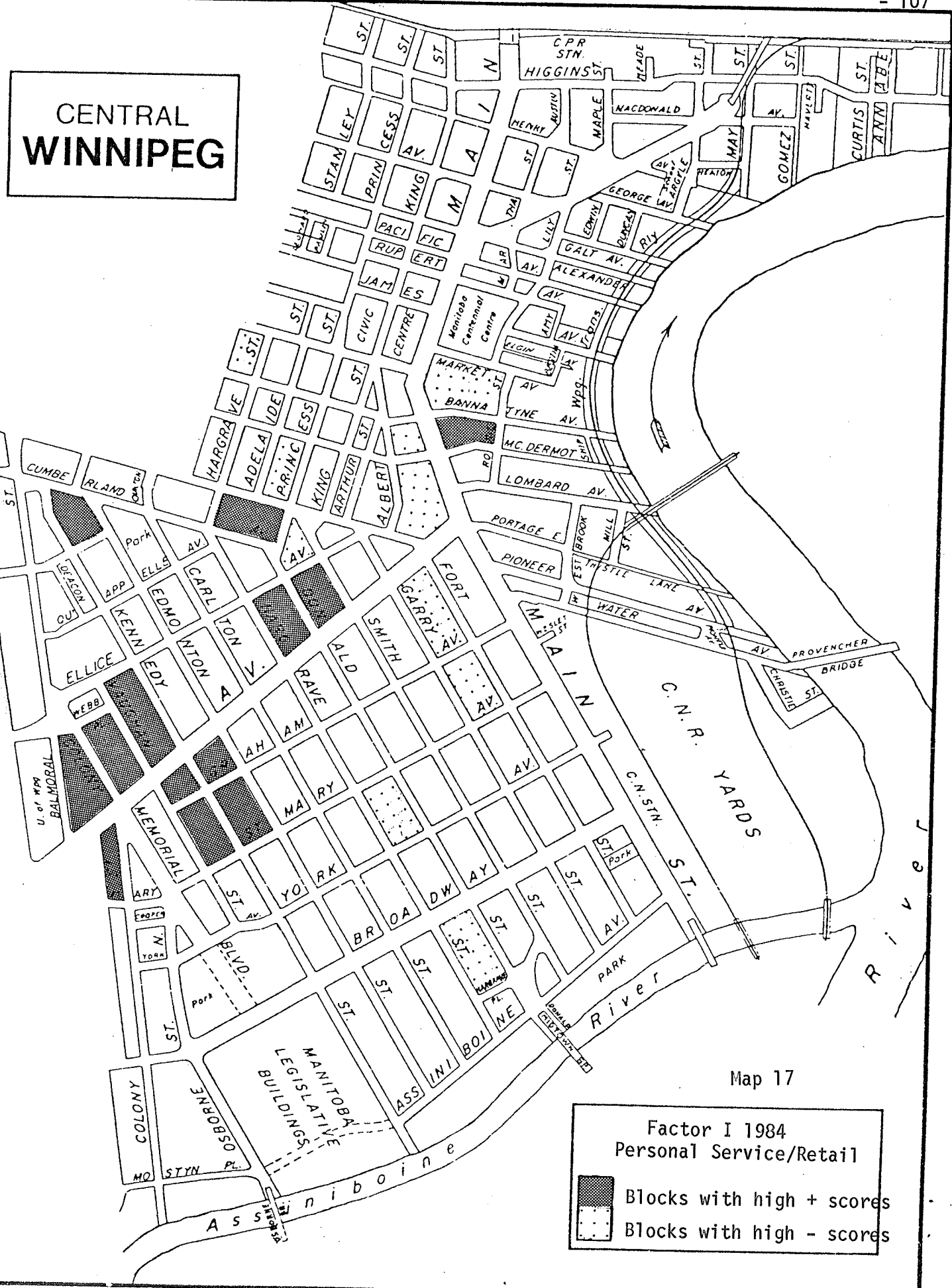
<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Hair Dressing	.78
Clothing and shoes	.65
Drug Store	.62
Retail	.61

As is the case in 1972 factor I is very important. The loadings in 1984 indicate much as they did in 1972. The major difference is that financial is not significant. Retail and personal services such as hair dressing and drug stores retain their significance. The implication is that the financial function is not as important in 1984 as in 1972. This appears to be one of the CB functions which has migrated to the suburbs. However, it is still important and will be discussed when factor III is analyzed.

The distribution of blocks with factor scores greater than +1 is illustrated on Map 17. The four blocks which score highest on this factor are found along Portage Avenue to the north and south but not at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Block 80, located on Portage Avenue between Kennedy and Edmonton Streets, has the highest score of 6.4. It also has the highest score on factor I in 1972. The predominate functions at this location are retail, clothing and shoes and hair dressing establishments. The number of banks or financial institutions has decreased since 1972. Blocks 61, 70 and 76, all facing onto Portage Avenue, display the same functions although in two of the blocks drug stores are major functions. The remainder of the blocks have similar functions.



Although there are no significant negative factor loadings there are numerous blocks which score high negatively on this factor. All of these blocks are characterized by services, particularly professional type services, personal services, banks and repair shops. Specialized retail stores, such as furniture stores and antique and leather stores as well as entertainment functions are also found in these blocks.

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 17

**Factor I 1984  
Personal Service/Retail**

-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

In general, this factor indicates that high level type retail stores and the functions which tend to locate near them to take advantage of the pedestrian traffic are located on Portage Avenue or on the blocks adjacent to Portage Avenue. The blocks which score negatively are located near the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street and in the oldest parts of the CBD. Many of the specialty retail establishments have a long history and a city-wide market. The banks, personal and professional services cater to both the lower level type retail and office establishments and the higher level office functions now clustered around the intersection in buildings such as the Richardson Building and Trizec Building although most of the establishments servicing the offices in these tall buildings are above ground floor level. The implication is that there is, in 1984, a retail and a financial district - the former along Portage Avenue and the latter nearer the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. However, the two areas are very near to each other. In 1972 retail and financial functions co-exist along Portage Avenue

Table 13

Factor II - Service

<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Pawn shops	.79
Public Buildings	.67
Repair Shops	.62
Schools	.46

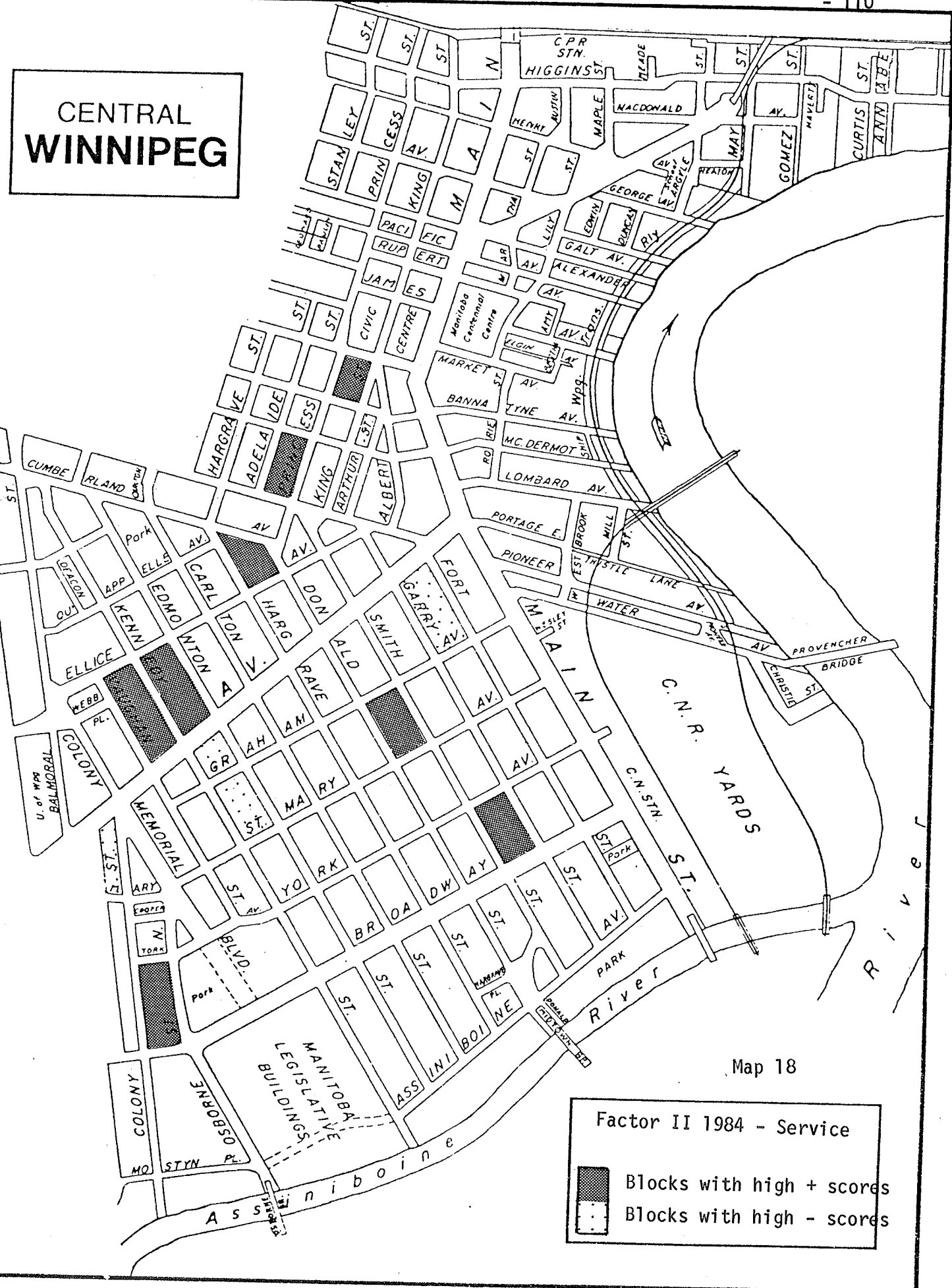


Map 18 outlines the distribution of blocks with scores greater than +1. Block 71, directly north of Portage Avenue between Kennedy and Edmonton Streets, has by far the highest factor score of 8. There is a mixture of pawn or second hand stores, repair shops, restaurants, low level retail stores and public buildings. It contains all of the significant functions and thus is very representative. Only two other blocks score very high. Both are also located north of Portage Avenue and have the same functional characteristics as block 71.

Although there are no significant negative factor loadings five blocks do score negatively. These blocks display similar functional characteristics. All are occupied by retail establishments, financial institutions, drug stores and hair dressing establishments.

In general, the implication is that public buildings, often associated with second hand stores, are scattered throughout the CBD but mainly north of Portage Avenue. These are not typical CB uses for land and represent an underutilization of land. A non-profit Red Cross building, Children's Aid offices, Library, Y.M.C.A., hydro substation and civic offices are located on these blocks. Often public buildings indicate declining areas because their value has fallen to the point where the private sector will not buy them. The public buildings are scattered throughout the study area but the pawn and secondhand stores are north of Portage Avenue. The blocks, generally, which score negatively represent a better utilization of space in the CBD for high level type businesses. These blocks are for the most part located south of Portage Avenue.

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 18

**Factor II 1984 - Service**



-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

Table 14

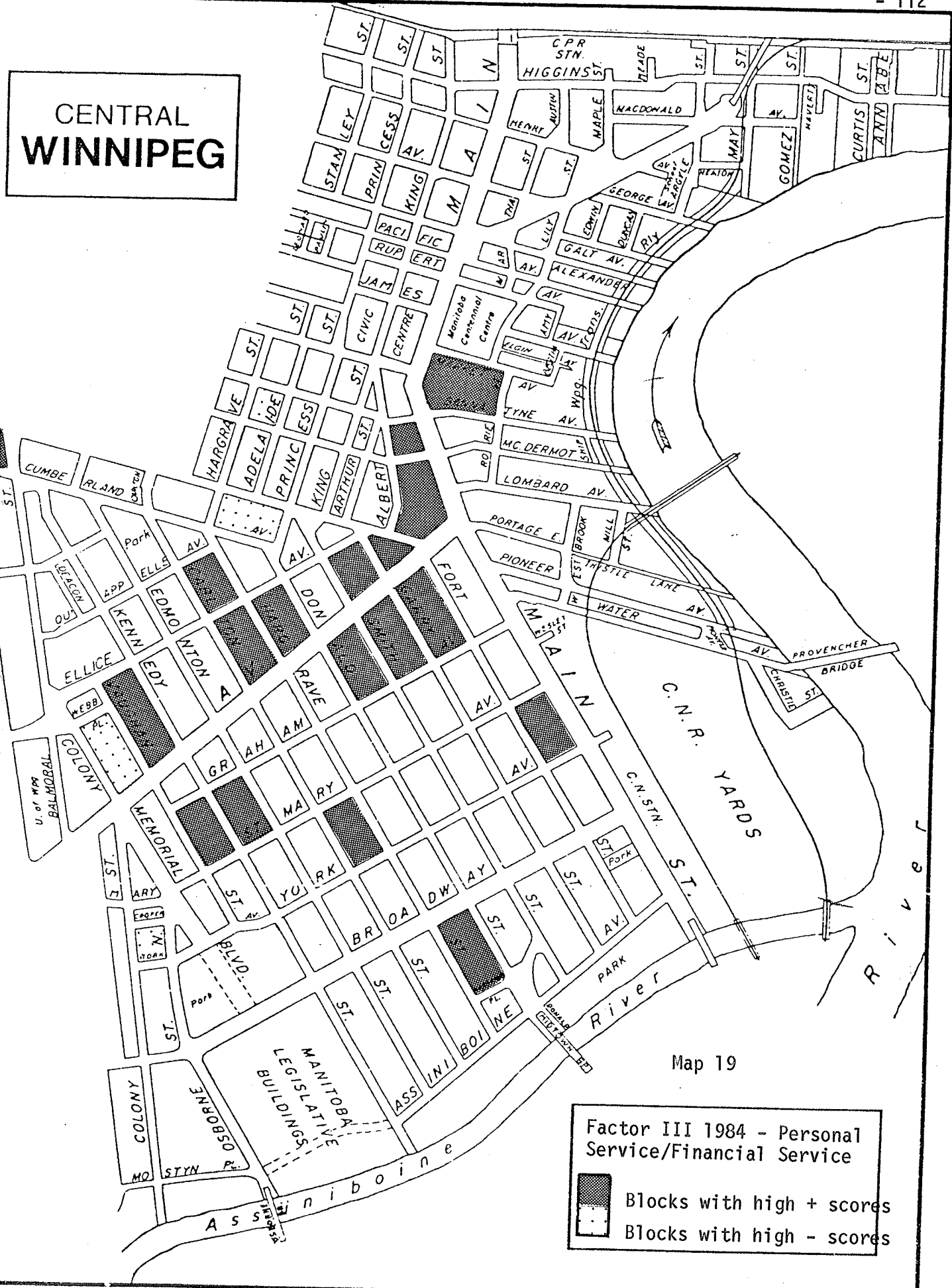
Factor III - Personal Service/Financial Service

<u>Functional</u>	<u>Loadings</u>
Personal Service	.64
Financial	.63
Restaurants and bars	.63
Entertainment	.61

The blocks with scores greater than +1 are shown on Map 19. Block 51, located directly south of Portage Avenue between Fort and Garry Avenues, with a score of 5.8 has the highest score. Blocks 40 and 26, located on the north-west corner of the Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection, also have very high scores. These three blocks are located at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Entertainment, financial, personal services and bars and restaurants are the main functions for block 51. The remainder of these blocks are occupied by similar functions to greater or lesser degrees. Most of the blocks are located along Portage Avenue, near Portage Avenue and along Main Street. The blocks which are removed from this basic grouping are occupied by apartment blocks which have personal services on the ground floor as well as banks, restaurants and entertainment due to the local market.



Although there are no significant negative factor loadings, four blocks did not emerge with negative scores. There does not appear to

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 19

**Factor III 1984 - Personal Service/Financial Service**

-  Blocks with high + scores
-  Blocks with high - scores

be a great deal of similarity among these blocks except that all are located away from the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street and have institutional uses, wholesale agents and manufacturer's sales offices along with antique and leather stores.

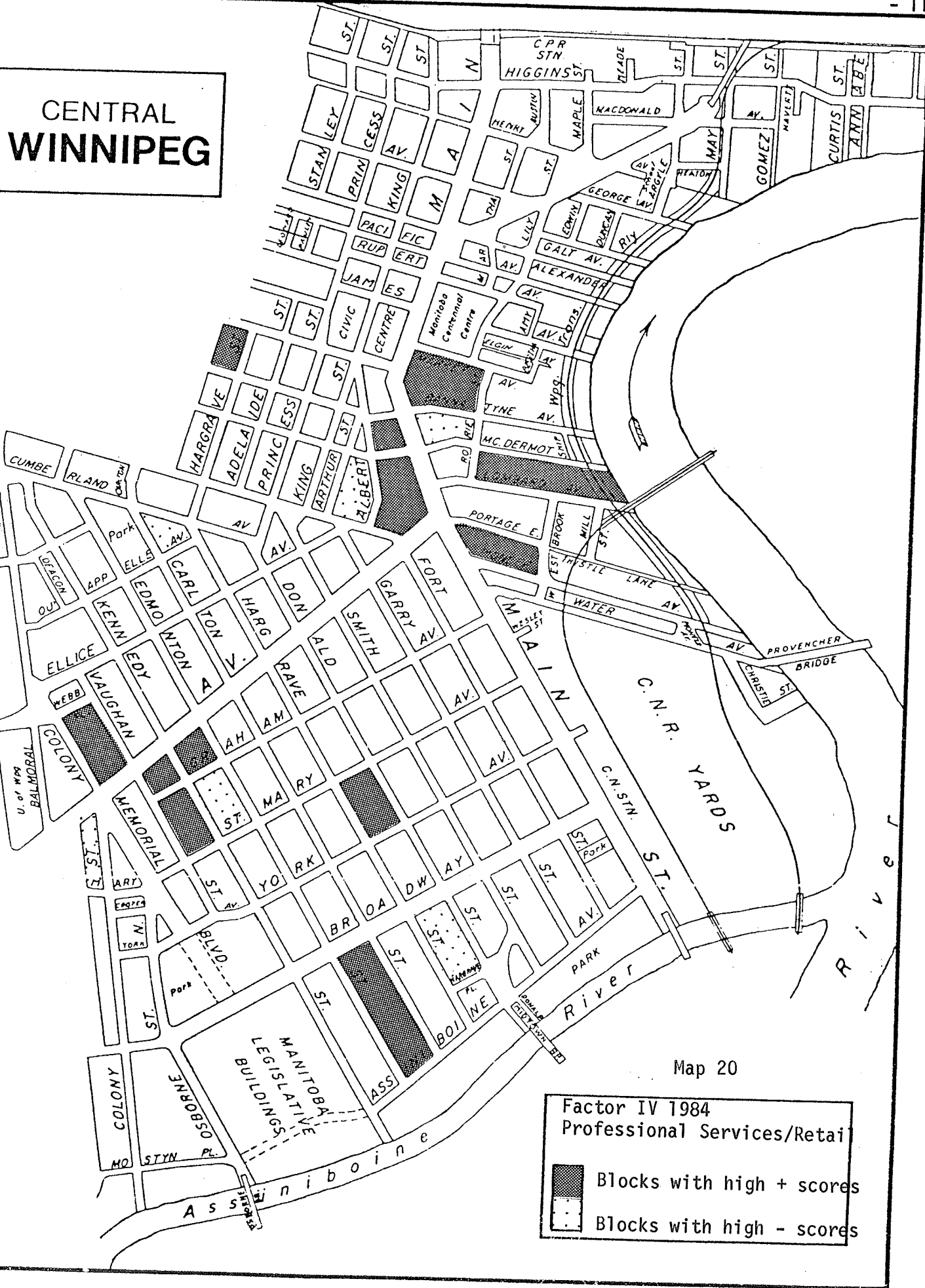
In general, this factor indicates the importance of financial, personal services, restaurants and bars and entertainment at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street and along both thoroughfares. All of the major financial institutions have their Winnipeg bases in this area as they have always had. This concentration has attracted office development and this in turn has encouraged services, bars, restaurants and entertainment to flourish.

Table 15

Factor IV - <u>Professional Services/Retail</u>	
<u>Functions</u>	<u>Factor Loadings</u>
Professional Services	.84
Agencies and accountants	.82
Clothing and shoes	.50

The distribution of the blocks which score greater than +1 is shown on Map 20. Blocks 100, located southeast of the intersection of Hargrave Street and St. Mary Avenue, and 79, located south of Portage Avenue between Vaughan and Kennedy Streets, score highest with scores of 6.4 and 5 respectively. Block 100 consist of agencies and accountants, professional services. Block 79 is a mixture of agencies and accountants, professional services and clothing and shoe stores. The

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 20

Factor IV 1984  
Professional Services/Retail

- Blocks with high + scores
- Blocks with high - scores

clothing and shoe stores are the predominate functions, however. Although these blocks are somewhat scattered there are two distinct groupings around Main Street where major office towers are or around The Bay where The Winnipeg Clinic is located. The professional services include lawyers, laboratory technicians, consultants and researchers. These people service the offices and medical facilities in the CBD. Accountants and agencies perform similar functions such as advertising. Shoe and clothing stores locate near offices and professional services because of the market they provide.

There are six blocks which score high negatively even though there are no negative factor loadings. Many of these blocks are located near the blocks which score high positively. However, there are no professional services and no clothing and shoe shops on these blocks.

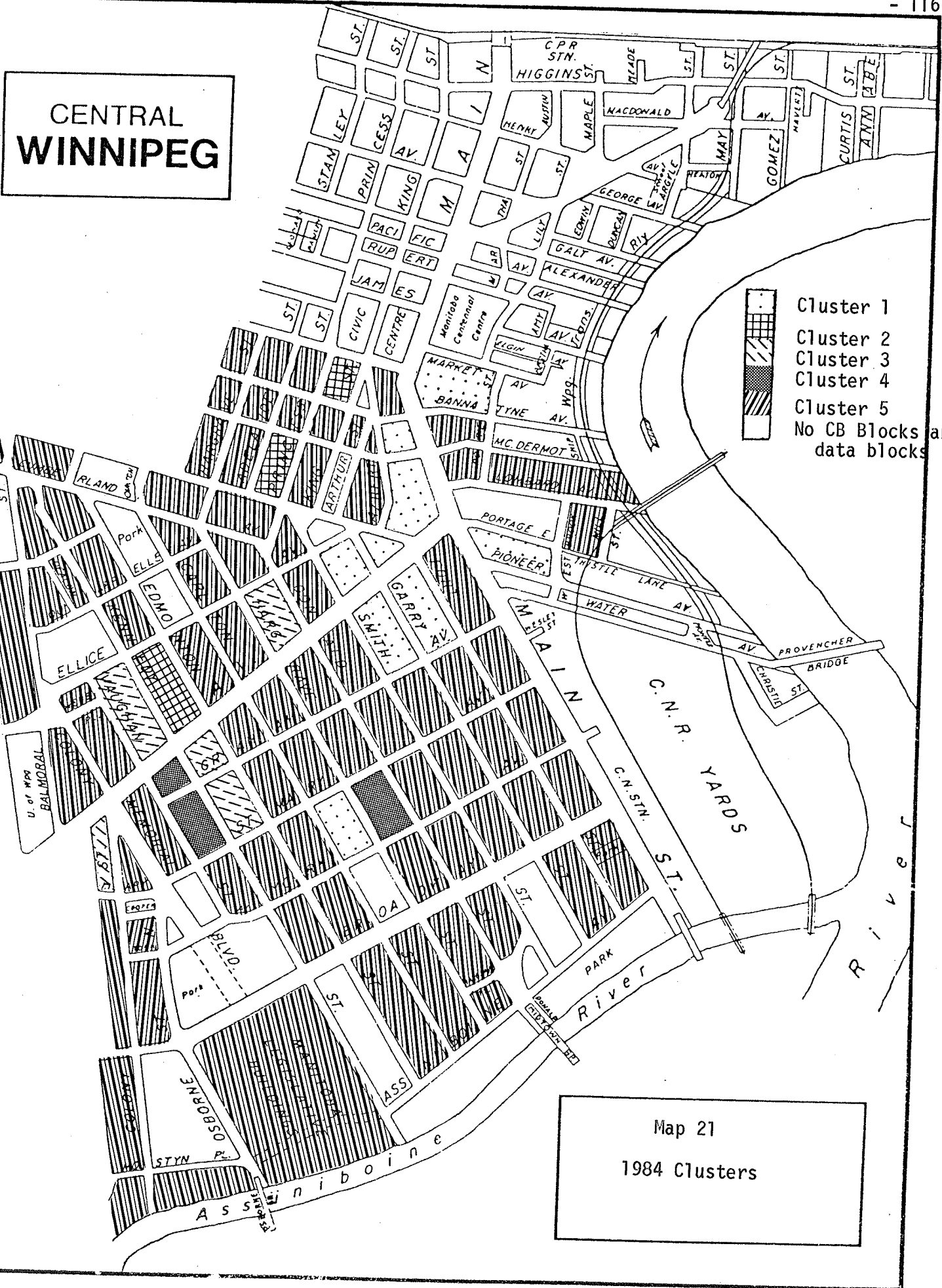
In general, the blocks which score high positively indicate high order central functions.

### Cluster Analysis

As has been stated earlier, this analysis groups blocks which are functionally related and thus reduces the functional distance between blocks within each cluster to a minimum.

The five clusters highlighted on Map 21 emerge from the analysis. Cluster 1 includes a group of blocks around the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Predominant functions are banks and personal services. Cluster 2 is made up of three blocks north of Portage Avenue. Pawn shops, repair shops and public buildings dominate these

# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



- Cluster 1
- Cluster 2
- Cluster 3
- Cluster 4
- Cluster 5
- No CB Blocks and n data blocks

Map 21  
1984 Clusters



blocks. Cluster 3 includes five blocks either on Portage Avenue or one block removed from Portage Avenue. Retail outlets and hair dressing shops are the principal functions. Cluster 4 consists of three blocks. Professional services dominate all of the blocks along with clothing and shoe stores. The Winnipeg Clinic block is included in this cluster. The fifth cluster is the largest cluster. The cluster analysis includes all of the blocks with no data and no CB functions in this cluster. The remainder of the blocks are dominated by service oriented functions. This cluster, scattered throughout the CBD, is essentially made up of non CB blocks and low order service blocks and indicates underutilized land throughout the CBD.

Map 21 summarizes the five clusters:

- 1) Financial/Personal Services - Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection.
- 2) Pawn Shops/Repair Shops/Public Buildings - north of Portage Avenue.
- 3) Retail/Hairdressing - Portage Avenue around The Bay department store.
- 4) Professional Services - south of Portage Avenue.
- 5) Service/No Data/Non CB blocks - scattered.

#### Comparison of Results - 1972 - 1984

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the changes in Winnipeg's CBD. Although everyone talks of severe decline in the CBD this analysis disproves this. The centrifugal movement which has characterized most CBDs does not seem to be occurring in Winnipeg to

any great degree. This is substantiated by the fact that the first and most important factor in 1984 closely resembles the first factor in 1972. There has been little change. The factor indicates the importance of high order retail functions and personal service functions. In 1972, the financial function loads highly on the first factor, but in 1984 it appears on the third factor. In terms of numbers there are 63 banks or financial institutions in the CBD in 1972 and 56 in 1984. This is a change but a very minimal one. The closure of marginal trust companies alone probably accounts for this. There has not been an increase in numbers because most banks are now opening branches in the suburbs.

In 1972 schools and entertainment appear to be more important functions than they are in 1984 indicating a trend for such functions to move to the suburbs with the population. Certain types of entertainment and schools are still important in 1984 while other types appear to be migrating out of the CBD.

Food stores and older rooming houses are not high order CB functions and thus tend to decline in importance and be replaced. This is occurring in Winnipeg's CBD.

Repair shops appear to be still of some importance in 1984 but not in the area around Main Street as they are in 1972. In 1972 they, along with office services, serve the lower order type retail stores and offices. Since 1972 this area has undergone massive redevelopment. The multi-storey office buildings do not use these services.

Pawn shops and second hand stores are much more significant in 1984 than they are in 1972 as are public buildings. Pawn shops definitely indicate decline in population and in the socio-economic status of the remaining population. Public buildings indicate a commitment to the central area by different levels of government; however, this is not a CB use and does not need the centrality afforded by the CBD.

As in the CBDs of most North American cities the financial, retail and service functions continue to remain important in Winnipeg.

Professional services are important in 1984 as they are in 1972. Professional services are high order CB functions.

There are general trends to be observed from the analysis of two data sets. Retailing is still one of the most important functions at the core of the downtown, but has not increased in importance. Financial functions are not as important in 1984 as they are in 1972 but continue to be important and occupy similar locations. Food stores of the local type and cheap rooming houses are leaving the CBD. Entertainment is not leaving the downtown. Business schools are not leaving the downtown. Office services are leaving, implying that lower order offices and retail outlets, the functions which use the office services, are also leaving. Pawn shops and second hand stores are dominant functions in 1984 where they are not in 1972. In 1972 drug stores load highest on the first factor but in 1984 the importance of this function decreases implying that drugstores also are migrating to the suburbs. Economy drug stores in regional shopping centres may be following the people and doctors to the suburbs capturing most of the market from downtown drug stores.

The retailing district seems to be concentrated on Portage Avenue in both 1972 and 1984. The financial district is also located on Portage Avenue and at the Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection. There seems to be a development of professional services south of Portage Avenue in 1984 which does not exist in 1972 indicating the existence of office buildings in the area. The area north of Portage Avenue, although experiencing some decline, does not seem to be in a state of severe decline as has been recently publicized. It appears to be strong as a specialty goods seller to the entire city. It seems more likely that the entire downtown is not as developed as it should be, evidenced by the number of blocks with no CB functions. Thus, although there are financial, retail and service areas in the CBD there is extensive undeveloped space.

This analysis indicates that the core, the area of intensive land use as defined by Horwood and Boyce, appears to be moving back to the Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection as it was early in the City's evolution. The development of the Richardson and Trizec office buildings, both perfect examples of the intensive vertical development which characterizes the core of the CBD, appears to be the main reason for this shift of focus. Portage Avenue is very important and in both 1972 and 1984 is the focus of retailing.

## 2. Rental Patterns in Winnipeg

No CBD is ever static. However, the previous analysis has shown that the degree of change in Winnipeg's CBD is minimal. Rental rates

in the downtown and in the suburbs are examined to determine how demand for space in the downtown compares to demand for space in the suburbs and how this demand has changed over time. The findings support the results of the principal component analysis.

Theoretically, as the area of most intensive commercial land use within cities, the CBD has a higher level of land values than the rest of the city. The maximum land values peak within the core of the CBD where the intensity of use is greatest and decrease with distance as one moves from this point. Rental rates are a direct reflection of land values and in this analysis are used as indicators of land values.

Functional use of space is often dependent upon lease rates. One can assume the higher the rent per square foot for retail space, the higher the order of function likely to occupy that space. Generally the rate per square foot is a translation of the sales potential of that space. Sales potential in turn is dependent upon consumer traffic and spending patterns of consumers. Individual consumers take a number of factors into account including travelling time, availability and costs of parking, variety of products available, cost and security. As consumer measure of a retail area's attractiveness changes so do sales for that retail area and eventually rental rates are affected as there is less demand for that space. Thus changes in rental rates can be used as an indicator of consumer preferences. This view is similar to the observation made by Qualls who stated that "While the density map will probably show that there are several blocks of comparable density and the functional map will point out which of their sub-districts have

these qualities, the most important information is not secured until the rental data are imposed. This will show that even though some areas are alike in respect to density, they cannot use their land to the same advantage. The land rents point out the activities which use their space to the greatest advantage, and the ones paying the highest rent naturally have the choice locations."<sup>9</sup> These findings support Burgess' early observation that "...variations in land values, especially where correlated with differences in rents, offer perhaps the best single measure of mobility, and so of all the changes taking place in the expansion and growth of the city."<sup>10</sup>

Historical rental rates provide a reasonable measure of change within the city. Since retail rental rates are highly correlated with consumer traffic patterns historical rental rates also provide clues as to consumer preferences and value judgments of various areas.

In the case of Winnipeg, retail rates are examined. By examining retail rental rates an historical comparison can be made between downtown and suburban locations. This comparison cannot be readily made with class A office space as there is little space available outside of the central business district. Nor can this comparison be readily made with warehouse space as there is little within the central business district. Assessment rates for municipal property taxes are also an unsuitable measure of comparison. Assessment rates have not been changed since 1957 and as such are unsuitable for these purposes.

Public access to rental information is limited. Revenue Canada and the City of Winnipeg have information which they treat in a

confidential manner. Given this situation, the study is based on information obtained from appraisers, property managers and leasing agents. The lease rates are gleaned from actual leases kept on file by these individuals. Again, due to concerns with respect to confidentiality the actual names of the lessors are not made available. However, the location of rental property in question is known and the rates utilized represent reliable data obtained from actual leases.

For the purposes of this study the central business district properties are represented by Portage Avenue south and north between Main Street on the east and Memorial on the west. Suburban areas utilized consist of neighbourhood and regional shopping centres. Neighbourhood centres are used as there was not a great number of regional shopping centres 10 years ago. Rents reflected are on a triple net basis.<sup>11</sup> No tenant inducements have been included in the rates.

The history section described the evolution of Winnipeg. Clearly the central business district, which developed near the corner of Portage and Main, historically was the most highly accessible and most valued land. However, the growth of the suburbs has changed this.

Table 16 illustrates changes in retail rental rates for a number of suburban retail spaces over the past decades. One can see average growth rates for the period range between 5.1% and 12.5%. Table 17 illustrates changes in retail rental rates for downtown locations over the past decade. The average growth rates range between 3.3% and

Table 16

Suburban Rental Rates

<u>Location</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Rental Rates</u>	<u>Growth</u>	
			<u>Simple</u>	<u>Compound</u> <sup>12</sup>
1. 3510/3520 Roblin Blvd.	1974	\$4-\$5	6.8%	5.1%
	1980	\$6.50-\$7.50		
	1985	\$7-\$8		
2. 1415 Henderson	1977	\$6.00	9.5%	7.6%
	1984	\$10.00		
3. Northgate Shopping Centre	1975	\$6.00	8.3%	6.4%
	1984	\$10.50		
4. 2929 Pembina	1979	\$6.50	7.7%	6.5%
	1982	\$7-\$8.00		
	1985	\$9-\$10.00		
5. Portage West (St. James)	1973	\$3.00	11.1%	7.3%
	1985	\$7.00		
6. 1155 Rothesay	1975	\$2.74-\$3.10	10.4%	7.0%
	1980	\$5.00		
	1984	\$6.00		
7. Dominion Shopping Centre	1973	\$2.50-\$3.00	19.4%	10.3%
	1981	\$7-\$10.00		
	1985	\$10.00		
8. Fort Richmond Plaza	1975	\$3-\$4.00	8.3%	6.4%
	1984	\$6-\$7.00		
9. Unicity Shopping Centre	1975	\$6-\$10.00	22.2%	12.5%
	1984	\$25-\$30.00		
10. Southdale Mall (K-Mart)	1965	\$.90-\$1.25	24.0%	8.8%
	1984	\$5-\$6.00		



Table 16

<u>Location</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Rental Rates</u>	<u>Simple</u>	<u>Growth Compound</u>
11. Elmwood Mall	1965	\$1.00		
	1984	\$5.00	21.1%	8.4%
12. St. Mary's Road	1965	\$2.00		
	1974	\$4.00		
	1985	\$10.00	21.1%	8.4%
13. Meadowood Mall	1979	\$5.00		
	1985	\$10-\$12.00	20.0%	12%
14. Grant Park	1975	\$9.00		
	1985	\$15.00	6.7%	5.2%

Table 17

Downtown Rental Rates

<u>Location</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Rental Rates</u>	<u>Simple</u>	<u>Growth Compound</u>
1. South Portage Ex. 1	1970	\$8.00		
	1975	\$12.00		
	1980	\$14.00		
	1985	\$16.00	6.7%	4.7%
2. South Portage Ex. 2	1971	\$12.00		
	1985	\$20.00	4.8%	3.3%
3. North Portage Ex. 1	1970	\$5.00		
	1975	\$7.00		
	1980	\$10-\$12.00		
	1985	\$10.00	6.7%	4.7%
4. North Portage Ex. 2	1971	\$5.25		
	1985	\$10.00	5.25%	3.5%

4.7%. It is clear from these data that growth rates for the suburbs exceed those of the downtown. This implies greater demand for suburban space. The suburbs have been growing while the downtown has been declining in relation to the suburbs. This is further compounded when one considers that the total amount of retail space downtown, particularly along North Portage, is declining due to demolition. At the same time suburban retail space is expanding given the growth of suburban malls. The decline along North Portage is further evidenced by the fact that rental rates along North Portage have actually declined on an absolute basis despite a reduction in total retail space available along North Portage.

Table 18 compares 1985 rents on an absolute basis. One can readily see that even in the case of comparable structures (Eaton Place versus small regional shopping centres) rates for the downtown centre are not significantly more than the small regional shopping centres and certainly less than the major regional shopping centres. While difference in municipal tax assessment can explain part of the lack of dominance by downtown centres it appears clear that consumers view the downtown area as equal at best in terms of overall shopping amenities to the regional shopping centres. This was not the case prior to the construction of Polo Park Shopping Centre in 1959. Prior to 1959 the downtown was the major retail centre. This study supports the view that retailing has not increased in importance in the downtown in the past decade. Assuming rental rates are an indicator of consumer preferences, it appears that downtown is less preferred than are

Table 18

Current Rates

Eaton Place	\$17 - \$20
Kildonan Place	\$18 - \$22
St. Vital existing expansion	\$25 - \$30 \$35 - \$40
Polo Park existing expansion	\$25 \$35
Garden City	\$10.50 - \$11.50

Sources

1. James E. Donegani - Appraiser - Browaty & Associates Ltd.
2. Dave Johnson - Trizec Equities Ltd.
3. D.T. Browaty - Appraiser - Browaty & Associates
4. E.K. Farstad - Appraiser
5. G. Kosarych - V.P. and Commercial Manager, Royal Trust

regional shopping centres. The implication is that the CBD is moving down in the hierarchy of shopping centres and is at best equal to regional shopping centres and is perhaps even moving further down in the hierarchy.

### 3. Building Heights in the CBD

One method used to measure changes in functions and development in a CBD is to compare building heights at different periods in a city's evolution.

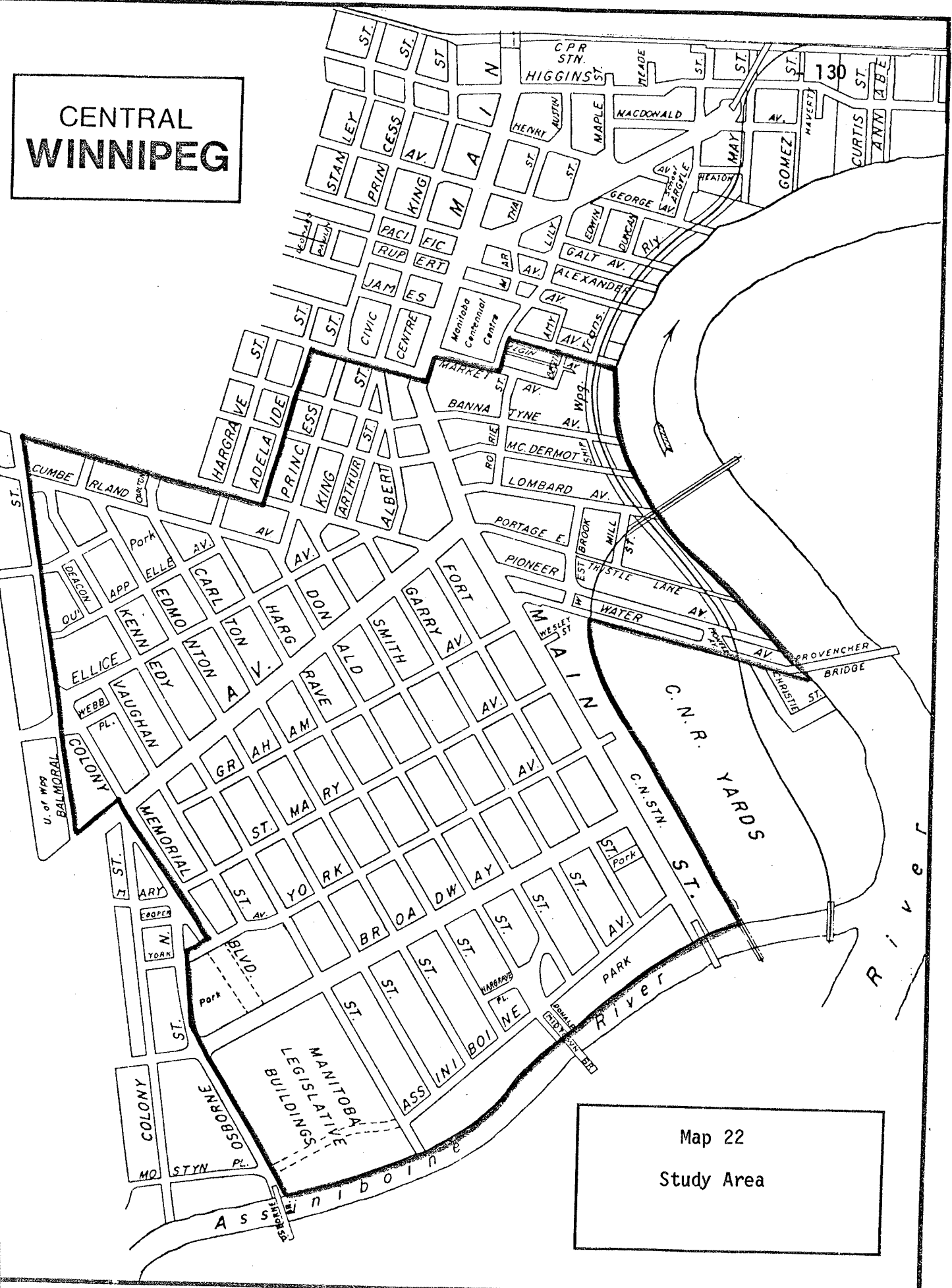
The early skyscraper marked the incipient predominance of transactional operations at the city centre and the emergence of the office sector as the prime mover in the evolution of the central business district ... it could well be maintained that those major changes which brought the contemporary city into being were marked by the coming of the skyscraper . . . 13

The inference is that a fully developed CBD is fully developed vertically as well as horizontally. Horwood and Boyce (1959) state that the core of the CBD is characterized by multi-storey buildings.

The change in building heights in Winnipeg's CBD is examined based on the work of Weir (1957) and a 1985 visual inspection.

The area reviewed consists of those blocks common to the Weir study and the principal component analysis. Map 22 illustrates the study area which corresponds to the principal component analysis area of 133 blocks excepting blocks 5, 6, 13, 14, 20, 21, 32, 44, 55, 74, 76, 77, 91, 92, 93, 94, 105, 115, 116, 130, 131, 132. Total sample size is 110 blocks.

CENTRAL WINNIPEG



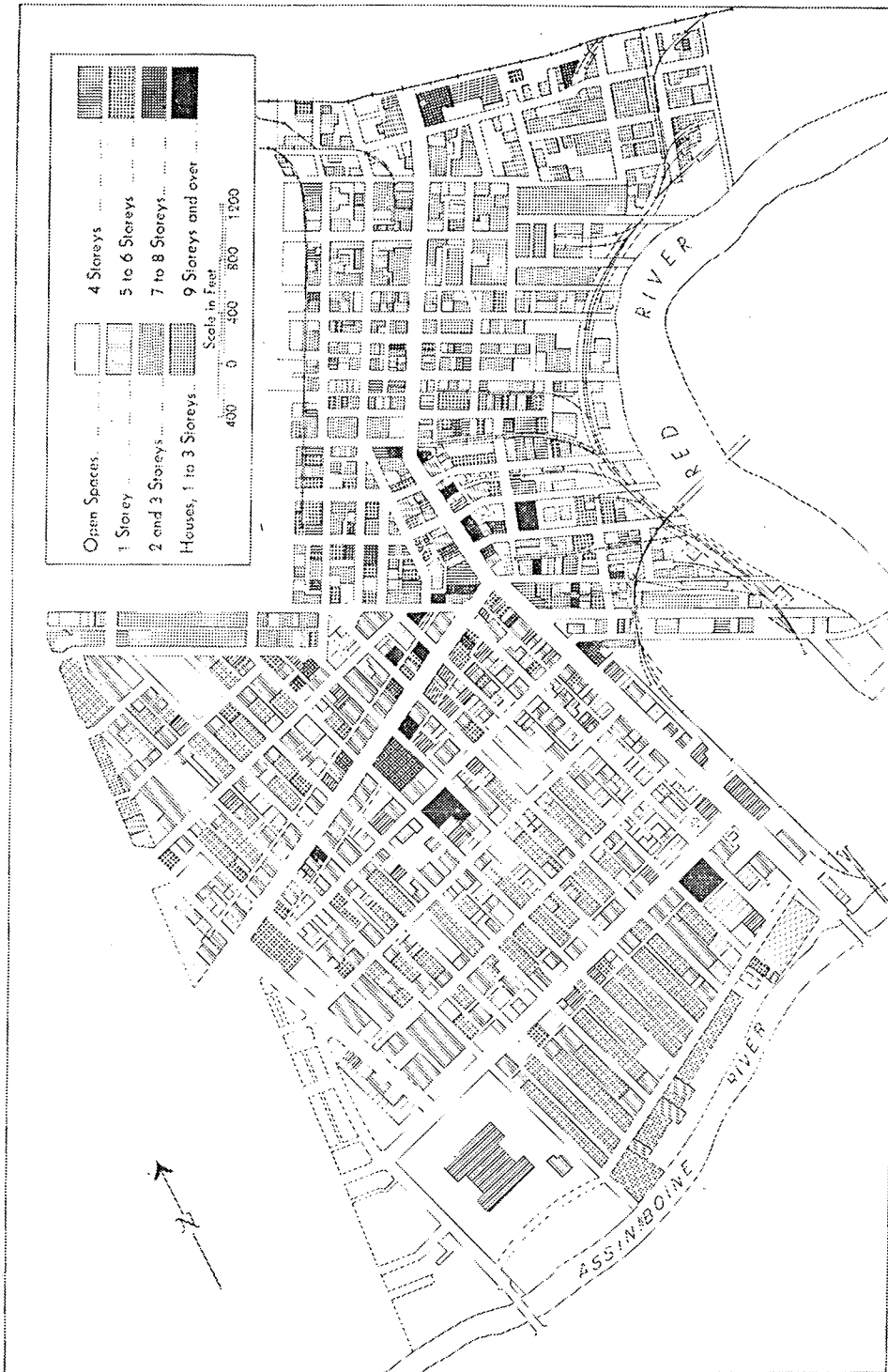
Map 22  
Study Area

In comparing 1957 building heights, as shown on Map 23, with the present building heights it is noted that of the 110 blocks, 58 did not change in terms of height. In 1957 there were few multi-storey buildings. Additionally, 21 blocks exhibited some degree of decline in heights. Seven blocks had both increases and decreases and 24 blocks reflected increases. The majority of the increases, as reflected on Map 24, are located in the Portage Avenue and Main Street area, the Lakeview Towers-Convention Centre area and along Broadway Avenue. Decreases occurred along north Portage Avenue and along south Broadway Avenue.

These results are contrary to what one would normally expect with the evolution of a city. As a city grows one would expect there would be greater demand for central business district space and consequently building heights and densities would increase to reflect this. This appears not to be the case in Winnipeg. Perhaps the CBD never reached its true potential and has been stagnating for a number of years. Although there is an identifiable skyline emerging, a mature CBD should display predominantly multi-storey buildings. Normally demand for space in the CBD leads to their construction in an attempt to use space more economically.

#### 4. Downtown Population

Perhaps the most obvious and most basic measure of change is population change. Using Statistics Canada figures for 1966, 1971, 1976 and 1981 there has been a progressive decline in population in the



Average building heights in the central business district of Winnipeg.

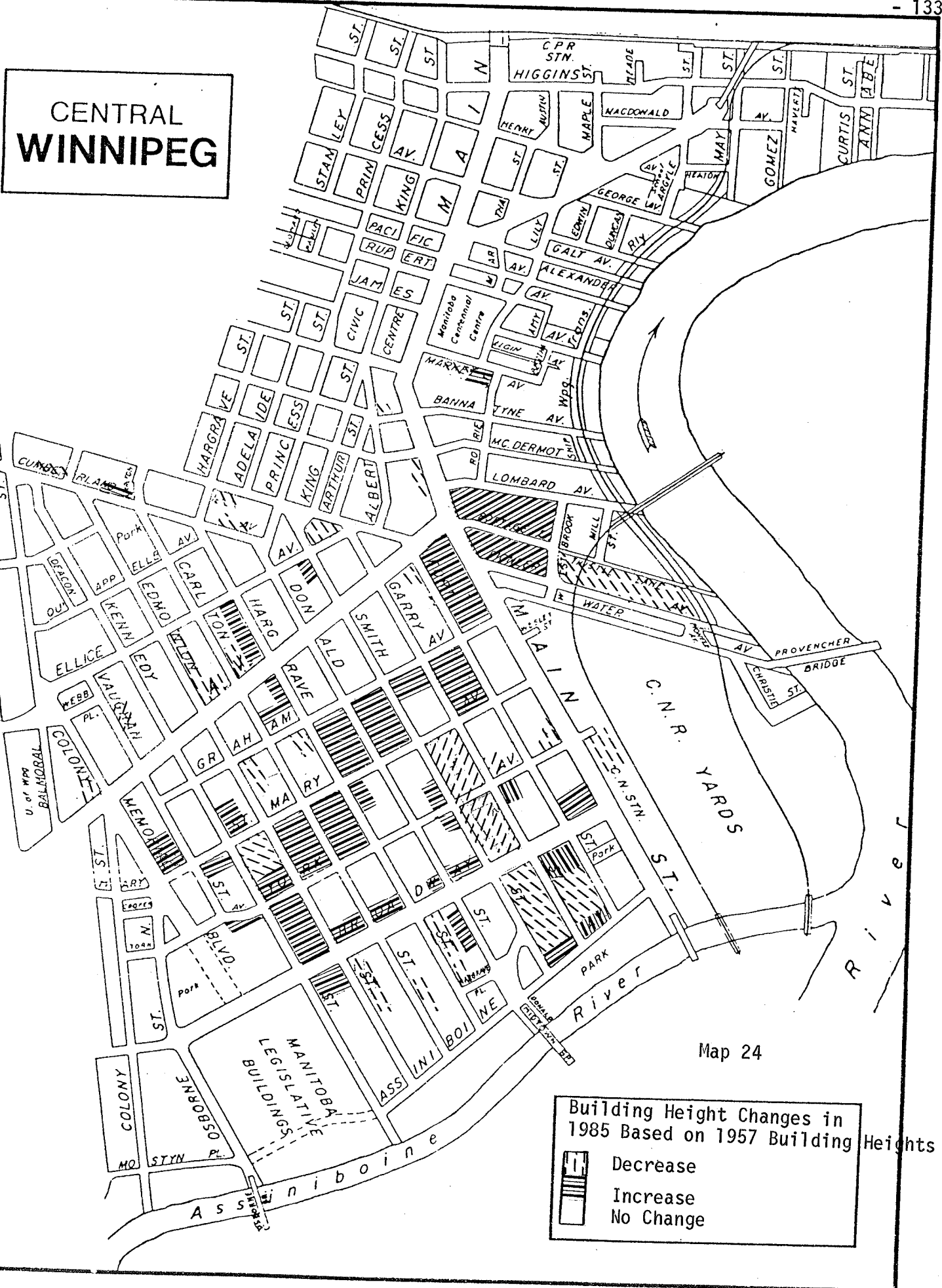
Map 23

1957 Building Heights

Source: Weir, "Land Use and Population Characteristics of Central Winnipeg." p. 18.






# CENTRAL WINNIPEG



Map 24

**Building Height Changes in 1985 Based on 1957 Building Heights**

-  Decrease
-  Increase
-  No Change

downtown. While the entire city increased by 76,083 people, the downtown decreased by 2,577 people. Winnipeg's population grew by 14.95% over this period. Downtown's population decreased by 16.62%. The specific numbers for each five year time period are outlined in Table 19. The downtown, for purposes of comparing population growth has been defined as census tracts 13, 14, 23, 24 and 25. The boundaries are the Red River, Assiniboine River, Osborne Street, Memorial Boulevard, Colony Street, Isabel Street and the C.P.R. tracks as outlined on Map 25.

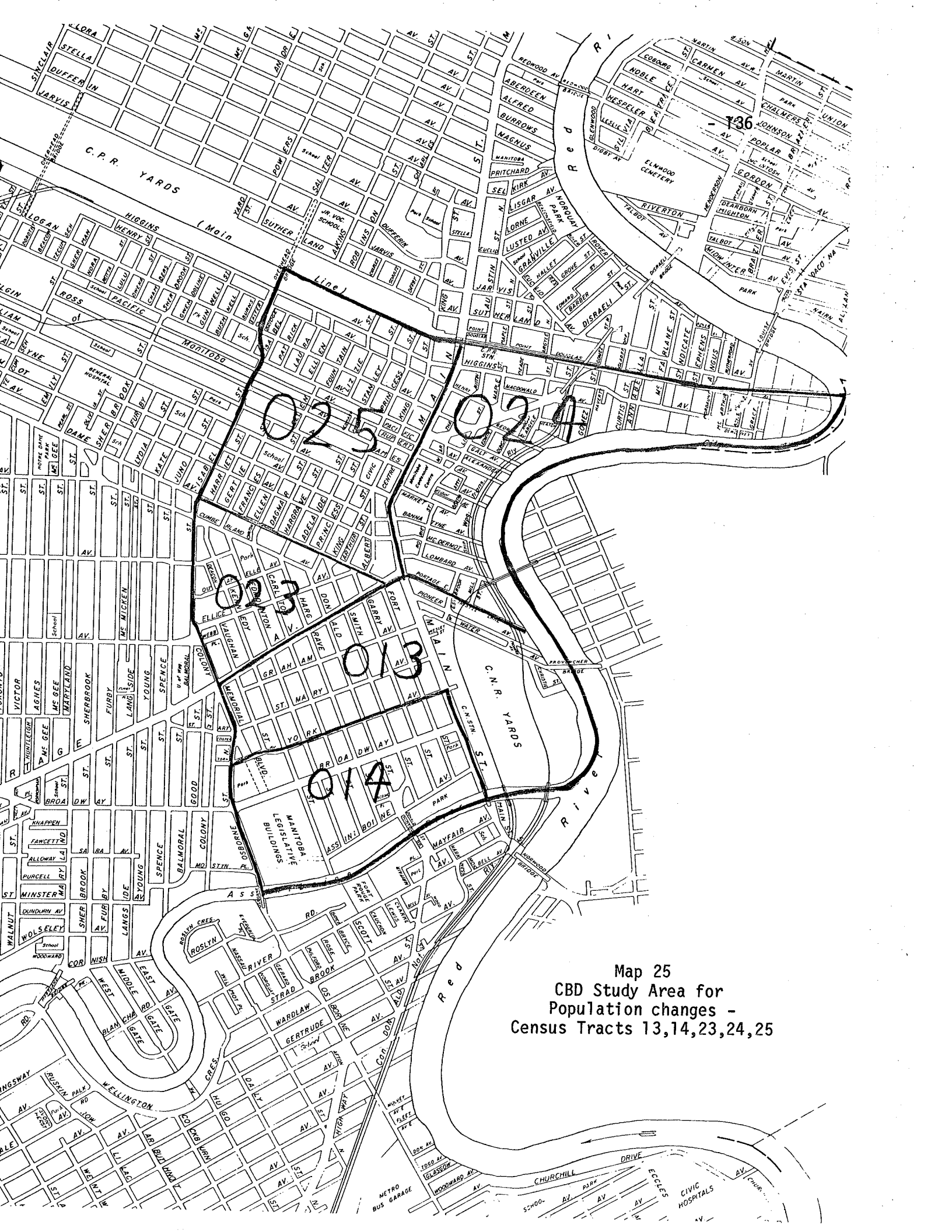
The populations in census tracts 24 and 25, which are north of Notre Dame Avenue, show the greatest decrease over the 15 year period. This is an area which has been undergoing pressures for extensive redevelopment. Redevelopment removes blighted portions of the area by site clearance and rebuilding and thus disrupts the existing residential population. This is an area of mixed residential and non-residential land uses, declining population and weak neighbourhood ties.

The population in census tract 23 has declined slightly since 1966. This area, between Portage Avenue and Notre Dame Avenue, is largely a commercial area with rooming houses and lower cost apartments. Being north of Portage it is not a desirable residential location.

Table 19  
Population 1966-1981 for Winnipeg and Study Area

	Census Tract Number					Total Study Area	C.M.A. Winnipeg
	13	14	23	24	25		
1966	1,316	3,960	3,829	1,355	5,051	15,511	508,759
1971	1,275	4,320	3,780	825	4,215	14,415	540,265
1976	2,171	3,734	3,422	683	3,443	13,453	578,217
1981	1,689	3,900	3,670	541	3,134	12,934	584,842
Change 66-81	373	(60)	(159)	(814)	(1,917)	(2,577)	76,083
% Change	28.34	(1.52)	(4.16)	(60.08)	(37.96)	(16.62)	14.95

Source: Statistics Canada, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981 Censuses of Canada.



Map 25  
CBD Study Area for  
Population changes -  
Census Tracts 13,14,23,24,25

The population of census tract 13 has increased 28.34% over the 15 year period - an increase of almost twice that of the percentage increase of the entire census metropolitan area. This increase, viewed only in terms of percentage increase, is misleading because this census tract had the least population in 1966 and showed a massive population increase between 1971 and 1976. Between 1976 and 1981 there was actually a substantial decrease in population. This is the area south of Portage Avenue and north of York Avenue. It is predominantly a commercial district. There are also some newer apartment buildings which account for the population increase over the 15 year period.

The population decrease in census tract 14 was very small. In this area south of York Avenue there were numerous older apartment blocks torn down to make way for uses which are more advantageous for the property owners, such as office buildings. This occurred primarily on Broadway Avenue. New apartment buildings were constructed south of Broadway Avenue to account for the very small decrease in population.

This brief examination of the population trends in the downtown demonstrates that in 1981, 30 percent of the population of the downtown was in the southern fringe between York Avenue and Assiniboine Avenue. In 1966 only 25.5% of the population of the downtown was in this area. Overall, the areas north of Portage Avenue are showing the greatest decline in population.

None of the five census tracts are exhibiting population growth patterns which are consistent with those of the census metropolitan

area. This indicates that these census tracts are not growing in the same manner and are definitely undergoing change.

This analysis implies that people as well as functions are leaving the downtown. As the population of the downtown has declined the population of the census metropolitan area has increased. The regional, neighbourhood and community shopping centres built throughout the suburbs of Winnipeg, beginning with Polo Park in 1959 and reaching a peak from 1975 to 1980 when three new regional shopping centres were built, locate where there is demand. People create the demand. Thus shopping centres have followed the people from the downtown. The difference between the CBD and the regional shopping centre is minimal today. The CBD is no longer uppermost in terms of the hierarchy of shopping centres as it was in the past. The analysis of rental rates also suggest this. At best it is equal to the regional shopping centres.

### Conclusion

The findings are not conclusive but they suggest that the downtown is not really changing. It is neither growing nor declining. It is basically in a state of inertia. Retailing has not changed since 1972. People and low order functions are migrating. The CBD appears to no longer be at the top of the hierarchy of shopping centres. At best it is at the same level as regional shopping centres. The examination of rental rates proves this. The regional shopping centres have moved up in the hierarchy. An interesting conclusion, based on an

analysis of building heights over a 28 year period, is that Winnipeg's downtown probably never did develop fully. A fully developed CBD is characterized by multi-storey buildings because demand is great and these buildings allow the land to be used most intensively and produce the greatest economic return. It is likely that the introduction of Polo Park Shopping Centre into the system in 1959 caused the CBD to stagnate and prevented it from developing to its full potential. It was not until 1969 that the 34-storey Richardson Building was constructed. In 1985 it is still the major multi-storey building in the CBD. Multi-storey buildings such as the Bank of Montreal and Trizec Buildings at the corners of Portage Avenue and Main Street have been built since 1969. However, not only are there not many multi-storey buildings elsewhere in the CBD, there is a great deal of vacant land, empty buildings, one and two storey buildings and land used for parking facilities. All are underutilization of land and in a fully developed CBD would not exist.

The introduction of Polo Park Shopping Centre thus halted the natural development of the CBD. This centre, only five minutes from the downtown immediately commanded a city wide market and held it for over ten years. The suburbs developed fully but downtown did not. One cannot say definitely that the downtown would have developed fully if Polo Park had not been built but it is more likely that it would have followed the normal evolution of the CBD.

Winnipeg is a flat city and thus most areas, including downtown, are accessible. The two rivers are the only barriers across which

bridges are constructed. The convenience of regional shopping centres is probably the determining factor when people decide where to shop. They only come to downtown for specialty items. It appears as if this will continue unless there are specific policies initiated to develop and revitalize the downtown. The next chapter will investigate current policies.

Although the findings are dubious, they do not show the decline which most studies have inferred. However, most studies have not been based on concrete facts. More analysis is needed. A block by block analysis of the downtown might be a place to begin. A study of retail sales figures might be another.



FOOTNOTES

1. Ready made programs used for principal component analysis (RFA-721) and cluster analysis (CLUS 721). Adison Lee ran the programs for me.
2. Peter Gould and Rodney White Mental Maps (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1974) pp. 51-52.
3. B. J. Garner, review of The Central Business District, by Raymond E. Murphy, in The Canadian Geographer, XVII, 1, Spring 1973, p.95.
4. The data is derived from the files of R.C. Tiwari. His third year Urban Geography students have collected it for their lab exercises. Data is unavailable for blocks, 2, 9, 29, 34, 44, 52, 53, 54, 74, 92, 118, 126 and 129 (14 blocks) in 1972 and thus is not used for 1984. Where 1984 data is unavailable for the other 119 blocks it is obtained from the Henderson Directories and the "Who Called Me" Directory on Winnipeg.
5. Urban planners consider all functions in the CBD to be CB functions and do not differentiate between CB and non CB uses. Only geographers do this. Thus all blocks in the study area are included even if they have no CB functions.
6. Components will henceforth be referred to as factors.
7. In 1972 the Trizec Building and underground concourse had not yet been constructed at Portage Avenue and Main Street.
8. This cluster also includes The Bay and Eaton's, the two major Winnipeg flagships of these chains, which occupy entire blocks. However, in this analysis they are not given weightings. For future analysis weightings should be applied.
9. Shirley F. Weiss "The Central Business District in Transition" Research Paper No. 1 City and Regional Planning Studies, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina, 1959), p. 12.
10. Ibid.
11. Triple net basis means that tenants pay all expenses. This includes expenses such as electricity, replacing light bulbs, taxes and insurance. This is specified in the lease.

12. Compound growth rate:

Where P = beginning rental rate  
i = the compound growth rate  
I = increase in rents over years N  
N = number of years  
V = end rental rate

Such that:

$$V = P(1+i)^N$$

Simple growth rate:

Where P = beginning rental rate  
i = average growth rate  
I = increase in rents over years N  
N = number of years  
V = end rental rate

Such that:

$$V = [P(1+i)]N$$

13. Harold Carter, An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography,  
(London, England: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1983), p. 169.

## CHAPTER VI - DOWNTOWN POLICIES AND PLANS - WINNIPEG

### Introduction

Winnipeg's downtown is faced with problems more serious than in most cities because it never did evolve into a mature fully developed CBD. It has been argued in the past that Winnipeg's downtown is in a state of decline. However, an alternative explanation borne out by this analysis is that it never reached its full potential and continues to exist in this way. Plan Winnipeg, the Core Area Initiative and the North Portage Development Corporation are the major current policy forces working to improve the current state in the downtown and prevent the ultimate death of this centre.

Two previous attempts at revitalizing the downtown will be examined first. A plan formulated in 1969 for revitalization of the downtown will show that the best of plans do not work without complete cooperation and coordination of governments and the public. The revitalization of the warehouse district which began over 10 years ago will show that revitalization can work.

### A Plan for the Downtown 1969

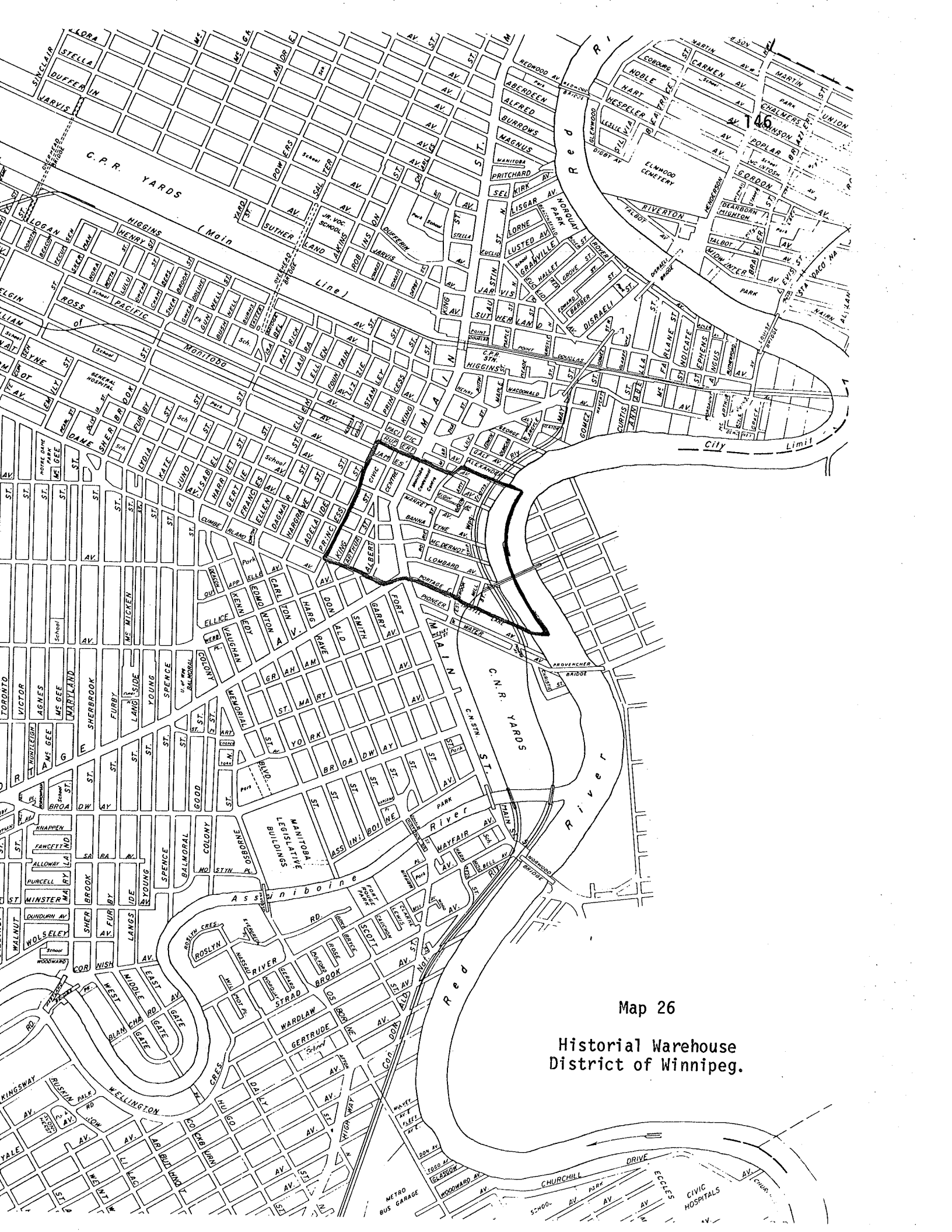
In 1969 a comprehensive plan was developed by the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Planning Division for the downtown. It recognized that Winnipeg is not a head office city and thus the downtown will never be predominantly an office centre and that industry would never come back downtown. Since retail activity could not be

expected to provide a sound basis for the development of downtown the service industries were singled out as the area to be centred on. The service function depends on people and thus people, the architects of this plan believed, must be brought back to downtown to live. By 1968, 67.7% of all new housing units were multiple family reflecting the needs of baby boom and older people. Before 1969 most apartment construction was in the suburbs. A plan with objectives of restoration of the downtown to a condition of vitality and the creation of a cultural, entertainment and commercial life had to be based on measures which would overcome the disadvantages of downtown residential development. A 1968 zoning by-law was passed to allow developers to build ten times as much floor area on a given site and therefore offset the high cost of land in the downtown.

The plan was envisaged to unfold over a period of at least 20 years with public and private initiatives working together. In 1969 it was anticipated that one-quarter to one-third of the normal expected new population growth would shift from the suburbs to downtown resulting in 800 to 1,000 new apartment units per year downtown over the length of the plan. High density apartment development between Broadway Avenue and St. Mary Avenue specifically was a major thrust. Parking was to be provided by the government and combined with other uses to serve the apartments also. An above ground weather protected pedestrian circulation system, extensive open space to add character and charm, winter gardens and recreational facilities were to be included. The pedestrian corridors would have shops, cafes, boutiques, restaurants

and commercial and entertainment establishments on both sides with rinks, hotels, offices, an aquarium and conservatory on levels above. The residential component downtown would not include low income housing which would be erected in the frame. Mixed use structures combining shopping, parking, entertainment and apartments were seen as the solution to reversing the decline in the downtown, much as they are today. A convention centre was to be erected in this St. Mary - Broadway sector. North of Portage Avenue an entertainment enclave was recommended as was a park along the Assiniboine River to Main Street and along the Red River for the full length of the Canadian National Railways holdings. A library was to be built, the north side of Portage Avenue was to be developed and the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street developed. All was to be completed at no cost to the tax payer.

This downtown plan was never formally adopted as policy although parts of it such as the Convention Centre and Centennial Library did come to be. Apartment construction also increased south of Portage Avenue but the coordinated mixed-use development envisioned in 1969 never came to be. This plan stipulated strict land-use control and complete cooperation between government, developers and the public. Massive investment of money would have been necessary. Perhaps this grandiose plan was too ambitious for 1969 for at that time the suburbs were still expanding. New regional shopping centers and residential subdivisions were still to be built. The situation today is different. Growth has lessened considerably. Today the plan makes



Map 26

Historical Warehouse District of Winnipeg.

more sense especially its emphasis on creating a humane and liveable environment in the downtown.

### Conservation of the Historic Warehouse District

Since 1974 there has been an attempt to conserve the historic warehouse district of Winnipeg, the district outlined on Map 26, and develop an attractive and stimulating sidewalk environment for pedestrians. In 1976 the Old Market Square Association began. One of its major projects is a weekly summer outdoor farmers' market. Since 1977 Heritage Canada, the Province of Manitoba, the Government of Canada and the City of Winnipeg have been involved in restoring and preserving this area which was once the focus of business and commercial activity in Winnipeg. The Telegram Building at 70 Albert Street was home of one of the first newspapers. It now houses Modernage Furniture. The renovation, painting and new signage capitalized on the building's heritage character. One of the first old warehouses to be recycled is now the location of the Old Spaghetti Factory restaurant on Bannatyne Avenue. The Travellers Block was vacant for 10 years before it was renovated into Townsite, a vertical shopping centre with boutiques on six floors. The banking hall in the Royal Bank at 139 Albert Street is a trendy disco called Bogarts. Other warehouses on Bannatyne Avenue and Albert Street were converted into unique office buildings and retail buildings while many others in the area still serve the wholesale and manufacturing industries for which they were built 85 years ago. The result is a healthy mixture of

land uses which contribute to the vitality of the district. A massive streetscaping project has also contributed substantially to upgrading a deteriorating commercial/industrial area. Park areas, widened sidewalks, historic street lights, benches, trees and ornamental paving are all part of the streetscaping.

The conservation of this area is being continued and expanded upon under the Core Area Initiative which has allocated \$5.1 million to this area in order to attract private investment to expand commercial, cultural and tourism activities and encourage the conversion of over 100 historic buildings to residential space. The goal is to create a vital area to which people will come for shopping, dining and entertainment. Restaurants have been developed from historic buildings around Market Square, but also east of Main Street between the Richardson Building and the Manitoba Theatre Centre. Such restaurants can receive a \$25,000 grant for small business, \$15,000 from the heritage program for tenants renovating space and \$2,000 for distinctive signage. Bottles Uptown Restaurant and Bar, on the main floor of the historic Chamber of Commerce Building at 177 Lombard Avenue across from the Richardson Building, is such a restaurant.

The historic warehouse district is but a small part of the core and policy is intended primarily to preserve the collection of historic buildings. Various government levels are involved, currently through the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, but redevelopment of this homogeneous area is not as complicated as is redevelopment of the remainder of the core. However, it does show that through cooperation



and clear goals supported by policy a declining, old area experiencing functional obsolescence can be redeveloped.

### Plan Winnipeg

Plan Winnipeg, the successor to the 1968 Greater Winnipeg Development Plan, which is a long-range general development plan yet to be adopted by the Province, has one distinct message--shift development back to downtown and away from the suburbs. Urban sprawl must be stopped and older neighbourhoods revitalized. This inward focus is largely due to the fact that Winnipeg is now in, and in all likelihood will remain in until after the year 2000 at least, a period of very limited growth. The Plan foresees a livelier downtown with more apartment buildings and office towers. Development of more suburban shopping centres would not be permitted. Public open space would be created downtown and zoning would make the residential areas more attractive. A transit system radiating from downtown will make the downtown the most attractive place for shopping and employment.

The Plan's proposals are both difficult and expensive and "The goal can be achieved only to the extent that public tastes match the planners' vision. . . . Powerful forces are arrayed in support of limitless suburban sprawl and continued decline of the central business and residential district."<sup>1</sup> The public and private sectors must work together because downtown will only survive if the market supports office, retail, hotel and other uses in the downtown. The disadvantages of the downtown are numerous and include higher land

costs, higher construction costs, lack of sites, parking problems, site access problems, higher taxes, unattractive environment, lack of local residential population, and established preferences of people which are oriented to the suburbs. These disadvantages must be dealt with if investors are to invest in the downtown and people are to shop, live, work and frequent the area for entertainment. The private investor builds the downtown, but the public level including planners and politicians provide the infrastructure within which the investors must work. It is at the public level that the economic disadvantages of the downtown must be addressed. This is where Plan Winnipeg enters the picture. If it becomes policy it will restrict suburban development and encourage the strengthening and improvement of downtown into a vital, efficient and attractive centre for Winnipeg.<sup>2</sup>

#### Winnipeg Core Area Initiative

Although the Core Area Initiative was conceived separately from Plan Winnipeg, they must both be brought together into an effective, integrated, political and financial force if Plan Winnipeg is to succeed.<sup>3</sup> In 1981 the Federal, Provincial and local governments each allocated \$32 million to the Core Area Initiative, the renovation of the area bounded by McPhillips and Ingersoll Streets, Church Avenue, the Assiniboine River, Corydon Avenue and Marion Street, the Red River and C.P.R. Emerson subdivisions. This agreement was to be the salvation for downtown Winnipeg.

"The objective of this Initiative is to provide increased employment opportunities, to encourage appropriate industrial,

commercial and residential development in the core area, and to facilitate the effective social and economic participation of the core area residents in development opportunities."<sup>4</sup>

This objective was to be met by the use of various social, economic and physical programs. Between 1981 and its expiry in March of 1986 it was to create 3,000 jobs, rehabilitate 4,500 houses, inject vast amounts of public and private monies into the core in order to redevelop north Portage Avenue and preserve the heritage district to name but a few of its goals. However, the program got off to a bad start largely due to the conflicting agendas of the three levels of government and by the end of 1983 there was not too much physical evidence that the program was working.<sup>5</sup> On the economic development side the program has been a dismal failure. The focus of the program, however, is on people and this is the key to any revival according to urban planner Earl Levin.<sup>6</sup> There has been a significant attempt to rebuild core area neighbourhoods both physically and socially. The Core Area Initiative has committed \$11 million to assist in providing much needed facilities and services to support recreational facilities, day care centres, resource centres, cultural facilities and senior citizen projects. The Core Area Initiative has been working with the Downtown Winnipeg Association to establish downtown Winnipeg as the focal point for shopping, entertainment and recreational activities. Together they developed the concept "Destination Downtown" to provide the framework for large-scale, cooperative marketing and advertising of facilities and services in downtown Winnipeg. Recently the logo "It's Better in the Centre" has been blitzed on transit, television and

radio. This logo is based on the belief that people will travel 100 miles to shop at a great, interesting store and through cooperation, imagination and innovative planning, "Destination Downtown" is attempting to make it better in the centre of Winnipeg.

#### North Portage Development Corporation

In early 1985 the chances for a renewal of the Core Area Initiative look quite good and even if it is not renewed one of the major successes of the Initiative will continue. In 1983 a tri-level government task force was created to investigate the north side of Portage Avenue, an area of downtown which was and is in serious decline. The task force had two months to recommend a development program to revitalize the area including the financing and implementing of the program.

As a result of this task force, the North Portage Development Corporation was appointed by the Federal, Provincial and City governments. It was given both legal and financial power and was to prepare the financial and concept plan. In 1984 the body recommended a mixed-use strategy for North Portage redevelopment involving commercial, residential, education, cultural and entertainment facilities enhanced by public amenities, and improvements in pedestrian and vehicular access, public transit and in the social and aesthetic environment. Social and economic benefits to the area and the City in general would be a natural spin-off of the redevelopment.

The first phase of the massive redevelopment north of Portage Avenue is to be a multi-million dollar shopping centre, developed by Cadillac Fairview Corporation, stretching from Vaughan Street to Carlton Street. There will be over 100 small, mostly independent, local retail stores and walkways to Eaton's and the Bay, the two major flagships on the south side of Portage Avenue. Early in 1985 the three governments began expropriating property to make way for the redevelopment. The Development Corporation will provide the public space, walkways connecting the retail development to Eaton's and the Bay and 1,500 parking spaces.

This three-block shopping mall to be completed in 1987 will be different from the typical suburban mall. There will be much more enclosed public space. Shops will have a city-wide appeal and approximately one-quarter of the space will be devoted to food and entertainment outlets in an attempt to gear the centre to daytime office workers and to encourage people to stay downtown in the evenings. The mall is also to be only part of a mixed-use development that will ultimately include 1,100 residential units of which 300 are to be for senior citizens. Long-term plans include a new hotel, a Science Centre, office space and redevelopment of the existing Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. buildings.

This development depends on private investment. The three levels of government have each contributed \$23.7 million and \$5 million has been borrowed as working capital. Private investment of about \$150 million is needed. Cadillac Fairview, by leasing the land and building the centre, will be investing about \$20 million. The creation of the

Development Corporation has meant that developers deal with only one entity that owns the land to be developed and has considerable funds of its own to invest in infrastructure such as parking and streetscaping.

The proposed retail development, however, can only play a part in revitalizing the downtown if there is sufficient market demand. Many believe Winnipeg is already saturated with retail space. Cadillac Fairview engaged Larry Smith & Associates, a Toronto retail marketing analysis firm, to study the retail demand in Winnipeg. Their research shows that Winnipeg, which has two downtown shopping complexes and five suburban regional malls, can absorb more shopping space, particularly if a downtown mall has unique specialty shops and dining establishments.<sup>7</sup> The president of the Downtown Winnipeg Association, Art Jones, believes the mall will contribute to revitalizing the core although marginal regional shopping centers, such as Unicity and Garden City, which have not been as successful as Kildonan Place, St. Vital Mall and Polo Park, may suffer.<sup>8</sup> Winnipeg Square, the Lombard Concourse and Eaton Place will initially be hurt but in the long run will benefit from the larger shopping crowds downtown. The end result will be a shopping rebirth downtown.

The residential component of the redevelopment is also being proceeded with. The Federal and Provincial governments have agreed to finance a rental complex of 400 units. The Imperial Group, a local developer, will be doing the residential component of the redevelopment. The downtown mall and residential project, many feel, will reverse the deterioration in downtown Winnipeg.<sup>9</sup> A residential downtown will spin off enormous economic benefits by creating an

internal market for shops, theatres, entertainment and recreation. It is important to note that this will only happen if City Council fully supports downtown revitalization. In a city experiencing little if any economic growth such a development cannot succeed if the downtown does not receive the benefit of whatever real growth there is. To do this, suburban development, both housing and retail, must be severely controlled and downtown development must be vigorously encouraged. Downtown residential and office development must be made as attractive as in the suburbs to encourage developers to develop in the downtown.

#### Conclusion

To revitalize and develop the CBD private and public planned efforts are necessary. Even though the CBD may become one of several nodes rather than the one main center it should continue to exist with guidance to improve its characteristics and public intervention to improve its efficiency.<sup>10</sup> Revitalization must be on a human scale with the intent of creating an urban place in the downtown with all of the best in experiences a city has to offer. Restoration of the downtown environment and rebuilding urban economics must be accomplished as one process. The declining economic and population base in the downtown must be dealt with at the same time planners are rebuilding and restoring physical structures. It must be recognized that inner city decline is not natural and inevitable. It is the result of the political structures, the decision making processes and the market system. Benefits are private and costs social, minorities are segregated, older areas are undervalued, suburban zoning excludes 'unfavourable' land uses and nonurban policies such as freeways take

people away from the downtown. The end result is sprawl in the suburbs and decline downtown.

Winnipeg is indeed at the crossroads. In 1985 Cadillac Fairview Corporation is beginning the expansion and renovation of Polo Park Shopping Centre, the oldest regional shopping centre in Winnipeg. The first phase of the \$74,000,000 expansion will open late in 1985. There will be a new Safeway store (4,500 square metres) which will be twice the size of the previous store. There will be 100 new stores. Completion is to be in the fall of 1986. There are definite plans to expand St. Vital Mall and tentative plans to expand Grant Park Shopping Centre into a major regional mall. If something is not done soon to revitalize the retail component of downtown, its importance in the urban hierarchy will decrease even more.

The Core Area Initiative program and North Portage Development Corporation both have as major goals the re-establishment of the downtown as a major focus for the city. The programs appear to recognize that there must be both neighbourhood and central business functions in the inner city if it is to prosper. The characteristics of suburban neighbourhoods such as privacy, existence of local service functions and definite boundaries should be duplicated. Neighbourhood improvement will help to sustain a lively downtown and create a circular and cumulative effect. The central business functions should be distinct from the neighbourhoods and should serve the metropolitan area. In order to avoid the problem of deserted CBDs, the neighbourhoods should be close enough to be a major market and



mixed-use facilities should be constructed. Office buildings are empty after 5 p.m., but mixed-use developments are not. Successful, prosperous and vital CBDs are busy after 5 p.m.

Whereas the Core Area Initiative has a broad mandate for generally stabilizing and revitalizing the downtown and adjacent areas, the North Portage Development Corporation has a limited mandate to stimulate as much activity as possible between Portage and Ellice Avenues. If successful this area which now has a number of low level central business functions would have higher level central business functions. Both programs, and indeed all master plans formulated over the last 30 years, have recommended increasing the residential component in the downtown.

The residential and shopping district to be created between Portage and Ellice Avenues is supposedly going to change the face of downtown. Cadillac Fairview is developing the mall on Portage Avenue with an office tower to be added to both ends at some point. North of the mall a mixture of high- and low-density apartment buildings, many with street-level shops and internal courtyards, is to be created. The street system, if the plan goes ahead, will have to be drastically altered. Wide sidewalks and benches will make the area attractive for pedestrians and a low-rise apartment block will be built to screen the Free Press parking lot from view. There is also talk of expanding the Y.M.C.A. facilities and tying them in with the mall, a union centre and senior citizen's housing.

The plans for the area north of Portage Avenue emphasize revitalizing the downtown by rebuilding the residential component of the area, renewing the business and commercial life of the area and providing the human services needed in the building of an alive and vibrant community. The only problem is with the residential component. If the area is to be stable and have a sense of neighbourhood, there must be comprehensive land use planning to ensure complementary land uses exist in the rest of the area. There must be control over nearby areas which will be under pressure to redevelop the land in more intensive uses due to rising land values. The point is that one pocket of the downtown cannot be developed in isolation. The city functions as a system and changes in one part will affect the other parts. There must be detailed land use planning, an overall plan, also aimed at containing the CBD because no one can ignore the fact that Winnipeg's growth is very small and only so much growth can be sustained.

In 1981 the population of Winnipeg was 584,842 and there were 6,912,279 square feet of gross leasable area in neighbourhood, community and regional shopping centres in 1983. In the development industry the rule-of-thumb is 9 or 10 square feet of retail store space for each person. Based on this, Winnipeg was over built in 1983 and since then the building has exceeded the population increase. The number of business types provided by each shopping centre depends on its total sales. As retail space is added and the population does not grow, obviously the trade areas decrease assuming disposable income

does not increase dramatically. Competition increases also. The market for downtown shopping centres includes workers, households in the CBD, consumers within 20 minutes, tourists, conventioners and business visitors. Thus a well designed shopping centre downtown could probably capture a fair share of the market if it concentrated on food and beverages, apparel and accessories, home accessories, some services such as shoe repairs, hair salons and office products, gifts and collectibles and perhaps travel agencies and print shops. If such a centre were to become a mixed-use complex and combine shopping, hotel, office and convention facilities with shopping predominating it would probably attract office and retail projects and play a major role in revitalizing the downtown.

The shopping centre has always been considered a suburban phenomenon and as such has competed with downtown. The recent trend in Canada to redeveloping downtowns has made the planners and developers realize that competition between the two distinct forms of shopping centre conformations is not good for the community. Shopping centres have now been successfully developed downtown.<sup>11</sup> Eaton Centre in Toronto is one of the best examples. Indeed ". . . cross shopping has brought higher-order goods into association with lower-order goods in the same shopping centres, and even the same stores . . . centres of the same functions [are] beginning to take on different sizes and orders, and centres of essentially different functions [are] beginning to take on the same sizes and orders. The result is not the clear nesting pattern . . . that had formerly been so characteristic of the

landscape, but rather patterns which reveal a diffusion of clusters of various size, but similarly functioning centres."<sup>12</sup> This is only to be expected in cities where the opportunities are enormous and the environment is continually changing.

The downtown shopping centre has a great likelihood of succeeding also because of the economic and demographic trends. "The suburban market . . . is moving closer to the city and living in less space. It's a sociological shift characterized by single people forming more households, fewer families with working fathers and stay-at-home mothers, and a reduced demand for large suburban homes."<sup>13</sup> At the same time, people are more concerned with space and the way they feel in it and they are very vocal about it.<sup>14</sup> All of these changes reinforce the revitalization of downtown. This area is the heart of the city - the true distinctive cultural and historical core. If redeveloped properly it will once again be a vital, humane, focal point for the city. Winnipeg now lacks this. It has no identity.

There is a case to be made for increasing retail space in the downtown even though Winnipeg appears to be saturated with retail space. Cadillac Fairview's developments downtown and at Polo Park will add 400,000 square feet to the current 8,000,000 square feet of retail space. The retail component is necessary for revitalization of the downtown to succeed even if marginal neighbourhood and community malls suffer as a result.

The return of office centres to the downtown appears to be occurring now. " . . . because major traffic routes intersect

downtown, nearly all of Winnipeg's large office buildings are in the core . . . Winnipeg has tried the suburban office park, but most people prefer downtown . . . [and] are heading back to Portage and Main, the famous corner that is the hub of the city's network of roads and bridges."<sup>15</sup> In the past five years, government departments have filled the Bank of Montreal Building, Eaton Place, the old Chamber of Commerce Building and other buildings on Broadway Avenue and throughout the downtown. The new Air Canada Building north of Portage Avenue alone has 800 office workers. This building indicates a trend to research, development and technological type service functions being a major function in the core.

The city is caught between conflicting pressures. After a century of decentralization, cities are predominantly suburban and are polynucleated. Governments, assuming centrality is needed, are revitalizing downtowns to make them better places for urban progress. Speculative enterprise, which thrives due to the free market in capital and land has created the unplanned growth and blighted cores. The ultimate solution is comprehensive and coordinated planning over the entire metropolitan area. The decline of cores of cities is not a world-wide phenomenon. In cities in Europe, the negative effects of land use competition have been controlled. It is desirable to live in the centre. Of course, the process of aging also occurs, but the physical and spatial expression of aging and land use competition is different than it is here. The industrial society has created our cities and led to the decline of the downtowns. The common measures to

combat the decline in North America such as in fill housing, preserving historical buildings, public housing, job creation programs, and community and neighbourhood grants may be too little, too late and are also often misdirected.

FOOTNOTES

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4. "Memorandum of Understanding Regarding the Development of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative", September 22, 1980, p. 1.
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13. Michael C. Ircha, "Shoppers' Dollars Drifting from Suburbs", Winnipeg Free Press, March 28, 1983, p. 30.
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## CHAPTER VII - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have described the growth of Winnipeg's downtown. They have analyzed the changes over the last ten to fifteen years. They have described responses in Winnipeg and elsewhere to problems in the downtown. The approaches used to study the downtown indicate that Winnipeg's downtown is quite stable in and by itself but declining in relation to the suburbs and it has never matured fully. Revitalization is necessary if the CBD is to continue as an important retail centre. Without revitalization it will drop further in the hierarchy of centres.

### Future of the CBD

There has been a multitude of literature written on the CBD and the city by historians, geographers, economists, sociologists, planners and political scientists. Most agree that the roles of both the CBD and the city are changing. Some feel that the CBD must be vital for the city to be vital and others feel the CBD should be left to decline. Vance foresees two downtowns - one dominated by offices and one by specialty shopping with parking between. The CBD is now a mass seller to only the inner city, a specialty seller to the entire city and an office area for the region.<sup>1</sup>

Ullman, one of the original advocates of the multiple nuclei concept, continues to propose that the CBD will be one of the many



centers but not as important as it was in the past. He envisages the role of the CBD to be

... the shopping center for the large, low-income area around it and an office center on a reduced scale for older activities or smaller concerns needing poor vacant space or using large amounts of cheap labor - other centers develop on a regional or specialized basis in accordance with multiple-nuclei concept.<sup>2</sup>

Ullman believes cities were unplanned in the past and most activities in the CBD are there by accident of original location. For this reason he opposes urban renewal feeling this would only compound the mistakes of the past.

Homer Hoyt, the land economist who formulated the Sector Theory, still sees the CBD as the largest shopping district but other functions are moving out of the CBD.

Thus, although the CBD has indeed changed its role, it appears to still be unique in three functional areas:

- 1) it affords specialized and comparison shopping
- 2) it provides office facilities for confrontation industries (for example, financial institutions and Head Offices requiring advertising agencies, accounting firms and office supplies nearby)
- 3) it services small businesses and industries that seek economies of concentration (mostly in very large cities).<sup>3</sup>

### The Reasons for Decline

There have been many hypotheses put forward to account for the decline of the CBD. One hypothesis, based on Burgess and urban

ecology, postulates that as immigration occurs and the CBD expands through economic growth there is competition among land uses for space and a filtering down of housing. The result is spatial segregation of land uses and social groups in concentric zones radiating out from the center. Such a hypothesis assumes an absence of planning and does not consider social organization, politics or attitudes of people. Other forces are also at work. It would seem that this hypothesis of the natural evolution process of decline is unsuitable by itself.

Income and cultural predispositions which favor newness, privacy, low density and mobility are definitely factors which help to push people out of the inner city.

Another hypothesis is functional, physical and social obsolescence of the built environment and social infrastructure.

Unintended policies or non urban policies such as freeways which take all of the traffic out of the center of the city is another hypothesis to account for the decline.

The fifth hypothesis suggests that the city and specifically the inner city were created to fuel the engines of capitalism. The economics of agglomeration of the industrial city were once very important but modern capitalism no longer needs this so has left the inner city to decline.

Another hypothesis reasons that demographic and economic changes such as slower population growth, lower fertility and fewer foreign immigrants have caused structural change in the city.

Segregated groups, such as the natives and the poor, today are often the major inhabitants of the inner cities. This has led to conflict with the rest of the city and isolated the inner city. This is the final hypothesis.

No one of these hypotheses by itself explains why the inner cities or CBDs are declining. Other possibilities, especially in regards to retailing, are the changing means of transportation and suburban housing which led to the integrated shopping center which assumes part of the previous commercial functions of the CBD. It is likely that inner city decline is not a natural and inevitable process. Political structures, decision making processes, a market system where benefits are private and costs public, segregation of minorities, nonurban policies, undervaluing other areas, and exclusionary zoning in the suburbs all favor sprawl and have led to the decline.

The city, and particularly the CBD, has gone through and is still going through numerous changes. Initially there was a cluster of all activities in the downtown. As the commercial economic base and population grew, this cluster became a market place. Further growth, largely due to rapid transit, produced segregation, regionalization and a radial city. Further regionalization produced the vital fringe or suburbanization.

The suburbanization of the 1970s has reduced the importance of the downtown overall. The car, the major impetus for physical expansion, differentiated land uses and people. The urban sprawl which the car initiated was essentially unplanned. The economic trends in urban land

use led to segregation, specialization and unifunctionalism. Today, downtown is the only functionally mixed area of residential, office, retail, wholesale, manufacturing, recreational and public land uses all in close proximity.<sup>4</sup> In the suburbs one finds shopping centres, industrial parks, medical centres and housing developments - all examples of concentrating land use under one management in one area.

The most significant effect of this urban sprawl has been, however, decentralization of economic functions resulting in a multinucleated development of commercial districts around transfer points of the transportation system. Banks, movie theatres, branches of major department stores and chain stores have moved to these points. Where there was only one centre prior to suburbanization with the entire city as its trading area, there are now numerous centres with small, local trading areas and the relative importance of the downtown is in jeopardy. ". . . in the past we have called it [the downtown] the central business district but that term is hardly adequate today. There is central business all over the city."<sup>5</sup> The result is a major disruption of structural order in the city and reorganization of functional activities. "The suburban shopping centre has, in effect, moved downtown to the suburbs and is one important factor in the decline of the city centre."<sup>6</sup> Many of the important activities have stayed downtown and it has become a centre of retail stores, especially department and specialty stores which are high order functions, and offices although as time goes on retail stores account for less of the CBD space.<sup>7</sup>

Even though we are in the computer age today where electronic communication could free the routine and mechanical office operations from decision functions and where it is more important to move information than people, there is a ". . . persistent attachment of offices to downtown areas."<sup>8</sup> Although in some cities such as New York and Chicago, offices have moved from the CBD, overall in most cities banks, financial institutions and insurance companies to name a few have remained in the CBD due to the continued need for contact and exchanges of information. Electronic communication cannot replace a business lunch where many deals are transacted. Many offices locate in the CBD because they require this clustering for contact. Linkages, which are relationships between establishments characterized by recurrent interactions which require a movement of people or goods, are very important in the CBD. Linked establishments form nucleations within the CBD. However, although offices appear to increase in importance in the CBD, there has been some relocation of higher-level functions such as head offices to the suburbs. If this becomes a trend due to cheaper land, available work force and little need for linkages this may mean the decline of the office function of the CBD and also the associated retail, transportation and entertainment functions.<sup>9</sup>

A survey conducted in Winnipeg of business firms in the downtown found most located there due to the need for a central location.<sup>10</sup> Banking, accounting, legal facilities, public transit, reasonable rent, building or operating costs and good traffic circulation were important reasons for locating in the downtown.

Although many academics believe that the office function will increase in the downtown, primarily due to the linkages which are so important in business today, they believe retailing will decrease.<sup>11</sup> "The change in the retail status of downtown, . . . , has been dramatic and perhaps irreversible because the baby-boom generation may find it difficult to visualize downtown as a viable alternative to a shopping centre."<sup>12</sup> The CBD has been losing relative importance in retailing due to suburban shopping centres. Often the branch stores in shopping centres are more competitive than the main store in the downtown. Large shopping centres can compete with the CBD regarding comparison shopping.<sup>13</sup> In 1955 such was not the case. A survey of consumers in Houston, Texas and Columbus, Ohio determined that most people preferred downtown primarily due to the greater variety of styles and sizes and the greater variety and range of prices and quality.<sup>14</sup> The greatest advantages of shopping centres were the accessibility and fact that they made shopping less tiresome. Today they still do these plus they offer variety and range although "It still generally prevails that there are a greater range of stores, more depth in the type of goods and more items having a limited or specialized appeal downtown than in suburban locations."<sup>15</sup>

It appears that the specialty store, along with offices, will be two of the major focuses of the CBD of the future. Although the CBD will not be dominant for all activities as it once was, specialty stores can only exist in the CBD or the largest shopping centres today. The downtown draws customers widely but selectively, whereas

all but the largest shopping centres draw customers narrowly but as completely as possible from a local area. Thus there appears to be an exchange of functions between the downtown and regional shopping centres. Department stores and variety stores, for example, exist in both locations. It has been shown that shoppers do not like rapid transit and, therefore, specialty shops tend to locate away from the focus of the journey to work which is the offices. Rapid transit reinforces the office functions.

Although hotels and banks are decentralizing there appears to be a financial sub district staying in most downtowns as well as a hotel district for business travellers to the offices clustered downtown. London, England has three major core areas - a financial core, a government core and a retailing core.<sup>16</sup> However, one must remember that the CBD of London is very large and very old. In most CBDs today, the predominant functions are retail and service/financial/ office.

CBD, as explained previously, is a geographic term describing location (central), function (business) and areal unit (district). As the term implies it is an area of high land values, a concentration of retail business, offices, theatres, hotels and service businesses and high traffic flow. The core of the CBD has historically consisted of offices, retail outlets including specialty shops, theatres, banks and consumer services. The frame or outer section of the area consists of numerous unlinked subregions such as warehouse areas, light manufacturing areas and blighted rooming house area.

The CBD, consisting of the core and frame, has declined in relative importance in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. At best it has held its own as an employment centre, retail centre and office centre. The CBD has, in most North American cities physical, economic and social problems. If the CBD is allowed to deteriorate to the point where it no longer offers attraction to the metropolitan area it becomes an area of segregated residents who are poor and unemployed. Crime becomes rampant. At this stage of decline parts of the area are mined by developers to get the remaining value before being discarded. This process continues and the result is a totally segregated core which is not physically interesting, not physically pleasing and not physically diverse. Only a mix of land uses, activities and people can promote an image of diversity that is the basis for authentic urban living.<sup>17</sup> This can now only be found downtown, if at all. Shopping centres cannot have the variety of activities that a downtown has, such as museums and art galleries, and it appeals to a segregated class of customers from its immediate trading area. Shopping centres imply exclusivity. Downtown implies cosmopolitanism and urbanity. The fact that downtown is the only place where there is a likelihood for people from any part of the city to meet is possibly reason enough for it to be saved.

#### Winnipeg's CBD - The Future

Using the explorative technique of multivariate analysis to determine the basic underlying functional dimensions in Winnipeg's



downtown and the functional linkages and a study of retail rental rates downtown and in the suburbs a study of building height changes and a study of population patterns numerous conclusions have been made. Banks and financial institutions are somewhat less predominant in the 1984 downtown than they are in 1972. Retailing appears to have held its own over this twelve year period. There is a strong correlation in both 1972 and 1984 between retailing and business and personal services. These functions are concentrated on Portage Avenue in both 1972 and 1984. In 1972 the second factor is a school/recreational services factor, but in 1984 the second factor, although still a service factor, is associated with pawn shops and second-hand stores, public buildings and repair shops. The third factor in 1972 is basically a food and lodging dimension. Whereas food stores were once a typical land use of CBDs now only food specialty shops such as delicatessens and candy stores exist in the CBD. Today there are no grocery stores south of Portage Avenue and only a few north of Portage Avenue in the study area. Thus in 1984 these functions do not load high on any of the four factors. The third factor in 1984 is a personal service/financial factor reflecting the predominance of service industries in the downtown and the decentralization of bank branches. The fourth factor in 1972 is a service factor with repair shops and office services strongly correlated reflecting the predominant office function in the downtown. In 1984 the fourth factor is a professional services/retail factor showing professional services, accountants and agencies and specialty clothing and shoe stores to be

highly correlated reflecting the existence of lawyers, doctors and accountants to serve the offices and specialty stores to serve the entire metropolitan area and office workers.

. The result in 1984 is a downtown very similar to the downtown of 1972 dominated by offices, service industries, retail and financial services. The result of a cluster analysis using both 1972 and 1984 data produces five major clusters of blocks with the greatest similarity in functional structure. The Portage Avenue and Main Street intersection is a major cluster of financial and service functions more so in 1984 than in 1972 but financial functions still locate along Portage Avenue in 1984. Portage Avenue in 1984 is a retail/service area as in 1972. The area south of Portage Avenue seems to be tending towards becoming a professional area to serve the office function. South of Portage Avenue most of the older apartment blocks and rooming houses have been or are being removed to make way for new apartment buildings, restaurants, hotels or retail outlets. The 1984 cluster north of Portage Avenue, actually only three blocks, is an area of pawn shops, repair shops and public buildings reflecting possible decline, as well as service industries and public buildings which imply potential for redevelopment. Apartment blocks, vacant blocks, properties under development, automotive uses, funeral homes, gas stations, parking lots, parks, industrial uses, residential uses, warehousing and wholesalers occupy numerous blocks or portions of them representing an underutilization of land in both 1972 and 1984. The examination of building heights confirms the underutilization of land.

Looking at the economic growth of Winnipeg and the downtown in particular one can see how the downtown progressed from a transportation and distribution centre based on agriculture to, around 1910, a manufacturing and wholesaling centre to serve agriculture and then urban needs and finally, around 1950, a centre dominated by tertiary industries which include personal and business services and retailing. Throughout this evolution of over one hundred years the functions of the downtown have changed greatly, but the location has not. The centre of the city, the downtown, continues to be near the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street. Concentration of the predominate central business functions in this area substantiates this claim.

Retailing supplies vitality and diversity and gives a sense of spirit to the downtown as well as supporting the residential, office and institutional uses downtown. As an important central business function its strength relative to suburban retailing indicates the health of the downtown. Thus rental rates are compared for suburban and downtown retail space at a fixed point in time and over a period. Growth in the suburban rental rates exceed those of downtown implying greater demand in the suburbs. Downtown rates are stable but they have not kept pace relatively.

The analysis of Winnipeg's downtown indicates that the downtown is not really changing but in relation to the remainder of the city it is falling in the hierarchy of centres. It is no longer the prime location for retailing. Functions which were once in the downtown are

decentralizing. Population is decreasing. The CBD is not a mature CBD. The intensive vertical development characteristic of mature, thriving central business districts is not found in Winnipeg. The downtown is suffering from inertia and if the suburbs continue to grow a severe decline may set in.

The fundamental goal of downtown redevelopment must be to improve the human condition. Winnipeg can no doubt exist without a vital downtown. The suburbs can exist on their own. However, it would be Winnipeg's loss to neglect the core which has a rich, exiting and diverse past. Every city needs an identity, an image, and it is here where Winnipeg's identity lays. The City of Winnipeg's long range planning acknowledges that sprawl is to be stopped and downtown revitalization and development stressed. Core Area Initiatives and the North Portage Development Corporation are committed to the core alone. If public and private cooperation can continue and comprehensive coordinated land-use planning is a goal, these programs might work. The residential components will be the most difficult problem to be dealt with. If the programs are successful, the downtown will continue as a major centre of Winnipeg. It will not be dominant but will be a major and a special centre among many centres because the effects of the suburbanization of the last few decades cannot be reversed.

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