

**Collaborative Planning with New Immigrants:
A Case Study of Central Park in Winnipeg, Manitoba**

by

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ABSTRACT

Through a case study analysis of the Central Park placemaking initiative in Winnipeg, this Major Degree Project explores the process of collaborative planning with new immigrant communities. While existing research examines the potential of placemaking to promote physical improvements through collaborative planning, we know less about whether placemaking initiatives achieve the long-term social outcomes associated with collaborative planning theory.

Located in downtown Winnipeg, Central Park is surrounded by a diverse multi-cultural community, consisting of many new immigrants. In 2008, the CentreVenture Development Corporation launched a placemaking initiative to revitalize Central Park. The community was a key collaborator in the planning and design process. This thesis examines the long-term social outcomes of this initiative. The main research methods for this project include key informant interviews, and archival and secondary source analysis of existing data.

The research finds that collaborative planning processes offer the potential to promote sustainable inner city neighbourhood revitalization. Placemaking through collaborative planning can develop new institutional capacity for participants. By developing and harnessing relational, intellectual and political resources communities can mobilize co-ordinated action toward future initiatives. The findings of this research advance the literature and understanding of collaborative planning processes, particularly within the context of placemaking with new immigrant communities. This thesis adds to the literature of inner city neighbourhood revitalization and collaborative planning theory.

Keywords: Collaborative Planning Theory; Placemaking; Immigration; Inner City; Neighbourhood Revitalization; Park Redevelopment; Social Capital; Institutional Capacity Development

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1 INTRODUCTION

“The world we have created is a product of our thinking. It cannot be changed without changing our thinking.”

Attributed to Albert Einstein

Planners have been tasked to weave a complex and ever-changing array of elements, interests, and aspirations into a working whole – this is the perennial challenge of the planning profession. While earlier in urban history our settlements were built at a human scale, with a compact form responding to the environment, by the 20th century this type of development was largely considered irrelevant for community building (Sirjamaki, 1964). From our vantage point in the 21st century, we see the traditional compact urban form abandoned in favour of low-density development, with segregated land-uses, developed far from the city-center (Blais, 2010; Wolfe, 2007). As a result, inner-city neighbourhoods across North America have suffered from a lack of investment, deteriorating private and public spaces and amenities, and socio-economic marginalization (Wolfe, 2007). Over the past several decades, many traditional public-places of social and cultural interaction in the inner city have deteriorated and become dangerous with criminal activity (Sirjamaki, 1964). People began to fear the inner city – and many still do. Inner-city areas in North America continue to suffer from economic marginalization and concentrated poverty, as well as the stigma of being dangerous places (Wolfe, 2007). This is especially true in small to mid-sized cities, and particularly those that experienced turn-of-the-century economic and population booms, followed by busts in the mid-to-late 20th century – partly attributed to shifts in the global economy (Blais, 2010). Concentrated poverty in urban neighbourhoods is by no means a new challenge in the history of North American cities.

Increasingly, global migration has come to shape the demographics of many cities in the West. While migrations have always been a part of human history, there has been a considerable growth in the volume of migration since 1945, and again since the mid-1980s (Sandercock, 2003). Spurring global migrations is a growing economic inequality between North and South, and West and East, which is compelling people to move in search of employment opportunities (Sandercock, 2003). These migrations are changing the economic, demographic, and social structures of host-nations. As a result, the associated cultural diversity now calls into question long-standing assumptions of national identity (Sandercock, 2003).

New immigrants often settle in dense urban neighbourhoods, and occupy those same inner-city neighbourhoods left behind by the flight to the suburbs. Often these neighbourhoods have a lack of economic and public sector investment, socio-economic challenges, and stereotyped as dangerous areas (sometimes with just cause). New immigrants are much more likely to live in overcrowded conditions, thus the basic need for culturally appropriate public space becomes even more essential (Immigrants & Parks Collaborative, 2009). The urban experience of these migrants, and their struggles to redefine their identity and sense of belonging to their new society, is re-shaping western cities. Consequently, the notion of a 'shared interest' is increasingly coming into question (Sandercock, 2003).

These challenges are stimulating considerable debate concerning alternative theories and practices for planning in a complex, diverse, cross- and multi- cultural context. In response to these challenges, the New York Parks Department is one agency that is partnering with immigrant communities to ensure the aspirations and needs of foreign-born New Yorkers are well served by parks and recreational opportunities (Immigrants & Parks Collaborative,

2009). Through the New York Immigrants and Parks Collaborative, planning practitioners are engaging with newcomer communities in planning and designing public places. The Collaborative is one response to the challenges of addressing unique recreational needs and preferences of a changing demographic.

As immigration continues to fuel population growth in Canada, Canadian municipalities face similar challenges of addressing changing preferences and needs. The vast majority of new immigrants are expected to settle in urban areas, and it will become increasingly important to provide public space that not only meets the recreational needs of diverse communities, but can also create positive social outcomes for communities. The history of urban renewal runs parallel to major developments in planning theory, such as the rejection of the modernist model and rise of more collaborative approaches (see section 3.1). However, no formal framework or agreement currently exists regarding how to engage new immigrant communities in the planning process. Despite the lack of research, there exist some examples of collaborative planning with new immigrant communities we can examine to enhance our understanding of these unique problems.

One such example is the rejuvenation of Central Park in the Central Park Neighbourhood in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The following thesis investigates the rejuvenation of Central Park, through studying the planning process for the placemaking initiative from the perspective of collaborative planning theory. While the Central Park neighbourhood was developed as an upscale neighbourhood in the early 19th century, an era of unprecedented growth in Winnipeg's history (Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, 1982), it experienced a socio-economic downturn from which it is still recovering (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). The Central Park placemaking initiative represents the considerable efforts of residents, community

organizations, and public and private sector agencies, and their attempt to rejuvenate a disenfranchised inner-city neighbourhood (see section 5.1).

This thesis presents an overview of the Central Park placemaking initiative and its long-term social outcomes. The focus is to examine whether the placemaking initiative achieved the social outcomes associated with collaborative planning theory – namely the development of institutional capacity for the community (see section 3.2). This research was developed through a critical analysis of publicly available information, and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Central Park neighbourhood is considered a “port-of-entry” for many new comers to Winnipeg, particularly refugees (Centre Venture, 2010). The ethnically and religiously diverse neighbourhood is home to 70% of all refugees immigrating to Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 2007; Centre Venture, 2010), and the majority of residents earn below the City’s average income (Census, 2006). The large public park from which the neighbourhood derives its name is an essential feature of the urban landscape, and serves as the only “backyard” for most residents.

Over the past half century, Central Park has undergone significant demographic change. The original neighbourhood was comprised of upscale housing and affluent residents (Artibise, 1977), but a wave of post-war suburbanization and core-area renewal efforts significantly re-shaped the neighbourhood. In the mid-20th Century, modernist public housing towers replaced most of the original housing stock, and the urban neighbourhood fell into socio-economic decline and marginalization. Over time, Central Park became a notorious hub

of criminal activity and anti-social behaviour (Artibise, 1977; Centre Venture, 2010). In response, community-based institutions such as Knox United Church, along with community residents, became engaged in reclaiming the park and promoting it for positive uses (Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

In 2006, the Centre Venture Development Corporation identified Central Park as an opportunity for “revitalizing a key downtown public space” through placemaking (Centre Venture, 2010). In total, the partnership between the public and private sectors raised \$5.6 million to redevelop the park. The partnership’s goal was to create a high quality public space that meets the cultural preferences of the surrounding community, and re-shape its environment to facilitate positive social interaction (Centre Venture, 2010). The partners commissioned local consulting group Scatliff+Miller+Murray to lead the process. From the beginning, the community was a key stakeholder in the planning and design process, and over 30 different community stakeholder groups were involved (Centre Venture, 2010). Rather than dictating the development and design, practitioners working in Central Park facilitated and guided community stakeholders through the redevelopment process, calling on diverse types of local knowledge (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). The tangible results of this placemaking initiative were a redeveloped park-space – referred herein as the Central Park placemaking initiative. The placemaking initiative has received numerous accolades not only for being a “success” based on the design outcomes, but for the positive “agenda” of collaborative planning that was advanced (Geoff, 2012; Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

The Winnipeg Partnership Agreement, Centre Venture Development Corporation, the Winnipeg Foundation, and the Gray Family provided funding for the Central Park placemaking initiative. CentreVenture managed the project, and hired landscape architects

Scatliff+Miller+Murray to design the redevelopment project. The aim of this project was to preserve the tradition of the area as a human-scale and community-oriented neighbourhood, while revitalizing the social economy (Velarde-Trejo, 2012; Wolfe, 2007). To design the redevelopment plan for Central Park, CentreVenture recruited residents from Central Park to lead a consultation process. Through engaging residents in this consultation process, the designers heard the need for improved recreational amenities, safe areas for children to play, improved lighting and seating, and other physical improvements to Central Park.

The physical improvements to the park are the first-order outcomes of the Central Park placemaking initiative. Although existing research has examined the effectiveness of placemaking initiatives in promoting physical improvements through collaborative design interventions (Velarde-Trejo, 2012), we know less about whether the process achieved the “second-order” outcomes associated with collaborative planning. Second-order outcomes influence the ability of stakeholder to develop new relational, intellectual, and political resources – which in turn can be harnessed for future initiatives. Furthermore, the development of institutional capacity may represent a new way to promote inner-city neighbourhood revitalization through community led initiatives. The main research interest guiding this thesis is understanding the nature of cross-cultural collaborative planning in Central Park and the long term social outcomes of these efforts.

1.2 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following thesis examines the “second-order” outcomes of the Central Park placemaking initiative process. Second-order outcomes go beyond the innovations and direct outputs established through a collaborative planning and design based intervention.

Collaboration affects not just the tangible outcomes, or products, of planning but can also

contribute towards developing social and institutional capital. Specifically, this research will examine the degree to which collaboration helped the community to build intellectual, political, and social capital – I will explain these terms in the literature review section. The main questions guiding this research are:

1. How and to what degree did planners engage immigrant community groups in the redevelopment of Central Park?
2. What have been the most enduring effects of collaborative planning in Central Park for the neighbourhood community?
3. What lessons can be drawn from this case – both from its strengths and limitations?

A case study analysis of the Central Park placemaking initiative process represents an opportunity to apply the existing literature and theory around collaborative planning to a Canadian example of immigrant community engagement. My aim is to generate insights for partnership institutions in order to develop their knowledge capital, and engage more effectively with diverse communities in cross- and multi-cultural neighbourhoods. A case study of Central Park provides an opportunity to explore the lasting changes within the community, beyond the physical re-design of the park space.

A key theme of this thesis is to understand what a collaborative process involves. This is important if we want to accommodate shared concerns when shaping or re-shaping urban areas. Moreover, I examine if a collaborative planning process can act as a locus for networks and relationships that foster inclusive and empowering governance. Through the process of examining and analyzing whether planning strategies employed in the Central Park placemaking initiative have the capacity to endure over time, this research may contribute to the development of pluralistic democratic practices for governance in our culturally diverse

societies. The thesis is grounded in the collaborative planning literature, with a particular focus on social and institutional capital development.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

While existing research has examined Central Park as a precedent for placemaking generally, the following thesis focuses on the outcomes and governance effects resulting from the collaborative nature of placemaking. Previous research indicates that a significant obstacle facing Central Park's community organizations is distributing responsibility among other community groups through partnerships and collaboration (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Community groups have struggled to provide stable employment for managers and administrative staff. Community groups would benefit from developing partnerships and sharing resources and capacity.

Planners are particularly well trained to develop a common language that can bridge divides and strengthen partnerships among stakeholders (Canton, 2005, p.349). By highlighting the nature of partnerships and networks resulting from the Central Park placemaking initiative, this thesis advances the collaborative planning literature and highlights the value of partnerships in diverse urban settings. To study the lasting change from the collaborative planning approach employed in the Central Park case, this research focuses on the 'second-order' outcomes produced from the process, and specifically the development of social, intellectual, political, and knowledge capital. By highlighting efforts in Central Park's regeneration, this research can inspire others facing similar challenges in diverse urban neighbourhoods that face challenges of urban decay.

The findings presented here can help identify administrative barriers to implementing collaborative placemaking initiatives to regenerate urban neighbourhoods. Often community organizations can lose sight of their achievements due to busy schedules and limited resources. The findings in this thesis help clarify and give recognition to the importance of community organizations taking ownership and being engaged in the community.

Regardless of whether the findings can support policy change, the documentation of the efforts in Central Park offers lessons and strategies that other communities may benefit from – especially at the grassroots level. It is possible that the findings of this thesis will help clarify for Central Park’s community organizations the value that collaborative placemaking can have on building partnerships with other groups operating within and without Central Park, and inspire further collaborations. Most significantly, documenting the changes brought by the Central Park placemaking initiative can clarify outcomes and processes for residents, both current and future. By making residents aware of the value collaboration provides, the findings have the ability to increase community momentum and solidarity, and lead to other positive community initiatives.

Moreover, while most analyses of placemaking initiatives focus on tangible outputs (first-order outcomes), few studies empirically examine collaboration as a source of institutional and governance change at the local neighbourhood scale (second-order outcomes). In addition, only a few studies currently examine the value of collaborative planning in a multi- and cross- cultural context and comment on their impacts in terms of social capital development and governance. By focusing on the ‘second-order’ outcomes of collaboration, in an immigrant community setting, this research fills a significant gap in the collaborative planning literature.

In the coming years, cities and municipalities will need to provide culturally appropriate public places for increasingly diverse publics. Some community organizations in Central Park have integrated this responsibility their official plans. The Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation (CNDC) is one such organization that has committed to collaborating with stakeholders, including residents, to strategize ways of delivering solutions to the challenges facing Central Park's community, in particular the creation of culturally appropriate public space. The findings of my research have the potential to clarify the value of these collaborations and their ability to create networks across a diverse range of actors.

Now, there appears to be no formal framework that community organizations can turn to in engaging newcomers in the planning process. Engaging these communities through collaborative planning may be one way to develop capacity at the neighbourhood level, and a way for organizations to build relationships amongst each other and with the community.

1.4 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This document is comprised of six chapters and five alphabetical appendices. In the first chapter, I present the overall research purpose, goals, and research questions. Chapter two highlights key information that helps clarify and characterize the case study site for the reader, and provides tangible information about the placemaking 'episode' under investigation. The second chapter also provides an overview of the policy and organizational context of the Central Park case, identifying political, policy, and administrative influences on the site.

The third chapter is a review of relevant literature from planning scholars. This chapter includes a discussion of collaborative planning theory and its connections to placemaking. The fourth chapter includes a review of research methods employed in collecting and

analyzing data for this research, and the biases and limitations of this project. The fifth chapter focuses on the study's findings, and provides analysis of the Central Park case. The sixth concludes the study by reflecting on the research process, the study findings, and highlighting ideas for further research. The appendices include supplementary information of the Central Park case study, including photographs, maps, sample interview questions, and consent forms.

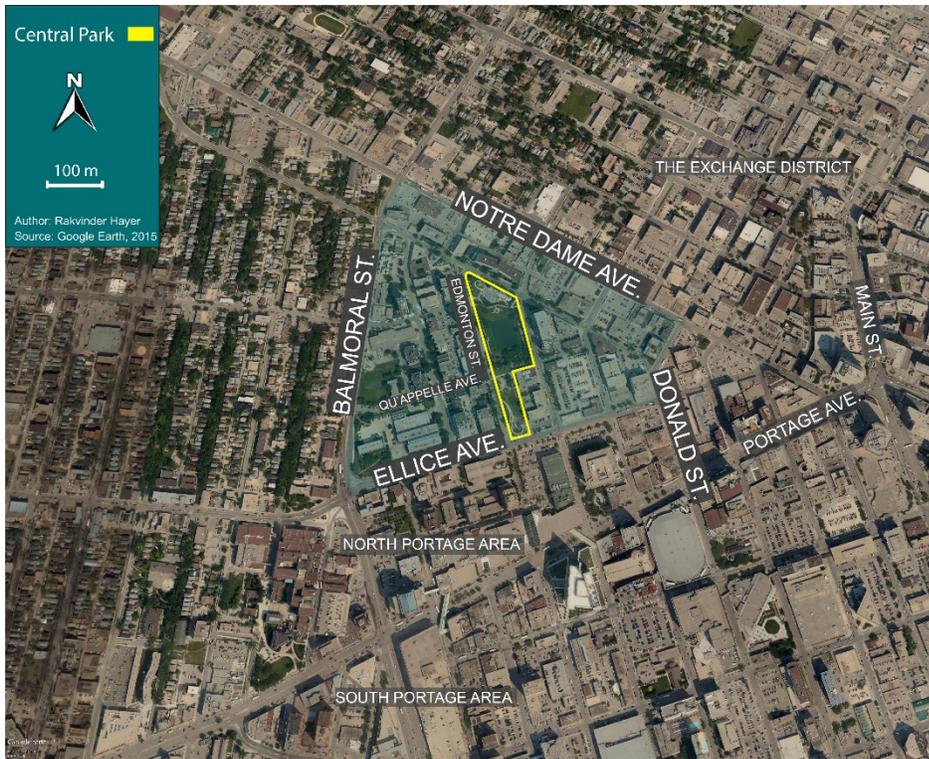


Figure 1: Central Park location.

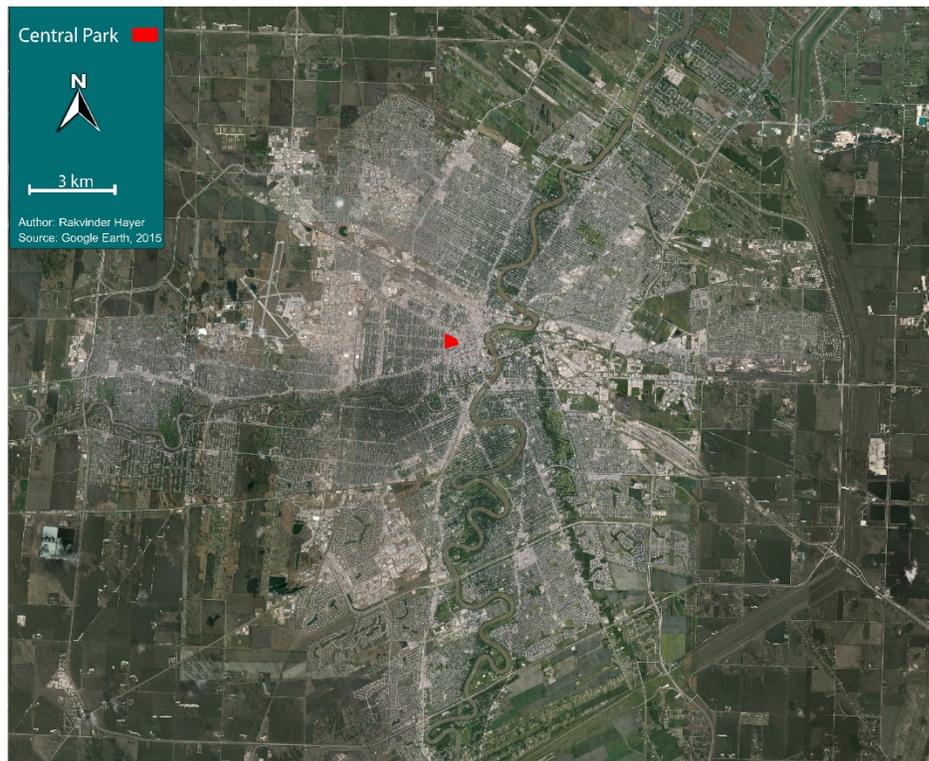


Figure 2: Central Park Neighbourhood in Winnipeg, MB.

2 POLICY AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

In order to understand the emergence of the Central Park placemaking initiative, it is critical to understand the historical context of revitalization efforts in Winnipeg's inner city, and place it within the larger context of urban revitalization. This chapter explores the history of the Central Park neighbourhood from the late 1800s leading up to the present day, and reviews the emergence of various social and political movements that led to the Central Park placemaking initiative.

Any study of a neighbourhood regeneration project requires understanding the policy and organizational context of the plan. The policy and organizational context frames how people and organizations operate in the neighbourhood. Within most planning projects, various institutional actors and agencies have key roles, responsibilities, capacities, and relationships with other actors and agencies, along with rules and incentives governing those relationships (Anyonge and Messer, 2006). Through mapping the policy and organizational context framing these actors and agencies, the political trends that influence people's lives in impacted communities can be identified. Moreover, the historical policy and organizational context helps clarify the roles and responsibilities those different actors have assumed in the past, which can be used to understand contemporary trends. It also helps to create a better understanding of the institutional factors governing and motivating the redevelopment process. Following this historical review, the practicality, viability and sustainability of collaborative approaches to inner-city neighbourhood revitalization in Winnipeg will become clear.

2.1 WINNIPEG'S ECONOMIC BOOM

Characterized by strong and increasing economic activity, the era in which Winnipeg created its first parks witnessed rapid population growth (Klos, Couchant, and Jopling, 1996). The commercial elite created the earliest parks in Winnipeg, to provide relief in the crowded city core (Klos, Couchant, and Jopling, 1996). Photographs from the early 20th century show Central Park with a curvilinear cinder pathway around the park's perimeter, with two straight diagonal asphalt pathways forming a giant X across the park. This crude path made Central Park unique from other parks of that era, and the diagonal paths were later additions created to direct traffic through the park (Wolfe, 2007). In its early days, an upscale and affluent residential neighbourhood surrounded Central Park (see figure 3). Despite the early boom in the first few decades of the 20th Century, Winnipeg began showing signs of inner-city decay that prompted a number of efforts and initiatives to reverse this trend¹.

¹ Winnipeg's population boom of the late 1800's and early 1900's drove development outwards from the CBD. Urban Historians have dated the beginning of Winnipeg's suburban expansion to somewhere between 1904 and 1914 (Klos et al. 1996). In the era following 1914, urban development for Winnipeg suffered substantial decline in growth and would eventually come to a complete stop for several decades



Figure 3: Benard House (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Located at 454 Edmonton Street, this is the last remaining house from what was a block of “showpiece” homes bordering Central Park in 1904. Henri Benard, a pioneer citizen of Winnipeg and a wealthy hotel owner, originally owned this building (Artibise and Dalh, 1975).

2.2 WINNIPEG’S ECONOMIC BUST

The 1930s marked a decade of economic depression for much of the North American continent, and as a result, Winnipeg’s building stock did not see any rehabilitation or renewal for several years. By the mid-1940s, downtown Winnipeg, including Central Park, was in a state of physical and social decline, with buildings and streets requiring significant repairs, and substandard housing conditions (Root, 1997).

By the 1970s, Manitoba's economy was slumping. The province consistently ranked at the economic bottom of all Canadian provinces for several years. While the majority of other Canadian urban centers were growing at unprecedented rates, Winnipeg had already been, and remained, in the midst of a zero-growth period in its history² (Layne, 2000). The overall failure of Winnipeg's economy was believed directly related with decline of downtown (Leo, 1995; Levin, 1984).

2.3 ADDRESSING WINNIPEG'S DECLINE

Winnipeg's history indicates that since at least the second World-War, the city's core has suffered from a lack of investment, slow growth economy, and economic decentralization (Root, 1997). Rapid suburbanization from 1941 onward left Winnipeg's downtown with a declining population rate, but an increasing population of elderly, single parent, Aboriginal, and new immigrants (Dana, 1993). With access to social services, transportation, and affordable housing, downtown Winnipeg attracted a growing disadvantaged population. The result for downtown was high unemployment rates, and poverty that was twice the citywide average (Dana, 1993).

To address this decline, several major revitalization initiatives were launched from 1965 – 1980, involving at various times all three levels of government and the private sector (Root, 1997). By the 1960s, the Government of Canada had already been involved in numerous urban renewal programs, targeted at reversing inner-city decline³. However, these programs came to a halt in 1969 after the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development reported the high

² While most Canadian cities experienced a rebound of inner-city populations in the mid-1980s, Winnipeg's gain was among the lowest of all, a 3.3% increase in Winnipeg compared to a 5.1% nationally. In the same period, Winnipeg was also one of two cities that saw a decrease in overall average incomes, and poverty in Winnipeg's inner city was five times greater than the citywide average (Dana, 1993).

³ The federal government viewed slum clearance as a lynchpin to their national strategy for redeveloping urban centers in the 1950s and 1960s (Grant, 2006).

social and political costs associated with Federal urban renewal programs (Root, 1997). An explicit goal of early urban renewal programs was to improve low-income housing through large-scale redevelopment. However, there were accusations that urban renewal was destroying the existing social and physical environment of inner cities in the interests of public and private sector development, and to the detriment of residents (Willson, 1980).

Also emerging in the 1960s were grassroots protests and public outrage over the federal government's approach to address blighted urban cores (Saftiuk, 2014). As a result, there were a number of major federal policy shifts in the 1970s, most notably, the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program (M/WCRP)⁴. The M/WCRP shifted the onus toward inter-governmental partnerships for revitalization – a step away from the centralized and federally dominated revitalization strategies that preceded it. This shift in governance was also reflected in the next program to target downtown Winnipeg – the Core Area Initiative.

2.4 THE CORE AREA INITIATIVE

The most significant revitalization effort targeted at downtown Winnipeg was the Core Area Initiative (CAI), which spanned a full decade from 1981 – 1991. The CAI's goal was to implement a comprehensive program of social, economic, and physical development in downtown Winnipeg to stimulate private sector investment (Root, 1997). The first CAI ran from 1981 – 1986, and was renewed for another five-year term from 1986 – 1991. The project represented a combined expenditure of \$196 million from all three levels of government (Layne,

⁴ This was a five-year cost-sharing agreement between the two levels of government to assist older neighbourhoods through expenditures on municipal services and community facilities (Klos, et al. 1996). The M/WCRP relied heavily on the ability of resident and community groups from target communities to leverage additional grants to achieve their projects, and due to financial difficulties, the program was never renewed (Johnson, 1998)

2000). Due to its comprehensive approach to urban revitalization and tri-level governmental partnership, the CAI is often considered the most ambitious urban renewal program in Winnipeg, if not North America (Klos, et al. 1996). The following section provides a brief description of the evolution of the CAI as an instrument of public policy.

2.4.1 Context and Background

Urban policy in many North American cities was shifting in the 1970s. Influencing City budgets across the continent has been an increasing level of debt, and related political pressures for balancing social service provision against the willingness of citizens to pay higher taxes (Layne, 2000). Compared to their suburban counterparts, inner-city residents in most cities were less educated, had lower incomes, experienced high unemployment, and were more ethnically diverse (Bunting, 1987; Kasarda 1993; Layne, 2000). The media commonly portrayed the inner city as a severely disadvantaged and dangerous area occupied by groups who were persistently disadvantaged and isolated from mainstream social, occupational, and political institutions (Jencks and Peterson, 1991; Layne, 2000).

As Manitoba's economy fell behind nationally in the 1970s, the Federal government blamed it on inner-city decay in the provincial capital city. Downtown was considered the engine of the provincial economy, where more than 60% of the population lived (Dana, 1993)⁵. While broadly conceived as a policy tool for regional economic development, the CAI was also a political response from the Federal government to the deterioration of downtown Winnipeg. Lloyd Axworthy is credited for generating the political impetus from Ottawa to address

⁵ At the time, it was believed that to address provincial economic shortfalls, a strategy targeting Winnipeg's inner city would be the most likely to turn around the province's economic performance (Dana, 1993).

Winnipeg's decaying downtown⁶. He wanted to prove that the Federal government was capable of collaborating with other levels of government for community-level development, specifically through targeted and coordinated investment strategies to create a critical mass of economic activity capable of leveraging private sector investment to Winnipeg (Dana, 1993). The political environment in the 1980s represented a unique window of opportunity for the decade-young and newly amalgamated Winnipeg-unicity to address its inner-city decline through inter-governmental cooperation between all three levels (Layne, 2000).

In total, the CAI represented a \$196 million tri-governmental commitment to address the decline of Winnipeg's inner city through 13 programs and over 1,000 projects. The initiative's programs were designed to address a broad spectrum of issues through three over-arching objectives: job training and placement, community revitalization, and economic development (Layne, 2000). In addition, the CAI was also responsible for the creation of community-oriented programming and facilities.

The CAI's Program-7 was responsible for revitalizing the area north of Portage Avenue (see figure 1), which includes Central Park (Root, 1997). Bound by Portage Avenue, Hargrave Street, Balmoral Street, and Notre-Dame Avenue (see figure 1), the overall decline of downtown Winnipeg was considered strongly correlated with the decline of North Portage (Root, 1997). The Central Park neighbourhood in particular was suffering from the lack of investment, with the majority of buildings in a state of disrepair, and a population heavily dependent on social assistance (Root, 1997).

⁶ Axworthy served as Member of Parliament in the House of Commons from 1979 to 2000, and his riding of Winnipeg South Centre included areas incorporated into the boundaries for the CAI.

Commercial buildings in the north area of Portage Avenue had deteriorated more significantly than in the southern area anchored by the Eaton and Hudson's Bay department stores. The north side's retail viability was considered low, and buildings were in poor condition⁷. In response, the CAI spent almost \$13 million to acquire and clear land in the area north of Portage Avenue. Although at the time it was assumed that the private sector would redevelop these parcels, they sat vacant for several years (Root, 1997). Program-7 also focused on new construction and housing renovation in the Central Park neighbourhood, and extensive streetscaping associated with the extension of Central Park to Ellice Avenue. Nevertheless, the program was unable to reverse out-migration from downtown Winnipeg, change tenure types in the Central Park neighbourhood, or attract new residential development from the private sector. These were three explicit goals of the CAI (Dana, 1993).

2.4.2 Central Park Connection

During the 10 years of CAI's operation, almost all inner-city facilities were upgraded, and Central Park was extended to Ellice Avenue; however, the public still perceived it as dangerous (MacDonald, 1995). For example, the City's Parks and Recreation department released a study in 1988 that found virtually all inner-city neighbourhood parks that year reported incidents of violence, sexual molestation, significant drug and alcohol use, and extensive vandalism (MacDonald, 1995).

⁷ A provincial report titled The North of Portage Development Study from 1981 suggests that due to lack of private sector confidence in the area, the public sector would need to spearhead major changes in the physical environment as a precondition to attracting market investment (Root, 1997).

The most significant impact of CAI on the Central Park neighbourhood is its contribution to improving the quality of housing stock in the area⁸ (Institute of Urban Studies, 1990). The restoration and construction of housing in Central Park is considered the most ambitious effort towards inner-city housing improvement in Canada's history (Layne, 2000). Following the CAI, the Provincial Housing Department took over management of many of the newly renovated and constructed housing stock, and became the largest landowner in the Central Park neighbourhood (Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

A major consequence of Manitoba Housing's presence has been that most of Central Park neighbourhood's housing stock is in relatively good condition, as the province maintains their buildings at a high level of upkeep (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). In fact, contrary to assumptions about urban decline, most of Central Park's present day dwellings, a stock of 1,950 units, are in good condition (City of Winnipeg, 2007, p. 16). Manitoba Housing's involvement in the area has also kept Central Park's rental prices affordable (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Consequently, renters occupy 89.2% of all Central Park's dwelling units, with only 10.8% of the housing stock owned by residents (City of Winnipeg, 207, p.16). Low vacancy rates in Winnipeg heighten demand for rental units in Central Park ⁹(Skifter, 2004, p.46).

However, despite the high provision of rental stock, the CAI was unable to reverse the high rate of population mobility in the Central Park neighbourhood. This trend continues into the 21st century, and Central Park still has a high rate of population mobility – between 2001 and

⁸ The program resulted in the construction and renovation of 258 housing units in the Central Park neighbourhood, of which 141 would be market-rate rental, and 117 for social housing. Nine housing projects were completed; Manitoba Housing manages most of these buildings for subsidized rental use.

⁹ While Winnipeg struggles with an overall low vacancy rate, the province of Manitoba has Canada's absolute lowest vacancy rate at 1.9% (CMHC, 2011, p.4).

2006, 65.5% of all residents left the neighbourhood (City of Winnipeg, 2007). Central Park's high rate of mobility can be attributed to the relatively small size of rental units that fail to meet the needs of families with children¹⁰ (City of Winnipeg, 2007, p. 15). This discrepancy between family size and dwelling size is significant when considering 36% of Central Park's population have children (City of Winnipeg, 2007, p.15). Overall, the transient nature of Central Park's population is attributable partly to the incongruence between family and unit size. This is a significant obstacle for residents in building social networks and connections.

Despite efforts by the CAI, Central Park has not fully recovered from the negative effects of urban decline, most significantly the overconcentration of low-income residents. For example, in 2006, 55% of residents were in the low-income category; nearly five times higher than the rest of the city (City of Winnipeg, 2007, p.13). An overconcentration of low-income residents often creates negative perceptions from outsiders to the area, and can have significant influence on economic investment and activity. Therefore, Central Park requires initiatives that can foster productive and positive attitudes toward the neighbourhood and its residents (Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

2.4.3 Criticism of Core Area Initiative

A common criticism of the CAI is that project planning focused narrowly on attracting commercial and business interests, and with a corporate vision of what downtown Winnipeg should look like¹¹ (Layne, 2000). By 1983, only two years into the CAI, mostly empty lots characterized the commercial areas north of Portage Avenue, and there were no plans or market

¹⁰ While the average rental unit in Central Park has 1.1 bedrooms, families in the neighbourhood have on average 2.9 persons and 1.3 children (City of Winnipeg, 2007, p. 15).

¹¹ Other criticisms of CAI's Program 7 include mismanagement of the expropriation process for the land that would later become Portage Place. The expropriating authorities were unable to assemble titles to several key parcels of land that could have extended Central Park to Portage Avenue, as was the plan at the time (Root, 1997).

demand to fill them. At this point, the public, media, and politicians all began doubting whether the CAI could revitalize the area north of Portage Avenue (Steward, 1993, in ROOT 1997).

The CAI was also perceived as lacking input and proper consultation, especially with the private sector that was expected to fill the empty lots created by CAI. Consequently, the private market did not step in to fill the newly cleared empty lots. However, the most significant shortfall of the CAI was its limited powers for planning and development, as the agency did not have a viable redevelopment strategy for the area north of Portage Avenue (Root, 1997).

Following scrutiny and criticism from the public over the CAI's approach to redevelopment, a tri-level Administrative Task Force was created to review Program-7 and any development proposals for the area north of Portage Avenue (Dana, 1993). The Task Force had two goals: one was to recommend a specific course of action for the future of north Portage area; and two, to introduce an implementation mechanism to carry out these recommendations.

Regarding their first goal, the Task Force reviewed over 200 precedent case studies from across North America, detailing different approaches to downtown revitalization. Based on the socio-economic context of Winnipeg at that time, the Task Force recommended a mixed-use retail development as the main revitalization strategy for the area north of Portage Avenue (Root, 1997). In response to the second goal, the Task Force created the North Portage Development Corporation (NPDC)¹², which would have the power and capacity to carry out large-scale redevelopment of the area north of Portage Avenue. Through the CAI, the NPDC was given substantial financial resources to carry out their development objectives, as well as the

¹² The NPDC, created in December 1983, would be a standalone entity with no bureaucrats or politicians (Klos et al., 1996).

authority to negotiate deals with the private sector (Root, 1997). The objective of the NPDC was to implement the Task Force's revitalization plan, which included construction of Portage Place, several new residential complexes, a new community center, and renovation of the downtown YMCA¹³ (see figures 4 & 5) (Dana, 1993).

By the mid-1980s, the NPDC was in the process of rolling out their development plan. In that same period, the CAI was also extended for a new five-year term, and the new agreement contained a similar budget, programs, and provisions as the first. Meanwhile beginning in 1986, downtown Winnipeg's population growth began to rebound, and by 1991, the area's growth rate was seven times greater than the city (Klos et. al., 1996). Many of these new residents were new immigrants and people migrating from rural First Nation Communities to Winnipeg (Dana, 1993). More than one-third of new residents who migrated to downtown Winnipeg found housing in the Central Park neighbourhood (Dana, 1993).

While the NPDC was able to reconstruct the area north of Portage Avenue¹⁴, it failed to change the negative associations of downtown Winnipeg by the public and media (Root, 1997). By the early 1990s, the NPDC was merged with another arms-length development corporation known as The Forks Renewal Corporation – collectively known as The Forks-North Portage Partnership. However, by this time numerous independent reports and project evaluations published regarding the CAI's implementation were critical of the CAI process (Klos et al.,

¹³ Unfortunately, the NPDC failed to produce the amount of housing they had initially projected, and as a result, all new residential complexes have experienced consistently low vacancy rates since. The commercial aspect of the area north of Portage Avenue also continued to suffer from tough economic conditions, and competition from suburban commercial development (Root, 1997).

¹⁴ Overall, the CAI placed a larger emphasis on the physical revitalization downtown Winnipeg, because it addresses the most visible manifestation of urban deprivation – namely substandard building stock (Layne, 2000)

1996). Consequently, negotiations between the three levels of government failed to produce a third CAI agreement¹⁵ (Klos et al, 1996).

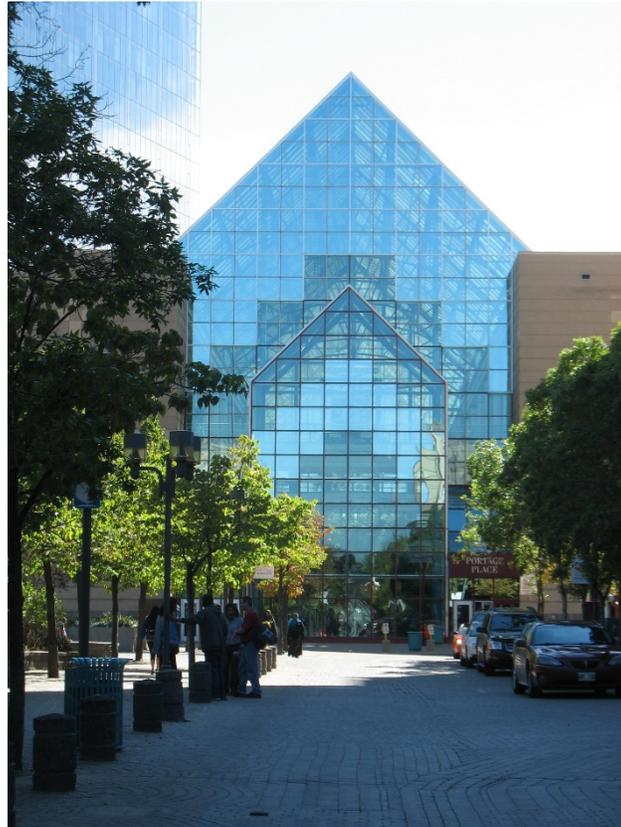


Figure 4: Portage Place (Photo: Hayer, 2015). A view from Central Park looking south towards the area north of Portage Avenue, Winnipeg.

¹⁵ Instead in December 1994, a new five-year commitment from all levels three of government towards long-term sustainable economic development in Winnipeg was announced - Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA). It placed an emphasis on economic development for the whole city, instead of only downtown Winnipeg.



Figure 5: Place Promenade (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Portage Place (left) and a residential building (right) constructed during the Core Area Initiative era.

2.4.4 Lessons from the Core Area Initiative Experience

The CAI's legacy is a renewed focus on the social and human components of urban planning in Winnipeg. The shortcomings of CAI's 'bricks and mortar' projects and physical development has led to a new understanding of revitalization that considers social as well as physical development (Layne, 2000). For example, we now understand that housing affordability relates to the availability and accessibility of well-paying jobs and those jobs, in turn, relate to educational attainment (Gilderbloom and Wright, 1993; Gibson and Langstaff, 1982).

Criticisms of the CAI largely stem from its attempt to address complex and diverse problems through a single over-arching and top-down initiative. Moreover, planning theorists have argued that centralized approaches such as the CAI are unlikely to produce lasting institutional changes (Booher and Innes, 2002; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Healey, 1999; Innes, 1995) (see section 3.5). However, studies on the CAI do yield important lessons. Most significantly, the CAI's emphasis on using a multi-sectoral partnership for urban revitalization

reflected a shift in policy development and implementation that called existing governance structures into question (Layne, 2000).

Studies of Winnipeg's CAI suggest that governance arrangements for successful revitalization should include partnerships with stakeholders and include citizen participation, with adequate mechanisms for feedback (Layne, 2000). Collaborative planning theorists (Tewdr-Jones and Allmendiger, 2002; Innes and Booher, 1999; Healey, 1997; 2002; Putnam; 1994) have also argued that approaches that emphasize partnerships, and plans emerging from the "bottom-up" are more likely to produce lasting institutional changes through developing the capacity of local stakeholders. Planners now know that community involvement is critical in urban revitalization projects, and should be at the forefront of policy objectives, policy instruments, and policy evaluations (Tulloss, 1995; Halpern, 1995; Bratt, 1997). While the CAI hoped to establish partnerships between government, the private sector, non-profit sector, and the community, it was more effective in alliance building between the first three entities than with the last one (Layne, 2000). Citizen participation was limited during the development and implementation of the CAI, as community input was only sought after policy development.

The CAI experience suggests that the structure, composition, duration, scope, and implementation of revitalization initiatives should reflect local conditions such as the nature of urban problems and the interest of stakeholder groups to participate in collaboration (Layne, 2000). The CAI was ineffective in tapping into the organizational skills and local knowledge of the area north of Portage Avenue community, and instead imposed a centralized vision of what the neighbourhood ought to be. The only evidence of the CAI's success stems from its renewal in 1986 for an additional five years suggesting its success was largely political (Decter and Kowall, 1990).

While the CAI led to the creation of the NPDC, the development corporation was criticized as failing to address the poverty, unemployment, and quality of life for inner-city residents – the root causes of downtown Winnipeg’s decline¹⁶ (Layne, 2000). Regarding its social and economic development goals, the CAI was unable to enact the structural changes required to address systemic inner-city poverty. Nevertheless, the CAI’s most enduring achievement is the shift towards cooperative partnerships within and between levels of government (Layne, 2000).

2.5 EMERGENCE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN CENTRAL PARK

2.5.1 CentreVenture

Experience from the CAI taught policy makers that revitalization efforts for urban neighbourhoods require community-driven support and participation. These were key failures identified in the CAI. Following unsuccessful revitalization attempts in the 1980s, the City decided it was necessary to develop a broad, long-term plan to guide downtown development through collaborations and partnerships (Saftiuk, 2014). To encourage private sector participation in downtown revitalization and development, the City believed it needed a new and achievable vision for downtown Winnipeg, with a decisive and credible mechanism for implementation (Saftiuk, 2014). Experiences from the CAI had revealed that open discussion and partnerships with stakeholders and the private development industry are key to revitalizing downtown Winnipeg.

¹⁶ Unemployment, poverty, and criminal offences in downtown Winnipeg actually got worse after the CAI, as did the perception of downtown Winnipeg from the public (Layne, 2000).

Realizing that Winnipeg needed a tool to actively guide land use and development towards their vision, the City created a secondary plan for the downtown area called Centre Plan in 1994, and established the CentreVenture Development Corporation to implement this plan¹⁷. The inception of Centre Venture marked a new era in downtown Winnipeg's development history. CentreVenture would be the arms-length development agency for the City of Winnipeg, and were assigned control over the City's surplus properties in downtown Winnipeg (Saftiuk, 2014). The City believed that giving development responsibility for these properties to an arms-length development corporation would lead to more public-private partnerships and collaborations for their development. This was a key shortcoming identified in the CAI (Saftiuk, 2014).

In 2007, CentreVenture adopted the Heart of Gold Strategy, which intended to provide the development corporation with a strategic direction for downtown Winnipeg through 2010¹⁸. A key focus of this plan was to invest in community-oriented projects, such as the Central Park placemaking initiative, to create 'public destinations' and attractions for residents and visitors to downtown Winnipeg (Saftiuk, 2014).

2.5.2 The Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation

In 2006, the Province tasked Winnipeg's Community Education Development Association (CEDA) with developing a five-year plan through public consultations for older urban neighbourhoods, including Central Park. In 2007, the Province adopted CEDA's five-year

¹⁷ The City finances CentreVenture through providing them with operating grants and capital funding that their Board of Directors is responsible for administering (Saftiuk, 2014).

¹⁸ Through this Strategy, CentreVenture hoped to stimulate enough visible improvements in downtown Winnipeg to change the public's fundamental perceptions of the area, and to make them believe that the socio-economic health of Winnipeg's inner city was genuinely improving (Centre Venture, 2007)

plan at the founding meeting for the new Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation (CNDC) – a development corporation created to oversee revitalization efforts in specific older Winnipeg neighbourhoods, including Central Park (see figure 6). CEDA’s five-year plan would guide the activities of the CNDC, with funding for the development corporation coming from the Province, the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative, and the Winnipeg Foundation (CNDC Annual Report, 2011).

Organized as a non-profit organization, the CNDC’s purpose is to “reduce poverty in the Winnipeg inner-city neighbourhoods of Central Park, Centennial, and West Alexander through the use of community economic development principles” (CNDC, 2007). The CNDC’s guiding principles include promoting collaboration, partnerships, and trust with communities, as well as encouraging entrepreneurial developments that benefit the local community (CNDC By-Laws, 2007). Through collaborating with residents and other local-agencies in Central Park, the CNDC represents a new approach towards, and understanding of, neighbourhood revitalization.



Figure 6: Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Located in the Central Park neighbourhood.

2.5.3 Knox United Church

To understand the dynamics of the Central Park community, it is important to acknowledge one of the neighbourhood's oldest institutions, the Knox United Church. Located at the corner of Qu'Appelle Avenue and Edmonton Street adjacent to Central Park, Knox United Church is the most prominent architectural landmark in the neighbourhood (see figures 7 & 8). Knox has watched over Central Park since 1914, and has engaged in several partnerships with local community groups (Penner, 2009).

Despite its primary role as a Protestant Christian church, Knox United Church functions more as an inter-faith community hub for the Central Park neighbourhood (Penner, 2009). Since its construction over 100 years ago, the church has placed less emphasis on religious symbolism and promotion, and a greater focus on building relationships with the surrounding community. For example, while during the Second World War Japanese communities experienced considerable discrimination (especially in the United States); the church established a Japanese Ministry to respond to the needs of the Japanese community in Winnipeg. This cultural sensitivity still exists to this day (Penner, 2009).



Figure 7: Knox United Church (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Knox is a prominent landmark in the Central Park neighbourhood.



Figure 7B: Knox United Church (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Seen in background, the church towers over Central Park's soccer pitch.

As the previous sections demonstrate, Winnipeg's inner-city area has long been recognized as struggling with urban decay, and been targeted by countless initiatives aimed at improving the living conditions for residents in the area, such as the CAI. The Central Park neighbourhood is at the heart of Winnipeg's inner city, and over time, this neighbourhood

developed a reputation as an unsafe and undesirable place to visit or live. Central Park is an important neighbourhood for newcomers to Winnipeg, as 70% of all refugees coming to Winnipeg live in and around the Central Park neighbourhood (City of Winnipeg, 2007).

Category	Central Park	Winnipeg
Average Gross Rent	\$482	\$664
Average Household Income	\$22,342.00	\$63,023.00
Average Household Income Spent on Shelter	30%	27.5%
Average monthly rent	\$481	\$664
Government Transfer Reliance (economic families)	33.2% of population	09.7% of population
Government Transfer Reliance (non-economic families)	30.2% of population	18.1% of population
Incidence of Low Income	67.9%	25.8%
Moved within one year	20.0%	11.7%
Rental Tenure	89.2%	34.9%
Single Parent Families	41.5%	19.5%
Visible minority population	65%	25%

Table 1: Comparing Central Park with rest of Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg, 2007)

The neighbourhood has its own particular set of challenges and opportunities (see table 1). One of the densest neighbourhoods in the city, Central Park is home to 3,555 people (City of Winnipeg, 2007). Central Park and Winnipeg's urban core are often described negatively in public opinion, and stigmatized as poor and service dependant in media articles and related public comments (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). The negative perceptions people have of Central Park compared to other Winnipeg neighbourhoods is strongly influenced by the media's portrayal and coverage of violent crimes in Winnipeg's urban core¹⁹. In this way, the media is

¹⁹ These portrayals fail to recognize not only that crime is an unavoidable part of cohabitation, but also it is evenly distributed throughout most cities. For example, from June to December 2011, 29 robberies were committed in Central Park versus seven in the suburban neighbourhood of Fort Richmond; but on closer look, Central Park only

partly responsible for contributing to negative stereotypes of low-income people and high population densities (Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

The media's portrayal of crime in the urban core fails to recognize the influence of neighbourhood character on the occurrence of crime (Tapia, 2010, p.256). Specifically, poorly designed public places are not likely to be used by residents, and therefore are more likely to attract individuals with anti-social behaviour, and be perceived as dangerous places (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Moreover, the smaller housing size relative to family size in Central Park means public spaces are often the only places where residents can relax and get away from the challenges of everyday life. As a result, residents also suffer when public place are perceived as dangerous. Thus, investing in public spaces not only makes them more likely to be used by residents, but the use of space itself can prevent anti-social behaviour and foster positive attitudes towards urban neighbourhoods.

Improving recreational amenities and opportunities for residents in urban neighbourhoods can help discourage illicit behaviour by providing alternative activities (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Well-designed and well-attended public spaces have the potential to promote a positive sense of community for residents and area-visitors. Ultimately, positive perceptions of the area are more likely to encourage people to stay in the neighbourhood and invest in it.

had eight break-and-enters versus 32 in the suburbs. This supports many in social science literature who argue that reported crime is generally evenly distributed throughout different city areas (Christens and Speer, 2005, p.115).

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In the 19th Century, many conceived of the state as a benign agency created to improve society's health, skills, productivity, and even their morals and family life (Sandercock, 2003). This perspective emerged from an Enlightenment-era belief in the perfectibility of man and the social order (Sandercock, 2003). However, the Industrial-era brought new challenges for urban areas, and planning thought evolved. In the 20th century, cities were reacting to the poor social and environmental conditions of the industrial city. Decision-makers at the time thought comprehensive planning of human settlements was the most rational way to order the modern city. This was an order conceived in visual and aesthetic terms. Modernist thinkers identified the lack of urban planning as the “cause of the anarchy that reigns in the organization of cities and the equipment of industry” (Sandercock, 2003, p. 22). These architect-planners believed that to be efficient and rationally organized, life in cities should be orderly, regimented, and geometric. They conceived the city as a machine, and planned it by breaking it down into essential functions of housing, employment, recreation, and traffic (Holston, 1989).

Since the post-war period, city governments have typically placed economic activities and transportation needs ahead of social needs (Gehl, 2010). For instance, road construction and law enforcement are typically higher priorities in government budgets than community services and amenities (Velarde-Trejo, 2012; Blais, 2010). As the post-war migration to the suburbs shifts people and jobs, inner cities suffer from crime, de-investment, and socio-economic marginalization (Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

One of earliest critiques of modernist city building came from Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, which begins Chapter 1 by stating, “this book is an attack on

current city planning and rebuilding” (Jacobs, 1962, p. 3). Jacobs argued for urban diversity and complexity. Planners are now recognizing the social, economic, and environmental costs of ignoring the human dimension in community planning. This is partly attributable to the onerous infrastructure deficits of many cities brought by decades of unchecked urban sprawl. Many cities now recognize the value of planning for the human dimension, and that safe, lively, and sustainable urban places are more likely to attract resourceful people and the investment necessary to address current and future challenges (Rogers, 2000, p. 227).

Collaborative planning is based around the notion that by empowering and engaging stakeholders through meaningful collaboration, collaborative processes have potential to alter and enhance local capacities that exist within governance systems and sustain new forms of collective action (Barry, 2015; Gualini, 2002). Consequently, the notion of collaborative planning has come to suggest the role of governance as providing the ‘soft’ infrastructure for relation building through which consensus and mutual learning can be achieved, and participants can develop their social, intellectual, and political capital (Healey, 1997b).

Chaskin (2001) identifies four factors that are present when a community has capacity: the existence of human and financial resources, networks of relationships, leadership, and broad support for collective action to solve problems. From this perspective, the tools, resources, and communication techniques that planners employ during the planning process are the ‘soft’ infrastructure by which governments attempt to build capacity (Chaskin, 2001). Moreover, if the goal is to build capacity, Innes and Booher (2002) suggest that planners include a diverse range of stakeholders and teach them how to design, implement, and evaluate programs.

Contemporary planning literature emphasizes the significance of participation and collaboration, and warns against the heavy-handedness of modernist planning as practiced during former attempts at urban renewal (Booher and Innes, 2002; Healey, 1999; Innes, 1995). New forms of governance advocate for partnerships and collaborations between different sectors. From this perspective, the role of the planner has shifted to mediate collaborative relationships between stakeholders, and help communities build capacity at the local level.

Over the past two decades, many influential articles in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* have focused on collaborative planning theory (Booher and Innes, 2002; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Healey, 1999; Innes, 1995). These studies developed the notion that collaborative approaches to planning can affect the quality, legitimacy, and equity of planning outcomes; however, only a few studies have attempted to examine empirically whether collaborative planning practices produce the aforementioned outcomes (Huxley & Yiftachel 2000). Moreover, there are even fewer case studies that analyze collaborative planning in cross and multi-cultural settings in the literature.

Some have argued that the planning system has thus far failed in responding to the increasing cultural diversity of city life, and failed to implement participatory processes that bring immigrant communities into the planning process (Amin and Thrift, 1994; Nijkamp, 1993). A collaborative process is one way to encourage multi- and cross- cultural contact, and participation in a collaborative process can potentially build different types of social capital among participants²⁰ (Healey, 1997). Future planning projects can tap into the local

²⁰ Reinforcing the significance of collaboration is the sense of acceptance and common citizenship felt when sharing in a process with other people (Healey, 1997).

knowledge, governance capacity, and momentum developed through a collaborative process, which can be harnessed for other initiatives.

As a case of collaborative planning in a diverse urban context, the Central Park placemaking initiative may offer new insights and advance the literature and understanding of collaborative planning theory. It may also illuminate the value of collaborating in a cross- and multi-cultural setting. This thesis adds to the literature on neighbourhood regeneration-strategy and collaborative planning projects. The thesis also adds to the placemaking literature through examining the long-term social outcomes of the Central Park case. By focusing on the redevelopment process and its outcomes, the findings of this study reduce the gap between the rhetoric and reality of collaborative planning with immigrant communities. The thesis is grounded in the collaborative planning literature, with a particular focus on social and institutional capital development. The following review of the planning literature will explain and define these concepts.

3.1 PLACEMAKING

Broadly, placemaking is a process that involves the deliberate shaping and re-shaping of an environment through design interventions that facilitate social interaction and improve the quality of a public place and the lives of community members in tandem (Silberberg, 2013; Velarde-Trejo, 2012). In practice, placemaking addresses a broad range of concerns around healthy living, social justice, economic development, and neighbourhood revitalization (Silberberg, 2013).

Placemaking is not a new phenomenon, as the idea of making social and human-scale places is evident from the canon of significant public spaces such as the Agora of Greece, or

the New England town commons (Silberberg, 2013; Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). Public places will often reflect the needs and cultures of community throughout human-settlement history; binding communities together through the public realm. However, the link between public places and community dwindled in the post-industrial era (DSUP, 2013). The overall shift in focus of governments towards efficiency, combined with trends of suburbanization, mass-automobile production, highway construction, urban renewal, and increasing privatization of public space, has negatively affected countless public-places and communities across North America (Zelinka and Jackson, 2005).

For the past several decades, fiscal incentives for highway construction, urban renewal, and a focus on suburban home ownership has driven municipal policy. Top-down centralized decision making has reshaped familiar and well-worn concepts of public places, replacing them with the “geography of nowhere” (Kunstler, 1994). Consequently, ‘place’ has become a generic and valueless term. The control of most public places has shifted from a local governance by the people, towards either centralized government bureaucracy or private interests. Thus, present day placemaking is a response to the systematic destruction of human-friendly and community-centric spaces of the early and mid-20th century (Silberberg, 2013).

The importance of process over product is a key component necessary to successful placemaking, as it is through the “making” process that communities can be empowered. Through engaging community residents in the planning and design process, placemaking creates an important transformation in the minds of participants (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). Through this communal process of shaping public space, community members can not only re-shape their landscape, but also learn valuable skills, and become active and engaged members of civic society. The virtuous cycle of placemaking is its ability for communities to

transform places, which in turn transform communities, creating a mutual stewardship of place and community (Silberberg, 2013).

3.1.1 Connection to Communicative Planning

The communicative approach to planning began taking hold in the 1990s²¹ (Innes, 1995). The role of planners in this approach is that of mediators, consensus builders, or facilitators (Brooks, 2002). The point of communicative approaches is to bring different meanings and ways of thinking together, and “overcome the tendency in planning thought and practice to separate the understanding of urban change from the process of governance” (Healey, 1997b, p. 30). By recognizing that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed, the model argues that the knowledge of science and techniques of experts are not different from practical reasoning (Healey, 1997b).

By recognizing the social context within which individuals form their interests, the communicative approach reveals that people learn and develop their views in social contexts through interaction (Healey, 1997b). This model leads planning processes away from competitive interest bargaining, and toward collaborative consensus building. Ideas developed and shared in a collaborative consensus-building arena have the ability to endure, transform ways of organizing and ways of knowing in significant ways, and consequently influence culture (Healey, 1997b).

A key insight of the communicative approach is the realization that the planners can challenge and change the context of social relations through a communicative approach to

²¹ The communicative approach to planning focuses on using communication to help different interests and stakeholders involved in the process to understand each other (Lane, 2005). The approach begins with the supposition that all meaning is socially constructed, and ways of thinking are socially embedded (Healey, 1997b).

practice. Thus, context and practice are not separate, but actually socially constituted together (Healey, 1997b). A key attribute of a good decision in this approach would be that it takes into account all concerns of all members in a political community. These members would then have an opportunity to express their views and challenge policies as they are developed (Healey, 1997b). Collaborative communicative approaches have the capacity to recognize everyone with a stake in what happens to a place (Healey, 1997b).

3.1.2 The Emerging Field of Collaborative Placemaking

Practitioners have argued that successful placemaking initiatives transcend beyond physical redesign of a ‘place’ to forefront the process of ‘making’ (Silberberg, 2013). In this way, the importance of a collaborative process over product is considered a key component to successful placemaking. Through engaging community stakeholders in the planning process, placemaking becomes a tool that collaborative planning advocates can use to help residents achieve the second-order outcomes associated with institutional capacity development.

The establishment of relationships is a key concept in the process of placemaking; relationships between people and between people and places (Velarde-Trejo, 2012). These relationships among stakeholders are necessary to create an arena where placemaking practitioners can make use of different knowledge types and experiences essential for the development of design interventions that reflect the needs and aspirations of a community. The daily experiences of residents constitute a source of empirical information that placemakers should acknowledge and harvest. While the placemaking approach can vary from process to process, collaboration is an unquestionable element of all placemaking processes (Silberberg, 2013; Oldenburg, 2012).

Although collaborative planning advocates can use placemaking as a tool to advance more participatory planning processes, the placemaking literature does not make explicit reference to collaborative planning as the theory guiding placemaking-practice. Placemaking practitioners may benefit from understanding collaborative planning theory, and the findings of this thesis have the potential to make a general contribution to the placemaking theory literature.

Existing research suggests that the placemaking initiative in Central Park fulfills many of the characteristics considered essential to achieve placemaking excellence in the literature (Velarde-Trejo, 2012), but less is known about whether the process of placemaking in Central Park resulted in new governance outcomes for the community groups involved – this is a key component of collaborative planning outcomes. While collaborative planning and placemaking are generally influential and popular topics in the planning research literature (Huxley & Yiftachel 2000), now theorists are asking broader questions about the outcomes, or governance effects, that result from collaborative placemaking initiatives.

3.2 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING THEORY

Collaborative planning theory arises out of interpretative perspectives that the world is becoming more unpredictable and less certain (Brand, 2007). Advocates point to the shift to new governance modes and the general acknowledgment in planning literature that planners need to involve multiple stakeholders and interests in planning processes (Brand, 2007; Tewdr-Jones and Allmendiger, 2002; Innes and Booher, 1999; Healey, 1997; 2002; Putnam; 1994). Collaborative planning theory is situated at the intersection of communicative

approaches²² to planning and new institutionalist theory. The approach begins with the supposition that all meaning is socially constructed, and ways of thinking are socially embedded (Healey, 1997b). Grounding new institutionalist theory is a relational view of social life that focuses on how people actively and interactively construct their material and conceptual worlds within institutional constraints (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). In this context, 'culture' is a 'system of meaning' and a 'frame of reference' through which institutional practices are shaped (Healey, 1997b).

Collaborative planning theorists recognize that all knowledge is socially constructed, and argue that the knowledge of experts is no different from the practical reasoning of non-experts (Healey, 1997b). The implication for practice is the realization that public policies concerned with managing co-existence in shared spaces need to draw upon, and spread ownership of, the different forms of local knowledge and reasoning that exist in a community (Healey, 1997b). More specifically, we can define collaborative planning theory through disaggregating it into its four elements: Ontology, Epistemology, Ideology, and Methodology (Brand, 2007).

In its ontology, collaborative planning theory applies a relational understanding of space. From this perspective, the governance of space, or social-spatial relationships, is relational and context-specific (Brand, 2007). From an epistemological perspective, collaborative planning theory postulates that in order to understand a planning issue, practitioners should consider diverse types of knowledge and promote co-constructing knowledge among many social actors (Healey, 1997) – a bold departure from modernist

²² The communicative approach focuses on using communication to help different interests and stakeholders involved in a process to understand each other (Healey, 1997b).

epistemology (Brand, 2007). Brand (2007) argues that ideologically, collaborative planning theorists embrace ideas such as inclusion of the disenfranchised, grassroots democracy, championing diversity as a social asset, and environmental sustainability. However, proponents of collaborative planning argue they do not advocate dissolving power relations in some utopia of transparent communication, but for reduced domination in stakeholder negotiations (Flyvberg, 1996). Finally, collaborative planning methods advocate for harnessing the heterogeneity of knowledge, or broadening the knowledge base for planning (Forester, 1999), by identifying, informing, listening to, and respecting everyone with a perceived stake in a planning issue (Innes and Booher, 1999). Advocates of collaborative planning demand decisions emerge from inclusive and open dialogue among equal partners, rather than from top-down expertise (Brand, 2007; Innes and Booher, 1999; Healey, 1997; Putnam; 1994). The planner's role a collaborative planning theory perspective is that of a facilitator, intermediary, or a "knowledge mediator and broker" (Healey, 1997, p.309). In tangible terms, collaborative planning methodology seeks to control the effects of power inequalities by re-thinking everything from the invitation procedure to a public consultation, to the room layout during a neighbourhood meeting (Brand, 2007).

3.2.1 Connections to Collaborative Governance

Collaborative planning theory is informed by a particular conception of governance, one that seeks to search for appropriate forms of governance that successfully manage co-existence in shared spaces. This challenges traditional notions of governance as merely the formal institutions of government and the management of the common affairs of political communities (Healey, 1997b). Traditionally, urban governance in welfare state societies is a hierarchal "top-down" process that ensures bureaucracy operates in accordance with a clearly

identifiable “public interest”. However, the contemporary phenomenon of large-scale immigration challenges the notion of a true “public interest”, and it is now widely recognized that a culturally homogenous community with a common ‘public interest’ no longer exists (Healey, 1997b).

As a result, there has been a shift away from the aforementioned “command and control” mode of governance to a proactive and entrepreneurial mode of governance (Healey, 1997). The shift in governance emphasis away from managing service delivery to promoting economic development has increased pressure for governments to improve the social and environmental qualities of cities. This is key for cities to be competitive in attracting newcomers and workers necessary to sustain population growth and reduce labour shortages (Healey, 1997). Consequently, scholars have begun searching for new policy directions and styles of working for urban governance, through a diffusion of governance power and responsibility (Healey, 1997). These new styles of governance are ‘partnerships’ and ‘collaborations’ between business and community sectors (Healey, 1997). The task for planners is to mediate collaborative relationships between these stakeholders, and generate new governance cultures that help communities foster their own institutional capacity and capital. Through building knowledge resources, relational resources, and capacity for mobilization, collaborative planning offers the possibility for communities to build institutional capacity, and create arenas that can act as valuable learning environments for all stakeholders involved (Healey, 1997).

3.2.2 Collaborative Planning in Multi-Cultural Settings

Immigration and urbanization are two interconnected trends significantly re-shaping cities in the 21st Century (Sandercock, 2003; United Nations, 2014). While migration has

always been a part of human history, it has grown significantly since 1945²³. For host societies, the presence of those with different histories and cultural preferences can disrupt taken-for-granted categories of urban space in cities. The experience of immigration also refashions individual lives in significant ways. Immigration disrupts traditional place-bound relationships in home countries, and forces migrants to adapt quickly in new host societies (Sandercock, 2003). Consequently, a central political dynamic of contemporary cities has been managing the co-existence of people within the shared spaces of culturally diverse cities, and planners are involved in this dynamic.

Some have argued that the planning system has thus far failed to respond to the increasing cultural diversity of city life, and failed to design participatory processes that bring immigrants into the planning process (Amin and Thrift, 1994; Nijkamp, 1993). As the number of immigrants grows, creating culturally appropriate space becomes more necessary to mitigate the transitional related distress of people moving from less developed and conflict-ridden societies to liberal-democratic cities and urban areas. Collaboration with these communities is key to ensure proper allocation of resources ('New Yorkers for Parks', 2009). A collaborative process encourages multi- and cross-cultural contact and builds different types of social capital (Healey, 1997). Furthermore, future planning projects can utilize the local knowledge and governance capacity built through a collaborative process.

In the face of increased immigration, planning practitioners and scholars have begun to consider the possibilities of multi- and cross-cultural planning, often implicitly or explicitly

²³ For example, many people have migrated to Canada from countries suffering from war and political conflict (Sandercock, 2003; Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Labour shortages and long-term population growth constitute the economic and demographic necessity for immigration in Western cities (Sassen, 2000; Papademetriou, 2002; Sandercock, 2003)

using insights from collaborative planning theory. Currently, there exists only a fledging body of literature exploring how participatory planning initiatives help to empower immigrants to become more fully involved in the governance of their communities and allow planners to understand their unique needs (Sandercock 2009).

3.2.3 Critiques and Limitations of Collaborative Planning Theory

Collaborative planning also has its critiques and limitations. A major critique of collaborative planning is the paradox in its ideology. Collaborative planning approaches tend to focus on the immediate and local, while understating the pervasive influence of globalization (Brand, 2007). The theory also operates under the assumption that planners are conceptually well equipped to address an increasingly transnational political economy, and can protect the 'public interest' from corporate power (Brand, 2007).

While collaborative planning approaches advocate for rational and deliberative discourse among equals in a process facilitated impartially by a planner, free and unconstrained public deliberation of all on matters of a common concerns is a conceptual impossibility (Brand, 2007). Collaborative planning proponents advocate for a public sphere in which rational discourse leads to democratic consensus, but critics argue that power differentials cannot be dissolved through logical argumentation (Brand, 2007). Others argue that the goal of democratic consensus may itself be over-ambitious, because antagonism and conflict are intrinsic to human relations (Hillier, 2003).

In response to these critiques, collaborative planning theorists argue that their approach can contribute to long-term institutional change and capacity development (Healey, 2003). Advocates of collaborative planning theory argue it leads to 'second-order' outcomes, such as spin-off partnerships, new ideas for use in other situations, and new institutional capacity

development and forms of planning and action (Innes, 2004; Healey, 2003). Advocates do not assume that collaborative planning delivers comprehensive and democratic consensus, and instead the ‘second-order’ outcomes are often considered reasons to pursue this approach. Collaborative planning adds value through generating new networking relationships and synergy through its methodological approach to deliberative democracy in arenas of open discourse (Innes, 2004). The dialogic approach to consensus itself is transformative in the relations among participants, and creates a sense of togetherness among stakeholders (Hillier, 2002).

3.3 INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT AND “SECOND-ORDER” OUTCOMES

Institutional capacity development is one of the ways planning theorists have sought to examine the second-order outcomes of collaborative planning. Institutional capacity refers to the capacity and quality of relational networks collected by a group (Healey, 1997b). The quality of institutional capacity is central to the sustainability of collaborative planning efforts and projects. Collaborative planning theory suggests that governance provides the “soft-infrastructure” of relation building through which collaboration can occur and communities develop institutional capacity (Healey, 1997b). In this context, the focus of collaborative planning is to build links across disparate networks and new relational capacity across diverse groups (Healey, 1997b).

In order to judge the quality of institutional capacity building in a collaborative planning process, the institutionalist approach examines if and how people changed their actions, views, and thereby undertook their activities within an altered frame of reference (Healey, 1997b). Collaborative planning efforts contribute to building institutional capacity by focusing on enhancing the ability of involved stakeholders to improve their power and

capacity to ‘make a difference’ in the quality of their places (Healey, 1997b). This approach to institutional capacity development is informed by a particular perspective on power, whereby governance structures are changed through challenges to the relations of power.

Collaborative planning processes attract attention from practitioners because of the possibility for mediating concerns of multiple and diverse stakeholders, and building place-based institutional capacity. The challenge is “to find ways of collaboration in which different perspectives and priorities among ‘neighbours’ and ‘stakeholders’ can transform wider structures of power which make everyday life difficult” (Healey, 1997b, p. 126).

Patsy Healey and her colleagues (de Magalhaes et al. 2002; Healey 2007; Healey, 2006; Healey, 1998; Healey et al. 2003; Healey et al. 1999) developed the Institutional Development Framework (ICD) to study a city-centre regeneration project in one of Britain’s larger and rapidly changing post-industrial cities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This framework is a set of ideas about how collaborative approaches to planning have the ability to influence broader processes of institutional change²⁴. The ICD framework was developed to enhance our understanding of the potentially transformative power of collaborative approaches to spatial planning (Barry, 2015). ICD posits the development of a relational conception for spatial planning that highlights the possible co-existence of multiple conceptions of space and place, and explores how divergent perspective can be brought together within a specific planning ‘episode’ (Barry, 2015).

²⁴ In Newcastle’s case, the plan was shaped by a wide range of governance actors with power and influence over the process – the result of which was the ability of participants to mobilize different kinds of institutional resources to bring about potentially transformative changes.

Institutional capacity is comprised of three dimensions: knowledge resources (intellectual capital), mobilization capacity (political capital), and relational resources (social capital) (Healey, 1997b). Intellectual capital creates mutual understanding between stakeholders about each other's interests, and leads to shared definitions of problems (Innes and Booher, 1999). Healey (2003) contributes to the intellectual capital literature by using the concept in referring to 'knowledge' and 'relational' resources that develop when social capital is strong. Intellectual capital is an important resource for planners to call from when collaborating with stakeholders, and can be crucial when determining the systematic cause of problems and identifying those who need to be engaged in their amelioration (Taylor, 2000). The planning literature offers many case studies of regeneration projects that failed due to poor implementation in local neighbourhoods, and a lack of local knowledge input from community members (Taylor, 2000). The structure of planning partnerships will ultimately determine the extent to which local knowledge is effectively included in the process (Taylor, 2000). Furthermore, the flow of various kinds of knowledge between stakeholders in a locality, and the subsequent learning process experienced by participants, develop intellectual capital (Barry, 2012).

Political capital influences the capacity of stakeholders to mobilize toward common goals and facilitates co-ordinated action between stakeholders to influence public action in ways they are unable to when acting individually (Healey, 2002; Innes and Booher, 1999). Through building group mobilization capacity, political capital offers the potential for actors to identify, unlock, and re-interpret the institutional resources available to them (Innes and Booher, 1999). The ability of stakeholders to mobilize knowledge and relational resources, and act collectively towards a common goal, is their political capital (Barry, 2015).

3.3.1 A Closer Look at Social Capital

A major problem the planning profession has faced is the difficulty in generating sufficient, meaningful, and constructive participation in planning processes among local communities (Holman and Rydin, 2012). Social capital has the potential to resolve this collective action problem, because it shifts attitudes towards participation in planning by creating links between people who share certain key norms (Holman and Rydin, 2012).

Generally, the term social capital is used to describe collective benefits that an individual or group can gain through cooperating or participating with others. Proponents of the concept suggest that policies designed to encourage public participation and reduce poverty could benefit from promoting social capital (Rydin and Homan, 2007). Participants can gain valuable social capital from interactions with different groups. Social capital can be defined as “the connections among individuals through social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 1994, p. 19). Within the ICD Framework, social capital refers to the nature, reach, and quality of relational networks brought into the governance processes by participants in the collaborative process (Barry, 2015).

Central to this concept is the notion that through common norms, values, and trust, people can form networks. Social capital can affect community cohesion and collective actions (Holman and Rydin, 2012). Holman and Rydin (2012), and others (Putnam, 2000) have proposed a threefold typology of social capital –bonding capital, bridging capital, and bracing capital.

Typified by strong links, homogenous actors, common norms of trust, reciprocity and mutuality, bonding capital is the glue that binds groups together. Many local level case studies

commonly use bonding capital to describe the concept of social capital (Rydin and Holman, 2007). Bridging capital describes ties between heterogeneous groups of people, who may nevertheless share some common norms (Putnam, 2000). Diverse groups of people are able to get along and create outwardly oriented networks through developing bridging capital (Elliot et al., 2010). Bracing capital is a combination of bridging and bonding capital, but with more attention paid to the forms of networks created, and the combination of weak and strong ties that define that form (Holman and Rydin, 2012). The potential of bracing capital is its ability to help identify key nodes within networks, thus providing a means for group managers to network and facilitate policy work (Holman and Rydin, 2012).

Conclusion of Literature Review

While collaboration is a central component for successful placemaking, we know less about whether placemaking initiatives achieve the long-term social outcomes associated with collaborative planning theory. Collaborative planning is an emerging area of research, and contains several gaps. Specifically, planners know very little about how immigrant community groups can be engaged in collaborative planning, especially within the Canadian context. Collaborative planning theory helps establish the particular elements necessary for a truly collaborative placemaking initiative. Furthermore, practitioners in other North American cities are already applying collaborative planning principles in cross- and multi- cultural settings. Moreover, the implications of critiques of collaborative planning theory for the Central Park study require an ontological restructuring of the object of investigation from focusing on the level of democratic consensus and participation achieved to examining the second-order outcomes of the redevelopment, and the lasting change, or legacy, of the planning process.

4 RESEARCH METHODS

The following chapter provides a synopsis of research methods I used to develop the analysis of this thesis. This project is based on a qualitative approach to data collection, and an interpretive research paradigm. A qualitative approach emphasizes the significance that social context plays in creating our understanding of the world (Neuman, 1997). The interpretive paradigm is often used in qualitative research and it relies heavily on naturalistic research methods such as interviewing, and observation and analysis of existing texts (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The interpretive paradigm assumes that reality is the meaning attributed to experiences, and social reality is not the same for everyone. The paradigm also assumes that researchers cannot separate themselves from the object of investigation. Moreover, how we understand the world is a central part of how we construct our own reality (Angen, 2000). Research in the interpretive paradigm involves sorting through the experiences of key informants, as interpreted through the researcher's and participant's own cultural lenses, and then weighing the evidence to piece together a single explanation (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 30).

The analysis stage of research is where I use the data to describe the phenomenon under investigation (Gray, 2009). In qualitative research, the analysis is generally left to the interpretations and judgements of the researcher, and is thus criticized for being too subjective and lacking scientific rigour (Gray, 2009). Complicating the analysis process further is the lack of practical resources that identify a single or common method of conducting qualitative data analysis (Yin, 2003). However some common methods and techniques can be identified, including transcribing interview data and using coding to identify categories and subcategories (Gray, 2009; Richard, 2005; Yin, 2003).

Although standard qualitative research can be conducted to build theory, other researchers begin with a theoretical perspective that shapes the data collection process, and the subsequent analysis (Sun, 2011). The theoretical perspective of this research builds on collaborative planning theories found in the social science literature, and these theories contribute to the development of the interview guide, and the subsequent interpretative case study analysis in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the literature review serves to define the scope of the case study and the collection of data, as recommended by Yin (2003).

The credibility of any social science research project depends on the reliability and validity of the data under examination. It is important for researchers to use methods that ensure data recording is accurate and the interpretations of data are empirical and logical (Thyer, 2001). Data reliability depends on the capacity of the research method to measure the variables under investigation in a consistent manner each time it is used (Gray, 2009). Data validity depends on the accuracy of findings (Rafuls & Moon, 1996). Validity can also be understood as credibility (Guba, 1981), and involves the “truthfulness” of data collection and analysis (Hammersly, 1992). Validity of a project ultimately depends on the capacity of the method to measure the variables the researcher intends to measure (Gray, 2009).

This project’s primary sources of data include semi-structured interviews with key informants. Secondary sources include archival documents and previous studies on revitalization efforts in the Central Park neighbourhood, including past research projects, reports, and documents. This chapter begins with a brief overview of why I chose a case study research design; then the process of data collection and participant selection; then summarizes key components of the data analysis process; and concludes with a discussion of my biases and limitations.

4.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH

Research fields including psychology, sociology, and urban planning commonly use case study research because it allows for the development an overall description of an issue before applying specific qualitative analysis (Root, 1997). A case study research design focuses on specific initiatives and issues, and the mark of good case selection is its ability to provide generalizable results (Yin, 2003). While experiences from a single urban revitalization initiative may provide less basis for generalization and transferability across jurisdictions, few cities are so unique that there are no lessons to be learned from them (Saftiuk, 2014; Layne, 2000; Flyvberg, 1996).

Yin (2003) outlines five reasons for using a case study approach to research: when the case represents a critical test of existing theory, rare or unique circumstance, a representative or typical case, serves as a revelatory purpose, or when the case serves a longitudinal purpose. This paper's case study falls into two categories outlined by Yin. First, this case critically tests existing theory about collaborative planning and institutional capacity development within the field of placemaking. These theories have a "clear set of propositions" (Yin, 2003, p. 40) regarding both process and outcomes, and are the framework guiding the analysis. Secondly, the Central Park placemaking initiative represents a unique circumstance of collaborative planning with immigrant community groups in Winnipeg, and because the planning process ended four years ago, it offers an opportunity to study the after effects of this collaboration. The case also provides an opportunity for focused inquiry into placemaking in a multicultural context. This paper's case study research design utilizes secondary source analysis and semi-structured interviews as its main method for data collection.

Based on the case study approach described above, the research design is appropriate for an investigation of the Central Park placemaking initiative it attempts to address complex issues such as social, physical, and economic neighbourhood decline, and is an example of a participatory approach to planning based on collaboration and partnerships.

4.2 RESEARCH METHOD: SECONDARY SOURCE AND ARCHIVAL ANALYSIS

Secondary source and archival data analysis involves “describing data that existed before the time of the study” (Jackson, 2008, p. 87), and investigating existing documents, statistical sources, and other media – or analysis of data collected by someone else (Bryman, 2004). For secondary sources, I examined past revitalization strategies directed at the Central Park area in Winnipeg, and research papers on Central Park. These sources were analyzed in terms of how they respond to the main research questions. This method did not create new data; instead, it required a great deal of detective work to find the necessary information (Bryman, 2004).

In comparison, archival research involved the analysis of media reports and articles, print and online newspaper sources, blogs, community newsletters, official City publications, Census data, relevant local organizational bylaws and mandates, and other sources of public information. The inclusion of both archival research and secondary analysis in the research strategy bolsters the validity of research generated when triangulated with interview data.

To ensure credibility when collecting secondary and archival data, I developed a list of key words that were to search in the descriptions of sources consulted. These key words relate to the major themes and topics explored in the literature review, and with themes developed during the interview coding process. Once I collected all relevant publications, I developed

inclusionary and exclusionary criteria to determine which sources were relevant to the analysis (Thyer, 2001). Specifically, I used three standards for including sources; first, it provides information relevant to the research study; second, it supports drawing conclusions regarding the proposed research; third, the source is trustworthy and believable (Thyer, 2001; Yegidis and Weinbach, 1996). An important factor that determined the selection of archival and secondary sources was whether the content is consistent with the goals of the study itself (Creswell, 2013), and the extent to which sources featured common sources, including citing one another. Secondary and archival data supported the theoretical framework of this study, and helped guide the research concepts. By using different types of data as a means of corroboration, researchers can be more confident of their observations and study conclusions (Thyer, 2001).

4.3 RESEARCH METHOD: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

The most commonly used method for data collection in a case study research design is the interview (Yin, 2003). Gray (2009) defines the interview as a one-on-one conversation between a researcher and a participant, with the researcher having a set of questions or topics to guide the conversation. There are several different styles of interviews that can be performed; the interview can be highly structured, partially structured, or mostly informal. The partially structured interview is known as a semi-structured interview; where the researcher has a list of topics or questions they wish to ask, however questions can be modified or changed depending on the interview.

Semi-structured interviews with eight key informants were the main source of data collection for this research. A semi-structured interview process offers the flexibility for researchers to approach diverse respondents with varying degrees of experience, while

keeping the research focused on the same topics and areas of data collection (Noor, 2008).

The objective of the semi-structured interview is “to elicit rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. Its object is to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things that the research already believes can happen” (Lofland, 1971, in Fielding and Thomas, 2001, p. 125).

In researching the Central Park case, this study provided an opportunity to speak with individuals who served key roles in the placemaking initiative, and who are active members of the Central Park community. In doing so, I was provided many unique insights and analysis from participants regarding the nature of the redevelopment, and the character of the Central Park neighbourhood. The interviews were face-to-face interactions involving small talk, politeness, non-verbal communication, and some joking to aid participants to feel comfortable and fully express their perspectives.

To ensure credibility of the semi-structured interviews the interview process was comprised of four stages. First, a significant amount of work was required in advance and in preparation for the interviews. Each participant was provided with an overview of the project’s purpose, and an explanation for inviting them to participate in the interview process (see appendix A). Second, prior to each interview I reviewed the project’s main research questions and interview guide to remind myself of what I sought to find in the interview, and reviewed the order, phrasing, and type of questions to be asked. Third, each interview began with a summary of the project’s objectives and purpose, including how the interview will be conducted, and the approximate duration of the interview. At this stage, interviewees were asked to sign the interview consent form (see appendix B). The consent form included information regarding the ethical considerations and topics to be discussed, and request

permission to voice-record the interview. Fourth, the interviews were audio recorded to avoid the risk of inaccurately describing an interview. I transcribed interview recordings on the same day, and provided transcripts back to participants in order to provide them the opportunity to make any necessary clarifications. The codes (see section 4.4.3) were also closely inspected to prevent a shift in their meanings during the process of coding. This was accomplished by comparing data with the codes, and writing memos about the codes and their definitions (Creswell, 2009).

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

In qualitative studies, data analysis is conducted to sort and organize the information so that patterns, categories, and interpretations that address our initial research questions can emerge (Yin, 2003). In qualitative studies, data analysis begins at the stage of conducting interviews with key informants, when the researcher is already probing areas of interest, and making discoveries of new ideas or knowledge that they can follow-up on in subsequent interviews (Miller, 2009). The analysis continues in the transcription and coding stages of research.

This thesis applied a constant comparative method for coding, and analyzing data. In the constant comparative method, I compare coded data with other pieces of related data, and I compare this data until patterns emerge (Morse and Field, 1995). The analysis continues until saturated categories of codes emerge, and this happens when no new information about the characteristics of a coding category can be identified in the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Interviews with key informants were audio-recorded, with permission, and transcribed in Microsoft Word the same day as the interview. Once all interview data was collected and transcribed, a coding process was applied in order to identify the meaning of the data, and this set the stage for the interpretations in Chapter 5.

4.4.1 Data Coding

While the process of coding varies greatly, it is a common analytic process used for qualitative research studies (Miller, 2009). The coding process is central to developing and refining interpretations of the interview data, and involves organization and sorting of the data in order to summarize and synthesize what is happening in the data (Creswell, 2013). This project uses a deductive coding method, whereby codes and themes are pre-determined by the research literature, and the literature provides further direction in data analysis (Creswell, 2013).

The interview guide for this project was designed based on the literature, with a focus on addressing the project's initial research questions. The guide had slight variations from interview to interview, and this was intentional in order to probe for specific information from certain participants. The theoretical framework established through the literature review supported the conceptualization of coding categories, and the interpretations of the data.

4.4.2 Coding Software

For professional researchers, there are many different coding software programs widely available and commonly used for qualitative research. However, for the purposes of this study, the in-house functions of Microsoft Word²⁵ were considered sufficient to perform

²⁵ Table, Table Sort, Insert File, Find/Replace, and Insert Comment were used to analyze text from key informant interviews and document reviews in Microsoft Word.

many of the same functions provided by professional qualitative analysis software. Since this project relies on a small number of interview transcripts for the analysis, I sought it fit to choose Microsoft Office for coding interview data. This approach was useful because it did not require additional time or effort to learn new software programming skills that were beyond the capacity of this researcher.

The Table function was the primary feature used for data analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994) have argued that table structures are powerful analysis tools, and can be used to format data, and modified for coding by adding rows and columns to accommodate coding and memo writing. Tables can be merged together based on themes, and searched using the Find function for keywords or codes. For this project, interview data was formatted into a table with four columns, which included numerical utterance sequence numbers, emergent codes, line data from interview transcripts, and a fourth column including memos about the data. Table 2 is an example of the tables used for data analysis.

No.	Emergent Codes	DATA	MEMOS
1.		Can you please tell me a little bit about your current role in the Central Park community, in terms of the community organizations with which you affiliate?	

Table 2: A sample layout for coding with the table function of Microsoft Office.

4.4.3 Coding Process

For coding the data, a hybrid method of pre-set and open codes was applied. A list of ‘a-priori’ codes was first developed based on the literature review and initial research questions. In total, I identified 14 a-priori codes, and documented these in a ‘codebook’ that includes the list of codes and their meanings. I assigned each a-priori code with a different colour, and interview text was colour coded systematically. The codebook is in Appendix D.

The first step of the coding process for this project was to develop a storyline²⁶, which I read prior to coding each interview in order remind myself about the what this research project intends to study. The storyline articulates the purpose of the study, and highlights the key themes and concepts the researcher wants to communicate in their evaluation (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The storyline provided a basic structure for the coding scheme, and guided this research in the organization and coding of the interview data.

The second step of the coding process involved reading each interview transcript start to finish, without coding any of the data. On the second read, I searched the transcripts for emergent codes, and wrote memos about the data. Emergent codes are ideas, concepts, actions, relationships, or meanings that came up in the second read of the interview data, and are different from the a-priori codes. Both emergent codes and memos were typed into the columns next to each line of interview data. The memos functioned as a way to express ideas in relation to the interview data, and proved helpful in refining the analysis.

On the third step, each interview transcript was coded line-by-line using colours to link data excerpts to the a-priori codes in the codebook. Each transcript was broken down into different meaning units differentiated by colour. To ensure credibility of the interview data, I read each transcript several times to ensure that the meaning of the interviews was well understood, and the interviewee's experiences were accurately reflected in the data (Li and Stodlska, 2007). The fourth step in the coding process was to create separate word files for each a-priori code. Coded interview data was re-organized into each separate file, similar to cutting and pasting the same interview codes from all transcripts, into one master file that

²⁶ The storyline for this project is a short paragraph that describes the purpose of my evaluation in general terms, and is based on the problem statement in Chapter 1.

contained data from all interviews based on the code. Once all interview transcripts were colour coded and grouped together by their a-priori codes, each code was examined individually to allow for further sub-coding into themes. Finally, I collapsed and recombined the data by the major themes discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.4 Data Reliability and Validity

I apply certain procedures to ensure the validity of findings when analysing and comparing both types of data. I used data triangulation of different sources to build a coherent justification for themes and codes. Member checking allowed participants an opportunity to read the interview transcript to determine the accuracy of qualitative findings. During transcriptions, I employed a “rich and thick description” (Geertz, 1973) when conveying findings from data collection. Finally, I confront my bias through reflexivity and self-reflection about how my interpretations are shaped by gender, culture, history, and socioeconomic origin (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, I spent extensive time in the field to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study, and convey detail about the site and the people that lends credibility to the narrative account (Creswell, 2013).

4.4.5 Interview Participant Selection

A good interview participant, or key informant, is one who has the knowledge and experience the research requires, can reflect on their experiences, and is willing to participate in the study (Morse, 1994). To address the research questions, I conducted eight open-ended and semi-structured interviews, in May 2015, with participants working in Central Park community institutions (see Appendix F). The intent was to interview those who may have

different perspectives of the Central Park placemaking initiative process and after-effects. A specific set of topics based on the literature review was used to guide interview discussion.

Interview participants for this research had to meet three criteria to be selected. They had to be working in community organizations within the Central Park neighbourhood, they had to self-identify as aware of the Central Park placemaking initiative, and they had to have been involved in neighbourhood initiatives before and after the redevelopment. Through these interviews, I was able to access context specific knowledge about the effects of the Central Park placemaking initiative on community social and institutional capacity building. The interviews asked participants to reflect on the placemaking initiative, and think about the new connections and links formed as a direct result of the Initiative, and whether the momentum of collaboration has been harnessed for new initiatives in the community. Moreover, the interview process sought to uncover how local knowledge is being used as a resource for implementing new initiatives, and monitoring the ongoing success of the Central Park placemaking initiative.

Initial participants were identified from preliminary research conducted during the research proposal development phase, and a snowball sampling method was used to identify other participants. In a snowball sampling method, participants are asked to recommend other potential interview participants who may have been instrumental in the Central Park case. All participants involved in this research study were contacted through email, and interviews were conducted in-person at a location most convenient for participants (Appendix B).

4.4.6 Semi-Structured Interview Process

In a semi-structured interview process, the researcher has a list of topics or questions they wish to ask, called an interview guide. One of the advantages of semi-structured

interviews is the ability of the researcher to add new questions, or modify the order and type of questions, based on responses from the interviewee (Zeisel, 2006).

For this research, a similar interview instrument was used for each participant, with slight variations based on the participant's role in the Central Park case and community. The interview instruments were designed to reflect the specifics of each role in the Central Park case, and some adaptations were made on the spot to accommodate participant knowledge. Interview participants were kept anonymous during the coding process, and were assigned a number to protect their confidentiality.

To increase the reliability of the interview to elicit rich information, the interview process was designed to establish a good rapport with participants from the recruitment stage. All participants were contact through email, and were provided a brief overview of the project and interview request, as well as a background information sheet and interview consent form. At the beginning of each interview, I reviewed the background information sheet and consent form with the participants, in order to convey the purpose of my research and answer any preliminary questions or concerns from participants. Each participant was asked to sign a consent form (Appendix C), which authorized audio recording and transcription of interviews, along with ensuring informant confidentiality. During the interviews, I paid attention to the framing of my questions to ensure they were easy to understand; I listened carefully to participants, and gently probed on specific topics when appropriate; and I sincerely thanked them for their time and assistance with the research project. To ensure the validity and

reliability of the interview data, I used “member checking” and “triangulation” techniques²⁷ (Richards, 2005).

4.5 BIASES AND LIMITATIONS

The research presented in this thesis was conducted with few biases and limitations. The most significant bias reflected in this research endeavour relates to my previous work and experiences in the Central Park neighbourhood²⁸, and most specifically my personal passion and belief in the ability of placemaking to foster positive community outcomes. However, no research study can move forward without passion and interest in the topic, and this specific bias is necessary for conducting meaningful research and engaging with research participants.

Limitations of this project include the reliance on key stakeholder informant interviews as a significant source of data, and the subsequent limitations related to availability of informants to participate in interviews. Initial contact information was obtained through researching publicly available information and websites to find participant names, phone numbers, and email addresses²⁹.

While the scope of this study was designed to be comprehensive and insightful, highlighting qualitative measures of progress, it also needs to be manageable for a graduate-

²⁷ Member checking involves providing transcripts of the data back to interview participants to ensure they accurately reflect their responses; triangulation is a “method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data” (O’Donoghue & Punch, 2003, p. 78).

²⁸ I spent the summer of 2011 working in Central Park as a park staff member. Although my duties mainly included regular maintenance and upkeep of the park space, I developed a fondness for the neighbourhood, its cultural diversity, and architecture.

²⁹ It is quite possible that someone with more meaningful and in-depth understandings of the Central Park placemaking initiative may not have their information available on the internet, and subsequently were not contacted

level research project. Consequently, some topics that merit further inquiry fell outside the scope of this study, and are considered in the conclusion of the document.

5 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING WITH NEW IMMIGRANTS

The following analysis explores the Central Park placemaking initiative within the context of collaborative planning theory. The following sections present the key findings of this research project, through a discussion of the three theme areas. These include:

1. Factors that led to the collaborative planning initiative
2. How the collaboration actually worked
3. The second-order outcomes of the initiative

5.1 THEME 1: FACTORS THAT LED TO THE COLLABORATIVE PLANNING INITIATIVE

In order to place the current case within the overall planning approach to revitalization in Winnipeg (see Chapter 2), the following section begins with a brief overview of how consultation processes have historically unfolded in Central Park. I then explore how institutional capacity is developed among Central Park's residents, and planners involved in the consultation process for the Central Park placemaking initiative.

5.1.1 History of planning for Central park:

Since the early 1960s, the government launched several initiatives to address the decline of downtown Winnipeg, and many of these directed at Central Park (see section 2.4). Most of these initiatives³⁰ focused on restoring Central Park's existing housing stock, and providing the community with social and physical infrastructure through centralized and federally dominated revitalization strategies (Willson, 1980). However, in 1981, there was a key shift in Winnipeg's approach to downtown revitalization with the launch of the Core Area Initiative (CAI) (see

³⁰ Such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in 1973, and Community Improvement Program in 1981.

section 2.4). The CAI shifted the process for revitalization toward inter-governmental partnerships and collaboration (Wilson, 1980; Klos et al., 1996; Johnson, 1998).

In 1985, the CAI expanded Central Park's boundaries from Qu'Appelle Avenue to Ellice Avenue – motivated by former Winnipeg Mayor Bill Norrie's plan to connect Central Park to the Manitoba Legislative Building with a massive green space (Wolfe, 2007). Norrie's plan was to create a passive park containing no field markings or sports infrastructure that could function as a pedestrian thoroughfare (Wolfe, 2007). The area was experiencing a significant demographic shift due to the increasing number of immigrants settling in Central Park (Wolfe, 2007). To create a welcoming atmosphere for newcomers in Central Park, CAI planners amended Bill Norrie's plans for the park to include some seating, raised flower planters, a small basketball area, and a new water-fountain at the southernmost part of the park (Wolfe, 2007). However, the redevelopment of Central Park in the 1980s failed to revitalize the park, and the process was criticized for lacking consultation with the community (see section 2.6).

5.1.2 Emergence of the Central Park Placemaking Initiative

As outlined in Chapter 2, the CAI laid the foundation for 30 years of sustained government-based investment to the downtown area, including Central Park (IUS, 2015). The CAI was successful in seeding a range of projects that would significantly impact Central Park, including the Forks-North Portage Development Corporation, and CentreVenture – both key players in the Central Park placemaking initiative.

Since the late-1990s, CentreVenture has played a leading role in the redevelopment of downtown Winnipeg, assisting and managing several large-scale projects, including the Central Park placemaking initiative (Distasio and McCullough, 2013) (see section 2.7). The Initiative would emerge from CentreVenture's Heart of Gold Strategy, and the development corporation is

considered critically important in bringing public and private sector stakeholders together for the project³¹ (Personal interview, 08, May 2015).

The goals of the Central Park placemaking initiative were to change the perceptions of Central Park from being dangerous and unwelcoming, to a place where families and newcomers could access safe recreational opportunities. The stated goal of the placemaking initiative was to create the “world’s best playground” (Centre Venture, 2010). However, this goal was later refined and amended through stakeholder consultation, and re-adjusted to phrase: “the best playground for the world” (Personal interview, 08, May 2015). The semantic shift in phrasing was intended to refocus the project’s emphasis to reflect a bottom-up approach, whereby ‘the world’ (i.e. the multi-cultural and predominately immigrant neighbourhood) were considered to be the main drivers of the redevelopment (Personal interview, 08, May 2015). The Grey Family provided an initial \$1 million donation, which would help Centre Venture to leverage additional investments from all three levels of government, and other donations from non-profit groups (Centre Venture, 2010). In total, the partnership raised \$5.5 million to redevelop Central Park.

Since the 1980s, Winnipeg’s Central Park neighbourhood has heavily relied on immigration to reverse its population decline (see section 2.5). The Central Park community has been, and continues to be characterized as significantly diverse (Sanders, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2007). Existing research suggests that, although Winnipeg’s inner-city contains almost twice as many international newcomers compared to the other parts, refugees tend to remain in Central Park longer, while other immigrants (particularly Provincial Nominees) will relocate to other neighbourhoods (Carter, Polevychok, Friesen & Osborne, 2008). Consequently,

³¹The political climate at the time was also favourable for launching a redevelopment for Central Park. In 2006, former Winnipeg Mayor Sam Katz was campaigning for re-election on a platform that promised to develop “more premier destination parks downtown” (Government of Canada, 2008).

most newcomers in Central Park have previous experience living in refugee camps, and have experienced significant struggles prior to moving to Central Park, including civil war and famine (Personal interview, 13, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

As outlined in Chapter 2, Central Park was a notorious and dangerous place. Several interview participants who self-identify as former refugees expressed feelings of anxiety, fear, and uncertainty when asked about their initial impressions when arriving to the neighbourhood.

It didn't look like a park. It is just a space that you walk through to reach somewhere. But, I had a feeling that it was a frightening place at night especially. It was a place you wouldn't want to go by yourself. (Personal interview, 11, May 2015)

The first time I visited Central Park was just as I arrived in this country, in 2004. It was a horrible place to live. And there was a lot of drug users. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

The park is an essential feature of the urban fabric of the Central Park neighbourhood, yet many newcomers avoided the area due to fear.

Prior to the Central Park placemaking initiative in 2008, there were at least three grassroots efforts underway to reclaim the park away from anti-social activities (such as drug use, prostitution, and gang activity), and towards more community oriented activities that engaged with neighbourhood's residents. The first reclamation effort was launched directly by Knox United Church. In the early-2000's, Knox began co-ordinating an annual park clean up initiative to remove needles, condoms, and other litter from the park (Personal interview, 08, May, 2015; Personal interview, 13, May, 2015; Velarde-Trejo, 2012). Knox recruited residents to volunteer with the clean up, and as a result, the church was bringing local residents back into the park.

The second reclamation effort was the 'Central Park Revive' – a twice-weekly music festival where residents played diverse kinds of music and instruments in the park to attract

people and create dance parties (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Launched sometime between 2005 and 2006, the Central Park Revive was a grassroots effort by residents who felt empowered by the clean-up efforts in the park (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Central Park Revive provided an opportunity for newcomers to hear traditional music in their new homelands – an experience that was particularly moving for those who survived political turmoil and war back home (Personal interview, 13, May, 2015)

One time, I was playing this song, and this old man was sitting on the bench, and he was sobbing and crying. I didn't know why. So I went to him, and he said, this song when I was back home when everything was okay before the civil war in my country, this is the kind of songs I would listen to and have a good time. But since the civil war, everything's gone. I haven't had a chance to sit and hear this music. So it brought back memories to him and he was happy and overjoyed listening. This is the power [of music]; it connects people to their roots. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

By bringing music from around the world into the park, Central Park revive was inviting the diversity of Central Park's residents to share the experience. For those residents who survived significant hardships in their journey to Winnipeg, hearing music from their homeland was a particularly moving experience – one with the potential to change how people perceive the park.

The third, and most significant, grassroots initiative launched in Central Park prior to the placemaking initiative was the Central Market for Global Families. Prior to establishing the Central Market, Knox was exploring different options to bring community-oriented economic activity into the Central Park neighbourhood. The first option Knox considered was the Knox Café, an idea that originally began in 2005³². However, when Knox engaged with leaders from local community groups to discuss potential opportunities to reuse the park, the community

³² The main goal of the café was investing in a community-based enterprise that could provide the neighbourhood with an inviting and safe community space, and a facility that celebrates the cultural diversity of the neighbourhood. Knox hoped that the Café would create a perception of “openness” to the broader community, and become a destination for all Winnipeg residents (Penner, 2005).

expressed a greater desire for safe recreational space, especially for children, rather than a café (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Following these discussions, Knox abandoned the café idea in favour of an open-air market that would be co-ordinated by the church and involve significant input from residents (Personal interview, 08, May 2015; Personal interview, 08, May 2015). At the time of these discussions, many residents of Central Park were small entrepreneurs and supported the establishment of an open-air market – called the Central Market for Global Families. The momentum and energy from the park clean-up and Central Park Revive was reoriented towards Central Market, where any resident of Central Park could become a vendor free of charge. The market included food items, trinkets, clothing, and other products that represented the diversity of the Central Park neighbourhood. The goal of the market was to bring Central Park’s residents together in a safe place where they could buy, sell, and make new friends (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

Establishing the Central Market led to two significant achievements, particularly for Knox United Church. First, once the market was established, it became much easier for Knox to connect and engage with neighbourhood residents. It also became easier for community groups to hold meetings with adequate attendance and participation from residents – a problem they faced when the park was condemned by the community-at-large as an unsafe and dangerous place. With the market, Central Park was becoming a lively and attractive place. Consequently, residents began feeling an increased sense of ownership of the park, and would often confront drug-users and others engaged in anti-social behaviour in the park (Personal interview, 08, May 2015).

And I remember there were some problems with drug selling going on. And (a resident) walked up to them, and I found myself doing this too, he went right into the middle of the group and said “you can’t sell drugs here, you can’t do it”. It was a, sort of, in your face

approach, and with a whole community of people doing that. So there was already transformation. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

By empowering the community to reclaim the park, the grassroots efforts were having a tangible effect on how the residents felt about and perceived Central Park.

The second and most significant outcome from the market was that it attracted attention from non-Central Park residents. The Market was a visible sign of vibrancy in Central Park, and was advertised through banners around the neighbourhood area (see figure 9). It also attracted the attention of the Grey Family – whose \$1 million donation was the lynchpin to funding the Central Park placemaking initiative.

Actually, the Grey family was the important player in the redevelopment project. Because, there is one of the Grey family members, she was passing by the park one day and noticed there were big changes. She said, this place used to be difficult to access, but lately it became very vibrant with music from all over the world being played on Wednesday and Saturdays. People are selling handcraft stuff at the market, and it's amazing. So she talked to her family, and her dad liked the idea, and that's why they went to put 1 million down, and they lobbied the City and other players to come in with money. And Centre Venture was the agency which was designated to manage the project. (Personal interview, 21, May 2015)

Several interview participants expressed gratitude towards the Grey Family for being the first ones to approach the park with a significant sum of money with the goal of redeveloping it for community-oriented uses (Personal interview, 08, May 2015; Personal interview, 13, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015).



Figure 8: Central Market Banner (Photo: Hayer, 2013).

The aforementioned grassroots initiatives in Central Park suggest evidence of nascent institutional capacity development among the neighbourhood’s residents prior to the 2010 placemaking initiative. Through the clean-up efforts, Central Park Revive, and Central Market the residents of Central Park were developing their social capital through engaging with one another, and learning valuable skills in the process. As will be discussed below, tapping into the social capital and social bonds among the community was crucial for ensuring the Central Park placemaking initiative would address the community’s needs and desire.

The three grassroots initiatives were also successful in changing how Central Park’s residents perceived and thought about the park, and suggest development of intellectual capital³³. Through the development of social and intellectual capital, Central Park’s community gained a much greater role in planning projects for the park. Moreover, the development of social and intellectual capital through the grassroots efforts helped build the community’s political capital –

³³ Changing how people think about a problem or perceive a place is a sign of intellectual capital development (Healey, 1997).

as evidenced by the willingness of the Grey Family to launch formally the placemaking initiative through their initial donation and lobbying to the municipality.

5.2 THEME 2: HOW THE COLLABORATION ACTUALLY WORKED

Following the donation by the Grey family, and the adoption of CentreVenture's Heart of Gold Strategy, the key pieces were in place to redevelop Central Park. However, when the decision to redevelop Central Park was announced, the community would initially resist it. At the time, CentreVenture was contemplating developing a water park in Central Park – an idea previously explored for several other sites in Winnipeg (Kives, 2009; 2012). Knox United Church approached CentreVenture and said the community would oppose building a water park (Personal interview, 08, May 2015).

However, this wasn't the first [idea]. There was a prior one, which was to build a big water park. And we said, look we don't want to oppose you but we are going to oppose you. Can we work collaboratively? Because if you go this way, we are going to oppose this. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

The community's major concern with the project was fear that it would lead to gentrification and displacement of residents (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). Meanwhile, CentreVenture was also not interested in pursuing a project the community resisted and characterized as another top-down decision. To avoid mistakes of the past and building on planning experiences from the CAI, CentreVenture realized that a bottom-up process would be key to obtaining community support (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

Including immigrant community groups in the planning process was a new endeavour for CentreVenture. The original plans for Central Park did not contain any specific requirements for community consultation either (Ross, 2009). The Central Park Placemaking Initiative was the first of its kind in Winnipeg to recruit newcomers into the planning process. Prior to this

Initiative, newcomers expressed desire to be involved in the planning process and be consulted for planning initiatives in their communities (Ross, 2009). The only example of past consultations with immigrant communities in Winnipeg is regarding a public housing project in Central Park (Ross, 2009). During those consultations, the community members discussed their housing preferences and ideas with planners; however, the final plan was far removed from what the community had envisioned. As a result, the Central Park community felt cheated, and that their ideas were abandoned in favour of some outside interests who removed the community's voice from the final plan (Ross, 2009).

When the Central Park placemaking initiative was announced, there was already a sense of frustration with planning among the community. Residents felt they had ideas that could contribute to positive changes in the community, but felt powerless to do anything about it (Ross, 2009). Other obstacles, including language barriers, made it difficult to participate in the planning process due to the lack of experience with official planning jargon such as 'zoning' or 'development approvals' (Ross, 2009). Complicating the matter further were the different 'cliques' of immigrant groups who did not communicate well with one another (Personal interview, 08, May, 2015). One participant described the dynamics of the community prior to the redevelopment the following way:

We had a heavily African presence in those years. And if you want the Somali's involved (in a project), then the West African's won't be. So we had to figure out a way. It wasn't exactly conflict, but it was more like cliques in a schoolyard. So there was an intentionality around being neutral and trying to weave our way around this. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

Gaining meaningful participation from the Central Park community as a whole had been difficult in the past, due to a lack of bonding capital among certain groups.

It is within this context that in 2008 the first consultations for the Central Park placemaking initiative were launched. CentreVenture was aware of the difficulties involved in getting disparate groups together, but also recognized the importance that quality amenities and public spaces have for newcomers (CentreVenture, 2010). Complicating things further, CentreVenture did not have the in-house capacity to consult with a community as diverse as Central Park (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

To address these issues, CentreVenture created a short list of local people engaged in the Central Park community, had experience in leading community-oriented initiatives, and had the necessary skills to design a consultation plan³⁴ (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). From this list, CentreVenture selected two residents from Central Park to design and lead the entire consultation process in collaboration with local landscape architects Scatliff+Miller+Murray. Scatliff would provide the technical assistance to the community's planning team, and would generate the tangible plans and designs based the consultations. Once Scatliff received input from the resident-planning team, they incorporated the feedback into their designs, which the resident-planners then brought back to the community for their input. It was through this back and forth process that the final design for Central Park's redevelopment was established. Although the final design was based on the preferences articulated by the community during the consultations, funding would influence which amenities the designer has considered feasible for the plan (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

Together, the community-planners and their professional counterparts worked collaboratively with thirty different community groups (see appendix E) to design the final plans

³⁴ CentreVenture would reach out to Knox United Church for help in consulting the community. Knox would provide CentreVenture with the names of community residents who were engaged in the park clean-ups, the Central Park Revive, and the Central Market.

for the new Central Park (Personal interview, 21, May 2015; Centre Venture, 2010).

Centre Venture's decision to recruit community residents to spearhead the consultation process reflects the development of social capital between the groups. Collaborative planning theory notes the importance of local champions and leaders to encourage trustworthy and effective consensus building between institutional actors and local communities through developing bridging social capital (Fahmi, Prawira, Hudalah, and Firman, 2015). Centre Venture tapped into the knowledge and social capital of Central Park's local champions by trusting them to design and lead the consultation process for the park redevelopment. During the consultations, it was articulated that the amenity most desired by the community was a soccer pitch (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). While residents in Central Park are from diverse backgrounds, the one constant among them was their passion for the game of soccer.

If you look at the residents of the Central Park, you have a very highly transient population. And majority of them are refugee immigrants new to Canada. And every three years, depending on the trends of migration or refugee population coming and going, the community changes. But what's been constant is that love for the game of soccer, and how it should be accommodated in the park. So creating that artificial turf pitch was a great idea. (Personal interview, 06, May 2015)

The soccer pitch would be a safe and accessible place for the community to engage in sports and recreation, and it was assumed that future new comers to Central Park would also enjoy the sport due to its global reach and popularity.

The community expressed a desire for sports and recreational opportunities in a safe and welcoming environment. However, the design team at Scatliff initially resisted this idea for two reasons: first, the complications of trying to design a soccer pitch within the park's geographical constraints, and the second – cost (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). Regardless, the planning team knew that the community would again feel cheated of their input if the soccer pitch was not included in the redevelopment plans.

In order to change the minds of Scatliff, the resident-planners re-oriented the purpose of the soccer-amenity. During the consultations, the planning team learned that in addition to a soccer pitch, the community also wanted to connect with, and learn about, Canadian culture. Many residents who migrated from warmer climates experienced snow for the first time in Winnipeg, and they were interested in learning how to ice-skate. The planning team decided to present the soccer pitch as a year-round amenity that could be used for soccer in the summer and an ice-rink in the winter. By incorporating two of the community's key visions for the park space, recreation and learning, the soccer pitch proposal was accepted into the final redevelopment plans (see figure 10). The shift in the goals and objectives of the Central Park placemaking initiative suggest intellectual capital development among the planners. The decision to ultimately include the soccer pitch in the design required Scatliff to change their minds about what was important to Central Park – a result of the community's participation in the process. Today, the soccer pitch remains one of the most active and frequently used spaces in the park, has been a draw for local residents and outsiders, and hosts soccer and hockey games (Personal interview, 11, May, 2015; Personal interview, 12, May, 2015).



Figure 9: Central Park's soccer pitch (Photo: Hayer, 2015). Included in the redevelopment after persistence from the community-led planners.

Most of the consultations for the Central Park placemaking initiative took place at Knox United Church (Personal interview, 08, May 2015). The planning team was selected from among the residents of Central Park neighbourhood, based on their existing level of involvement in community events (i.e. park clean-ups, Central Park Revive, and Central Market). Consequently, the planners understood the dynamics of the neighbourhood, including which groups and organizations would have a stake in redeveloping the park. While the Central Park neighbourhood is diverse, it also has no clear cultural or ethnic majority residing within the neighbourhood³⁵ (Census, 2006). The implications regarding the lack of any dominant ethnic group reflect in the planning consultations, as no single ethnic group dominated the process (Personal interview, 08, May 2015). Instead, the consultation process reflected the inter-cultural nature of the Central Park neighbourhood, and interview participants cite this as one of the redevelopment's successes:

And that was the idea for Central Park – to be intercultural; that's what happens when cultures collide. And for it to be able to maintain that inter-cultural energy, that has been really fantastic. When we were talking to Somali's (during the consultation), the skills they would learn as youth from their families in terms of building houses, it seemed very similar to reclamation of teachings by the Aboriginal community. So we thought, wouldn't it be cool to fuse those energies together and have those stories and people mixing, and have those energies come together in a positive way. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

The consultations for Central Park were also an opportunity to for the different community groups to get to understand each other. Similar to what would be expected from a collaborative planning episode (Healey, 1997; 1997b), the resident planning team identified common interests between these groups, and the process changed people's views of one another:

³⁵ Moreover, Central Park has a low rate of residential stability, and the population demographics change faster than the rest of Winnipeg (MyPeg, 2015).

From the Aboriginal community side, what I noticed was that after I got to an agreement with the Elders, everybody else who used to be very vocal and saying bad words and insulted me at the start, they were getting nicer towards me. After the meeting with the Elders, everybody started to be nice. And slowly after that, everything went well.
(Personal interview, 21, May 2015)

From a collaborative planning perspective, the development of social capital between the groups was bringing them together, and leading to shared definitions of problems.

The consultation process began with small group meetings, first with key individual residents in the community, and then with groups, organizations, and agencies in Central Park. Several organizations from outside of Central Park were also consulted, including the West Broadway Development Corporation, the North End Renewal Corporation, the Spence Neighbourhood Association, the University of Manitoba, and others (Appendix E). The consultation process and the decision to consult these groups came directly from the Central Park community planning team. Experience gained from the park clean-ups, Central Park Revive, and Central Market gave these planners a general idea of which groups should be consulted regarding the future of Central Park (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

However, despite the grassroots approach to consultation, the Initiative left out at least one key demographic – Central Park’s seniors³⁶ (Personal interview, 06, May 2015). The seniors in Central Park are a significant percentage of the neighbourhood’s population; 12.5% of the neighbourhood’s population is 60 years and older, and is the largest age group (City of Winnipeg, 2007). Prior to the redevelopment, seniors were one of the park’s most active users (Personal interview, 06, May 2015).

³⁶ Despite not being consulted, several interview participants noted that the park was still inviting for Central Park’s seniors (Personal interview, 11, May 2015; Personal interview, 13, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

The planning team faced the least barriers when consulting with Central Park's African communities, as the team included two individuals who also self-identify as former refugees from the African continent. However, the planners faced some barriers in gaining access to Central Park's Chinese, Muslim women, and First Nations communities. To consult the Chinese community, the planning team visited the Chinese Association Headquarters in Winnipeg's Chinatown neighbourhood. There, the planners discussed plans to redevelop Central Park with leaders in Winnipeg's Chinese community, and expressed their desire to include the neighbourhood's Chinese community in consultations (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). The community leaders listened to the planners, and organized a meeting between the planning team and the Central Park Chinese community (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

Another important group the Central Park planning team wanted to consult were Central Park's Muslim women. Access to this group was only possible after consulting with the local Imam (Muslim religious leader). At the time, many of Central Park's Muslim women were new immigrants from the Middle East, and were reluctant to meet with the male-dominated planning team. However, after connecting with the religious leaders in the Muslim community, the women felt comfortable sharing their views and engaging in the consultation process. Many of these women are also mothers, which made this group an important stakeholder to engage in the park's redevelopment, as it was predicted that families with children would be one of the key users of the park space (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). Moreover, by engaging with this community the planners developed new bracing capital with Central Park's Muslim community.

Another group with whom the planners faced difficulty consulting are Central Park's First Nations community. A key informant from the Initiative's planning team describes the engagement process with Central Park's First Nations community:

I also met with elders from the Aboriginal community who expressed lots of concerns regarding their community members being pushed out after the development [Gentrification]. So they did express that concern. But when they realized how the redevelopment is helping the whole community, then they didn't mind. And that's how I got their agreement for the project, but they were very hostile at the beginning. They were reluctant to see the park redeveloped. (Personal interview, 21, May, 2015)

To gain participation from Central Park's diverse groups, the planning team had to adjust and change the norms about how people are consulted in a planning process. The planners sought out gatekeepers and other community leaders in order to encourage participation from the multi-ethnic community in the redevelopment process. From a collaborative planning perspective, this suggests the development of intellectual capital in terms of understanding how groups should be consulted, and how problems are understood.

After consulting the different community groups individually, the planning team organized an open house meeting to discuss what they had found from the individual consultations (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). At this open house, residents from Central Park's community came together at Knox Church to discuss ideas for the park. The planners used common consultation methods such as writing suggestions on sticky-notes, 'Dotmocracy', photo-elicitation, and others to gain input from the group (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

Following the community meeting, the planners arranged several meetings with local service providers and non-profit groups to discuss issues around security in the neighbourhood. Following the consultation process, Scatliff considered the community's input and suggestions to develop a plan for Central Park's redevelopment (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). A polished draft plan was presented at a public open house at Knox United Church, where all the groups who participated in the consultation process were invited. At the open house, the planners presented renderings and images of Scatliff's preliminary design for Central Park's redevelopment. The community were able to provide feedback on the proposals, and the final

plans incorporated this feedback into the design. The final plan was approved in late 2008 by the community-led planners, Scatliff, and CentreVenture, and the redeveloped Central Park opened in 2010 (CentreVenture, 2010).

The process of consulting groups individually first, and then inviting them all to a collective consultation suggests the development of social capital between the community-led planning team and Central Park's community groups. Ultimately, the planners and their allied professionals had to undergo their own processes of learning and capacity development to respond to the unique interests and expectations of Central Park's multi-ethnic community. While Central Park's residents developed significant institutional capacity prior to the placemaking initiative, the community-led planners furthered theirs during the consultation process.

The consultation process in most collaborative planning episodes often involves a professional planner who mediates between groups of stakeholders (see section 3.1). However, in the case of Central Park, some stakeholders were assigned roles as project-planners, as it was residents from Central Park who designed and led the consultation process. While this makes the Central Park case unique within the context of collaborative planning case studies, it also suggests that the strongest evidence of institutional capacity development would be among the immigrant planning team. While the scope of this project did allow me to interview representatives from Central Park's community agencies and service providers who participated in the consultation process, it is beyond the scope to analyze institutional capacity development among Central Park's entire immigrant community³⁷.

³⁷ Central Park's community-led planning team participated in key informant interviews for this research. Due to scheduling constraints, I was unable to interview informants from Centre Venture or Scatliff+Miller+Murray to

5.3 THEME 3: SECOND-ORDER OUTCOMES

As mentioned in section 3.5, institutional capacity is one of the ways that theorists have sought to examine the long-term outcomes of collaborative planning. Furthermore, institutional capacity is comprised of three dimensions: social capital, intellectual capital, and political capital. The following sections summarize the development of the aforementioned capitals before, during, and after the Central Park placemaking initiative.

5.3.1 Social Capital

Central Park was a notorious hub for criminal activity since at least the 1980s (see section 2.5). Consequently, many of the neighbourhood's newcomers avoided the park, and social capital³⁸ was very weak:

I used to be nervous of that park, because at first it was very hard. When you don't know how to communicate with people when they ask you for money, you don't know whether to say yes or no, you have to make a decision and you might be afraid. It was a place [where] you never go alone. (Personal interview, 11, May 2015)

Not only was the park contributing to a sense of fear and danger among the neighbourhood, it was also not providing any social benefits to the new immigrant community. However, Knox United Church has historically been interested in drawing participation and engagement from the community to understand its needs (see section 2.7.3). Knox recruits community members to its board of directors, and has a broad mandate to be open to new ideas.

Things here just unfold and just happen. They just walk through the door. So maintaining an open door policy is the most important thing. We're open to all kinds of weird ideas

explore their participation in the Central Park case. These constraints are detailed further in the recommendations for future research in Chapter 6, Conclusion.

³⁸ As described in section 3.2, the development of social capital through collaborative planning offers potential to bring individuals and groups together so they can mobilize towards mutual goals (Holman and Rydin, 2012; Putnam, 2000, 1994). By creating links between people who share common norms and values, social capital builds trust and affects community cohesion and collective actions (Holman and Rydin, 2012). Furthermore, the literature identifies a three-fold typology of social capital: bonding capital, bridging capital, and bracing capital (see section 3.2 for more details).

and opportunities. There's more of a receptivity here. We're more on the reception than on the production of ideas. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)



Figure 10: Front door of Knox United Church (Photo: Hayer, 2015).

By focusing on the receiving of ideas, rather than the producing of ideas, Knox becomes a place where newcomers can express creative ways for coordinated action – reflected in the grassroots initiatives preceding the Central Park placemaking initiative.

Another agency that is active in the Central Park neighbourhood is Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation (CNDC) (see section 2.7.2), which also seats resident community members on their board and review committees (Personal interview, 06, May 2015; CNDC Annual Report, 2011). As will be discussed below, both Knox and CNDC were engaging in partnerships with the community prior to the park redevelopment, and those contain early evidence of social capital development. Both Knox and CNDC work closely with community representatives, and support grassroots initiatives aimed to engage the community. For example, Knox's Central Market initiative, and CNDC's support for festivals and events in

Central Park (Personal interview, 06, May, 2015; Personal interview, 08, May, 2015; Personal interview, 12, May, 2015).

5.3.1.1 Bracing Capital

As mentioned in section 5.1, the grassroots efforts preceding the Central Park placemaking initiative received considerable support from Knox United Church. A major consequence of these efforts was that two individuals involved in organizing those past initiatives in Central Park (such as the clean-ups, Central Park Revive, and Central Market) were recruited by CentreVenture to lead the consultation process for the park's redevelopment (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). In this way, the development of social capital between the organizers of Knox's grassroots initiatives and the community at-large was a key step towards establishing a collaborative process to redevelop Central Park through placemaking.

Central Park's local non-profit development corporation, CNDC, also engages with Central Park's residents through including them on the review committee for their housing fix-up grant program (Personal interview, 06, May 2015; CNDC Annual Report, 2011). Moreover, one of Central Park's residents selected for the Initiative planning team previously held positions both with CDDC Knox United Church (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). This discussion about Knox and CNDC's activities in engaging residents from Central Park in their projects reflects one piece of social capital development that was already occurring prior to the placemaking Initiative; that is, between residents and local agencies. Moreover, key informants from both Knox and CNDC cited the community as their strongest resource for tapping into knowledge about how to advance their agency mandates within the community:

It's people. Definitely, the population is the asset. There is a great existing asset of the people who not only live in the area, but work and play in the area, and that can bring a lot to the table if they're consulted. (Personal interview, 06, May 2015)

It's always the people. When you look around and see this rainbow of people, and they're engaging and interacting, they're coming together, and there's this really positive energy. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

I think the people are the most important assets. We have such a rich community of different cultures. We should be highlighting that. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

By connecting with residents who shared a passion for community development and volunteering, Central Park's agencies are able to connect downward with the community, while simultaneously also connecting the community up to these agencies through their representatives.

Following the Central Park redevelopment, those from the community who led the consultation process were also able to connect with outside agencies and build bridging capital between the Central Park community, and the funders and managers of the Initiative. By recruiting the planning team from the community, CentreVenture and Scatliff both now have key contacts and connections within the community, and vice-versa. In regards to building social capital, one member of the community planning team said:

Being involved opened my eyes to see more of the way things work in the city. That is the benefit it gave me. It gave me the chance to talk to the community, and to people from different backgrounds. Which I wouldn't have had a chance to do, but I connected. So when I go to Central Park, I get two or three people from different communities talking to me and expressing themselves to me. Sometimes they think that I have the answer to everything, and they feel so free to talk to me and tell me about their situation. So it's its opening a lot of doors and allowing me to grow personally, and my ideas about the city, and about development. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

Participation in the collaborative planning process significantly changed how the community planners perceived development and governance, while also contributing to developing their institutional capacity.

5.3.1.2 Bonding Capital

The second indication of social capital development is between the different community groups in Central Park. Bonding capital was developed through the Central Park Revive and other grassroots efforts, and subsequently tapped into during the consultation process (see section 5.1). Through being involved in grassroots efforts to reclaim the park from illicit uses, the community were pursuing their bonding capital and advancing common goals of safety and economic development.

The Central Park placemaking initiative relied heavily on these existing bonds between groups, as planners tapped into these social networks to engage with community groups. In situations where consultation and engagement was difficult to obtain, the planners approached the relevant ‘gate-keepers’ to not only consult and engage these communities, but also strengthen the bonds between groups in the community (Personal interview, 21, May, 2015) (see section 5.1.3).

*It was also a privilege for me to access some people who are very influential in their communities, and learn more about community organizations. And also, looking back at the consultations, and considering the users of the Central Park now, it makes me proud of our achievement. It's something that I have a desire to share with everybody.
(Personal interview, 21, May 2015)*

The planning team was able to develop their own social capital with the community groups, while also engaging in meaningful work.

5.3.1.3 Bridging Capital

Another indication of social capital development is between the different agencies operating in Central Park. I found promising evidence of bridging capital among these agencies, developed from participation and bringing service providers together during the consultations (see section 5.1.3). Several key informants who self-identify as former refugees hold board

positions with various local agencies in Central Park, like Knox and CNDC. While at first this may suggest that the primary source of bridging capital development relates to these agencies tapping into the same resource pool from the community. However, one key informant revealed bridging capital development relates to their organization's participation in the collaborative process:

It also brought together a whole lot of service providers in the area, from the government side and non-government side. And our relationships have strengthened around some areas. For example, we have more cooperation around the issues of bed bugs in subsidized units. And we have more cooperation about safety issues with Manitoba housing, the Police. And now were talking with the various stakeholders about programming now, like skating or recreation programs, and language programs” (Personal interview, 06, May, 2015)

Through developing connections by collaborating for Central Park's redevelopment, local service agencies can co-ordinate toward mutual goals (Personal interview, day, 06, 2015).

However, as several informants noted, a determinant to the strength and sustainability of this bridging capital is funding:

For the most part, everyone is understaffed, underpaid, and totally taxed. So, there's not the opportunity for collective engagement and conversation to really build a sense of being partners. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

The barriers for us (for collaborating with other agencies the community) have been definitely been funding. (Personal interview, 06, May 2015)

The barriers for sustaining bridging capital also include a deficit of political capital between Central Park's community agencies, and the City of Winnipeg.

As discussed throughout section 5.1, the consultation process for Central Park's redevelopment included a meeting that brought service providers together to discuss security concerns. Prior to the redevelopment, the area was heavily policed by what one informant described as a “jack-boot style of policing”, whereby many youths in the community were met with suspicion by Winnipeg Police. However, following the redevelopment, relations between

the police and Central Park's community have improved, and reported crime is down (Personal interview, 12, May 2015; Sanders, 2010).

Before, there was a lot of tension between particularly African youth and police. If cops saw three African youths walking down the street, [they thought] it was a gang. There was this big paranoia about these African gangs. But with the redevelopment, we now have things like skates and badges, and different activities for engagement. A huge change has occurred and it was really significant in terms of changing some of the perceptions. And the change was almost immediate. It was really very significant and very quick. (Personal interview, 08, May, 2015)

By bringing the community youths and Winnipeg's police officers together, the park is building new connections and strengthening relationships between the groups which may lead to better shared definitions of problems.

Some of the 'first order' outcomes from the Initiative, such as the soccer pitch, have also successfully contributed to developing bridging capital. The soccer pitch (considered one of Central Park's most desirable and well-used amenities) has become a way to broker peace and develops bridging capital between Winnipeg Police and the community (Personal interview, 11, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015). The CNDC and Winnipeg police together organize soccer games and hockey games throughout the year to bring Police Officers together with Central Park's community through sports (Personal interview, 06, May 2015; CNDC Annual Report, 2013).

5.3.2 Intellectual Capital

Collaborative planning theorists suggest that when social capital among participants in a planning process is strong, it can lead to the development of knowledge and relational resources³⁹ (Healey, 2003). In interviewing key informants involved with the consultations for

³⁹ Intellectual capital in this context involves both the development of shared problem definitions and the tapping into of local knowledge (see section 3.2) (Taylor, 2000; Innes and Booher, 1999).

Central Park's redevelopment, I found indications that intellectual capital was developed and tapped into before and during the process.

Prior to the redevelopment, Central Park's community-oriented agencies were developing and tapping into the intellectual capital of newcomers through initiatives such as Central Park Revive and Central Market (see section 5.1). Both initiatives began as grassroots efforts, led by community residents who were motivated to reclaim the park. Moreover, participation in these grassroots initiatives changed how Central Park's residents viewed the park space. This was changing perception of the park from a dangerous place to a community place. Consequently, CentreVenture recruited two of the leaders from those initiatives for the Central Park planning team. Moreover, these individuals had experience living in refugee camps, and thereby understood the dynamics and needs the consultation process would require.

My willingness for volunteering comes from my background. I was a child born into civil war in Central Africa. If I am still alive, it's because of the support I got from the community surrounding me at the time. Before moving here, I lived in Cameroon as a refugee, and there I realized that volunteering would be something good. So I started volunteering in Cameroon for refugee families. And when I got to Central Park, I found that there was a lot to do at the time, so I started to organize a clean-up. This was thanks to Knox, they helped organize us as a volunteer committee, and we started picking up needles every morning. So having refugee background and being a Central Park resident, I wanted to help people like me, and those who came after me. Eventually, I got appointed to run the community consultations for the Central Park redevelopment. (Personal interview, 21, May 2015)

Collaborative planning theorists have argued that the practical experiences and reasoning of non-experts is often not different from experts (Healey, 1997). For the Central Park planners, their willingness to participate in the grassroots initiatives stems from the skills and experiences gained from living in refugee camps. In this way, the placemaking initiative is tapping into local experiences as a source for encouraging greater participation.

During the consultation process, the planning team tapped into local knowledge from a diverse pool of community groups and agencies, and the Central Park community articulated that the redeveloped park space should be safe and inviting for families and children, and welcoming for newcomers (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). This vision for the redeveloped park space was based on a local understanding of who the current users of the park are, and the neighbourhood's demographics (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). The current users at the time of the redevelopment were mostly families and newcomers, but they felt unsafe due to the presence of drug users and sellers in the park (Personal interview, 11, May 2015; Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

As Winnipeg's hub for immigrants and refugees to the city, the community knew that a soccer pitch in Central Park would be one way that newcomers would feel welcomed to use the park (Personal interview, 06, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015). Through their participation in the planning process, Central Park's community was able to ensure the soccer pitch would be included. Moreover, the participation from the community in the consultation process was able to change how the project's professional allies understood the needs and priorities of Central Park's multi-ethnic community. The approach to consultation through tapping into local knowledge is one element that differentiates the Central Park case from other cases of revitalization efforts in downtown Winnipeg (see Chapter 2). One key informant from the Central Park planning team said that it was CentreVenture's trust in the planners that allowed the community to articulate their vision. CentreVenture's approach can be compared to that from the CAI era, where plans were centrally articulated, and executed with little engagement or consultation with the community (see section 2.5.3).

Following the redevelopment of Central Park, the planning team still communicate with each other, and discussions with interview participants suggest strong social and intellectual capital developed during the process. For example, the residents recruited to lead the consultations, along with individuals from Scatliff and Knox, have presented together on the Central Park placemaking initiative at conferences (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). The collaborative consultation process between the planners and the community, as well as the partnership between the local planning team and the designers, have resulted in a redeveloped park space that the community has taken ownership of (Personal interview, 13, May, 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015). While many residents, who participated in the consultation process, including the planning team, no longer live in the Central Park neighbourhood, current residents continue using the park, demonstrating the redevelopment's success in tapping into local knowledge of what works and does not work in this highly diverse neighbourhood. The redeveloped park is now a place for newcomers to build their social and intellectual capital through interactions, and become accustomed to their new homeland.

You go out there and meet people you haven't seen since back home, or seen since the refugee camp. Many people have reunited in the park. It is like a meeting place, especially for new immigrants. This is where if you want someone or haven't seen them in a while, this is where you come to look for them. That's where people meet and help each other. They share experiences. It's a place where you solve problems, get information, connect with people you've known before, and people will tell you to come to Central Park if you want to find someone (Personal interview, 11, May, 2015)

The accessibility of Central Park as a public space appears to be a means for residents to develop their social networks and bonds, and functions as a place to connect with community.

However, there remain opportunities for the local knowledge to be more productively recruited. Several interview participants expressed frustration that a non-community based organization now manages the redeveloped Central Park – The Forks (Personal interview, 21,

May 2015). These interview participants said that without proper programming and management, the park could fall back into its previous state, as the issues that led to its decline (i.e. poverty and substance abuse) persist in the inner-city area. These interview participants want to see a stronger partnership between the Central Park community and The Forks in managing the space. In particular, informants expressed a desire to see more economic development opportunities for residents of Central Park.

When the park was redeveloped, they took the ownership of the park and gave it to Forks-North Portage, and I think, that was a little bit of error. They should have included Knox in that ownership and management of the park, or include the community in the management of the park. But they left the community out, and gave it to the Forks to manage. But managers are different from community oriented people. And that social management has gone away from the park. We need to be involved the community, and in having ownership over the decision-making over the park. But decisions are made up there. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

This suggests that residents understand the value of developing their political capital. From a collaborative planning perspective, the development of intellectual capital through participation in the placemaking initiative is influencing the mobilization capacity of the community.

5.3.3 Political Capital

The development of political capital is related to the capacity of stakeholders participating in a collaborative planning process to mobilize and co-ordinate action toward common goals (see section 3.2) (Healey, 2002; Innes and Booher, 1999). In interviewing key informants involved, I found indications of political capital resulting from the Central Park placemaking initiative.

As the managing agency, CentreVenture relied on support from Knox to identify community residents with the skills and networks to lead a collaborative consultation process with Central Park's diverse community. Meanwhile Knox, whose efforts at revitalizing Central

Park predate the placemaking initiative, could not address the problems in the park without the funding and support from CentreVenture. In this way, both stakeholders worked together towards a mutual goal of redeveloping Central Park in a manner that would be acceptable to the neighbourhood community. The political capital developed between Knox and CentreVenture is evidenced in how one informant from Knox describes their interactions with CentreVenture:

When we needed money for something, I remember basically writing a memo to CentreVenture. For example, we need to get electricity in the park, so I contact CentreVenture. And they talked with Hydro. And a couple of weeks later, there was a thing put in. So it's all very easy. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

The Central Park community and the Winnipeg police have also been able to work together to reduce crime in the park, and increase the sense of safety – a fact corroborated by crime statistics (CrimeStat, 2015), and key informant interviewees.

5.4 TAPPING INTO INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY FOR FUTURE PROJECTS

The previous sections explore the development of institutional capacity by examining if (and how) the collaborative planning process for Central Park generated social, intellectual, and political capital. Collaborative planning theorists suggest that by building links across disparate networks and relationships across diverse actors, stakeholders in a collaborative process enhance their ability and capacity to mobilize subsequent initiatives that improve the quality of their places (Healey, 1997b). In this way, institutional capacity can be judged by examining if people changed their actions and views, and thereby undertook subsequent activities within an altered frame of reference (Healey, 1997b).

As mentioned in section 5.1, prior to the redevelopment some organizations such as Knox and CNDC were already tapping into the local knowledge of Central Park to engage and mobilize participation for initiatives that could reclaim the park for safe and productive uses (see

section 5.1). However, the redevelopment of Central Park was able to bridge the neighbourhood's cultural divides through both the Initiative's first-order outcomes (the physical redevelopment of the park), and its second-order outcomes (the development of institutional capacity).

The first order outcome, the redeveloped park space, is now considered a safe and welcoming place for residents and outsiders (Personal interview, 08, May 2015; Personal interview, 11, May 2015; Personal interview, 12, May 2015; Cassidy, 2012). As mentioned in section 5.2, the park is an incubator for new social networks and reconnecting with old friends. The second order outcomes (institutional capacity development) resulting from collaborative process are evident in both the Central Park placemaking initiative, and the grassroots efforts that preceded it. The Central Market for global families became an anchor for Central Park's residents to share and understand each other's cultures, as well as the culture of their new homes (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

As mentioned in previous sections, the consultation process for redeveloping Central Park developed institutional capacity most strongly amongst the community-led planning team and agencies involved (see section 5.2). This institutional capacity was subsequently mobilized towards at least two initiatives that are directly linked to Central Park's redevelopment consultation process. Moreover, both initiatives reflect elements central to collaborative planning theory, both in their processes and in outputs.

One initiative stemming from the Central Market for Global Families is the Rainbow Garden, formerly called the Knox Central Park community garden⁴⁰. When Central Park was redeveloped, the design included electrical and water infrastructure to support a seasonal outdoor market. To support this market, the planning team established the Rainbow Garden to help newcomers build food security by giving them a piece of land to grow food. Moreover, the produce from the Garden was sold at the Central Market, providing newcomers with an opportunity for economic development (interview).

As newcomer myself, I went through same situation [of food insecurity]. So I approached Knox United and said, one major thing the Central Market was missing was the fresh produce at affordable price. So why not start an initiative like this to get Central Park residents themselves grow vegetables, and help them with some basic growing techniques for growing crops. That's how this garden started. Every family who grows their vegetables here, takes them home for consumption, and then the extra produce went straight to the market. At the same time I made a community plot here, and all produce from that plot went straight to the central market as well, to help families make extra income. (Personal interview, 21, May, 2015)

Unfortunately, the Central Market ceased to exist soon after Central Park's redevelopment due to problems with the park infrastructure (Personal interview, 08, May 2015). However, the Rainbow Garden continues providing families in Central Park with space to grow food, and is co-ordinated by one individual who was also part of Central Park's planning team (Personal interview, 21, May 2015).

Central Market was replaced by another initiative, the Knox Community Kitchen. During the consultations for redeveloping Central Park, the community expressed a desire for accessible kitchen space (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). While the Central Market was a means for residents to access economic development opportunities by selling items, the Kitchen advanced

⁴⁰ As mentioned previously, prior to the Central Park placemaking initiative, a grassroots market called the Central Market was established. The Central Market was an open-air "African-style" market that brought the community together, and had a goal of economic development at its core (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

this goal further by focusing on building capacity among participants. For example, the Kitchen's mentorship program connects established food-business owners with Central Park's newcomers and residents.

The Kitchen works closely with local organizations such as the Central Park Women Resource Center, the West-Central Women Center, and the Women enterprise Center. Through engaging with these agencies, the Kitchen connects with Central Park's newcomer communities, and builds awareness of the kitchen space among newcomer women (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Through collaboration in the Kitchen, participants build their social and intellectual capital, and mobilize towards becoming self-sufficient entrepreneurs (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Moreover, the Kitchen brings outsiders together with Central Park residents. In this way, the Kitchen is changing stereotypes and assumptions about Winnipeg's inner city (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). While it is too early to gauge the success of Knox Kitchen's mentorship program, a key informant from that initiative explained the benefits of mentorship and collaboration the following way:

We have developed a staggered system where we have a combination of more established businesses mentoring newer ones. An interesting piece to this model is that the people, who are not from the neighbourhood or really didn't know much about community development, are getting a first-hand taste of it. And their ideas about community are changing. So, somebody may be in our kitchen from the suburbs and may never have thought anything about downtown, or community. And now they've witnessed the importance of it. So we've seen an incredible learning, and shift in ideas and perceptions about community. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

Bringing established business owners together with Central Park's residents is shifting perceptions of inner-city residents and contributing to building skills in the community. The Kitchen is one way to work towards encouraging more cross cultural contact, as well as bringing people into the inner-city areas.

5.5 KEY LESSONS FROM COLLABORATIVE PLANNING IN CENTRAL PARK

This section summarizes the key lessons from collaborating with new immigrants for redeveloping Central Park. In researching the Central Park case, I identified three key lessons from cross- and multi- cultural collaborative planning in Central Park:

1. Collaborative planning requires trusting the community to articulate their vision.
2. Collaborative planning requires identifying key partners from among the community.
3. Collaborative planning has the potential to change perspectives of the inner city.

5.5.1 Trusting the Community

The redeveloped Central Park space is celebrated as a success in the media (Geoff, 2012; Skerritt; 2012), by interview participants, and by observations made during the process of conducting this research⁴¹. I can only speculate whether Central Park's community would accept a Café or water park (see section 5.1). However, in redeveloping the park through collaboration, CentreVenture trusted the community to articulate their vision. Moreover, by putting the consultation process in the hands of community-residents, the process was perceived as having integrity, and subsequently the community accepts and uses the park.

5.5.2 Identifying Key Community Partners

It is important to note the precursors to the Central Park placemaking initiative, because those grassroots efforts (Central Park Revive, Central Market, and park clean-ups) were key steps in engaging the community and identifying individuals who could lead the planning process. Through the process of being engaged in grassroots efforts and the Central Park placemaking initiative, the resident planners developed their institutional capacity. Moreover, the

⁴¹ The goal for redeveloping Central Park was to create the "best playground for the world" (see section 5.1).

grassroots efforts preceding the Central Park placemaking initiative were key in bringing in the \$1 million investment from the Grey family (see section 5.1). In this way, the act of reclaiming park space for safe and inviting uses attracts people to the park, and in this case, attracting potential private-sector donors with the financial and social capital to mobilize a redevelopment effort such as the one in Central Park. Central Market was particularly crucial for starting the momentum to redevelop the park. Although some informants cite the Market as a failure due to its inability to sustain economic development for residents, those who self-identify as former refugees cited the Market's role for cross-cultural interaction as its greatest achievement.

[The Central Market] was very successful, because the community came together through the market, and it gave us a chance to talk to them and have meetings with them. And to know them and know one another. So you had more input and easier way of engaging and getting new ideas from the community. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

The Central Market not only made it easier to engage with the community, but it also encouraged more people to become active in community life. It also strengthened the social networks of the community, and became a way for local organizations to recruit local knowledge for other initiatives.

An essential element of the redevelopment process was the ability of local leaders from Central Park to emerge and lead the consultation process. Without local support, CentreVenture and other outside agencies lack the resources to conduct a truly collaborative consultation process with a diverse community such as Central Park. By bringing in individuals from the community to sit on agency boards, and hold positions, local agencies in Central Park are able to understand the changing needs of the community, while simultaneously providing a conduit for the community to communicate upwards and understand what the agencies can provide in

return⁴² (Personal interview, 06, May 2015). Tapping into these individuals is important to connect with the broader community – especially considering the transient nature of Central Park. As one informant from one of Central Park’s social agencies explained, having those key connections with community leaders is fundamental to their organizational success:

There is a challenge that we have because this a transitional neighbourhood, so you always need one key contact. If you have one key contact, and it’s the right person as communicator, that’s good. But when groups change, it can be really hard, and you can get totally out of contact with your community in two or three years if you’re not constantly renewing those links. So our partnership is really with the people. (Personal interview, 08, May 2015)

By maintaining bracing capital with the community, Central Park’s community organizations are able to identify key nodes within the social network of the community. This is significant considering the transient nature of the neighbourhood’s demographics.

For the resident planners, participating in the planning process was an opportunity to build their own capacity and skills, as well as connect with different cultures and groups in Central Park, thereby strengthening their social and intellectual capital. By recruiting residents from the community to lead the consultation process, it was easier for problem-definitions to move up and down the chain. Because while the community defined their problems through the consultation process, those facilitating the dialogue between the community and designers had the local knowledge to translate these needs accurately, and this is reflected in the outcome of the soccer pitch.

⁴² For example, when residents need to rent space for community use at Knox Untied Church, they often turn to their community leaders to facilitate dialogue (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

5.5.3 Changing Perspectives of the Inner City

A key outcome from the Central Park redevelopment process is that it is changing perspectives of the inner city⁴³. A key goal of all revitalization efforts in downtown Winnipeg has been to reverse decay and the perception it is a dangerous place, and instead for it to be a destination for all city residents. As described in section 5.1.1, the redevelopment of Central Park was a step towards this goal, as it was part of former Mayor Sam Katz campaign promise to bring more people to the downtown. Moreover, the acceptance of the physical redevelopment of Central Park (the first-order outcome) has influenced the ability of residents to develop their social and intellectual capital (second-order outcomes) through facilitating interaction in the park space, as well as engaging the community through the collaborative process. A major outcome redeveloping the Park is that the neighbourhood's diversity is on display daily in the park, normalizing the presence of newcomers in Canada:

When I first moved here, I'm not sure how much local colour I saw. Now that the park is finished, it has brought out many people who spent more time in their apartments. Now you see a lot more local colour. You know, the Muslims with their headdresses, and Africans with their bright clothes, and African markets, and Aboriginal people who you might see sitting on a bench drawing artwork. – (Personal interview, 12, May 2015)

As an accessible public space, the park becomes the Central Park neighbourhood's backyard.

The park acts as a habitat for encouraging cross cultural contact, and reflects the diversity of life in Central Park.

The Knox Community Kitchen, an initiative borne from the consultation process for Central Park's redevelopment, is also changing outsider perspectives of Central Park (see section 5.2). Knox Kitchen attempts to create accessible economic development opportunities for

⁴³ As noted in Chapter 2, inner-city residents are often stigmatized and stereotyped in negative ways.

newcomers, as well as mentorship opportunities for capacity development (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

5.6 SHORTCOMINGS OF COLLABORATIVE PLANNING IN CENTRAL PARK

Governance and economic development were the two most commonly cited issues by interview participants regarding the weaknesses of the Central Park placemaking initiative. Most informants noted that although the initiative had many positive benefits, they identified governance and economic development as key points that similar initiatives ought to address in their plans. Moreover, precedents from other North American cities demonstrate that municipalities are actively trying to address these issues in different ways. Section 6.3 offers a precedent review of initiatives from North America that responds to the issues of governance and economic development.

5.6.1 Issue: Governance

Several interview participants expressed that without proper programing and political support, Central Park could fall back into a dangerous and unsafe place (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). From a collaborative planning perspective, this suggests a deficiency in political capital. In order to maintain the park's sustainability, informants said the park requires more community-oriented initiatives and activities:

We need to invest in activities in the park, and we need more placemaking strategies. It is just a space, and we want to make it a place. And we are surrounded by businesses, and on the edge of the shed district. We are the only urban green space of this kind in the downtown. The Forks is so completely different. We should be a destination point. We should have more amenities. We need to look at the people who invested originally and say, you invested originally now we have to go on to the next step. (Personal interview, 13, May 2015)

These informants also said that to make the park sustainable, and to prevent it from falling back into disuse, the local community should have a say in its ongoing programming (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). While the Forks successfully manages the safety and security of the park, and the City provides staff to maintain the upkeep of the park, informants from Central Park's planning team noted that the "social management" is not well handled by this organization, and requires more local governance (Personal interview, 08, May, 2015).

Others noted a perceived lack of engagement with Winnipeg's municipal government. These informants said there is a lack of communication and collaboration between Central Park's community groups and agencies, and the City of Winnipeg, and felt the relationship between the two was mostly superficial and arms-length. One informant said they feel the City does not want to get "too close" to the community, in order to stay objective (Personal interview, 13, May 2015).

5.6.2 Issue: Economic Development

The second most commonly cited issue concerning planning in Central Park is the need to address the economic development of the neighbourhood. Several informants noted that while the redeveloped park space has been positive in bringing the community out into the public space, and reclaiming a crucial piece of social infrastructure for positive uses, the redevelopment failed in addressing the economic conditions of Central Park's community.

As noted in section 2.5.1, Central Park's community is characterized as low-income, low-education, and highly dependent on social services in comparison to the rest of Winnipeg. While the community rejected the original plan to redevelop the space by adding a café, the planning process did lead to the creation of Knox Kitchen (see section 5.2). In this way, Knox Kitchen is one initiative trying to address the issues of economic development in Central Park. The Kitchen's mentorship model provides a means for Central Park's residents to build their

institutional capacity by collaborating with established business owners, while also being an incubator for local entrepreneurs.

Informants from Central Park's planning team noted that the neighbourhood community is particularly adept at co-operating for mutual goals, because they experienced communal living in refugee camps. Consequently, informants suggested that economic models such as co-operatives or other similar business models are something the Central Park's community would feel comfortable with and embrace. Moreover, the open-air market, Central Market, was commonly cited as an example of the type of economic opportunities the community would like to pursue.

One reason cited by informants for the lack of economic development in Central Park is the perceived lack of communication between the municipal government and local agencies (Personal interview, 06, May 2015). These informants noted that the City and Central Park's community do not share the same definitions of problems, and greater communication and collaboration is required (Personal interview, 13, May 2015; Personal interview, 06, May 2015; Personal interview, 08, May 2015).

6 CONCLUSION

Case study research is often context-specific, and it can be difficult to draw concrete recommendations for practice from a single case (Flyvberg, 1996). The placemaking initiative in Central Park required a very specific set of actors and local conditions to unfold in the manner described in Chapter 5. While I may not be able to draw recommendations from the findings, this research does illuminate issues that planners working in cross- and multi- cultural contexts need to understand.

I begin this chapter by summarizing key findings from the nature of planning interventions targeted to reclaim Central Park prior to the placemaking initiative. Next, I answer the three main research questions framing this project. I then present key challenges and new directions for planning in cross- and multi- cultural settings, including a precedent review of how other North American cities are responding to the shortcomings of collaborative planning in Central Park.

6.1 NATURE OF PLANNING INTERVENTIONS IN CENTRAL PARK

The following section begins with a summary of key lessons from the grassroots community initiatives involving newcomers in Central Park. Prior to Central Park's redevelopment, newcomers would avoid the park, and they perceived it as a dangerous place (Personal interview, 11, May 2015). Being a hub for newcomers, especially refugees, the neighbourhood includes a large demographic for whom life in a developed Western city such as Winnipeg is a new experience. Finding food and shopping experiences that are familiar for newcomers is also difficult, and some report difficulty adjusting to shopping in malls and supermarkets (Ross, 2009). Knox United Church has supported local initiatives that address these problems and create a welcoming and somewhat familiar environment for newcomers (see section 2.7.3). One

outcome from these initiatives was an increased sense of safety in the park, because the Central Park community felt empowered to reclaim the park away from anti-social uses through clean-ups, markets, and music (Personal interview, 08, May 2015; Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

Central Park Revive brought music and dancing into the park. As documented in section 5.1, the experience of hearing one's own cultural music, especially after traumatic events and experiences relating to living in refugee camps and migration, was moving and empowering for some neighbourhood residents (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Most importantly, Central Park Revive was a grassroots and low-cost way to bring activity back into the park, and engage people to mobilize towards new initiatives.

The Central Market initiative was one way to recreate familiar shopping destinations for newcomers in Central Park. The concept of an open-air market is something many refugees are familiar with from their past experiences, and many of these individuals have experience as entrepreneurs and sellers in similar markets back home (Personal interview, 21, May 2015; Ross, 2009). Moreover, the Market was also a way to create economic opportunities for even the most newly immigrated people (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). Furthermore, the Rainbow Garden initiative addresses the needs of food security and taps into the farming backgrounds of many immigrants in Central Park (Personal interview, 21, May 2015; Ross, 2009).

By engaging with the community and customers through selling items in the market, Central Park's residents were able to connect with the community and develop important skills (Personal interview, 13, May 2015). However, one interview participant noted two key elements necessary for bringing about these positive changes for the community through the Central Market; allowing residents to become sellers in the market free of charge, and not putting price tags on items for sale (Personal interview, 13, May, 2015). By removing cost barriers to

participating as a seller, the Market becomes a place where even the most newly immigrated could immediately access an economic opportunity. By not putting price tags for items on sale, the Market forced conversation and engagement between buyers and sellers of the market, and this dynamic was key to engaging the community in reclaiming the park, as well as helping newcomers develop their language skills (Personal interview, 13, May 2015; Velarde-Trejo, 2012).

Through initiatives such as the Central Park Revive and Central Market, the newcomer community could see and hear the neighbourhood's diversity, and these projects invited the community-at-large into the park space. By creating a welcoming atmosphere in Central Park, music and the market stand out as two key ingredients for addressing the issues related to the experience of migration. Moreover, by reclaiming park space through low-cost initiatives such as playing music and hosting open-air markets, newcomers can see familiar settings in their new homelands.

The key lesson from both Central Park Revive and the Central Market is that they both attempt to address the anxiety, fear, and isolation caused by migration. Both initiatives were low-cost grassroots projects, and key to generating the momentum and attention necessary for the Central Park placemaking initiative. Most significantly, both initiatives became a source of cross-cultural interaction.

Another issue facing newcomers in Central Park is the feeling of alienation from recreational amenities (Ross, 2009). One interview informant said that the lack of recreational opportunities in Central Park prior to the park's redevelopment was leading to newcomer youths becoming involved with gang activity:

Before (the redevelopment), there was a family who came with me on the plane. They were two sisters and a brother. The brother was about 15 years old. I saw him with my own eyes join the gangs, just because he was sitting in Central Park with nothing to do. And within not even 5 months after that, he was in prison. Newcomers don't know where to go, and some would just go and sit in the park. It was a recruitment place for gangs. (Personal interview, 11, May 2015)

Prior to the redevelopment, the park was a common place for witnessing illegal activity, and this was influencing young people immigrating to the neighbourhood.

Existing research confirms that many newcomers in Central Park cite soccer as their preferred recreational sport (Ross, 2009) – a finding corroborated by several informants interviewed for this project (Personal interview, 06, May 2015; Personal interview, 21, May 2015). The soccer pitch in Central Park's redevelopment plan was added after much persistence from the community for its inclusion (Personal interview, 21, May 2015). Soccer provides a strong sense of cultural familiarity for many newcomers, and the lack of opportunities to play the sport in publically accessible areas was perceived as driving youth toward gang involvement (Personal interview, 11, May 2015; Ross, 2009). The key lesson from placemaking in Central Park is that soccer and sports are important to consider for newcomers, and creating accessible public amenities that are safe for youth is one way to support positive social outcomes.

6.2 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section answers the research questions guiding this project in chronological order. These include:

1. How and to what degree did planners engage immigrant community groups in the redevelopment of Central Park?
2. What have been the most enduring effects of collaborative planning in Central Park for the neighbourhood community?
3. What lessons can be drawn from this case – both from its strengths and limitations?

Question 1:

While the Grey family would provide the initial \$1 million donation to jumpstart the project, CentreVenture were tasked managing the consultation and design process. To ensure the project would be credible and accepted by Central Park's residents, Centre Venture sought collaboration with local leaders to design and lead the consultation process. Moreover, participation from the multi-ethnic community was key to ensuring local needs and challenges were addressed through the design intervention.

As described throughout Chapter 5, the Central Park community were closely involved with the park's redevelopment. First, community residents were recruited to design and lead the consultation. Next, the community-led planning team engaged with Central Park's community groups through consultations, and sought their input. Then, the planning team communicated their findings back to the design team, Scatliff+Miller+Murray. The planning team brought the designs back to the community, and with their input, refined the design. The final design for Central Park's redevelopment would be designed through this back-and-forth process.

In order to gauge the level of participation, I use Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' as a guide⁴⁴. Arnstein's framework proposes eight typologies for participation in a planning process. Typologies range from manipulation of participations, to complete citizen control over the planning process. Each typology corresponds to a level of participation in determining the final product. These range from non-participation, to tokenism, to citizen power.

⁴⁴ Since the 1960s, scholars have been conceptualizing ideas about the procedures for including citizen participation in the planning process, leading to critiques and challenges to the pluralistic conception of the planning process as a power game between elites and citizens struggling to gain access (Healey, 1997b; Gans, 1969; Davidoff, 1965). Sherry Arnstein's A Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) encapsulated the critiques and shortcomings of including citizens in planning processes

According to the sixth rung of Arnstein's ladder, Partnership refers to a process that enables citizens to negotiate and engage in trade-offs (1969). The evidence suggests the consultation process for Central Park can be considered a partnership between the community, and the funding and design agencies.

Question 2:

The most enduring effects of collaborative planning in Central Park relate to the development of institutional capacity among the community-led planning team. During the consultation process, the planners learned how to consult Central Park's multi-ethnic community in a meaningful and inclusive manner. To this end, the planners sought out gatekeepers who provided access to the community groups. Moreover, collaborating with these groups allowed the community groups to understand each other and redefine problems and solutions. While initially some in the community resisted the placemaking initiative, the planning team was able to develop the social and intellectual capital necessary for meaningful engagement. Evidence of sustained institutional development among Central Park's community is evidenced by the development of subsequent projects that tap into this capacity, such as the Knox Community Kitchen. Finally, by collaborating with Central Park's community, the consultation process gains legitimacy, and ultimately the park space has been accepted by the residents.

Question 3:

The lessons for practice stem from both the strengths and weaknesses of the collaborative planning process to redevelop Central Park. A key lesson from the strengths of the placemaking initiative is that local leaders can be key allies for increasing the quality and legitimacy of planning outcomes in multi-ethnic communities. Moreover, the local knowledge and existing social and intellectual capital of these leaders was an important resource for obtaining

participation from Central Park's community. Lessons from the weaknesses of the Initiative are discussed below in section 6.3.

6.3 LESSONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Despite its successes, the Central Park case study reveals several challenges to its sustainability. Key informants interviewed for the case study of Central Park also identified the following three issues not addressed by the Central Park placemaking initiative:

1. The need for appropriate programming in the park to maintain its sustainability;
2. An expressed desire for local agencies and community groups to have a greater role in ownership and governance processes in the neighbourhood to facilitate economic development; and
3. Increasing opportunities for engagement and collaboration between Central Park and the City of Winnipeg.

Although it was beyond the scope of this study, I did encounter other examples of collaborative planning that might provide lessons for addressing these challenges. The following section will briefly detail examples of initiatives from other North American cities, which address the aforementioned shortcomings and offer lessons for planning in cross- and multi- cultural settings.

Park Programming

In diverse neighbourhoods, recreational preferences can change quickly and cities struggle to maintain appropriate programming in City parks. The New York Immigrants and Parks Collaborative is one example of civic engagement with immigrants for park planning to maintain the sustainability of City parks. Through this collaborative, the New York City Department of

Parks and Recreation engages with local-level community organizations and volunteer parks-groups, and together they plan, program, and advocate for the city's 29,000 acres of parkland in one of North America's most diverse cities (JM Kaplan Fund, 2009).

As populations shift and recreational preferences change, the Parks Department relies on the Immigrants and Parks Collaborative to engage with communities and conduct effective outreach (Huber, 2010). The Collaborative brings together local community-advocacy organizations, non-profit groups, and the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation. These groups collaborate to understand each other's problems, and provide a means for communication between immigrant communities and the municipality (Huber, 2010). Consequently, the Collaborative's most significant success has been its ability to understand unique local issues that are barriers to immigrant access and participation in the planning process for City Parks. The most significant barriers identified are language, and understanding the bureaucratic processes of municipal government (JM Kaplan Fund, 2009).

To address these barriers, the City provides translation services for all public meetings relating to park projects, and offers permit applications in several languages. Moreover, the New York Parks Department has developed a Language Access Plan that outlines ways for the department to engage people with limited English proficiency. These include expanding signage in local parks to reflect the languages spoken, providing translations for essential documents such as permit instructions and park-rules, and developing an internal "language bank" that researches and documents neighbourhood language trends (Huber, 2010).

The Collaborative's most significant feature is its ability to bring local residents from immigrant community groups to the same table as the City's Parks Department (Huber, 2010). Through the Collaborative, the City of New York is actively engaging and including newcomers

at the discussion table. The Collaborative's model could potentially resolve the issue of understanding changing needs of demographics, and address the issue of appropriate programming for parks in diverse neighbourhoods. More research is necessary to determine if and how this model could be applied to smaller, multi-ethnic cities like Winnipeg.

Ownership and Governance

For solutions to the issues of community ownership and economic development, planners can look to the City of Toronto, which introduced a new zoning code to assist with the economic development of newcomer communities. Toronto City Council approved the Residential Apartment Commercial (RAC) zone in 2013. This zoning-code identifies 564 residential apartment towers that can include commercial uses on their ground or basement floors (Center for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). Toronto contains a large concentration of high-rise residential buildings built during the post-war period (Center for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012b). While these high-rise developments were conceived as utopian suburban neighbourhoods in the 1960s, they evolved to be the most affordable housing for new immigrants in Toronto.

The RAC Zone allows for uses such as shops, hair salons, farmers markets, home businesses, and other small scale commercial and community oriented uses in high-rise residential buildings. By having this zoning designation, land-owners can designate a total of 1000 square meters on the ground or basement levels of their buildings to be used for commercial use by the building's residents. If the size permits, the landowner can also develop new space on the existing site for commercial use by residents.

The RAC Zoning started with a local initiative in the R.V. Burgess Park in the Thorncliffe Park Neighbourhood of Toronto. There, new immigrant women started a committee

to address the lack of economic development opportunities in their neighbourhood⁴⁵. In 2009, the Women's Committee launched a grassroots effort called the 'Friday-Bazaar', similar in purpose to Central Park's Central Market for Global Families. At the Friday-Bazaar, newcomers could set-up tents and tables in the park and sell items. The goal of this market was to support micro-entrepreneurs in the community, and to serve as a platform for start-up businesses to identify and establish a clientele (CUGR, 2012). At first, the market began without proper permits or permission from the City of Toronto. However, as it evolved into larger market with greater support from the surrounding community, the City of Toronto embraced it and now promotes it through their official City website.

The acceptance by the City of Toronto of the Bazaar was possible through extensive lobbying efforts by the Thorncliffe Park Women's Group, which is comprised solely of local-residents. The Group engages with local residents and develops planning strategies to address the community's priorities, and communicates these to City government (CUGR, 2012). One of the major concerns the group has lobbied for is increasing economic development for new immigrant communities. The RAC Zoning, developed in partnership with ERA Architects, is the City's response to address the growing need for expanding economic opportunities for new immigrant communities (CUGR, 2012). It may be worthwhile to explore how zoning and policy tools could be used to support community economic development for new immigrant communities in the Winnipeg context.

⁴⁵ Similar to Central Park, Thorncliffe Park is a neighbourhood comprised of several tall towers surrounding a public-open space that was not well utilized in the past.

Engagement and Collaboration

The aforementioned initiatives, the New York Immigrants and Parks Collaborative and RAC Zoning, both offer examples of how Cities can engage immigrants in the planning process, as well as potential outcomes and solutions to address the obstacles these communities face. Another initiative worth examining that addresses the issue of facilitating greater engagement and collaboration between immigrant communities and municipal governments is the Town of Richmond Hills' DiverseCity OnBoard (DoB).

A suburban community north of Toronto, Richmond Hill is a highly diverse community comprised of many newcomers. The town's immigrant population has doubled since the 1980s, and local government has struggled to keep up with this demographic change (Turner, Stadelman-Elder, Gledhill, 2012). In response, the Town launched DiverseCity OnBoard (DoB) to bridge the growing gap between the diverse community and the Town's civic leadership. The DoB program connects civic institutions with newcomer communities by identifying qualified candidates from visible minority and immigrant community groups for professional appointments on civic boards and organizations.

Since 2005, the DoB program has matched 600 individuals with board and committee positions, and opened doors for newcomers who might otherwise have never become involved in municipal governance (Turner, et al., 2012). As of 2012, immigrants and visible minorities account for 22% of the membership of all citizens committees in Richmond Hill. By embracing diversity in board governance, Richmond Hills has been able to build a bridge connecting newcomers with local governance and vice versa (Turner, et al., 2012). A program such as the DoB may be one way to address the deficit of political capital in Central Park and similar neighbourhoods.

6.3.1 Questions for Future Researchers

The above precedent review for planning in multi-ethnic contexts reveals potential questions for future researchers. These include:

- How can municipalities ensure sustained and prolonged engagement with new immigrant communities?
- How can planners use different zoning and policy tools to support neighbourhood economic development by increasing opportunities for local commercial activity in new immigrant neighbourhoods?
- What barriers do newcomers face in participating for the planning processes of their communities?

While the above questions were beyond the scope of this research project, they offer the potential to advance further our understanding of planning in, and for multi-ethnic contexts. I also discovered directions for new and uncharted subjects relating to the Central Park neighbourhood in areas not covered by this research project. The first subject for future research includes exploring the institutional capacity development (section 3.5) among the institutional stakeholders from the non-community side of the collaboration; including CentreVenture, Scatliff+Miller+Murray, North-Portage Development Corporation, and the City of Winnipeg. Interview participants suggested that actors from the non-community side had to undergo their own processes of institutional capacity development to collaborate meaningfully with the community. In order to manage the scope of a Master's level thesis, I was unable to explore topics regarding the outcomes of collaborative planning for the institutional actors and professional allies. Moreover, the quality and development of social,

intellectual, and political knowledge among the aforementioned institutional actors was not explored in this study.

The second direction for future research is regarding housing issues for newcomers in Central Park. Several key informants noted housing issues as a key problem in Central Park. As discussed in section 2.9, the discrepancy between family size and housing size in Central Park is an obstacle for residents who wish to stay in Central Park, and contributes to the neighbourhood's transient character. This is a key roadblock for developing new social, intellectual, and political capital among all residents of Central Park. Due to the transient nature of the community, this research focused on institutional capacity development among residents who were actively involved in designing and executing the consultation process. Furthermore, it is unclear what the long-term outcomes for the community-at large have been for participating in this collaborative planning episode. Moreover, while this project highlights the significance of public space for newcomers, it does not address experiences of private spaces for new immigrants in Central Park.

The final direction for future research is regarding economic development models that might work for highly diverse communities such as Central Park. As mentioned in section 5.2.3, the Knox Kitchen emerged as a means for economic development for local and non-local residents. However, this project did not examine the outcomes of economic development for Central Park arising from the Knox Kitchen. While section 5.3.3.2 details examples of business models that interview participants suggest might work in Central Park, further research is necessary to explore if, how, and why alternative business models would be successful in diverse neighbourhoods with high newcomer populations.

6.4 RETROSPECTIVE

The research documented in this thesis was a valuable and meaningful experience. It reminds me of the growing complexities facing our cities as increasingly more people migrate due to conflict, climate change, and in search of better opportunities. Every year, millions of people around the world choose to leave their homes and migrate in search of greener pastures. While our national borders and immigration policies have a considerable influence on global migration patterns, the inter-cultural mixing challenges racial and cultural boundaries in cities.

Following the end of this project, it seems undeniable that Winnipeg must recognize how global trends are shaping our communities, and that our City has a duty to support these communities in their transition. Natural disasters and political turmoil are forcing people across the world to flee their homes and migrate (Bajekal, 2015; Schultz, 2014). The recommendations outlined in this project are one way that planners can facilitate this transition in collaborative and productive ways that help newcomer communities. The development of institutional capacity may be worthwhile pursuing in disadvantaged and impoverished neighbourhoods across North America. Perhaps collaborative planning is one way to engage these communities in productive dialogue and consultation to help shape their built environment. Perhaps the development of social, intellectual, and political capital is a means for marginalized communities to have a voice at the planning and decision-making table – increasing the legitimacy and equity of planning outcomes.

Immigrant communities are a strong source of skills, innovation, and opportunity. As hubs of skills and innovation, our modern cities can benefit from including these groups in the decision making process. In order to attract and retain international migrants, our cities must

make them feel welcome, included, and able to participate in decisions for their places. Moreover, the examples in sections 5.3.3.2.1 – 5.3.3.2.3 highlight examples of how other municipalities in North American are adjusting to the challenges of migration, and including newcomers in creative and diverse ways. These municipalities are charting a new course for planning at the front lines of immigrant integration. Through their innovative policies and programs, other North American cities are making sure that immigrants are welcomed to their new hometowns, and they can contribute meaningfully to the local economy and culture.

While immigration discourse will often focus more on national and provincial policies as instruments of integration (Turner et al., 2013), the local experience plays a larger defining role in the lives of newcomers, and local policy makers have a critical role in this dynamic. As Jane Jacobs (1961) wisely noted, it is the government closest to the people that is best positioned to serve the people.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE INTERVIEW CONTACT SCRIPT



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

City Planning
201 Russell Building
84 Curry Place
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

[Salutation],

My name is Rakvinder Hayer, and I am a student in the Master of City Planning program at the University of Manitoba. I am currently completing my Major Degree Project, which seeks to explore the value of collaborative planning in diverse urban neighbourhoods through a case study of the Central park regeneration. Attached is a “Project Background Information Sheet” which will provide you with more information about this project.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in an in-person interview related to this research. The interview will include roughly 12 questions, should take approximately 45 minutes to complete, and can take place at a time and location of your choosing.

If you would like additional information, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your time and consideration,

Sincerely,

Rakvinder Hayer

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

City Planning
201 Russell Building
84 Curry Place
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

Faculty of Architecture

Statement of Informed Consent

Research Project Study: *'Revitalizing Inner City Parks through Collaborative Planning with New Immigrants: A Case Study of Central Park in Winnipeg, Manitoba'*

Principal Investigator: Rakvinder Hayer, Graduate Student, Master of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Advisory Committee: **Supervisor** – Janice Barry, Assistant Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Internal Advisor – Rae St. Clair Bridgman, Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

External Advisor - Amanda Johnson, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management, University of Manitoba

Introduction

You are invited to take part in a research study. This consent form, a copy of which you can keep for your records, is intended to ensure you have consented willingly and with all necessary information. It should explain what is involved in the research and what is expected of you as a participant.

Please take time to read, understand, and review the consent form and information about the research. If you would like more information, please feel free to ask me (the Principal Investigator).

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this research is to uncover how a collaborative approach to planning helps stakeholders build new resources. This includes building new knowledge amongst stakeholders (intellectual capital); an increased capacity for local-level action towards community oriented goals (political capital); and increased levels of social networks and relationships among stakeholders (social capital). The aim is to understand how a collaborative approach can build momentum that future urban development projects may be able to harness. I anticipate that lessons learned from studying the Central Park case can help clarify the potential long-term outcomes of such collaborative placemaking initiatives. Information for this study will be gathered through semi-structured interviews with key informants who have knowledge of the Central Park case.

This research project is a requirement of the two-year Master of City Planning program at the University of Manitoba.

Study procedures

If you participate in this study, you will be asked a series of questions pertaining to the Central Park case study. You can refuse to answer any questions, and may end the interview at any time. The interview will be audio recorded, and transcribed. You will have the option to choose to see the transcription prior to the publication of this project. The interview will be approximately 30 minutes to 45 minutes long.

Participant risks, benefits, costs

There are minimal risks related to taking part in this project. This proposed research study is based on your expertise and experiences relating to the Central Park placemaking initiative. Although your name will not be included in this study, in order to convey your particular form of expertise and knowledge, you will be identified only by your stakeholder group affiliation. Your name and job title will be kept anonymous; however, there may be a risk to confidentiality due to the inclusion of stakeholder group affiliation, and small sample size. I will take steps to minimize this risk by providing you with an opportunity to review your interview transcript and make sure your comments are appropriate for public domain.

Benefits for participants include the opportunity to share your knowledge and experience related to the Central Park regeneration and its after-effects. Participation provides you a platform to share your insights that may help future researchers understand the collaborative planning processes and placemaking initiatives with immigrant communities. You have the potential to be indirectly responsible for the progressive development of more participatory planning processes.

Audiotaping & confidentiality

With your permission, the interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed later to ensure accuracy. I will remove personal identifiers with the exception of your stakeholder group. Including the stakeholder group information is important to be able to show commonalities and differences between major actors involved in the Central Park regeneration process. In addition, interviewees who are experts in their respective fields can offer a unique insider perspective that would not be possible to uncover if interviewing a non-expert.

Data will be stored in a secure location on a locked computer and will not include names or job titles of participants. Data will only include participants' stakeholder group affiliation. Supervisors will not have access to the data to ensure confidentiality, since they may be able to identify participants based on their responses. I will destroy any identifying information, including audio tapings and interview transcripts, one year after the final submission of this Major Degree Project.

Feedback & debriefing

Upon completion of the interview, I will provide you with an interview transcript giving you the opportunity to verify the information and remove or modify any comments that you now feel are inappropriate for the public domain. I will provide individual feedback to you within two months of the interview through phone, email, or in person to

ensure the information I have compiled from the interview is accurate. Once the Major Project Degree has been completed, I will provide you with a digital copy.

Dissemination of results

Study results will be disseminated through my Master of City Planning Major Degree Project, a hard copy held at the Architecture/Fine Arts library at the University of Manitoba, a digital copy online through University of Manitoba's M Space, and my oral defense. You will also be offered a digital copy of the Major Degree Project via email, once the Masters' Defense has been approved.

Voluntary participation/Withdrawal from study

Your decision to take part in this study is voluntary. You are able to refuse participation or to withdraw from the research study at any time. If you decide to participate, you have the right to refuse to answer any question or to refuse participation in any activity, at any time.

Contact information

Student researcher:

Rakvinder Hayer
Graduate Student, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Research supervisor:

Janice Barry
Assistant Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba

Statement of consent

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

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 204-474-7122 or by email at Margaret.Bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

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

I have read or it has been read to me the details of this consent form. ()

My questions have been addressed. ()

I, _____ (print name), agree to participate in this study. ()

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded and transcribed. ()

I agree to be contacted by phone or e-mail if further information is required after the interview ()

I agree to have the findings (which may include quotations) from this project published or presented in a manner that does not reveal my identity. ()

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

How do you wish to receive the summary? () E-mail () Surface mail

Address: _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Could you please tell me about how your agency/organization has been affected by the Central Park regeneration?
 - a. What would you see as some of the most important outcomes of this project, beyond the design changes to the park space?
 - b. How do you think the redevelopment has affected the neighbourhood community?
 - c. What kind of new projects have come from the redevelopment process?
2. Who were the main decision makers for the Park redevelopment?
 - a. Whom do you see as the decision makers for the park now?
 - b. Whom do you think was not properly consulted during the park redevelopment?
3. How/has the Central Park redevelopment changed your understanding of the park, and the needs of the Central Park neighbourhood?
4. Have any/what kind of relationships were established and have been maintained between stakeholders since the completion of the project?
 - a. Has the momentum of the Central Park redevelopment been used for developing other programs/projects in the community? If so, what are they?
5. What kind of interactions/relationships does your organization have with the various community groups in the Central Park neighbourhood?
 - a. How/has the Central Park regeneration changed your understanding of governance?
6. Is there anything else about Central Park you would like to tell me?
 - a. Are there any key lessons or take-away from this process, or personal highlights of the redevelopment?

APPENDIX D: CODEBOOK

CODE NUMBER/COLOUR	A-PRIORI CODES
1.	Collaborations
2.	Planning for Redevelopment
3.	Multi-Cultural Settings
4.	Governance Capacity
5.	Capacity Development for personal/group Advancement
6.	Communication Between Groups/People
7.	Using Diverse Forms of Knowledge
8.	Roles in the neighbourhood, and in Planning for area
9.	Level of Involvement in the community, and in Planning
10.	Knowledge Resources / Capital
11.	Mobilization Capacity / Political Capital / Governance Outcomes
12.	Social Capital and Networks
13.	Social Interaction
14.	Lessons Learned / Personal Growth

APPENDIX E: CONSULTATION LIST

Consultation Groups for Central Park Redevelopment Scatliff+Miller+Murray (2008)

1.	Aboriginal Community members
2.	Rwandan Community members
3.	Burundian Community members
4.	Ethiopian Community members
5.	Sudanese Community members
6.	Sierra Leonean Community members
7.	Somalian Community members
8.	Girls and Boys Club of Winnipeg
9.	Sister McNamara Day Care
10.	Knox Day Nursery
11.	Teen Challenge
12.	Taking Charge
13.	Central Park Residents Association
14.	Helping Hands Resource Centre for Immigrants
15.	411 Cumberland Condominiums
16.	Manitoba Somali Association
17.	William Whyte Residents Association
18.	Spence Neighbourhood Association
19.	West Broadway Development Corporation
20.	City of Winnipeg (Various Departments)

21.	City of Winnipeg - Local Ward Councillor (Harvey Smith)
22.	Welcome Place
23.	West End Biz
24.	Downtown BIZ
25.	Calvary Temple
26.	Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA)
27.	Canadian Economic Development Network (CEDN)
28.	Qu'Appelle Street Housing (Various apartments)
29.	Aboriginal Women Responding to the AIDS Crisis
30.	Needs Centre for War Affected Families
31.	Central Neighbourhood Development Corporation (CNDC)
32.	Community Economic Development Association (CEDA)
33.	North End Community Renewal Corporation
34.	Immigrants and Refugees Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM)

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

No.	Interview Date	Organizational Affiliation
1.	06, May, 2015	Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation
2.	08, May, 2015	Knox United Church
3.	12, May, 2015	Central Park Residents Association
4.	12, May, 2015	Central Park Residents Association
5.	11, May, 2015	Central Park Residents Association
6.	13, May, 2015	Knox Community Kitchen
7.	13, May, 2015	Central Park Planning Team Member
8.	21, May, 2015	Central Park Planning Team Member