

2013-07-16

Gentrification through Public Participation? Acceptance and Resistance in Calgary's Inner Suburbs

Peterson, Kyle David

Peterson, K. D. (2013). Gentrification through Public Participation? Acceptance and Resistance in Calgary's Inner Suburbs (Doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Retrieved from <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>. doi:10.11575/PRISM/26276

<http://hdl.handle.net/11023/835>

Downloaded from PRISM Repository, University of Calgary

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Gentrification through Public Participation? Acceptance and Resistance in Calgary's
Inner Suburbs

by

Kyle David Peterson

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE
STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JULY 2013

© Kyle David Peterson 2013

Abstract

This research examines the role of public participation in the planning process and its influence on suburban gentrification. Previous literature has critiqued the exclusionary nature of consensus-building and collaboration in urban planning processes, but there is little connection in the literature between those processes and gentrification. This research bridges this gap by explaining how consensus-building and collaboration processes may lead to gentrification, and how the same processes can be effectively used to limit the scope of gentrification. Through a mixed-methods comparative analysis of two Calgary suburban neighbourhoods, Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area, the effect of public participation on gentrification is illustrated. The hegemony of pro-development interests was manifested in the public participation processes for two redevelopment plans in the Greater Forest Lawn Area. These redevelopment plans, were they to come to fruition, have the potential to gentrify the area. Participants in the public participation processes were convinced that New Urbanist principles could provide a blueprint to remake their neighbourhood. Public participation and collaboration, in this case, served to legitimize the gentrification process. Public participation has had the opposite effect in Bowness, where it has been used to resist gentrification. After being labeled a “community in need,” several Bowness social groups have worked to increase social cohesiveness through an ongoing public participation process. This has brought a diverse group of residents together around a central theme of strengthening the neighbourhood, largely through retaining its small town atmosphere. This movement is

counter-hegemonic because it defies gentrification efforts aimed at the neighbourhood. The institutional arrangements in Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area exemplify how public participation can be used to legitimize gentrification, but also how it can be used to resist the process.

Acknowledgements

This project could not have come to fruition without the help and cooperation of a many supportive people. The information presented here could have not been made available without the great many contacts that took time out of their busy schedules to speak with me about Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area. I am indebted to these wonderful folks who bore with this lowly University of Calgary graduate student as he asked them questions; sometimes for hours on end. Their life histories and intriguing stories have allowed me to see this world in a new light. I am truly thankful for all their kindness and cooperation. Their efforts, naturally, bare no responsibility for any possible shortcomings of this research.

Thank you to the contributors to the Hillhurst/Sunnyside prize for funding part of this research.

Several people at the University of Calgary have helped me in a variety of ways throughout this research. Paulina Medori, Marilyn Kinnear, Brenda Paschke and Linda Holford have continually given me support throughout this process. Their cheerful voices, warm hearts and smiling faces make like at the University of Calgary far more bearable. Catherine Avramenko holds a tight ship in the department, but could not be further from a kind-hearted person. Her cheerful yet sarcastic undertones will be sorely missed as I move on with my career. Thanks to Derek Wilson, who is both a dear friend and work colleague. Our hilarious conversations and normal trips to the coffee bar cannot be replaced. A special thanks to Jen Hird, who dealt with our continual friendly

ridicules with mocking points of the finger! Also, an extra special thanks to Jen for helping me with the production of my final maps for this document. You easily saved me several days of work! Also, a special thanks to Typhenn Broccoli-Cauliflower for being a graduate student colleague, a roommate and most importantly a friend. You have no idea how much I appreciate your unending support! To Scott Bennett, Ray Chan, and Trista Detchev, thank you for making the graduate office experience much more tolerable and enjoyable!

I would like to give special thanks to my dissertation committee. Thank you to Alan Smart and Dan Jacobson for your undying support, even though you were hard on me at times. Although critical of some of my ideas, you never faltered in helping through to the end. Alan, your suggestion on the “affordability factor” in regards to gentrification in Bowness led a good portion of investigation. Dan, thank you very much for pointing out the faults in my cartography skills. They are a bit rusty! Thank you to John Graham for taking time out of his schedule to be part of this committee. Your questions during the exam illuminated ideas on qualitative work I had not pondered before. Thank you to David Wilson for flying all the way to Calgary from my home state, Illinois, to be a member of my examining committee. After years upon years of reading your work on gentrification it was my utmost pleasure to have you provide guidance on my own work! Byron Miller was a mentor and a supervisor any graduate student would hope for. Your personal guidance and wisdom throughout this research and for consistent assistance with the preparation of the document has made all of this possible. Thank you very much for continually supporting me even though this process has taken much longer than expected.

Those last few days before the submission of this document to the committee would have failed if you had not put in the extraordinarily long hours reviewing my writing and theories. The 4:30 AM drop off of my final chapter the day of submission showed me your true character of support and humanity.

A special thanks to my family for your undying support. The wonderful household that I was brought up in provided much of the impetus for the focus in this research. The morals of a “blue collar” upbringing provided the passion to investigate gentrification in Calgary. I am utterly proud of the life lessons my parents instilled in me; they have made me the man I am today! Thank you to all my friends for your continual support and laughter along the way. Whenever I think of Calgary in the future, you will always be that reminder.

Finally and most importantly, my girlfriend, Jacqueline Brown was the best surprise of my dissertation research. Who would have known that I would have met the love of my life while investigating gentrification in Calgary? We met approximately a year into my fieldwork when I was preparing to interview her employer. Granted, we had started chatting online a few days prior and unbeknownst to her she was employed by a colleague of mine. Unfortunately I had to remain completely professional while I spoke with her on the telephone to set up the interview, but she figured out who I was immediately. There is only one Kyle Peterson in the Department of Geography. We started seeing each other shortly after that initial telephone call and we have been together ever since. Jacs has been a constant source of love and support since I have known her. She was there when I needed her the most; those last few days before the

submission of this document. She pulled an all-nighter with me as we edited my dissertation. She has continually offered advice on all of life's road blocks. I truly would have not finished my degree if I had not met her. Jacs, this research is dedicated to you!

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Acronyms	xv
Chapter 01: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Research Objectives and Rationale.....	3
1.3 Study Areas	5
1.4 Theoretical Framework.....	12
1.5 Conclusion	44
Chapter 02: Methodology.....	45
2.1 Methodology	45
2.2 Framework	45
2.3 Mixed Methods	71
2.4 Intentions.....	88
Chapter 03: Setting the State: Neoliberalization and Housing.....	91
3.1 Introduction.....	91
3.2 Neoliberalism Versus Neoliberalization	91
3.3 Alberta’s Neoliberal Path.....	105

3.4 Housing in Canada	116
3.5 Calgary’s Housing Crisis	129
3.6 Housing Affordability in Calgary	135
3.7 Conclusion	144
Chapter 04: Pro-Development Policies and Public Disempowerment in Calgary ...	146
4.1 Introduction.....	146
4.2 Research Question and Aims	148
4.3 Devaluing Democracy	148
4.4 Neoliberalization and City Development.....	160
4.5 Land Use Redesignations and Discretionary Uses	167
4.6 City Hierarchies and Planning Implementation.....	177
4.7 The Irony of the MDP.....	189
4.8 Community Disempowerment through Public Engagement	197
4.9 Conclusion	205
Chapter 05: Community Activism, Inclusivity and the Limits of Gentrification in	
Bowness.....	207
5.1 Introduction.....	207
5.2 Research Question and Aims	208
5.3 Neighbourhood Dynamics	209
5.4 Downzoning and Class Turnover.....	217
5.5 Neighbourhood Activism.....	224
5.6 Gentrification	234

5.7 Consensus and Social Cohesion.....	259
5.8 Conclusion	268
Chapter 06: New Urbanism and the Gentrification of the Greater Forest Lawn	
Area, Part One	270
6.1 Introduction.....	270
6.2 Research Question and Aims	271
6.3 The Gentrification Lobby	271
6.4 The International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone.....	274
6.5 International Avenue: Vision for Renewal	291
6.6 The International Avenue Design Initiative.....	295
6.7 Conclusion	336
Chapter 07: New Urbanism and the Gentrification of the Greater Forest Lawn	
Area, Part Two	338
7.1 Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept	338
7.2 Socio-Economic Exclusion and Displacement	372
7.3 Conclusion	384
Chapter 08: Lessons from Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area: Inclusivity and Consensus as Equitable Spatial Practice?	
8.1 Introduction.....	386
8.2 Research Question and Aims	388
8.3 Increasing Responsibility.....	389
8.4 Public Participation and Gentrification.....	405

8.5 Conclusion	438
List of Interviews	441
Bibliography	447
Appendix A.....	469
Appendix B.....	475

List of Tables

3.1. Federal Transfers to Other Levels of Government	127
3.2. Calgary Housing Market Summary	133

List of Figures

1.1. Study Areas	7
1.2. Bowness Commercial Districts.....	9
1.3. Greater Forest Lawn Area.....	11
1.4. The Changing Rent Gap.....	17
1.5. Land Value Valley	21
1.6. The Expansion of Gentrification.....	23
2.1. Professionalization of London	56
2.2. Professionalization Scheme	59
2.3. Gentrifiers in Bowness Dissemination Areas	62
2.4. Gentrifiers in Greater Forest Lawn Area Dissemination Areas.....	64
2.5. Condos along the GFLA Escarpment	65
5.1. Locations of Revitalization in Bowness	210
5.2. Entering Bowness	211
5.3. Bow Crescent.....	211
5.4. Bowness “City-Centre”	212
5.5. Escarpment Redevelopment.....	213
5.6. R2 Infill Redevelopment.....	213
5.7. Northwest Side Redevelopment.....	214
5.8. Juxtaposition of Bowness Homes	214
5.9. Age Distribution of Vital Signs 2020 Respondents.....	266

5.10. Age Distribution in Bowness (2012)	266
6.1. Envisioning International Avenue	303
6.2. Town Hall Meeting Analysis	315
6.3. IADI Charrette 01 Pamphlet, Part 01	322
6.4. IADI Charrette 01 Pamphlet, Part 02	323
7.1. SE17 Concept Plan Area	342
7.2. SE17's Multi-Modal Boulevard	344
7.3. IADI's Multi-Modal Boulevard	345
7.4. Mixed Use Development	346
7.5. Density Game Blocks	356
7.6. CAG Preferred Intensification Area	356
7.7. Activity Timeline	363
7.8. Visioning Workshop Drawings and Ratings	364
7.9. 50 th Street East Urban Centre's Triple Bottom	370
8.1. Constraints to Redevelopment	425
8.2. Accommodating Redevelopment	426
8.3. A New Public Engagement Vision	435

List of Acronyms

AEUB.....	Alberta Energy and Utilities Board
APB.....	Alberta Planning Board
APC.....	Agenda and Priorities Committee
APF.....	Alberta Planning Fund
ARP.....	Area Redevelopment Plan
ASP.....	Area Structure Plan
AUC.....	Alberta Utilities Commission
AW35.....	Around the World in 35 Blocks
BCA.....	Bowness Community Association
BCE.....	Bell Canada Enterprises
BRZ.....	Business Revitalization Zone
CA.....	Community Association
CAG.....	Community Advisory Group
CAP.....	Canada Assistance Plan
CBD.....	Central Business District
CCRF.....	Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
CDW.....	Community Development Worker
CHST.....	Canada Health and Social Transfer
CMHC.....	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CNS.....	Community and Neighbourhood Services

CODA	Canada Olympic Development Association
COP.....	Canada Olympic Park
CPC.....	Calgary Planning Commission
CRPC	Calgary Regional Planning Commission
CTP	Calgary Transportation Plan
DA.....	Dissemination Area
DHA.....	Dominion Housing Act
ED	Enumeration District
ERCB	Energy Resources Conservation Board
EVDS	Faculty of Environmental Design
FAR.....	Floor Area Ratio
FCSS	Family and Community Support Services
FOIP	Freedom of Information and Privacy Act
GDP.....	Gross Domestic Product
GFLA	Greater Forest Lawn Area
HCC	Health Council of Canada
HOPE	Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
IABRZ.....	International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone
IADI	International Avenue Design Initiative
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LUPP.....	Land Use Policy and Planning

LVV Land Value Valley

NHA National Housing Act

NIP National Improvement Program

NRCB National Resources Conservation Board

MGA Municipal Government Act

MGB Municipal Government Board

MDP Municipal Development Plan

MDRV Municipal District of Rocky View

MLA Members of the Legislative Assembly

MLS Multiple Listing Service

MOCR Millican-Ogden Community Revitalization Plan

NIMBY Not In My Backyard

NDP New Democratic Party

NOCS National Occupational Classification for Statistics

NU New Urbanism

NYC New York City

NYCHVS New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey

OU Output Area

PAB Public Affairs Bureau

PC Progressive Conservative

PDC Planning and Development Committee

PLVI.....	Peak Land Value Intersection
RPC.....	Regional Planning Commission
SBR.....	Society of Bowness Residents
SEG.....	Socioeconomic Groups
SE17.....	Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept
SPC.....	Standing Policy Committee
T&C.....	Town and Country Hotel
TIF.....	Tax Increment Financing
U of C.....	University of Calgary
UK.....	United Kingdom
US.....	United States
WinSport.....	Winter Sports Institute

Chapter 01: Introduction

1.1 – Introduction

The gentrification process has evolved beyond its original definition. In 1964, Ruth Glass used the term “gentrification” to describe new and distinct forms of urban change that were occurring in inner London, which are now known as classical gentrification:

“One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again. Nowadays, many of these houses are being subdivided into costly flats or “houselets” (in terms of the new real estate snob jargon). The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.” (Glass 1964, 18)

Ruth Glass’ tongue in cheek definition means the replacement of lower class populations within a particular space by an urban gentry, or middle to upper class populations. Since gentrification was first documented, there has been considerable debate among gentrification researchers about the process’ cause. Researchers have either focused on consumption, such as lifestyle changes among neighbourhood residents (see Hamnett 1991; Hamnett 2003; Ley 1986), or production, including the rent gap thesis (see Smith 1996). The constant bickering between these two schools has contributed to an increased apathy towards gentrification research. There has been a decline in critical perspectives

on gentrification in recent years, convincing Slater (2006) that reflexive approaches must return.

This research project is not an attempt to revisit the production versus consumption debates, but rather a contribution toward a new understanding of the gentrification process. Rather than focusing on gentrification in the inner city, where the majority of research tends to concentrate, this research focuses on the gentrification of suburbs. Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA) are two of Calgary's inner suburban neighbourhoods.¹ The socio-spatial processes operating in these two neighbourhoods have produced far different outcomes. As Calgary continues to expand outward, gentrification has begun to expand outward from the city's central core. Lower land prices in both Bowness and the GFLA are becoming attractive to developers, and changing attitudes toward higher density living amongst Calgarians, have been influenced by the city's expansion and traffic congestion. The residents of Bowness and the GFLA have taken different steps to confront the gentrification process.

While the GFLA has undergone strategic efforts by a consortium to initiate gentrification, Bowness has been a site of resistance to the process. In the GFLA redevelopment advocates, with the International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone (IABRZ) at the centre, have successfully promoted a redevelopment scheme for the business corridor of the GFLA. The effect of a "New Urbanist" pedestrian-oriented design scheme will substantially remake the corridor and displace the current residents

¹ The Greater Forest Lawn Area is a collection of seven Calgary neighbourhoods that were at one time the town of Forest Lawn (and its hinterland). When Forest Lawn was annexed into the City of Calgary in the 1960s, the area was broken up into the present neighbourhoods.

and business owners. Bowness, on the other hand, has not been the site of a strategic plan to redevelop the community, but has witnessed gentrification (largely through residential means) within certain parts of the neighbourhood. However, a group of concerned citizens has successfully limited the reach of the gentrification process in the neighbourhood, which frustrated developers. The resistance movement in Bowness is entrenched and particularly stubborn, which ensures that gentrification will be continually challenged as time progresses. Critical to the gentrification process in both neighbourhoods has been the role of public participation.

1.2 – Research Objectives and Rationale

This research addresses several interrelated research questions centered on the contingent forces that drive the suburban gentrification process in Calgary:

1. How does the entanglement of community disempowerment and pro-development policies lead to the exclusion of certain segments of the population from planning processes in Calgary?
2. How have institutional arrangements, namely from residents' groups, limited the scope of gentrification in Bowness?
3. How have institutional arrangements, namely through a regime's exclusionary public engagement processes, contributed to gentrification in the Greater Forest Lawn Area?
4. How has public participation been used to reinforce hegemony in the Greater Forest Lawn Area, and how has it be used to counter it in Bowness?

Rationale

According to Slater (2006), there has been a lapse in critical perspectives of gentrification in the academic literature as of late. This research represents a return to the critical examination of gentrification by investigating causal mechanisms of the process. Rather than concentrate on the inner city, which is predominant in the gentrification

literature, this investigation will concentrate on the suburban realm. Moreover, it expands our knowledge of urban growth and development in Calgary. The Calgary experience is wholly absent from gentrification research, and largely absent from urban research in general.

There is considerable critique of the public participation process as it relates to inclusivity, namely around the notion of consensus (see Flyvbjerg 1998a; 1998b; Hillier 2003; Huxley 2000; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; 2000; Purcell 2009). However, this critical research on public participation does not link the activity with the gentrification process. For example, the redevelopment scheme that is being applied to the GFLA has been lauded as a wholly inclusive process. Collaboration and consensus-building were lauded as the crux of “community-driven” redevelopment effort, implying that the entire community was in favour of the change. However, the initial community outreach efforts excluded the GFLA’s vulnerable residents prior to any participation from the public. The promotion of the process as “community-driven” is debatable given that so many people who could be displaced by redevelopment were absent from the public consultations. For those who were invited, their collaboration with the regime only reinforced the wishes of the latter group. In effect, the planning process, which in theory should provide some protections against displacement, actually encourages the process through the legitimization of power structures. This research is a new contribution to the academic literature in regards to gentrification through public participation.

There were several key questions that guided this research project. First, how has interconnected state policy (largely between the provincial and municipal scales)

suppressed neighbourhood interests in the (re)development process? Second, although gentrification has occurred in Bowness the process has been isolated in small pockets of the neighbourhood. What forces have been able to keep the gentrification process largely at bay in Bowness? Third, through the efforts of IABRZ the GFLA has been the site of “community supported” New Urbanist redevelopment efforts that supposedly offer an alternative to status quo development strategies fostered by the City of Calgary. However, visions that come out of the IABRZ sponsored engagement process are largely no different than the outcomes of the City of Calgary engagement process. Why are New Urbanist redevelopment schemes just “business as usual?” Finally, the engagement efforts in the GFLA have been a significant factor for the emergence of gentrification within that neighbourhood, but can public participation also limit gentrification?

1.3 – Study Areas

This research examines two historically disinvested established Calgary neighbourhoods: Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area. The GFLA is comprised of seven neighbourhoods that were at one time the town of Forest Lawn and its surrounding lands. These seven neighbourhoods are so intimately connected that they cannot be separated in any functional sense.² Bowness is a neighbourhood approximately six kilometers northwest of Calgary city centre, while the GFLA is approximately six kilometers directly east of Calgary city centre (Figure 1.1 identifies their location in Calgary). Both Bowness and the GFLA were annexed to the City of Calgary in the early

² These seven neighbourhoods are the targets for the redevelopment schemes under scrutiny in this research. They are Albert Park/Radisson Heights, Applewood Park, Forest Lawn, Forest Lawn Industrial, Penbrooke Meadows, Southview, and Red Carpet.

1960s (they were both separate municipalities prior to 1964 and 1961 respectively). Ever since their incorporation into Calgary they have suffered continual disinvestment, at least until recently. Subsequently, both neighbourhoods have endured brutal and unfounded stigmatization. Both Bowness and the GFLA are within the inner suburban realm but are differentiated geographically, economically, socially and historically. As reinvestment and gentrification have taken hold in Calgary's inner city, the process has expanded outwards to these two neighbourhoods. Both neighbourhoods are now beginning to witness gentrification (the process is further under way in Bowness) and neighbourhoods adjacent to them (towards Calgary city centre) are undergoing the process full steam. For example, in April 2002, *enRoute* (Air Canada's monthly magazine) published 'Canada's Top Ten Coolest Neighbourhoods,' and amongst the list of ten is the neighbourhood directly west of the GFLA, Inglewood (see Lees et al. 2008).³ All ten of these neighbourhoods listed in *enRoute* are in the advanced stages of gentrification. Both Bowness and the GFLA can be considered to be within the land value valley in which the gentrification process takes place (Smith 1996).

³ Although the GFLA and Inglewood are separated by Deerfoot Trail (Calgary's major freeway), the process has jumped the fence and has landed on the GFLA's western edge.

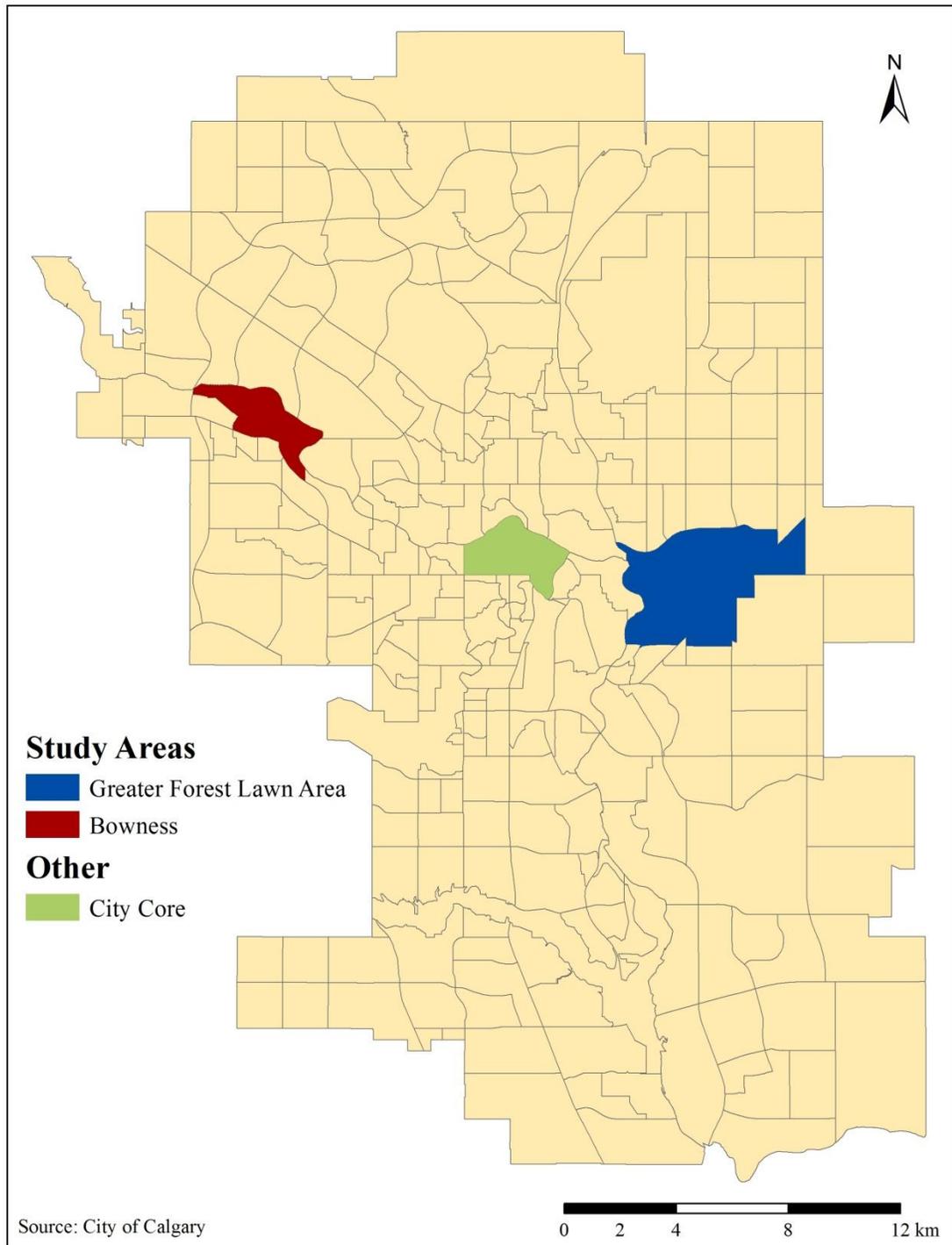


Figure 1.1. Study Areas

Bowness

By 1910, building and development was booming in Calgary, influencing John Hextall to purchase the Bowness Ranche land that lay West of Calgary (BHC 2005). In 1912 his family moved into a Tudor style mansion on the western portion of his property, and along with the lavish home Hextall had an even larger vision for Bowness (BHC 2005). The neighbourhood that is now Bowness began primarily as an upper-class bedroom community that served the city of Calgary (City of Calgary 2011a). Bowness continued to evolve as its own municipality until it was annexed to the City of Calgary in 1964 (City of Calgary 2011a). Given the natural boundaries (Bow River for example) the neighbourhood still retains its small town atmosphere (City of Calgary 2011a). However, today Bowness is polarized with low density, more expensive residences located along the periphery (next to the Bow River) and less expensive housing, at a variety of densities, within the neighbourhood core. Higher density public housing was erected due to state initiatives during the 1960s and 1970s (City of Calgary 2011a).⁴ The majority of Bowness is zoned residential and largely low density (City of Calgary 2011a). The neighbourhood's commercial centres are generally along Bowness Road (the neighbourhood core) and in the highway commercial district at the intersection of the Trans Canada Highway and Bowfort Road (on the neighbourhood's periphery) (labeled 1 and 2 respectively on Figure 1.2). Community pride is rather strong in Bowness and the neighbourhood even has its own historical society and community association (CA).

⁴ The documentation does not mention which state, provincial or municipal, constructed the housing.

This social collective has the potential to shape the continual evolution of the neighbourhood.

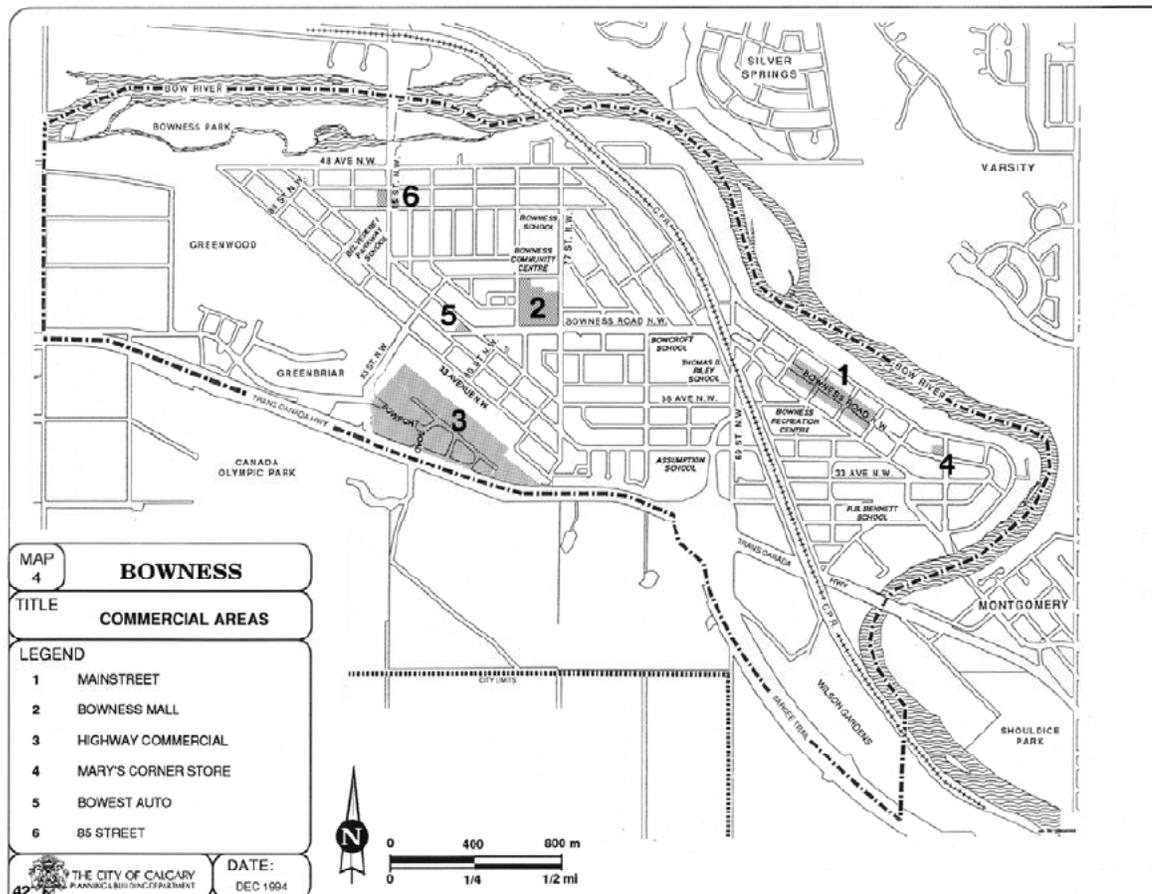


Figure 1.2. Bowness Commercial Districts

Source: City of Calgary (2011a)

Forest Lawn

Forest Lawn began as a prairie swamp with a small number of inhabitants (City of Calgary 2012c). In 1901 two real estate agents from the US bought land just east of Calgary (near Forest Lawn at that time) in an attempt to create a beautiful residential neighbourhood with tree-lined streets and a community lake (City of Calgary 2012c).

However, having been unable to sell the lots (due to inflated prices and lack of public transportation), the real-estate agents conjured up a scam to sell the lots by laying railroad lines from Forest Lawn to Calgary, promising street car development (City of Calgary 2012c). The proposed streetcar development actually spawned industrial development in the area although the streetcar system was never built (City of Calgary 2012c). By 1912 the area was subdivided into various districts (Forest Lawn, Hubalta, etc) and in 1961 the town of Forest Lawn and its population of 13,000 was annexed to city of Calgary. As mentioned above, there are seven core neighbourhoods that comprise the GFLA. However, there are three adjacent neighbourhoods that will also be affected by any redevelopment in the GFLA. These neighbourhoods are Dover, Erinwoods and Forest Heights. Figure 1.3 (below) identifies the neighbourhoods that comprise the GFLA, as well as the three adjacent neighbourhoods mentioned above.

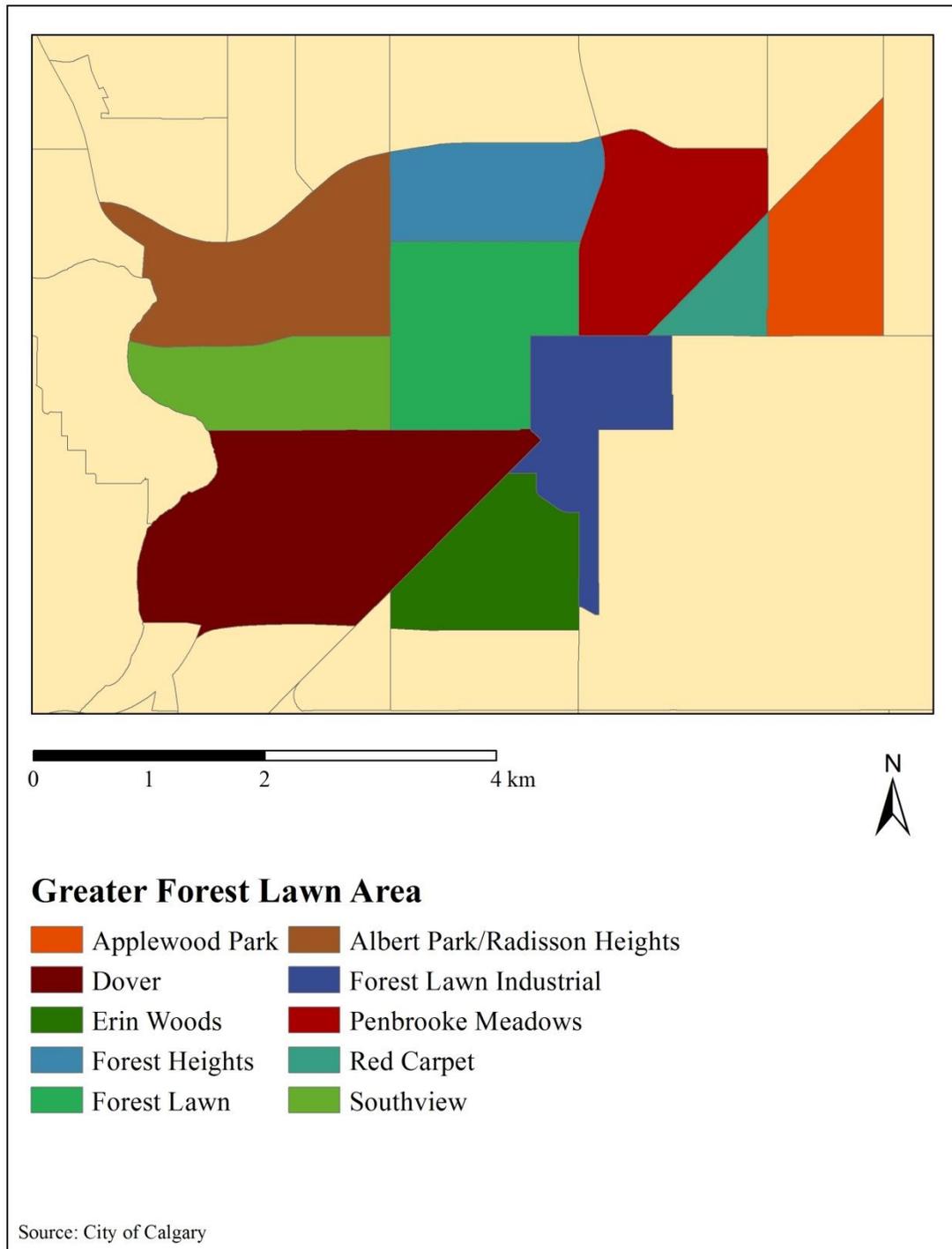


Figure 1.3. Greater Forest Lawn Area

Presently, Forest Lawn has a smaller proportion of single family residences than other Calgary neighbourhoods and is largely occupied by renters (City of Calgary 2012c). The neighbourhood is populated largely by younger and older people, and has many single-parent families (City of Calgary 2012c). A variety of ethnicities (besides Caucasian) call Forest Lawn home, making the neighbourhood quite diverse compared to Bowness and much of Calgary (City of Calgary 2012c). Approximately fifteen percent of Forest Lawn is on some sort of social assistance, which is much higher than the rest of Calgary (City of Calgary 2012c). The neighbourhood has a higher crime rate than many other Calgary neighbourhoods, although this has seen a decline over recent years (City of Calgary 2012c).

The GFLA is predominantly zoned residential and is largely 1950s style bungalows (City of Calgary 2012c). Owner-occupancy continues to decline as the number of rental units continues to increase. Medium density or multi-family dwelling units developments are largely confined to and surrounding the commercial district along 17th Avenue SE. According to City of Calgary (2010), high rates of population growth from a diversity of ethnicities have contributed to a very multi-cultural collection of businesses and food services within the commercial district.

1.4 – Theoretical Framework

Gentrification

The gentrification process has been one of the most studied urban phenomena since Glass recognized its emergence (Hackworth 2002), and along with the ever-

changing structures of capitalism has evolved to become a “leading edge of the new urban frontier” (Smith 1996, 51). There has been debate on whether gentrification is a chaotic concept. The process may or may not be chaotic, but the underlying structures stimulating its growth are without a doubt highly complex. Gentrification is considered part of the urban regeneration process, but not all urban regeneration can be regarded as gentrification. Smith defines gentrification as

...the process, I would begin, by which poor and working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters – neighbourhoods that had previously experienced disinvestment. (1996, 32)

These neighbourhoods typically witness capital disinvestment and a middle-class exodus prior to gentrification. Since gentrification continually evolves I would alter Smith’s definition slightly to define the process as the reinvestment of capital and influx of the middle and upper classes at the urban core and its surrounding neighbourhoods (such as the inner suburbs), which reconstructs space for more affluent classes of people, leading to the direct and indirect displacement of poorer residents. Gentrification refers to the class “upgrading” of urban space that pushes the less affluent out of the spaces they (re)produced (Boyle 1999).

Ruth Glass’ original description of gentrification concentrated on the renovation of working class homes by the lower and upper middle classes in North Kensington in London, United Kingdom. The “shabby, modest mews and cottages” of the working classes were taken over once their leases expired and turned into elegant and expensive homes for wealthier populations (Glass 1964, xviii). At that time, gentrification was

perceived as an oddity because current formulations of city development were based in the linear progression outwards from the central core (invasion/succession for example). There were serious doubts as to whether the gentrification would be significant in changing the landscape of the city (see Berry 1985; Bourne 1993a; 1993b), but the process has endured several cycles of recessions and booms (see Hackworth and Smith 2001). Gentrification has now become a popular development strategy for the modern city and exists on every continent except Antarctica (see Smith 2002).

The gentrification process is no longer seen as an oddity in the housing market, but is instead the leading edge of far greater structural arrangement to completely remake urban centers along class lines (Smith 1996). There is a caveat to Smith's argument: the gentrification process has mutated and now represents different forms as well as locations. For example, Phillips (1993; 2002) has focused his research efforts on rural gentrification, while Davidson (2006) and Davidson and Lees (2005) discovered striking similarities between new build gentrification and the original connotation.⁵ The latter research was in response to calls for keeping the definition of gentrification within the confines of the classical interpretation (see Lambert and Boddy 2002). Contemporary research on gentrification notes how the process completely reworks space to accommodate the middle and upper classes; it is no longer restricted to the inner cities and older physical structures.

⁵ Contemporary gentrifiers are as likely to reside in renovated home as they are in elegant new townhouses (Shaw 2002).

The Rent Gap

The rent gap is the disparity present between the capitalized ground rent and the potential ground rent. Ground rent refers to a landowner's claim on use of their land by a user (tenant for example). "Capitalized ground rent is the actual quantity of ground rent that is appropriated by the landowner, given the present land use" (Smith 1996, 62). In rental housing the landowner, through monthly housing rent, obtains the majority of capitalized ground rent. When the land is under owner-occupancy, capitalized ground rent is returned to the homeowner as part of the sale price when the building changes hands. The specific land use dictates the amount of ground rent that can be capitalized. (Smith 1996). However, space is always relational, and highly influenced by relational effects (e.g. neighbouring space with higher and better uses). So, under a different use, a space may be able to capitalize a higher ground rent. These higher potential rents are what is referred to as potential ground rent, or what "could be capitalized under the land's 'highest and best use' (in planners' parlance), or at least under a higher and better use" (Smith 1996, 62). The rent gap is created "by capital devalorization (which diminishes the proportion of the ground rent able to be capitalized) and also by continued urban development and expansion (which historically raised the potential ground rent level in the inner city)" (Smith 1996, 67-68).

Contemporary gentrification continues apace in the already gentrified inner city, closing in the rent gap in these spaces. This closing of the rent gap diffuses the process outward into adjacent spaces and older suburbs become more vulnerable to gentrification. The ever-shrinking rent gap within gentrified space alters the rent gap within ungentrified

space, to a point that is not addressed in the theory's original postulations. When reinvestment in the inner city first began, actualized ground rent was falling and potential ground rent remained stable (Clark 1995; Hackworth 2007; Smith 1979a; 1979b). As gentrification continued, various structural forces, whether it is landlords or political might, actualized higher potential rents (Hackworth 2007). However, in gentrification's most recent phase, capitalized ground rent has remained relatively stable while the potential ground rent has increased sharply due to a reinvested core, thus driving up economic potential in the central city (Hackworth 2007). Figure 1.4 (below) highlights this progression. Developers, urban regimes, speculators, etc have been very effective in expanding this development into formerly neglected neighbourhoods (beyond the inner city), thus increasing the attractiveness for investment and increasing capitalized ground rents (Hackworth 2007).

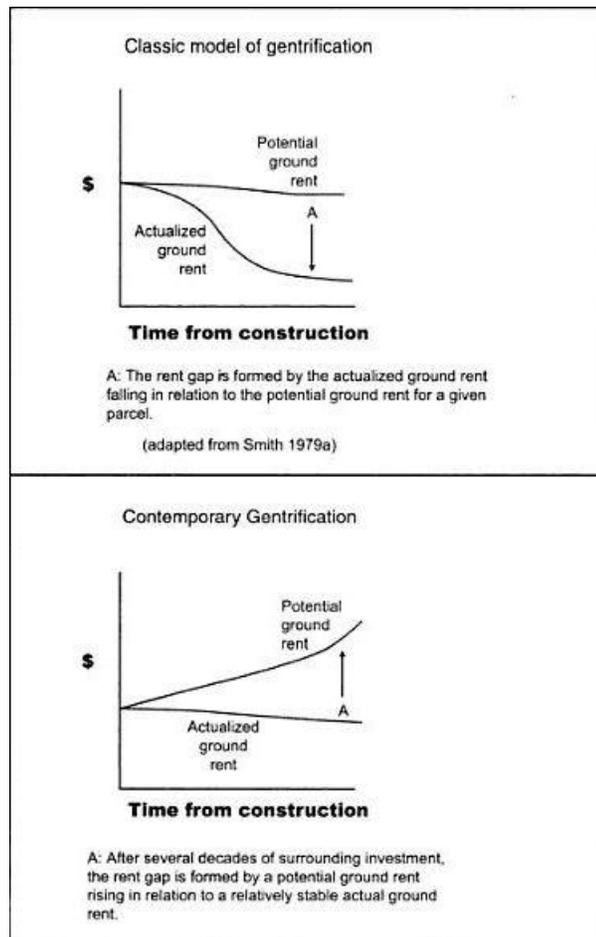


Figure 1.4. The Changing Rent Gap
Source: Hackworth (2007)

Suburban Gentrification

Traditional urban economic theories of neighbourhood change typically rely on the filtering model. Filtering is based on the notion that newer housing is often occupied by more affluent people who had left their less spacious homes, which are usually closer to the city core, for new housing on the periphery (Smith 1996). The vacated housing is then taken over by low income people. According to this theory, metropolitan areas are shaped by the continuous movement from the central core to outlying areas. This

economic model also postulates that the fate of neighbourhoods is largely based on who moves in and out (Smith et al. 2001). The visible signs of population movement and concentration, such as changing class structure and ethnicity, are deemed attributes of “natural” neighbourhood evolution. This model leaves class and race discrimination in neighbourhood change unquestioned (Smith et al. 2001). There are, however, other processes at work that determine the fate of neighbourhood space.

Capital investment is central to any transformation of neighbourhood space. Investment can be highly visible (such as new construction and building repairs) or less visible (such as mortgages given by private lending institutions) (Smith et al. 2001). Disinvestment is also central to the altering of the urban landscape. One usually witnesses the effects of disinvestment long after the decision has been made to do so. The general population does not usually notice a bank’s refusal to finance a new home or repairs at the onset (Smith et al. 2001). Capital can be mobile so it may flow in and out of neighbourhoods without much immediate visible change (Smith et al. 2001).

Both academic research and popular culture have often painted the inner city as a space of economic neglect and outright depravity, but it is now known that the inner city realm is not alone among spaces of neglect. Older suburbs have also witnessed economic disinvestment over the last several decades. The visible signs of decline are directly attributable to capital disinvestment. These capital flows are central to any theoretical arguments concerning neighbourhood change (Smith et al. 2001). Households, public institutions, etc make geographical decisions on where to locate, and these decisions are often based on “profit, rent, and value in the metropolitan land markets” (Smith et al.

2001, 500). Structures and systems (such as urban regimes) that influence capital flow are major players in the production of space, particularly at the neighbourhood level.

Uneven development is inherent to the capitalist mode of production, and is actively reproduced in capitalism's spatial dynamics. The see-saw nature of capitalism, "the equalization of conditions and levels of development and their differentiation" has created a landscape where capital is centralized in some places to the ruin of others (Smith 1996, 77). How this plays out in the urban realm, in the most general sense, is the interplay of suburban investment and inner city disinvestment. Increased disinvestment from the inner city was more widespread in United States (US) cities, but Canadian cities also witnessed this process, albeit to a lesser extent. For example, the Canadian Dominion Housing Act (DHA) of 1935 – reconstituted later as the National Housing Act (NHA) – provided funding only for new housing (see Harris 2004) and not for reinvestment in the existing housing stock. Canadian federal housing policy also promoted a specific type of development – the corporate suburb (Harris 2004). These policies, and others, that favoured disinvestment from the city core and investment into the suburban realm set the stage for the gentrification of neglected neighbourhoods. Rent seeking capital flows spawned the wholesale class transformation of neglected neighbourhoods, or what is commonly referred to as gentrification. Rent gap theory is derived from this process of uneven development inherent in capitalism.

A general land value pattern exists within the modern metropolis, most notably within North American cities. According to Smith (1996), the majority of cities exhibited the classical conic form of land values during the nineteenth century. This

form had a centralized peak of high value at the centre with a continual slope of lower land values moving out from the city centre. As urban development continued outward, land values at the centre increases (Smith 1996).⁶ This urban growth was (and still is) directly influenced by cycles of capital investment. For example, if there is an economic boom, urban expansion is heightened.⁷ As time passed and cities evolve, larger metropolises may become bases for expanding corporate headquarters, thus increasing office functions in the city centre along with upscale apartment complexes (Smith et al. 2001). Investment was concentrated in the central core of cities. As time progressed, investment then switched to beyond the inner city (suburban realm) as well, thus leading to disinvestment in the inner city and creating a land value valley (LVV) between the suburbs and the city core (Figure 1.5).⁸ Smith (1996) states that this LVV is created through an expanding rent gap, and it is in the areas this rent gap is present that gentrification most likely will occur. The LVV is not static, and continually moves outward (represented by the bold horizontal arrows in Figure 1.5) as gentrification (bold vertical arrow in Figure 1.5) takes hold.

⁶ This early model of the city is compatible with the filtering model used by traditional neighbourhood change theorists.

⁷ Calgary's most recent boom occurred in the late 2000s and was followed by a recession. Lately, Calgary has been on upswing and developers are now refocusing their efforts on the inner suburban realm (see Chapter 04).

⁸ The land value valley is not perfectly circular around the city centre. Some of the inner city continued to receive investment, while others witnessed neglect resulting in an uneven pattern at the urban scale.

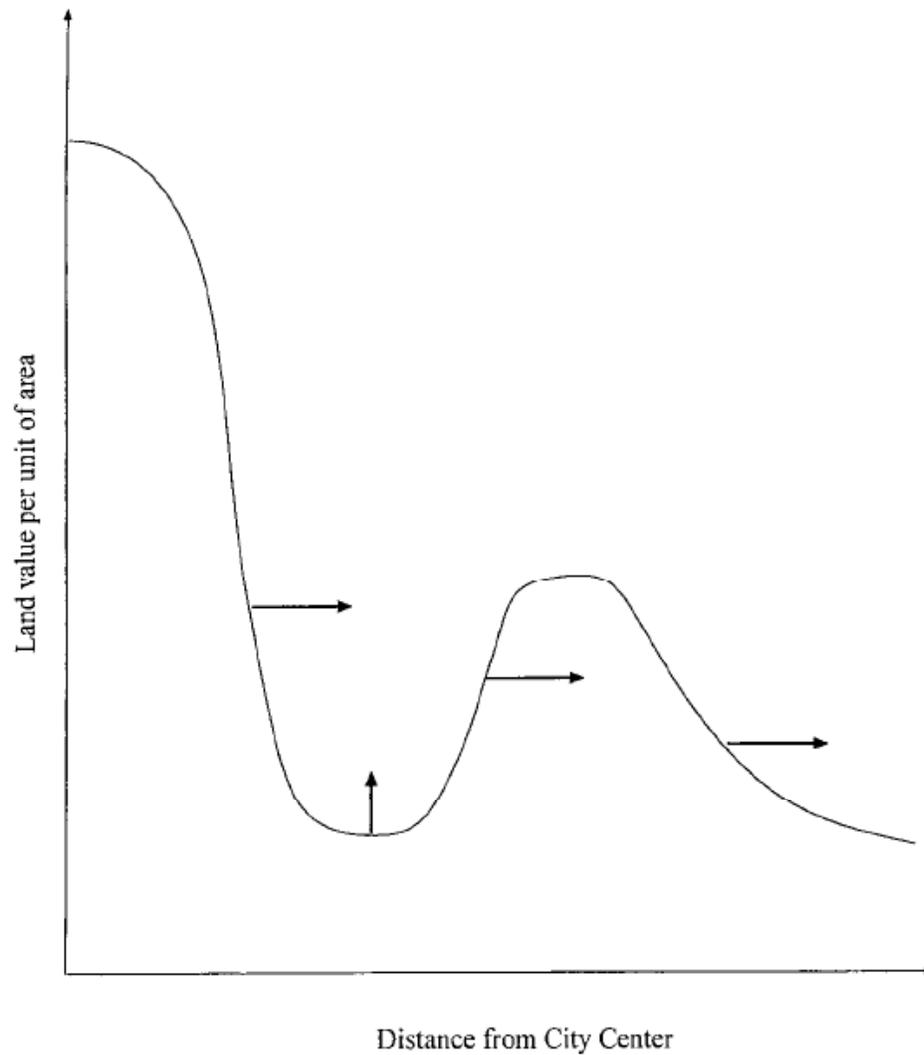


Figure 1.5. Land Value Valley
Source: Smith (1996)

According to Lees et al (2008), uneven urban development has expanded significantly within cities that have already experienced gentrification, so the process has expanded out from its initial enclaves. Gentrification can now be seen in other parts of the devalorized city, notably the inner suburban realm. In other words, the reinvestment potential in the inner suburbs is now far greater given the already entrenched gentrified

landscape in the inner city. Hackworth (2002, 825) argues that “housing markets are in flux as the reinvested core—the area close to the central business district (CBD) that experienced the bulk of real estate investment during earlier waves of gentrification—shoves the once monolithic belt of disinvestment (the LVV) outward from the urban core.”. Consequently, more distant sections of the central city, including the fringe areas of the inner city and the inner suburban realm, are now undergoing gentrification. The local specifics of a city dictate this expansion, but the process is a logical expansion upon the rent gap theory (Lees et al. 2008). Hackworth (2002) provides a visualization of this process (Figure 1.6)

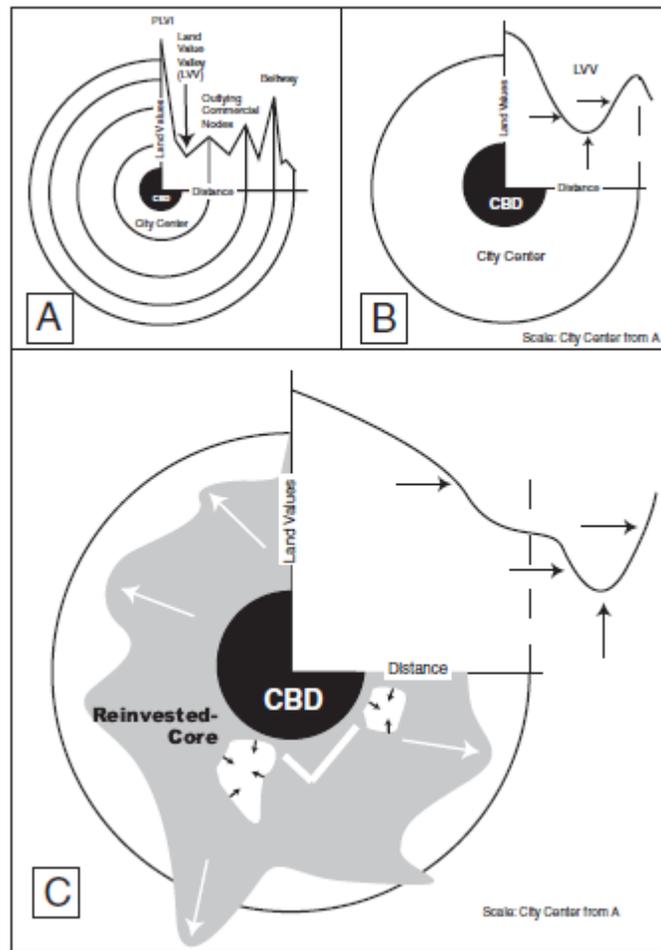


Figure 1.6. The Expansion of Gentrification
 Source: Hackworth (2002)

Figure 1.6 explains the expansion of gentrification to more distant sections of the city, such as the suburban realm. As cities industrialized, investment in the central core produced what Hackworth (2002) refers to as ‘peak land value intersection’ (PLVI) in the CBD, and as suburbanization took hold it also created various moving peaks throughout the city (typically at transportation nodes) (Hackworth 2002). The top left section (A) visualizes this expansion of the city. Hackworth (2002) states that as the suburbanization and devalorization cycle continued, the LVV was created near the CBD. Homer Hoyt

(1933) was the first person to recognize this pattern. The top right section (B) visualizes this aspect. As various parts of the city are devalorized, the LVV diffuses outwards further from the central city in more distant sections (Hackworth 2002). The result is a “complex mosaic of disinvestment and reinvestment” (Lees et al 2008, 82). The bottom section (C) represents the expansion of the LVV, which provides an intriguing visualization of the suburban gentrification process.

Gentrification Evolved

There is an intimate relationship with capital markets in the gentrification process, notably in a city that is inherently affected by boom and bust cycles. Hackworth and Smith (2001) devised a schematic history of gentrification in New York City that, while dependent upon a particular space for an explanation of the process, does provide some insight into how it has changed over time. They argue that gentrification is represented by a series of waves separated by a series of recessions. The most recent wave of gentrification is defined by a more diverse group of actors (developers, federal and local governments, etc) playing a greater role in the process, and by expansion of the process to more remote neighbourhoods in the city (Hackworth and Smith 2001). Pioneer gentrifiers, which defined the early stages of the process, play less of a role than more entrenched profit-seeking interests such as developers. The role of the state has also increased. The development industry is a powerful lobby in the city of Calgary, and municipal policies often cater to its interests. The intimate relationship between developers and the City of Calgary is a key factor in gentrification in the city. While Hackworth and Smith (2001) show that large corporate developers play a far greater role

in the recent wave of gentrification in New York. In Calgary it is the small-scale developers that are actively gentrifying the city's devalued spaces.

Displacement

Due to the difficulty of quantifying displacement, the detrimental side effects of gentrification have been hotly debated by researchers. Newman and Wyly (2006) noted that locating displaced people, particularly if they are poor, is extremely complicated. There are currently very few measures (such as the Canadian Census) available to count displaced people, and displaced residents are largely uncountable in gentrifying neighbourhoods. However, some research has found evidence of displacement (see Atkinson 2000; Davidson and Lees 2005; Lyons 1996). Other research has downplayed the detrimental side effects of displacement and have lauded gentrification as beneficial for all (Freeman and Braconi 2002a; 2002b; 2004). Newman and Wyly (2006) dispute this research and argue that displacement does indeed exist and there are unquantifiable displacement-induced hardships that are endured by residents and businesses.

Displacement is an identifiable result of the gentrification process.

There are various forms that displacement can take. The most recognized variety is direct displacement. Direct displacement describes the actual dislocation of inhabitants from a property due to increased land prices, demolition, etc, and usually their replacement by middle to upper income inhabitants. Classical gentrification described this process. Gentrification can cause indirect displacement as well. Deciphering the new-built landscape in London, which occurred on brownfield sites, Davidson and Lees (2005) documented lower-income populations in neighbourhood spaces being displaced,

but not directly.⁹ Indirect displacement, according to Davidson (2006), can occur in three forms: indirect economic displacement, community displacement and local services displacement. “Indirect economic displacement involves an existing community being priced out of their neighbourhood as rental and house prices increase beyond inflation due to the increased desirability of the gentrifying neighbourhood” (Davidson 2006, 53). Davidson (2006) argues that this process is similar to direct displacement, but when applied to new build development indirect economic displacement is similar to Marcuse’s (1986) definition of exclusionary displacement.¹⁰ Exclusionary displacement, or price shadowing, occurs when lower-income populations cannot afford housing in the gentrified landscape simply because it has become out of reach economically (Lees et al. 2008; Marcuse 1986). The then concentration of capital and middle classes makes the neighbourhood more desirable, thus putting increased economic pressure on current residents (particularly if they are lower income). The effects of exclusionary displacement may not be as visible as direct displacement, but it is still a destructive process for neighbourhoods. For example, due to reinvestment from new build development the affordable housing might gradually be depleted.

Community displacement may also occur simultaneously. This form of displacement occurs when the socio-spatial apparatus of a neighbourhood becomes

⁹ New-build gentrification can also occur when former residential property is demolished in order to make way for more expensive housing or businesses, such as infill and replacement redevelopment. This form of displacement is omnipresent in Calgary since infill and replacement redevelopment is a popular strategy of central city developers.

¹⁰ For direct displacement, the vacated lots produce competing demands between gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers on a single property (Grier and Grier 1980). “This process is not replicated in new-build gentrification since gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers are not, at least immediately, competing for residency in the same property.” (Davidson 2006, 53)

dominated by more affluent populations (Davidson 2006; Davidson and Lees 2005). Gentrifiers can completely reorganize the social atmosphere of neighbourhoods, such as the revisioning of a commercial corridor (such as what is occurring in the GFLA). The final mode of indirect displacement is the displacement of local services. Under this guise, displacement takes the form of the reorientation of neighbourhood services (Davidson 2006). For example, when a commercial corridor is transformed to cater to a more affluent class of people, it will no longer provide the essentials for the existing residents. The desires of the gentrifiers are being met, while the essential needs of the existing residents are being depleted. In summation, the gentrification landscape has evolved considerably and involves multiple forms of displacement.

There are inherent ties between gentrification and an economic system. The equalization and differentiation effects, according to Smith (1996) are one of the chief causes of the gentrification process. Movement of state apparatuses towards neoliberalization has placed gentrification at the leading edge of urban restructuring (Smith 2002). For example, as the state has diminished its role in welfare provisions and related services, other institutional frameworks have picked up where the state has left off. Public-private partnerships, such as urban development corporations, have been created. Local social and political space has been changed, and revitalization efforts come to the forefront (Fraser 2004). The revisioning (gentrification) of neighbourhoods, such as the GFLA, is encouraged under this new system.

Neoliberalization

There is a fundamental difference between neoliberalism in theory and the implementation of the process (Harvey 2005). Theoretically neoliberalism is a “one size fits all policy objective” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 6), but in practice neoliberalization is often contradictory and assumes structures that were established before its implementation (Peck et al 2009). In other words, neoliberalism in practice does not create market fundamentalism in totality. For example, although the City of Calgary tends to support market forces through the relaxation of municipal development regulations (such as a neighbourhood’s Area Redevelopment Plan), the City also retains its public utility company, Enmax, despite calls for its privatization (see Miller 2007). However, under the Klein Administration, Alberta’s urban neoliberal path became deeply entrenched, in part through the province’s Municipal Government Act (MGA). Once home to one of the world’s most robust regional planning system, the Klein Tories dismantled all the Regional Planning Commissions (RPC) and the province’s Planning Act. Alberta’s less effective planning legislation was folded into the province’s new MGA. Although it has been argued that the MGA’s strength lies in its openness, it is the interpretation of that act at the municipal level that has facilitated the proliferation of market approaches. In Calgary, this has essentially prevented any social planning at the municipal level, while reinforcing pro-development goals.

Calgary’s Municipal Development Plan (MDP) began as a progressive venture to slow the urban sprawl that has plagued the city, but the combination of limited resources, conservative interpretations of the MGA, and a powerful development industry lobby

ensured that the effectiveness of the plan would be limited. During the initial stages of Plan-It (the name given to the integrated Municipal Development Plan and Calgary Transportation Plan) a social plan, Live It, was envisioned but eliminated. The lack of a social plan dictates a greater reliance on market forces because the approved MDP does not incorporate protections that ensure more equitable social and spatial practices. Of course, this argument assumes that Plan-It will be rigorously followed, but the City of Calgary is notorious for relaxations on plan requirements. For example, Calgary neighbourhoods have Area Redevelopment Plans (ARPs), usually sponsored by their respective communities, that are used as guides typically protectionist in nature for development. But ARPs are often ignored by the City of Calgary. According to a developer I interviewed (Steve), the City of Calgary often advises developers to not follow a neighbourhood's ARP for their development projects. Although developers have many grievances regarding the City of Calgary bureaucracy, the plans and policies of the City prioritize market processes and produce high profit margins for the development industry. Given the City of Calgary's emphasis on land use planning, redevelopment efforts in established neighbourhoods focus on upzoning. By encouraging upzoning, the City of Calgary contributes to land price increases for developers, in turn altering the housing and class structures of particular neighbourhoods.

Hegemony and the Development Industry

Social relationships are manifested through individual forms of "habits, acquired routines, rules, and norms" (Swyngedouw 1997, 147), but within a society there tends to be a hegemonic group or class. The current use of the word hegemony is derived from

Gramsci (Johnston, et al 2000), but according to Harvey (2003) Gramsci's use was ambiguous enough to allow for various interpretations. Generally, hegemony refers to a dominant group exercising control not through dominant force, but instead through consent (Johnston, et al 2000). Hegemony is more than just one class exerting power over others though. It also refers to the incorporation of dominant ideologies into everyday lifestyles, practices, and institutional forms (Johnston, et al 2000), which are perceived as "natural" by the wider group. Hegemonic social practices are forged through class-organized struggles (either by a class alliance or class fraction) that have capably demonstrated leadership over the larger group as well as the dominant class (Jessop 1997; Swyngedouw 1997).

Hegemony and Regimes

Hegemonic ideologies and class bargaining play a central role in governance at all political scales, including the urban (Jessop 1997; Lauria 1999). Urban regime theory deciphers the politics of alliance-building and decision-making among several actors (the state, private business, community organizations, private residents, politicians, etc) at the urban scale. Lauria (1999, 126) asks four basic questions surrounding urban regime theory:

1. Who are the influential actors?
2. What are the bases for their influence?
3. What types of coalitions arise around what issues?
4. How and under what conditions do coalitions solidify into stable governing regimes?

Ample research has been produced examining the role of growth coalitions in cities.

Urban regime theory regards growth coalitions as just one of many political coalitions

that may form at the urban scale (Lauria 1999). The larger question concerns how coalitions become hegemonic over time and space, and how they have (de)evolved and transformed along with the changing structure of capitalism.

Urban regime theory has been criticized for largely investigating economic development to the exclusion of urban politics. On the one hand this is largely true, but Lauria (1999) argues that focusing on economic conditions can also be considered a focus on politics. For example, Lauria (1999) argues that political activists are now focusing more on specific types of development such as gentrification, green development, etc. instead of on welfare and civil rights issues that were predominant during Fordism. The change in focus by activists represents a change in political action, and economic development and urban politics are not mutually exclusive.

Jessop (1997) argues that the local economy must be understood as fundamentally connected with higher scaled economic and extra-economic regulation. Urban regime theory concentrates on the local scale and the role of urban governance in meeting local economic and social challenges (Stoker 1995). Although elites play an integral role in regime construction, the heart of the theory is aligned with the social production of power relations and class alliances. Although regimes may appear to be locally sovereign, they are still aligned with wider-scaled economic structures. Ever-changing urban landscapes are directly linked to the changing political and ideological landscapes of capitalism (for example the shift from Fordism to neoliberalism). Urban regimes are thus highly influenced by the changes in capitalism.

How do urban regimes emerge? What triggers regime change? Urban regimes are an integral part of regulation, and understanding hegemonic discourse is key to understanding the ability of urban regimes to hold power (Jessop 1997; Lauria 1999). Gramsci (2005) defines an historic bloc as the basis of consent to a social order that not only satisfies the needs of the dominant class but also pushes the entire society (urban, in this context) along with it in order to propagate new economic and productive activities. A hegemonic bloc refers to a class alliance organized by a specific class (or a fraction of a particular class) that has successfully demonstrated leadership (intellectual, moral, and political) to both the dominant class and the rest of society (Jessop 1997). The concept of hegemony and its role in regime production and change is rooted in discourse. Johnston et al. (2000) describe discourse as “a specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized” (180). Discourses shape the views of the social world and even naturalize them (Johnson et al. 2000). However, when examining urban regimes through the lens of hegemony one must not stray down a class reductionist path. Cultural hegemony instead should be regarded as framing all social relations in accord with the economic and extra-economic forces of the dominant mode of production (Jessop 1997).

Public Participation and Hegemony

The current public participation structure associated with planning at the City of Calgary is both exclusionary and reinforcing of the local hegemonic bloc. The standard model for community outreach in Calgary, whether through a private venture or the City of Calgary, does not consider geography in its design. Neighbourhoods are “tapped”

through official networks, such as CAs, which are inherently limited. Official networks are also biased toward homeowners. The effect of this is that dialogue and dissent are constrained with community outreach bringing the same individuals to the table regardless of the where a project is focused. It is through the use of open houses or design charrettes that promotional efforts are conducted and the public provides input. In neighbourhoods that are culturally diverse, such as the GFLA, the use of English only excludes a good portion of the residents. The open house and design charrette structure is set up to force residents to come to the dominant players, rather than the latter group reaching out to the public. In poorer neighbourhoods, such as the GFLA, where residents cannot justify taking the time to attend meetings for time, economic, and cultural reasons, minority and dissenting voices frequently will not be represented. Generally, community outreach attempts around redevelopment strategies in Calgary systematically exclude the city's most vulnerable residents.

What the hegemonic bloc requires is a decision-making practice that is widely accepted as democratic, but simultaneously does not challenge its power relations (see Purcell 2009). Although it was not devised to reinforce hegemony, communicative and collaborative planning is a decision-making process that can serve to legitimize dominant groups. Communicative and Collaborative planning has its roots in Habermas' notion of communicative action. Communicative action suggests that participants work towards an intersubjective understanding that fulfills the needs of all through deliberation (Purcell 2009). Through 'ideal speech situation' (Habermas 2001, 102) participants may articulate their beliefs transparently, power relations are neutralized between participants

so that they may deliberate equally, those who are affected may participate in the process meaningfully, all participants can be empathetic to differing points of view, and a collective good is forged that supplants individual self-interest (Cohen 1997; Cunningham 2001; Flyvberg 1998a; Habermas 1990; 1993). However, Habermas believes that such an ideal is not even possible. In reality, power relations can never be entirely neutralized. Through communicative action conflict can only be masked, which can be an effective tool for dominant groups because the essential power relations are left untouched (Laclau and Mouffe 1985; 2000). Public participation allows hegemony to be politically legitimized.

Through “consensus building”, dominant power relations are legitimized in a democratic forum. Consensus-building resembles Habermas’ conception of communicative action, but it is not identical. Rather, consensus-building borrows from his insights on communication (see Innes 2004) and ignores his insights on power. The consensus-building public participation format relies upon participants as stakeholders, which means those who are invited to participate “have something tangible at stake” (Purcell 2009, 157), typically defined in terms of property ownership or, at a minimum, local residency. In order to break power differences amongst stakeholders for deliberation, dialogue must be skillfully managed, information must be shared, and all participants must be educated (Innes 2004). However, consensus-building is different than communicative action because stakeholders enter the process with strategic objectives. Stakeholders work together to forge a new creative solution which will advance the group’s interests, which may or may not be representative of the common

good (Purcell 2009). Through deliberation, stakeholders then produce outcomes that never crossed their minds prior to consensus-building. A shared solution, according to Innes (2004), demands that all stakeholders are in agreement with the outcome. All stakeholders and groups believe that their interests were satisfied, and that the outcome was a win-win situation (Purcell 2009). Thus, this model ensures that the wants of the dominant groups will be retained for the most part, so the possibility of existing power relations being altered is generally low (Purcell 2009). In an urban context, the consensus-building forum can produce a safe environment for powerful interests; because development interests can go unchallenged, particularly if those groups that might present a challenge are excluded. More importantly, hegemony is maintained because consensus-building produces an outcome that has buy-in from much of the broader community (marginalized groups included) (Innes 2004), thus politically legitimizing power relations.

Consensus-building and collaboration were keystones of the public engagement efforts to revitalize the GFLA. No matter how appealing progressive rhetoric is or convincing win-win scenarios appear to be, the groups that wield power will usually have their interests met and politically legitimized through collaborative efforts. Rather than trying to neutralize power relations, they should be understood as ever-present and countered through struggle. Marginalized and disadvantaged groups must be creative and deeply political if they are to challenge a hegemonic bloc (Laclau and Mouffe 1985; 2000). In fact, the group of resistance to gentrification in Bowness is creative, deeply political and has successfully limited the reach of developers in the neighbourhood. The

counter-hegemonic movement, centred around the Bowness CA, continually challenges the City of Calgary and developers as they try to redevelop the neighbourhood, largely through residential development. Redevelopment, particularly the construction of massive multi-million dollar homes along the Bow River, is seen as a threat to Bowness' small town atmosphere (which is a sense of pride to counter the hegemonic group). With thorough knowledge of provincial and municipal planning legislation and old-fashioned bullheadedness the group regularly confronts that threat; most recently with the potential redevelopment of Greenbriar and Canada Olympic Park (see Chapter Four).¹¹ The counter-hegemonic group understands that conflict is ever-present, and is willing to capitalize upon its existence to challenge powerful groups.

The redevelopment efforts undertaken in the GFLA has been based in New Urbanist theory and practice. It was through consensus-building and collaboration through New Urbanist mechanisms that hegemony was legitimized. The public that participated in the two redevelopment plans' implementation strategies were largely convinced that New Urbanism (NU) was the only alternative at confronting the issues plaguing the GFLA. However, this research shows that there are serious doubts as to whether design can solve the GFLA's 'issues' and that NU's practice is as democratic as it exclaims.

¹¹ Through lobbying efforts of City Council and with support of environmental groups, the Bowness CA was able to successfully indefinitely stall big box redevelopment on Canada Olympic Park lands on southwest edge of the neighbourhood. Greenbriar is a small community adjacent to the lands, and would have also witnessed redevelopment.

New Urbanism and the Affordable Housing Problem

There is much to be commended in the New Urbanist movement. The low-densities associated with suburban expansion are an unsustainable approach to city development, and New Urbanism (NU) is a practical approach to changing the development patterns of urban municipalities. The Charter of the New Urbanism outlines six overarching themes that define the movement:

The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge.

We stand for the restoration of existing urban centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighborhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy.

We recognize that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems, but neither can economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health be sustained without a coherent and supportive physical framework.

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.

We represent a broad-based citizenry, composed of public and private sector leaders, community activists, and multidisciplinary professionals. We are committed to re-establishing the relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design.

We dedicate ourselves to reclaiming our homes, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, districts, towns, cities, regions, and environment. (CNU 2001, 1)

The charter defines 27 conceptual principles that serve to guide policy, design, planning and developmental practice; and they are organized under three subheadings based on scalar organization (see CNU 2001). The New Urbanist redevelopment scheme for the GFLA is guided largely by principles addressed under the subheadings: the Neighbourhood, the District, and the Corridor. The charter states that these foci are “the essential elements of development and redevelopment in the metropolis. They form identifiable areas that encourage citizens to take responsibility for their maintenance and evolution” (CNU 2001, 2). New Urbanism recommends a progressive approach to development, emphasizing transit oriented development, infill development, mixed use, even distribution of affordable housing, definitive public space and use, etc. The NU has provided the first real critique of suburban-era norms of urban planning and development.

The NU allows us to think differently about the construction of cities. By emphasizing three scalar perspectives and how they are interrelated, NU allows us to think how cities are connected at a regional scale. Harvey (1997) states that the NU movement has given progressive ideas a platform from which to challenge conventional wisdoms that have plagued urban development since the mid-20th century. By unshackling an interest in design, architecture, and street life the NU allows us to see past traditional visions of the fragmented and horizontally zoned city (Harvey 1997). The expectation of driving from one’s residence to place of work has been replaced by the hope of walking to work. Mixed-use development allows for residential and commercial uses to be integrated rather than separated (which is the traditional homogenous zoning

approach). This shift allows us to start questioning the validity of the automobile and its contribution to energy and pollution issues (Harvey 1997). New Urbanism encourages us to capture history and celebrate it in urban development. The principles laid out in the charter lay a foundation for hope and change for cities and regions, however NU also brings serious theoretical and practical shortcomings that cannot get to the crux of many urban problems.

Marcuse (2000) argues that the form of community that NU attaches itself to rarely existed in the past. The nostalgic small-town America that NU references suggests a return to single-family homeownership, democratic town hall meetings, and stable family-oriented small-town livelihoods. Marcuse (2000) argues that this Disneyland of sorts never existed in the structure that NU visualizes, let alone in an urban setting. While NU promotes a regional economy that benefits a diversity of people, their communitarian project produces homogenous spaces and inequitable cities. Marcuse (2000) states that the idealized small town that NU idolizes is non-urban and anti-democratic, because it idealizes homogenous (family type, income, and race) space. The diversity of urban life is absent. Actual New Urbanist developments almost always end up as homogenous wealthy neighbourhoods.

Although there have been some New Urbanist developments in the inner-city (such as in Pittsburgh; see Deitrick and Ellis 2004), the majority of projects have occurred on the periphery of cities (see Harvey 1997; Marcuse 2000). Critics of the NU have argued that the project has made the suburban lifestyle an easier one to live rather than revitalizing city cores. New Urbanists have contributed to suburban development

and inner-city disinvestment, rather than the converse. It is ironic that while NU does reduce suburban sprawl by introducing higher densities into the periphery, it accomplishes the same outcomes of low density suburban development, increasing the growth of the periphery at the expense of the core. While condemning the suburb in its rhetoric, the NU is delivering the small-town version of the suburb. The role of the automobile might be reduced and replaced by increased walkability, but this new version of the suburb is not an inclusive urban space (Marcuse 2000). Normatively, an urban space is an expression of diversity (incomes, race, etc). New Urbanism contributes to a homogenous space and its suburban manifestation, according to Marcuse (2000), contributes to segregation by extending white flight. However, this description is more representative of US cities than Canadian cities, where white flight was not as common. New Urbanism contributes to the concentration of poverty in city centres and the exclusion of the poor from the suburban realm, as well as all the social and environmental harms associated with suburban sprawl (Marcuse 2000). The reality of NU contradicts its theory.

Due to its fixation on the design and physical attributes of development, the NU cannot get to the root of poverty and urban decay (Harvey 1997). When the capitalist system undergoes crises and the social system is put into disarray, creating “real neighbourhoods” in the guise of traditional community design is beside the point (Harvey 1997; Wilson 1996). Physical design of urban spaces is not the core issue of impoverishment and decay, so how can design address the socio-economic consequences of a dynamic capitalist system? New Urbanist methods have been employed in some city

centres in the US, including in public housing projects, to combat the impoverishment that urban residents endure. Public housing complexes, such as Cabrini-Green in Chicago, have undergone renovations in which low-rise units are interspersed amongst high-rise residential complexes. Often residential towers are completely demolished, and completely new landscapes of low-rise high density units are constructed in their place. However, these measures only aggravate the problems of public housing and impoverishment rather than solve them (Marcuse 2000). When high-rise residential towers are demolished and low-rise residential units replace them there is a net loss of housing for low-income populations. The majority of the low-income residents are given residential vouchers which are supposed to provide a subsidy for private market rentals elsewhere in the city. There is complete uncertainty if the low-income residents will be able to afford similar accommodation or if a new landlord will even accept the vouchers. Vouchering also displaces residents from their places of work and destroys established social networks that people rely on to live. Ironically, the revitalization of former public housing sites in the US and the vouchering out of former residents is largely funded by a federal government program; Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE) VI. The department responsible for its construction and implementation, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), has openly celebrated New Urbanist principles (Deitrick and Ellis 2004). The aim of HOPE VI, social mixing, is well intended, but the consequences have been disastrous for many low income residents and neighbourhoods.¹²

¹² The elimination of public housing and ‘vouchering out’ of its tenants has led to significant displacement and gentrification in many US cities (Smith 2001; Lees et al. 2008). Cities in the US are largely funded by local property taxes, so it is no coincidence that federal funding has been provided to demolish “island[s] of

The social mix allows for the integration of a more affluent class into less affluent neighbourhoods, and not the other way around. In general, NU celebrates the middle to upper income lifestyle while simultaneously impugning the less affluent classes. It is no wonder then that many NU projects aimed at central city neighbourhoods lead to gentrification.

Cunningham (2001) argues that HOPE VI projects in gentrifying neighbourhoods do not revitalize disinvested spaces, but rather reduce affordable housing in areas of drastically increasing housing prices and rents. And although the destruction of public housing projects may increase housing demand and investment (see Wyly and Hammel 1999), the redevelopment of public housing projects excludes impoverished populations from inhabiting revitalized areas (Gotham 2001). Wyly and Hammel (2001) point out that HOPE VI demolition of the Ellen Wilson Dwellings in Washington, D.C. was followed by gentrification in the form of mixed-income redevelopment, which has in turn created severe housing affordability issues in the neighbourhood that was home to the public housing complex (Capitol Hill). Incorporating NU for the redevelopment of neighbourhoods is good; but the social consequences: “occupancy rules, costs per unit, accessibility to jobs, the location of services, are submerged in the attractive design presentations” (Marcuse 2000, 140).

The NU charter states that design alone cannot solve socio-economic problems, while vitality and social stability would be folly without some coherent physical

decay in a sea of renewal” (see Wyly and Hammel 1999) in order to increase the tax base through low-rise New Urbanist development. The idea behind HOPE VI is that creating a new community will ameliorate poverty and the social isolation of the poor by allowing them to rub shoulders with more affluent people (see Byrne 2003). Andres Duany, the godfather of NU, has uttered similar sentiments (see Duany 2001).

framework (CNU 2001). There is legitimacy to that claim, but NU in practice relies solely on physical frameworks to underpin a new aesthetic and moral order (Harvey 1997). The movement takes as fact that good architectural character and design principles will be the saviors of cities and social life in general (Harvey 1997). New Urbanist practitioners dismiss the notion that design essentially shapes everything, but Plater-Zyberk (1993) makes it quite clear where New Urbanists stand in regards to shaping social life through design:

Simply put, we [New Urbanists] wish to improve the world with design, plain old good design, that is. We believe that the physical structure of our environment can be managed and that controlling it is the key to solving numerous problems confronting government today – traffic congestion, pollution, financial depletion, social isolation, and yes, even crime. We believe that design can solve a host of problems and that the design of the physical environment does influence behavior. (12)

The notion that design will be the saving grace of any urban area pervades the logic of New Urbanist practitioners.

The public engagement approach used by New Urbanists, charrettes, is focused almost entirely in design creation and implementation, rather than on the social needs of neighbourhood residents. Charrettes are supposed to offer “a new and inclusive expression of democracy” through streamlining the development process and removing barriers for redevelopment (IADI 2005, ii). This is accomplished by bringing all stakeholders together and through consensus-building and collaboration a vision of the common good will be obtained.

Harvey (1997) argues that the New Urbanism is blind to the fundamental flaw associated with modernism: dismissing social processes in favour of privileging spatial

form. The bad designs associated with modernist planning techniques are, according to New Urbanists, at the core of unsustainable and unjust cities, yet the movement promotes the same fundamental flaw as modernist planning. Harvey (1997) argues that the only difference between New Urbanism and modernist planning approaches is the spatial frame in which social process is altered (Harvey 1997). The end result of both approaches leads to segregation, exclusion and socially homogenous spaces.

1.5 – Conclusion

The complexities of this research, notably the uncovering of causality of suburban gentrification in Calgary requires a robust framework. The institutional arrangements that either foster or impinge the gentrification process imply a wide variety of actors working in concert towards a particular goal. Critical realism provides an appropriate epistemological framework for this research. Incorporating two suburban case study areas, causality can be ascertained due to the influential bodies located in situ. This research is not concerned with taxonomic groups, because the institutional arrangements are not homogenous. Critical realism provides the correct path of discovery for this research due to its use of intensive research to uncover power networks.

Chapter 02: Methodology

2.1 - Introduction

Two Calgary inner suburbs provide an ideal context in which to examine the causes of gentrification. Although gentrification is a process, there are situated mechanisms that produce the outcome. Many of Calgary's inner city areas have already been gentrified, so the landscape of gentrification has extended outwards from the city core, but with important differences. The place-based spatial structuring of processes affects each inner suburb differently, so this research requires a comparative case study approach to decipher these differences.

Key information, such as redevelopment plan documents, Alberta legislation, socioeconomic census data, archival data (newspaper articles and public participation pamphlets, etc), etc provide a significant backdrop for a qualitative inquiry into the cause of gentrification. These various sources provide a valuable insight into the geographical differences that gentrification can take.

2.2 – Framework

Adopting a realist perspective, Sayer (1992) defines causality as concerning “not a relationship between discrete events (‘Cause and Effect’), but the ‘causal powers’ or ‘liabilities’ of objects or relations, or more generally their ways-of-acting or ‘mechanisms’” (104-105). Causality should not be reduced to the individual, but occurs in social relations and structures (Sayer 1992). However, cause is not necessarily linked to “regularity between separate things and events,” but rather “what an object is like and

what it can do and only derivatively what it *will* do in any particular situation” (Sayer 1992, 105). Causation, thus, is concerned with the independence of particular patterns, so a ball may break glass window when it is thrown at it, but it may not. So, in this example, just because a ball has the potential to break a glass window does not necessarily mean it will (independent from a pattern). Cause is not fixed, and as an object changes so does its causal mechanisms (Sayer 1992). Rather than basing findings on empiricism, this research is aimed at discovering causality in the social relationships and structures discovered. So, instead of basing conclusions on observations, this research is more concerned with the causal mechanisms leading to specific types of development within Bowness and Forest Lawn (see below).

Empiricism is a philosophy of science that relies on scientific observations as key in discerning “truth” in real situations (Gregory 1978; Johnston et al. 2000). Theoretical statements are downplayed while observation language is both ontologically and epistemologically privileged. In empiricism, observational statements are taken as the sole references to real world phenomena and can be acknowledged “true or false without referencing truth or falsity of theoretical statements” (Gregory 1978, 55). Causal analysis, according to empiricism, is based in empirical generalizations of observations and the frequency of their occurrence, rather than theoretical language. Ironically, scientific inquiry relies both on theoretical and observation language, yet often considers the former to be detrimental to the latter (Gregory 1978).

Realism is a philosophy of science that incorporates abstraction (object’s essential characteristics) to highlight unique causal factors of specific structures that are actualized

under specific circumstances (Johnston et al. 2000). Using empirical events as cause for other empirical events does not highlight causality; rather one must search for cause in the structures and mechanisms behind empirical events to determine causality (Miller 1995). Instead of regarding the surface as a level plane reduced by “space-time forecasting models” (as used by positivists), connections between “differentiated, foliated domains of events, mechanisms and structures” are ascertained (Johnston et al. 2000, 673-674). “Whether a causal power or liability is actually activated or suffered on any occasion depends on conditions whose presence and configuration are contingent” (Sayer 1992, 107).

The results of causal mechanisms are dependent on circumstances in which they are formed (Sayer 1992). Building upon Bhaskar (1975), Sayer (1992, 107) states that “*The relationship between casual powers or mechanisms and their effects is therefore not fixed, but contingent*; indeed causal powers exist independently of their effects, unless they derive from social structures whose reproduction depends on particular effects resulting” (original emphasis). In other words, the relationship between casual powers and their conditions are not necessary, but are caused by constellations of different mechanisms. “Processes of change usually involve several causal mechanisms which may be only contingently related to one another” (Sayer 1992, 108). Depending on the conditions, there may be multiple results stemming from the operation of the one causal mechanism or multiple causal mechanisms may produce similar empirical results (Sayer 1992).

By using two historically neglected inner-suburban neighbourhoods as comparative cases studies, the causal mechanisms behind gentrification can be ascertained by the structures and influential bodies (such as an historical society, strong neighbourhood identity, or specifics of public participation processes) contingent in these neighbourhoods. Although there are connections between development in Bowness and Forest Lawn, there are definite causal factors shaped through various structures that have led to different outcomes within these areas. For example, gentrification's progression has been more pronounced in Bowness than in Forest Lawn. Simply stating that Bowness has more parcels undergoing gentrification than Forest Lawn does not explain why gentrification's progression in Bowness is more pronounced. The causal mechanisms of gentrification's progression are contingent due to structures occurring in Bowness, not the number of times it can be identified. The causes of gentrification in the GFLA are also contingent upon the structures that exist in that neighbourhood. For example, if we were to assume that a rent gap exists in the GFLA, the contingent relationship between it and the structures in the area produces an empirical outcome. The resultant gentrification would therefore be unique to that particular space due to the contingent relationship between its causes and the conditions of the neighbourhood. Gentrification cannot be reliably predicted, but if it were to occur in the GFLA its face value will be determined largely by the structural arrangements produced by the in situ reality of the area and the IABRZ (see Chapters 06 and 07).

Comparative Case Studies

This research is a comparative case study, which is consistent with critical realism. By comparing and contrasting the gentrification process in Bowness and the GFLA, one can discern the contingent causal mechanisms associated with the process. Using case studies as a basis for qualitative inquiry has become an increasingly common approach adopted by researchers, although they are not fundamentally qualitative nor are they new (Stake 2003). Although there has been significant acceptance that case study research is the building block of knowledge, some quarters of conventional wisdom (namely from a deductive reasoning perspective) still hold case study research (single and comparative) in suspicion (Flyvbjerg 2006; Miller 1995).¹³

Deductive reasoning concerns itself with making empirical generalizations derived from the frequency of observed events, and these events are assumed to be created by causal variables (which are also empirically observable) (Miller 1995). The positivist viewpoint exclaims that generalizations are supported by predictive theory. However, this research is unconcerned with predictive theory, and it would in fact be counter to the context-dependent knowledge this research is seeking. This is not to say that generalization is an unreliable method and theory is unimportant, but prediction does not recognize the contingency associated with the gentrification process.

This research is concerned with a variety of processes and the diverse outcomes they can produce. Miller (1995, 115) states that it is widely understood in the social sciences that processes can have a multitude of effects on different places or cases;

¹³ For a flagrant critical reflection on case study research followed then by acceptance of its validity by the same author, see Campbell (1975) and Campbell and Stanley (1966).

“unique cases are not necessarily caused by unique processes.” Theory can highlight the diversity of outcomes derived from general processes.

Flyvbjerg (2006, 226) states that “formal generalization, whether on the basis of large samples or single cases, is considerably overrated as the main source of scientific progress.” Even scientists that are vehemently devoted to the deductive model of science rarely practice what they preach in full form (see Blaug 1980). Scientists cannot provide an “objective, value-free observations devoid of theoretical preconceptions and interpretation” (Miller 1995, 116). If a project’s aim is not to fully generalize, it does not mean that it does not contribute to collective knowledge building in a specified field or in a society (Flyvbjerg 2006). A descriptive project, such as case study research, that does not strive to generalize can be of enormous value and succeeds in scientific innovation. In fact, Walton (1992) states that case studies are most likely to produce the best theory, simply because they are a crucial form of critical reflexivity. For example, generalization implies a series of supportive observations that leaves little room for identifying something that does not fit, what Flyvbjerg (2006) refers to as a “black swan.” An observation that does not fit really forces the researcher to question the validity of the generalization. Rather than relying on a series of empirical events to explain causes of other empirical events (which is the general thesis of deductive science), the researcher focuses on the mechanisms and structures behind an empirical event (in the case of this research, events) (Miller 1995). The cause of something has nothing to do with the number of times it occurs (Sayer 1992). Case study research through the guise of critical

realism is adept at discerning causal mechanisms and can contribute to knowledge building in gentrification research.

As stated above, the cause of gentrification cannot be ascertained by the number of parcels, let alone neighbourhoods, undergoing the process. However, by comparing two incidences of gentrification, whether it be well underway or in its infant stages, one can surmise the causes of the process by identifying “the different forms that the interaction of a variety of processes can take” (Miller 1995, 117). The aim is to not make broad sweeping generalizations on how gentrification proceeds universally, but rather how general processes, such as planning implementation, contributes to gentrification in specific circumstances, such as within particular neighbourhoods. The goal is not to reaffirm that gentrification is occurring, but rather how it is occurring. This framework allows for the revision and extension of gentrification theory.

Through a realist perspective, a representative sample is of little concern, given that generalization does little to elucidate causal mechanisms, so this research is concerned with a minimal case selection that provides insight on cause and effect (Miller 1995). A common misunderstanding of case study research is the notion that there is subjective bias associated with case selection; therefore it has little scientific value (see Flyvbjerg 2006). It is believed that case study research only confirms the preconceived notions of the researcher, so it is far less rigorous than deductive epistemology.¹⁴ Nonetheless, case study research has its own rigor, which is in no means subservient to rigor associated with deductive reasoning, which critics have largely ignored. It is true

¹⁴ A supposed “bias” is omnipresent, in that the individual will always bring situated knowledge with him or her to their research (see below).

that cases are chosen based on processes deemed pivotal in a theoretical framework, while those with no theoretical significance are ejected (Miller 1995). However, case selection is not based in supporting a mode. In fact many researchers engaged in in-depth case studies have discovered that their pre-conceived notions, assumptions, hypotheses, etc were proven wrong, which then compelled them to revise their theoretical viewpoints (see Campbell 1975; Flyvbjerg 1998b, 2001; Geertz 1995; Miller 1995; Ragin 1992; Wieviorka 1992).

Subjective bias applies to all methods, not just qualitative work. For example, there is a degree of subjectivity when a researcher chooses categories and variables for a quantitative analysis. Ironically, as Flyvbjerg (2006, 235-236) states, “the probability is high that (a) this subjectivism survives without being thoroughly corrected during the study and (b) it may affect the results quite simply because the quantitative/structural researcher does not get as close to those under study as does the case-study researcher and, therefore, is less likely to be corrected by the study objects ‘talking back.’” Case study research has an increased rejection of preconceived notions rather than reinforcing “subjective bias.”

Case Selection

This research is focused on gentrification in Calgary’s suburban realm. Given the city’s expansive suburban landscape, what neighbourhoods would be best suited for a research project of this kind? Current gentrification research highlights how the process is no longer confined to the inner city and is expanding outwards from central core areas. As the LVV moves outwards, the inner suburban realm now plays host to the same

processes that initiated gentrification in the inner cities. So, the inner suburban realm is an ideal setting to examine the expansion of gentrification. The decision was made to incorporate both Bowness and the GFLA as the study neighbourhoods for this research. Several criteria for their selection were mentioned in the previous chapter, but there are definitive reasons why these neighbourhoods are ideal for this research. Parts of both neighbourhoods can be identified as undergoing professionalization, which is an indicator for the gentrification process.

Several redevelopment plans, all under the guise of New Urbanism, have been aimed at the GFLA. The outcome of New Urbanist projects more often than not culminate in the reworking of space for a more affluent class of people (see Grant 2006; Harvey 1997; Marcuse 2000). Such New Urbanist redevelopment plans have not been proposed for Bowness, yet some areas of the neighbourhood have been reworked for a more affluent class of people. There are general processes at work within the two neighbourhoods, which implies a connection between the two, but socio-spatial structures have led to different outcomes. A comparative case study analysis, through critical realism, is ideal for outlining the causal mechanisms that have begun to gentrify these two spaces.

Hamnett (1991) surmised that the centerpiece of gentrification should be concerned with the production of gentrifiers; with the publication of Saskia Sassen's work on global cities he found the rationale for his professionalization thesis. Sassen (1991) argued that cities are becoming increasingly polarized socio-economically; urban restructuring is producing a high concentration of high income workers and a high

concentration of low income workers with few jobs in the middle bracket. Hamnett (1994) argued that urban restructuring is leading to an increase in professional and managerial occupations, while all other occupations are declining. In fact, Hamnett (1996) incorporated the 1991 UK Census in his examination of London and provided conclusive evidence that London was indeed undergoing professionalization. The connection between professionalization and gentrification is the fact that these professional and managerial workers provide the stock of gentrifiers, and this rapidly expanding group now places considerable pressure on neighbourhoods and housing markets (Lees et al. 2008). Gentrification, according to Hamnett, is a result of the transformation to a postindustrial society: cities evolving from manufacturing centres to centres of industries geared towards creative and cultural commodities as well as business services (Lees et al. 2008). The rise of the postindustrial city has expanded the middle class, which now desires to live in inner city areas. By identifying increased concentrations of professional and managerial workers in cities, in theory one can identify the agents of gentrification.

Atkinson (2000) measured gentrification and displacement by building a gentrifier proxy and displacee proxy based upon socioeconomic groups (SEG) derived from United Kingdom (UK) Census occupational classes. The UK Census has a more thorough breakdown of occupations than the Canadian Census, showing class structure in more detail. Atkinson was able to separate the professional and managerial occupations (gentrifier proxy) from working class occupations (displacee proxy) to document how gentrification has proceeded in London. Davidson and Lees (2005) adopted similar

methods and visually identified new-build gentrification via professionalization. The gentrifier proxy consisted of SEG 01 (managers and senior officials), SEG 02 (professional occupations) and SEG 03 (associate professional). The displacee proxy consisted of SEG 04 (clerical and secretarial occupations), SEG 06 (personal and protective services occupations), SEG 09 (process operatives) and SEG 05 (skilled trades). They then incorporated these groups into enumeration districts (ED) and output areas (OA) for the 1991 and 2002 UK Censuses (respectively). Since EDs and OAs are not geographically comparable, they compared the two years visually (Figure 2.1). The darker shaded areas in Figure 2.1 represent higher concentrations of gentrifiers as compared to lower concentrations of displacees. Although this analysis cannot identify displacement per se, it does document a noticeable increase of gentrifiers (socioeconomic upgrading) in the districts represented.

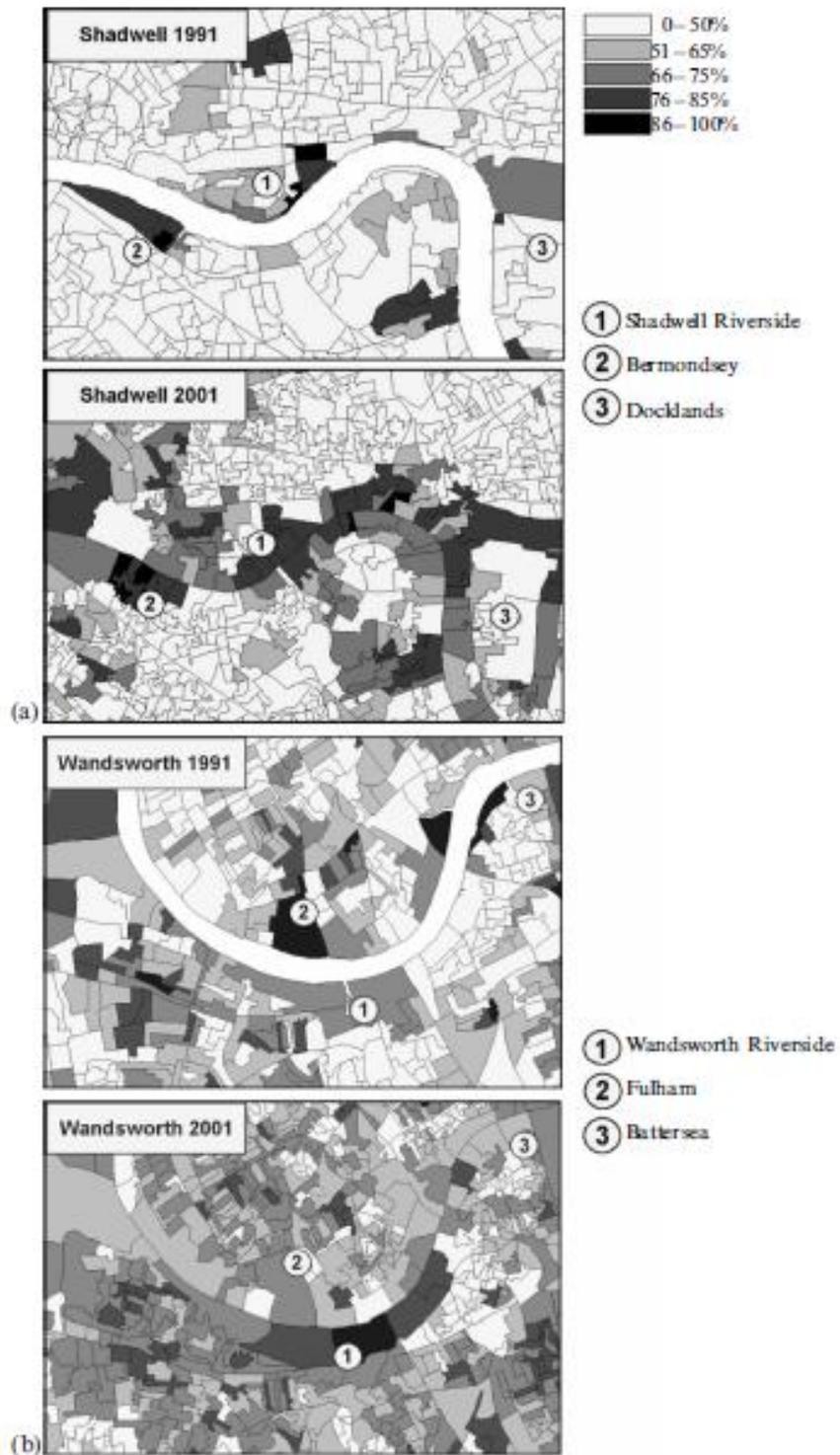


Figure 2.1. Professionalization of London
Source: Davidson and Lees (2005)

Although the UK Census is better suited for identifying class structure through occupations, the Canadian Census can also be used to visually identify professionalization. In 2001, the Canadian Standard Occupational System (created in 1991) was modestly revised to become the National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOCS), which provided a detailed classification of the Canadian occupational structure (Boyd 2008). Occupational data was collected from Canadians through the mandatory long form of the Census in 2001 and 2006, but the Conservative government eradicated this form and replaced it with the voluntary National Household Survey in 2011. Occupational data is still available through the 2011 Census, but its validity is questionable given that the information is gathered through voluntary means. Census data from 2001 and 2006 was used to identify professionalization in Bowness and the GFLA.

The occupational classification scheme of the UK Census and the Canadian Census are not identical, so early on in this research I adopted the methods employed by Atkinson (2000) and Davidson and Lees (2005) to create a professionalization scheme from the Canadian Census. I then presented this data at the Canadian Association of Geographers annual conference in Ottawa, Ontario in 2009. When the session was completed, Damaris Rose (a notable gentrification researcher) approached me and stated that she, along with Paul Villeneuve, had developed a scheme that could identify gentrifiers and displacees using NOCS (Figure 2.2). She was more than willing let me use the scheme, so I used it to identify professionalization in Bowness and the GFLA. Two proxies were created; gentrifier proxy and displacee proxy. The gentrifier proxy

consisted of occupations designated as managers, professionals and paraprofessionals and technicians (see Figure 2.2). The displacee proxy consisted of occupations designated as supervisors, clerical/administrative and service and sales/blue collar (see Figure 2.2).

Occupations Associated with Gentrification 2001 and 2006 NOCS

Gentrifier Proxy – I, II, III
Displacee Proxy – IV, V, VI

- I. Managers
 - a. A – Specialized Managers / Other Managers
- II. Professionals
 - a. B0 – Professionals in finance, verification, compatibility, human resource management and in enterprise services
 - b. B11 – Administration in finance and insurance personnel (loan agents)
 - c. C0 – Physical science professionals, engineers and architecture, urbanism and surveys, math and informatics professionals
 - d. D0 – Health care professionals
 - e. E0 – Judges, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, cultural ministers and political agents
 - f. E11/12 – Professors and adjunct professors at the university level, college level and instructors in professional schools
 - g. E13 – Primary and secondary school teachers and pedagogical counselors
 - h. F0 – Professionals in the domain of arts and culture
- III. Paraprofessionals and Technicians
 - a. C1 – Natural and applied science technicians
 - b. D1 – Technicians in nursing
 - c. E2 – Professionals in law, social work, teaching and religion
 - d. F1 – Technicians in arts, culture, sports and recreation
 - e. G6 – Police officers and firefighters
- IV. Supervisors
 - a. B3 – Administrative and regulation personnel
 - b. B4 – Work supervisors (office employment)
 - c. G0/1 – Sales supervisors and sales representatives, bulk sales
- V. Clerical/Administration (office workers)
 - a. B21 – Secretaries
 - b. B5 – Office Personnel
- VI. Service and Sales/Blue Collar
 - a. G2/3/4/5/7 – Sales, cashiers, chefs/cooks, waiters, travel agents and inn keepers, sports and recreation attendants
 - b. G9 – Sales and services personnel
 - c. H – Trades, Transport and equipment operators and related

Figure 2.2. Professionalization Scheme

Dissemination Areas (DA) for the Canadian Census corresponds to the scalar level of EDs and OAs for the UK Census (see Davidson and Lees 2005), so they were used to visualize professionalization in Bowness and the GFLA. The detailed data outlined in the scheme provided by Damaris Rose was publicly available for DAs in 2001 and 2006. Unfortunately, the occupational data for the 2011 Census, which is already of questionable validity, is not available at the DA level. Occupational data has been released at the census tract level, but these are of comparable size to Calgary neighbourhoods and would not provide the detailed information needed for this research. Consequently, professionalization through the 2011 Canadian Census cannot be documented. However, occupational data from the 2001 and 2006 Census does identify increases of gentrifiers in both Bowness and the GFLA. Dissemination Areas are relatively stable over time (since they respect the boundaries of census tracts), but they can change (due to population fluctuations). There were changes to DAs in Bowness and the GFLA between 2001 and 2006, so a direct geographical comparison cannot be completed. Calgary neighbourhoods and DAs also do not geographically correspond with each other, so a 500 metre buffer was created around the boundary of Bowness and the GFLA to account for split DAs in the visualization. The boundary of both neighbourhoods split several DAs.

The most noticeable increase of professionals in Bowness occurs along the northeastern, eastern, and southeaster borders of the neighbourhood (Figure 2.3). Gentrifiers are the dominant group in this portion of Bowness. This area of Bowness is named Bow Crescent (after the street that bisects the area) and it has been host to the

construction of multi-million dollar homes over the past decade (labeled 1 on Figure 2.3). Gentrification in Bowness is largely focused along Bow Crescent and its immediate area. The west-central portion of Bowness (near Bowness High School), which has witnessed some infill development, also has an increase of gentrifiers (labeled 2 on Figure 2.3). Incidentally, the escarpment area (which is in the southwestern portion of the neighbourhood) does not show an increase in gentrifiers (labeled 3 on Figure 2.3) below). Key contacts mentioned that gentrification was occurring in this portion of the neighbourhood, and it can be visually confirmed by the construction of expensive homes in the area. It is pure speculation, but the likelihood is high that these areas have witnessed an even higher increase of gentrifiers since 2006 (based upon the qualitative work completed for this research). Since professionalization cannot be visually documented through the 2011 Census there is no current way to confirm the increase of gentrifiers in this portion of Bowness, at least quantitatively. Although the entirety of Bowness has not experienced gentrification, clearly there has been an increase of gentrifiers in certain portions of the neighbourhood between 2001 and 2006, with some areas becoming dominated by this group.

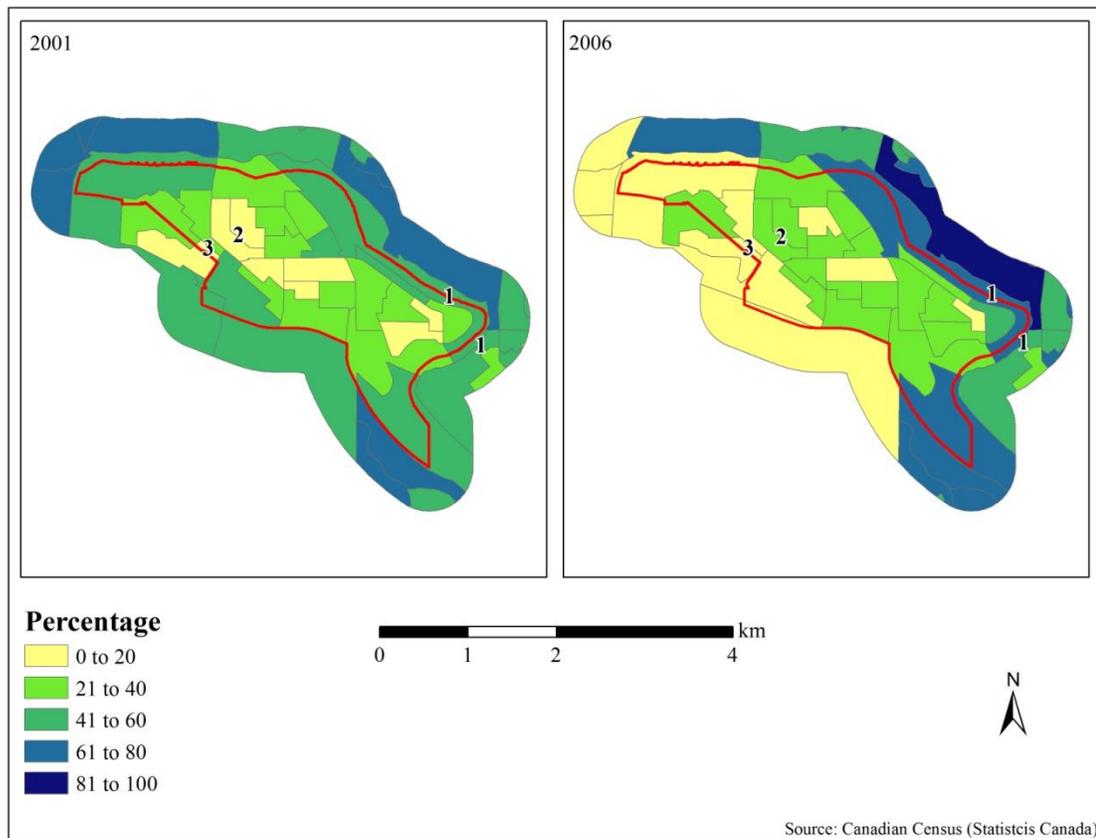


Figure 2.3. Gentrifiers in Bowness Dissemination Areas

The most noticeable increase in professionals in the GFLA is along the escarpment area on the western border of the area (Figure 2.4). The neighbourhoods of Dover and Southview have witnessed new development (largely in the form of high price condos and infills) that has attracted a more affluent class due to its breathtaking views of downtown Calgary and the Rocky Mountains (labeled 1 on Figure 2.4). Figure 2.5 is a picture of one of the condo complexes along the escarpment. During the discussion with Alison Karim-McSwiney, the IABRZ's Executive Director, commented that the development of these high price condos is a good thing for the GFLA. Currently, gentrification, for the most part, has not taken hold in the GFLA, but due to the actions of

a pro-development hegemonic bloc (led by the IABRZ) the chances of gentrification are favourable (see Chapters 06 and 07). In fact, the redevelopment plans hatched by this group document that gentrification will most likely occur in the GFLA if the plans come to fruition (see IADI 2005; 2006). Interviews that I conducted with the chief urban designers behind the redevelopment plans, notably Alderman Gian-Carlo Carra, also confirmed that gentrification would be an outcome. Gentrifiers were only dominant in two DAs in the GFLA (one in 2001 and one in 2006), but their numbers are increasing along the escarpment. The redevelopment plans aim to attract a high concentration of professionals to the GFLA, largely along the 17th Avenue SE corridor (see Chapters 06 and 07) (labeled 2 on Figure 2.4). This aim is documented in the plans' publications and several interviewees (Dr. Paul Maas, Alison Karim-McSwiney, Alderman Gian-Carlo Carra, Alderman Andre Chabot, etc) confirmed this as well.

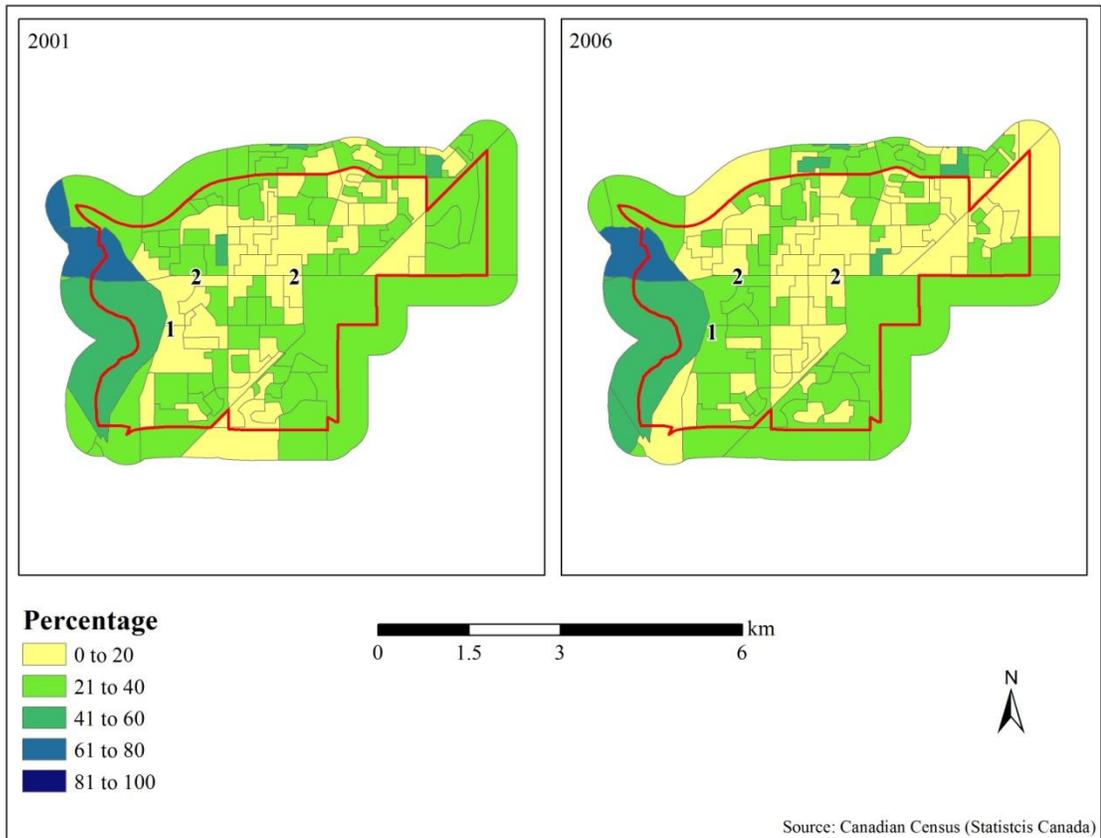


Figure 2.4. Gentrifiers in Greater Forest Lawn Area Dissemination Areas



Figure 2.5. Condos along the GFLA Escarpment

The increase of gentrifiers in both the GFLA and Bowness indicates that gentrification is expanding to Calgary's inner suburbs. Gentrifiers have become the dominant group in some sections of Bowness, while in the GFLA their numbers are still relatively small. Unfortunately, there is no way to officially document any increases or decreases of gentrifiers in the two study areas since 2006, given that the mandatory long form for the Canadian Census was replaced by a voluntary survey by the Conservative Government. The qualitative portion of this research has filled this gap. Currently, the GFLA has a newly adopted official redevelopment plan that may engender gentrification within the area and the IABRZ has maintained a tireless effort to ensure that the plan is a success. Bowness currently does not have an overarching redevelopment plan for the neighbourhood, but gentrification has still occurred in certain sections.

Professionalization in Bowness and the GFLA, along with the efforts of the IABRZ and the redevelopment plan, make these two neighbourhoods ideal for investigating the gentrification process. Both neighbourhoods share a history, but using Bowness and the GFLA as comparative case studies illuminates the differing spatio-temporal casual mechanisms of gentrification.

Situated Knowledge and Positionality

This research does not deny the fact that information presented is situated knowledge; I, as a researcher, illuminate gentrification from a specific point of view. My critical analysis of gentrification in Bowness and the GFLA is based upon a particular critical theory perspective. Despite the positivist belief that we, as scientists and researchers, have some objective God-like perspective, all research is situated. We are part of the world of which we are investigating, and as such can unwittingly influence and exploit the researched. For example, as Caucasian middle-class male attempting to bring voice to disenfranchised people, namely along class and race lines, their viewpoint will be filtered through perspectives developed through my education and upbringing. These issues are ones with which researchers constantly struggle.

Positivist methodologies of the researcher as the expert controlling passive research subjects, as well as the research process (the researcher as being completely objective), are highly questionable. Positivist education has engrained in our minds that neutral detachment is necessary for good research (England 1994). Through this guise, the researcher is assumed to be an impartial observer free of any bias or personality. However, England (1994) argues that the social world, littered with contradiction, should

not be dismissed but instead embraced. Following this line, fieldwork should be regarded as in constant flux which in turn sparks the need for a less rigid method that allows the researcher to be flexible and accepting of challenges as his or her project progresses (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1988; Opie 1992).

According to England (1994), the relationship created between the researcher and the researched may be uneven or potentially exploitive. There are approaches the researcher may take to alleviate these issues, such as supplication. Supplication is the avenue a researcher takes to create a “reciprocal relationship based on empathy and mutual respect, and often sharing their knowledge with those they research” (England 1994, 82). The researcher actively acknowledges his or her reliance upon the researched to enlighten upon subtle nuances that form everyday lives. There is an explicit understanding that the person being interviewed has far greater knowledge (at least in regards to the questioning) than the researcher (England 1994). Understanding is achieved through engaging in real dialogue with people being interviewed through their own terms (England 1994). Thus, we as should seek methods that create shared meanings between the researcher and the researched.

Throughout the interview process of this research I actively recognized that the people I interviewed knew far more about the subject at hand than myself, and in fact I told many of the interviewees this very thing. Although some interviewees were uneasy and skeptical of my presence, the vast majority of the discussions were reciprocal. All discussions were treated as conversations rather than interviews. The semi-structured approach reinforced this strong suit. Actually, many of the “off-topic” points provided

the majority of knowledge discussed in this research. In one particular discussion the interviewee (Roweena Cromwell) and I had a reciprocal relationship based on the fact that both of us were from the United States. An hour interview turned into a mutual discussion that lasted four hours. I shared my upbringing and the aims of my project, and our mutual fascination turned into a rich discussion on the social aspects of Bowness. I have received many follow-up messages from people I interviewed about the progress of my research, and many have asked to see the final version of this document.

I made a constant effort to remain critically reflexive throughout the interview process. England (1994, 82) argues that a “reflexive and flexible approach to fieldwork allows the researcher to be more open to any challenges to their theoretical position that fieldwork inevitably raises.” Reflexivity is key to fieldwork because it can lead to new insights on research questions that were not perceived prior to speaking with interviewees. I interviewed a wide variety of people in both neighbourhoods, but one particular goal of this research was to give voice to those people that may be displaced by gentrification. Influenced by the work of Slater (2006), who argued that there has been a lapse in critical research on the gentrification process, an aim was to provide viewpoints and life histories of those affected by displacement. Much of the gentrification research to date has focused almost entirely on gentrifiers, while the social upheavals that vulnerable populations endure are largely ignored. As a middle-class Caucasian male I understood that I have a limited frame of reference for the ordeals displaced people endure, so I had to remain reflexive throughout the process. The primary means of self critique was the altering of interview questions as I spoke to more and more people about

the hardships associated with gentrification. Initially the questions were based upon the education I have received, but once I started having discussions with people it was apparent that questions had to be altered to account for their lived experience (see Appendix B). This dialogical nature altered the course of the research from the outset, and an entirely new set of theoretical questions arose (namely around public participation).

Often, reflexivity is not enough given that the researcher is inevitably an instrument of his or her research. Our subjectivity will always influence the outcome of a research project. Having grown up in a blue collar household (my father is a factory worker and my mother was a nurse), I feel that I can understand, at least partially, the turmoil of struggling to make ends meet. I often shared this upbringing with some of the people with whom I spoke. However, we were never as destitute as some of the people who could be displaced by gentrification. There may have been instances where my understanding and wording could have altered the direction of questioning. However, the biggest limitation of this research is centred on not class, but race. The GFLA is one of the most ethnically diverse areas in Calgary, and many of the people are new Canadians. Much of the potentially displaced people in the GFLA are not Caucasian. I was unable to directly reach these voices simply because of my reliance on English and my socio-economic standing.¹⁵ I interviewed planners, social advocates and social workers that

¹⁵ I was able to finally reach out to some people through my snowball approach (see below), but ultimately they did not respond to my telephone calls. Understanding that I might be too imposing, I decided to forgo this opportunity after several attempts to communicate with potential interviewees.

worked directly with these people, so their experiences are channeled through these contacts. There is a distinct possibility that their voices have been subjugated.

Conducting fieldwork and including the voices of people within your research always runs the risk of exploiting the people that you interview. There are inherent power relations between the researcher and the researched. When the researcher takes the role of supplicant they can too easily immerse the exploitive attributes associated with participant observation beneath the good intentions of giving voice to people (England 1994; Smith 1988). The confrontational aspect of fieldwork leads to the inevitable disruption of people's lives. England (1994) states that this inherent outcome does not mean that research is necessarily a bad thing. Often interviewing allows people to self-reflect and re-evaluate their experiences.¹⁶ However, the information provided to the researcher inevitably places the researched in a vulnerable position of being exploited.

As a researcher we cannot escape positionality in our work. We are not objective outsiders that do not shape and alter the research atmosphere. Research bias is omnipresent. This is not a call to halt qualitative work, but we must understand our role in shaping the lives of people we interview. There are steps we can take to lessen the inherently exploitive attributes of interviewing and incorporating voices in our research, namely supplication and reflexivity. These avenues may make us aware of potential exploitative relationships, but they will never fully eliminate them (England 1994). The best we can possibly do is locate ourselves in our research, and be honest about the limitations of our work.

¹⁶ Several interviewees, notably Melissa Bohnsack, stated that after our conversation they felt more aware of implications associated with redevelopment, and many have followed up with me since our discussions.

2.3 – Mixed Methods

Although the majority of data collected in this research comes from a qualitative inquiry, the approach taken is mixed methods. Newman and Wyly (2006) pointed out the faults of relying on one method to decipher the gentrification process, namely the errors associated with the strictly quantitative approach adopted by Freeman and Braconi (2002a; 2002b; 2004) that concluded that displacement was minor enough that gentrification could be considered beneficial for everyone. Newman and Wyly incorporated a similar quantitative analysis of the same data used by Freeman and Braconi, and incorporated a snowball sampling strategy to reach out to displaced voices. Newman and Wyly came to some similar conclusions, notably that not all low income people are displaced due to gentrification, but that the process places considerable hardships on those greatly affected by increasing prices and the destruction of social networks. Newman and Wyly's research on displacement exemplifies the importance of mixed methods in gentrification research.

Quantitative Inquiry

The quantitative analysis, presented above, was relatively small in comparison to the qualitative inquiry in this research. The reason for this particular balance of methods was that the quantitative approach, by and large, did not answer the theoretical questions guiding this research. The quantitative approach used in this research was entirely visual in nature. Occupation data was acquired from the 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census, and was manipulated to represent occupations that are aligned with the gentrification process.

Classes of gentrifiers and displacees were categorized, and the percentages of gentrifiers per DA were visualized for Bowness and the GFLA with geographic information systems (GIS) software. The increasing numbers of gentrifiers, represented by professionalization, provides an indicator of the gentrification process. Although professionalization of the city cannot capture the displacement attribute of gentrification, it does identify where the process may be occurring. Professionalization was incorporated in this research to triangulate the qualitative inquiry on where gentrification is occurring, or may occur, in the two neighbourhoods under study.

Qualitative Inquiry

According to Sayer (1992), a research design of such as this study should follow an intensive method. Adopting an intensive method, the researcher is concerned with “how some causal process works out in a particular case or limited number of cases” (Sayer 1992, 242). Although this research does incorporate the same theoretical starting point for the two study areas, the structural characteristics and place-specific contingencies that occur in the two neighbourhoods produce different findings.

Intensive research is concerned with groups that are related to each other, whether it is through cause or structure (Sayer 1992). Extensive research favours taxonomic groups, which are comprised of individuals that are similar and need not be connected to each other (Sayer 1992). Hegemonic social practices under investigation in this research are produced by different actors (business owner versus CA member for example) aligned by the policies they construct and implement, so following an extensive research design in this investigation would not provide causal mechanisms. The criteria by which

individuals are selected under an extensive research design must be stated at the outset and offers little flexibility as the investigation progresses (Sayer 1992). In an intensive research design the individuals selected may not be typical and may be selected piecemeal as the research progresses as the power structure slowly becomes apparent (Sayer 1992). Intensive research, accordingly, is geared more towards an exploratory methodological approach. This research explores gentrification and the causal mechanisms behind its progression. Causal mechanisms may be hidden within power networks. Following a rigid sampling strategy might not uncover these mechanisms, so this investigation utilizes a combination of purposive and snowball sampling approaches to illuminate intricate power networks (see below). The flexibility in an intensive research design calls for this type of sampling. A semi-structured interview format allows the researcher to learn the different circumstances of the respondents instead of following a one dimensional format (fully structured) that may lead to “observer-induced bias” (Sayer 1992, 245).

Justification for Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling provides real benefits for research that aims to access hard-to-reach and hidden populations (Atkinson and Flint 2001), as this research does. By definition, snowball sampling is:

A method for identifying and sampling (or selecting) the cases in a network. It is based on an analogy to a snowball, which begins small but becomes larger as it is rolled on wet snow and picks up additional snow. Snowball sampling is a multistage technique. It begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out on the basis of links to the initial cases...One use of snowball sampling is to sample a network. Social researchers are often interested in an interconnected network of people or organizations. The network could be scientists around the

world investigating the same problem, the elites of a medium-sized city, and the members of an organized crime family, persons who sit on the boards of directors of major banks and corporations, or people of a college campus who have had sexual relations with each other. The crucial feature is that each person or unit is connected with another through direct or indirect linkage. This does not mean that each person directly knows, interacts with, or is influenced by every other person in the network. Rather it means that, taken as a whole, they are within an interconnected web of linkages. (Neuman 2007, 144).

Snowball sampling facilitates access to initially “hidden” populations that representative sampling strategies frequently miss (Faugier and Sargeant 1997). For example, at the outset of this research I had no way of knowing which individuals were promoting or opposing gentrification in Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area. Many key participants in gentrification can only be identified through snowball sampling.

According to Atkinson and Flint (2001), snowball sampling is normally used in two ways. First, as an informal method, snowball sampling can be highly beneficial if the aim of the research is exploratory and descriptive. One may use snowball sampling to identify the uniqueness of a growth coalition within a specific space, for example. Second, as a formal method, snowball sampling can be used to generate inferences about a group that is normally difficult to access through traditional sampling methods (Faugier and Sargeant 1997; Snijders 1992). One can employ snowball sampling to inquire how hidden populations contribute to the momentum of a particular growth coalition, for example.

Snowball sampling is ideal for this research’s main aim: the deciphering of gentrification vis-à-vis urban governance. Institutions of governance, including growth coalitions, are comprised of dissimilar individuals (politicians, developers, business

owners, neighbourhood residents, CA members, etc). Many key members of growth coalitions are hidden and unidentifiable through any conventional sampling frame. Hidden coalition members could be neighbourhood residents, business owners, CA members, developers, university professors, etc. A researcher would not know their connection without the use of snowball sampling. A hidden member may even be a very visible member of his or her community, but hidden because he or she may not publicly appear connected to a particular agenda. Snowball sampling will allow this research to incorporate the voices of gentrification “that are needed to fill in the gaps in our knowledge” (Atkinson and Flint 2001, 2).

There has been a proliferation of gentrification research over the last several years, but the critical reflexivity that was present in gentrification research of decades past is now almost absent (Slater 2006). The failure of this research stems from the problematic methods that are incorporated:

For some aspects of policy...the evidence is simply insufficient to support bold claims on offer. In other cases, however, individuals and institutions rely on selective, adaptive methods and data sources to provide methodologically sophisticated answers to fundamentally flawed, misguided and misleading questions of theory, policy and politics. This is method acting. Sometimes it involves sampling on the dependent variable (like choosing the best-case, best-practice scenario of social mix to support broad generalizations on how good state regeneration policies can be for everybody); other times it entails sampling to maximize non-response (like searching for dissidents or displaced in precisely those places from which they have been evicted and then seizing upon absence of evidence to make grand claims about the evidence of absence); and sometimes it involves sampling to maximize sampling error (like asking developers and gentrifiers whether they think displacement is a problem). (Wyly and Hammel 2008, 2645)

Regrettably, “method acting” has been allowed to continue without much opposition (Wyly and Hammel 2008). Often, this flawed research is used to promote gentrification in popular media. The research conducted by Freeman and Braconi (2002a; 2004) is a clear example of this.

Upon examining gentrification in New York City (NYC), Freeman and Braconi (2002a; 2004) deduced that displacement (the most detrimental side effect of process) was negligible and argued that the process was essentially beneficial for all. They analyzed the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (NYCHVS) (which documents mobility in New York City), and discovered that between 1996 and 1999, lower income and less educated households were nineteen percent less likely to move away in the seven gentrifying study areas as compared to other neighbourhoods (Lees et al. 2008). Consequently, they concluded that gentrification induced displacement was limited. They also argued that since gentrification spawned improvements in public services within the study neighbourhoods, the vulnerable residents discovered means to remain despite the increasing costs. Although Freeman and Braconi (2004) cautioned of gentrification’s social consequences (namely the decrease of low-rent housing in gentrifying space), an article was published in *USA Today* on 20 April 2005 headlined “Gentrification: A Boost for Everyone.” Given that *USA Today* has a high readership, many people undoubtedly read about gentrification’s “benefits for all.” However, the *USA Today* article was based on research that incorporated fatal flaws.

Newman and Wyly (2006) adopted similar quantitative methods and used the same data set as Freeman and Braconi, but discovered that displacement is more

significant than Freeman and Braconi documented. Newman and Wyly argued that displacement is limited but a crucial factor (among many) in urban social polarization. Unfortunately, the NYCHVS data is inadequate (as with most displacement data that is produced) in that it fails to document the majority of individuals who have been displaced, namely people who have been pushed to other municipalities. Given the unreliability of displacement data and a single-method approach, Newman and Wyly used a mixed methods approach in their study.

Conducting interviews in gentrification research is crucial, because the voices of those affected (positively and negatively) must be captured in order to obtain a full understanding of the process. Often, these voices are hidden, so dominant sampling strategies must be accompanied by methods designed to access these hidden voices, e.g., snowball sampling. Adopting snowball sampling, Newman and Wyly (2006) discovered a wide variety of sophisticated methods that neighbourhood residents used to resist displacement. Acts of resistance against gentrification would have been impossible to capture otherwise. The in depth interviews showed that neighbourhood residents have faced enormous pressure from pro-gentrification entities, such as developers, that displace them from their neighbourhoods. Gentrification advocates, with help from the state, often push market-oriented measures to remove non-market structures, policies and programs (such as social housing and rent controls) that protect vulnerable populations. Low-income residents have had to organize to fight their displacement. Newman and Wyly (2006) also discovered that for decades prior to gentrification, low-income residents created their own revitalization organizations for their neighbourhoods. It is

rather ironic that low-income residents had fought in decades past to revitalize their communities on their own, but now face displacement through gentrification. Through snowball sampling Newman and Wyly (2006) were able to capture the many life-stories of individuals that provided a more thorough and accurate account of gentrification in NYC. It was shown, contrary to the findings of Freeman and Braconi, that gentrification is not beneficial for all. Rather, gentrification was revealed to be a contentious process that places a great deal of pressure on vulnerable populations while simultaneously benefiting the upper and middle classes. Only by incorporating a holistic approach that captures a wide range of voices can gentrification research avoid producing faulty results.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The primary means of data collection in this research is through semi-structured interviews. The dominant sampling strategy employed is the snowball approach, but this research begins with a purposive strategy. Many of the initial interviewees have publicly available contact information, so a purposive strategy was employed in the beginning stages of the interview process. It was also necessary to use purposive sampling throughout the research when new chains of interviewees were created (not all chains were created at the outset). For example, the social advocacy group chain provides far different perspectives than the pro-redevelopment chain.¹⁷ Several chains were created through the snowball sampling process (Social Advocacy Group, Pro-redevelopment Group, Residents Group, CAs Group, City of Calgary Employee Group, etc). Some of

¹⁷ It was discovered that there were some connections between the social advocacy group chain and the pro-redevelopment chain in the GFLA. Some of the official advocacy group members were intimately tied with the IABRZ.

these groups are connected. For example, during the initial stages of speaking with social advocates, one interviewee recommended I speak with a board member of a CA in the GFLA. The interviewee was unable to answer some questions during our conversation, and suggested another potential contact could answer them more fully. After each interview was completed, I asked the contact if they knew of anyone else who could further elaborate on this research. I only obtained names of any potential interviewees and went about acquiring their contact information from public sources (such as from a website). If their names were not publicly available, I then asked the initial interviewee to ask the potential respondent for their permission for me to contact them. If the potential contact approved, they passed on their contact information to me via the initial interviewee. This approach was incredibly successful in gathering information on hegemonic blocs, issues of displacement, coping strategies for to increased housing prices, intricacies of the City of Calgary structural hierarchy, etc.

The interview type selected for this research is the semi-structured interview, and is completed face to face and over the telephone. The semi-structured interview has some degree of order, but incorporates flexibility in addressing issues (Hay 2000). In other words, there is a systemic and consistent order behind questioning, but the interviewee is allowed to digress by elaborating on personal histories and perceptions (Berg 2007; Hay 2000). It is even expected that the interviewer probe further than the ordered questions (Berg 2007). Since there is some notion of standardization in the semi-structure format, the wording must be familiar to a range of interviewees (Berg 2007). Thus, the researcher explores the world through the interviewee's perspective. However,

one must be careful about not getting off track from the standard format (away from the task at hand), so it is the responsibility of the researcher to pull the questioning back into line if this happens (Hay 2000). I incorporated strategic questioning that allows for flexibility of responses. However, the semi-structured nature of the interview allows for the gathering of unexpected information that is not captured through a rigid questioning approach. The realm of questioning also evolves as the interview process continues. Some questions remain, while others are altered or deleted. See Appendix B for examples of this evolution.

I used a digital recorder during the interview process to document each entire discussion, and the recording was later used for transcribing. I also took notes as the respondents spoke so I could refer back to the transcriptions once they were completed. Each interviewee was given the choice of being identified or remaining anonymous. If they chose to remain anonymous a pseudonym (first name only) was chosen for them, and they were given a generic job title.

Chain of Events

The snowball sampling strategy employed in this research is particularly effective at gathering a greater understanding of Bowness and the GFLA, unobtainable through any other means. The interview process is a strategic effort to understand the processes that produce the gentrification in Bowness and the GFLA.

To better understand the social relationships in the communities under study, it was necessary to begin the interview process through purposive sampling with neighbourhood social workers (City of Calgary and other agencies were represented). I

have lived in neither Bowness nor the GFLA, so it was essential to first understand the social dynamics of the neighbourhood. A purposive strategy was employed at the onset, because the social workers were easily identifiable and their contact information is publicly available. This group of contacts is considered the ‘in’ to the neighbourhood. The next level of interviewees were still of an official capacity, such as Calgary Reads, but they are tied to networks that opened up a much wider realm of potential interviewees.

Advocacy groups that are barely on the radar of some City of Calgary personnel that I interviewed, such as Sunrise Community Link and East Side Victory Church, were “discovered” through the snowball approach. Issues surrounding displacement, social exclusion, landlord abuse, community cohesion were brought to light by these dedicated advocates. These advocacy groups support and provide a voice for many of the two neighbourhoods’ vulnerable residents and they also led me certain residents that provided very unique perspectives on their respective neighbourhoods. I was able to interview former working girls, addicts, and displaced residents. These voices are often not captured in gentrification studies. Reaching these individuals was quite successful in the GFLA, largely due to the social structures associated with that neighbourhood. Although the GFLA is one of the poorer neighbourhoods in Calgary, the residents have forged strong bonds and are often more than willing to express their impressions of potential redevelopment in the area.

Resident sponsored groups in Bowness, namely the Bowness Historical Society and the Bowness Seniors are important to this research due to the lived experiences of

their members. Social workers and other related advocates may have an intricate knowledge of their respective communities, but only in an official capacity. An understanding of Bowness and the GFLA through an unofficial capacity is integral for this research. One group that faces considerable pressure from the gentrification process in Bowness is the neighbourhood's senior population. There has been considerable debate in the literature about how vulnerable residents are able to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods (see Freeman and Braconi 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Newman and Wyly 2006), but there has been little attention paid to the plight of seniors in this regard. Members of the Bowness Seniors were able to illuminate issues of displacement due to their living with the socio-economic pressure every day.

Initially set up to provide local recreation and social activities, building and maintaining their community centre, and serving as a liaison between the City of Calgary and residents (Davies and Townshend 1994), Community Associations now play a bigger role in development issues within their respective neighbourhoods. The level of their impact varies across Calgary and some of these organizations have their own planning and development boards that act as watchdogs. Board members of several CAs in the two areas of study were key interviews in this research. Upon speaking with these members it became apparent where they stood on gentrification and other redevelopment measures. For example, the counter-hegemonic movement in Bowness would have not been discovered without interviewing key members of the Bowness CA's Planning and Development Committee. They also provided a critical view of the City of Calgary's standard public engagement approach, and offered an alternative that limits developer's

power. Joe Leizerowicz devised an alternate public engagement strategy that gives more power to residents and social groups over planning and development in their respective neighbourhoods. A more detailed explanation of this strategy is provided in Chapter 08.

Cochrane (1998) stresses the need for reflexivity when interviewing local elites and power relations. It is necessary to gain the trust of the pro-redevelopment respondents, so the preemptive portion of all interviews conducted with this group was based around the building of rapport. Cochrane (1998) recommends the use of detailed notes during this process so that the accuracy of transcriptions can be assessed. Cochrane (1998) also argues that it is important to group together different sources and multiple evidence around a specific event. Accordingly, multiple actors connected to one strategy were interviewed. For example, similar questions were adopted for the interviews conducted with IABRZ board members and the urban designers that were responsible for the redevelopment schemes in the GFLA. These questions were largely based upon the narratives and rhetoric employed in the two redevelopment schemes in the area. Deciphering the power relations amongst these groups was integral to this research, and it was important to think critically of the answers the respondents provided. For example, the Executive Director of the IABRZ indicated that the entire community was supportive of the redevelopment schemes, but this was contradicted by the social advocacy group and neighbourhood residents (which I had interviewed prior to the pro-redevelopment group). The answers provided by elites and those in power must be examined reflexively (Cochrane 1998), which is what this research accomplished.

I interviewed several key City of Calgary officials that provided valuable critiques of the City's planning implementation and public engagement strategies. Although these officials did not have a lived experience perspective of the two neighbourhoods, their reflections on City of Calgary were largely concomitant with criticisms provided from dissenting residents and CA members. The key aspect of this group was providing information on urban governance in Calgary, particularly how policies are implemented. They also provided critiques of the state hierarchy that has existed prior to neoliberalism (such as the incredibly siloed nature of City of Calgary departments). These structural arrangements fundamentally shape present neoliberal policies highlighting the variegated formulations of the process (see Brenner et al. 2010).

Veracity of Information Collected

The researcher must be reflexive concerning the veracity of the information provided in the interviews he or she conducts. Essentially, the researcher must constantly question if the information provides is actually true. The majority of the data obtained for this research was from the interviews I conducted. The primary means of ensuring that this information was true was to use similar questioning across the variety of interviewees. For example, I would use a similar question about a specific aspect of redevelopment, such as if the redevelopment plans for the GFLA were supported by the community, for several categories of interviewees (IABRZ board members, social advocates, neighbourhood residents, and planners). Alison Karim-McSwiney repeatedly mentioned that the redevelopment efforts of the IABRZ had the complete support from the community. Much of the media promotion echoed the same sentiment (see Chapters

06 and 07). However, when I interviewed social advocates and some area residents they were unaware of the redevelopment efforts of the IABRZ. Also, City of Calgary planners directly stated that the redevelopment plans were not community-driven, but were instead supported by a select group of people that were either IABRZ board members or had significant connections with the organization. This cross-checking allowed me to argue that the redevelopment efforts were not supported by the entirety of the community, which contradicts the notions of the IABRZ and its supporters.

Another method of ensuring that the information provided through interviews was correct was by ensuring that I use similar lines of questioning across a stream of similar individuals. Although the interview questions evolved as this research progressed, I retained some standard questions throughout the interview process. For example, for each community organizer/social worker that I spoke with about Bowness I asked them:

Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among the populations living in the Bowness area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as “others?”

One of the initial interviews I had with a social worker affiliated with Catholic Family Services mentioned that there is some resentment against some of Bowness’ residents by the lower income individuals in the neighbourhood. I wanted to ensure that there was no contradiction of information amongst the social workers. I also asked social workers affiliated with the GFLA if there was a similar sentiment in those communities, largely to see if there is a connection between social structures in Bowness and the GFLA.

There is significant documentation on redevelopment in the GFLA, namely the actual redevelopment plans themselves. These documents allude to the fact that the

redesigns of the 17th Avenue SE Corridor were completed entirely during the public participation process; implying that it was the participants that provided the impetus for the designs. Redevelopment proponents, namely former Alderman Diane Danielson, echoed the same sentiment. However, after asking multiple urban designers associated with the projects, as well as planners and elected officials, it was shown that this assertion is not exactly true. Once again, I used a standard question for every interviewee I asked about this situation:

Were these ideas and designs [from the EVDS Studio Course] then incorporated into the charrettes? Were more design conceptions added during the charrettes? How much was changed?¹⁸

Some of the urban designers elaborated beyond a simple answer to this question. It was discovered that the impetus for the designs occurred months before the public even provided input, and when the public participation events occurred the participants were often led or convinced of the proper way forward by the urban designers. The latter information was provided by City of Calgary planners and elected officials who participated in the events.

The use of a standard question to determine the veracity of the information provided by interviewees, despite the evolving nature of the questions provided a much richer explanation of the gentrification process in Bowness and the GFLA. It is essential to determine the accuracy of interview data, and this method proved to be successful. In fact, interview data was used to determine the veracity of another method employed to

¹⁸ Prior to the public participation process, a graduate level studio course was created by the urban designers that were responsible for the redesign of the 17th Avenue SE corridor. It was in this course that almost the entirety of the redevelopment ideas was formulated. (see Chapters 06 and 07).

decipher gentrification in Bowness and the GFLA. Various documents, notably Alberta legislation and the redevelopment plans, were critically analyzed both in terms of their rhetoric and through the assessments of individuals that authored the documents as well as interpreted them.

Analysis of Redevelopment Documentation

Several documents were analyzed in this research. Provincial legislation, namely the MGA, was examined in concert with interpretive interview data. The majority of information related to the MGA was provided through discussions I had with various contacts (City of Calgary planners for example). However, multiple documents concerning redevelopment in Bowness and the GFLA were directly scrutinized by me in this research. The aim of this scrutiny was to decipher the rhetoric employed in the documents and relate it to the gentrification process; particularly concerning the issue of public participation as it relates to gentrification. For example, the rhetoric in the IABRZ sponsored highlights how the public participation process was highly inclusionary, which would seem to suggest that the potentially displaced people were included in the redevelopment process. However, the document recognizes that gentrification will occur. So, how truly inclusionary was the public participation process associated with the redevelopment plan for the GFLA? Related academic literature was also used to scrutinize the redevelopment plans, particularly the critical literature on New Urbanism.

These documents also provided a base for the interview questions. In this case, the interviews I conducted were a means to determine the veracity of the information provided in the redevelopment plans. For example, as stated above the IABRZ sponsored

redevelopment plan identifies the project as being highly inclusionary. When I interviewed the principal urban designers behind the redevelopment plans, City of Calgary planners, IABRZ board members, social advocates, etc. a great deal of questioning on the inclusionary/exclusionary aspects of the public participation process occurred. Through the triangulation of the interview data received I was able to ascertain that the public participation process was, instead, highly exclusionary. The IABRZ redevelopment plan documents were not as forthright as they appeared. The analysis of the related redevelopment documentation proved to be an integral part of deciphering the gentrification process in both study areas.

2.4 – Intentions

This project engages issues of public participation, and how its incorporation can lead to gentrification but also how it can limit the process' progression. Currently, the research that focuses on the role public participation in the gentrification process is severely limited. Thus this project contributes to a new understanding of the public participation process. This new understanding begins in the following chapter, which focuses on the role of neoliberalization and housing, particularly in the Alberta context. The neoliberalization theme is carried through to Chapter Four, where the discussion focuses on how the project has infiltrated planning legislation in Alberta. Neoliberal policies at the provincial level encourage pro-development policies at the municipal level, which in effect supplants public voice.

Chapter Five focuses on how community activism, inclusivity and social cohesion have been able to limit the gentrification process in Bowness. Chapters 06 and 07 examine the public engagement process surrounding two redevelopment projects in the GFLA, and how the outcome may gentrify the business corridor and adjacent communities. Chapter Eight culminates in a discussion on how public participation in Bowness and the GFLA represent two different outcomes of the process. The collaboration and consensus-building efforts associated with a New Urbanist agenda in the GFLA led to a politically legitimized vision, which then influenced a parallel municipally sponsored planning strategy that may gentrify the business corridor along with adjacent communities in the area. Although the New Urbanist activists behind the new vision argued that the project was a step forward, the public participation model ensured only the reinforcement of the status quo development interests. The only fundamental difference between redevelopment that has already occurred in Calgary's inner-city and the potential gentrification that the GFLA will endure is the spatial framing (Harvey 1997): design-sensitive development. The development industry machine has not been challenged. The public engagement efforts occurring in Bowness, however, are reinforcing a counter-hegemonic movement. A group of politically savvy and creative residents have successfully slowed the progression of gentrification in the neighbourhood, and have effectively challenged other redevelopment efforts that are seen as a threat to the social cohesion of Bowness. The structural arrangements within both Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area have produced far different outcomes, even though policy and procedure is theoretically uniform across the city. The aim of this

research is to highlight the differed causal mechanisms and conditions that are spatially contingent; the realities of Bowness and the GFLA have produced different outcomes.

Chapter 03: Setting the Stage: Neoliberalization and Housing

3.1 – Introduction

Miller (2007) summarizes succinctly that “since the early 1990s the province of Alberta has been in the forefront of neoliberal policy development in Canada” (223). Given that Canadian cities are essentially appendages of their respective provincial governments, Calgary, for the most part, has followed suit. However, Calgary has not adopted neoliberalism completely. For example, rather than turning over the City’s public utility to the private market, Calgary retained Enmax despite the pressure to release the service (see Miller 2007). The literature on neoliberalism is vast and identifying general trends is key to understanding the process, but what is most valuable is deciphering neoliberalism’s spatio-temporal uniqueness. Neoliberalism in practice, neoliberalization, does not strictly follow neoliberal orthodoxy. Well-situated structures laid by prior frameworks determine how neoliberal policy is implemented, which in turn shapes the socio-spatial landscape, namely cities. The (re)production of Calgary’s (sub)urban spaces is the product of these policies and structures.

3.2 – Neoliberalism versus Neoliberalization

Neoliberalism, at least in theory, centres on the notion that competitive unregulated markets, free of state intervention, are optimal for all forms of economic development (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Neoliberalism came to the forefront in the 1970s following the instability of Fordism/Keynesianism. Keynesian policies were no longer able to “contain the costs and consequences of rising inflation, falling profits and

productivity, and growing social expenditures” (Peck and Tickell 2007, 30). Proponents argued that an increased reliance on market values would solve the stagnation of Keynesianism. Neoliberalism began fundamentally as a utopian ideology constructed through an exclusive group of advocates (Mont Pelerin Society), who were largely academic economists (Milton Friedman for example), philosophers, and historians, convened around Friedrich von Hayek (Harvey 2005). Due to a supposed loss of freedom, movement away from individuality, and a loss in the adherence to notions of private property and the competitive market this group of elites believed that society was in grave danger (Mont Pelerin Society). Although this group favoured free market ideology that had emerged to displace such theories devised by Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Marx, they still favored Smith’s view that the market was the best for mobilizing human instincts (greed, and desire for wealth and power) to benefit everyone (Harvey 2005). Neoliberalization was transformed from an ideology into practice in the 1970s.

Fearing a loss of hegemonic power, the traditional upper classes in Chile brought about a swift coup against the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende in 1973 (Harvey 2005, 2006). Chile’s upper classes were not alone in this struggle, as the military takeover was heavily supported by the US. Pinochet’s new state violently repressed all popular and political movements aligned with the left and progressive organizations (such as health centres for the poor) (Harvey 2006). Regulatory control was decreased, “freeing” the country’s labour market (Harvey 2006). Once the recession of the 1970s emerged these policies appeared to come to a standstill,

so a group of Chilean economists returned to save the country's economy. This group of economists, called "the Chicago Boys," was part of a US effort to counteract left-wing tendencies by training Chilean economists at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Milton Friedman (Harvey 2005). The "Chicago Boys" suggested that Chile adopt economic practices that favoured the "free" market, "free" trade, private exploitation of natural resources, and public asset privatization through cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Harvey 2006).

Although the revival of the Chilean economy was short lived, there are some notable features that need mentioning. First, the Chilean "experiment" is the prototypical example of two fundamental attributes of neoliberalization. Uneven development is only exacerbated under neoliberal policy. In Chile, the foreign investors and the country's ruling elite benefited greatly, while the general population fared relatively badly (Harvey 2006). Also, since the traditional elites combined forces with the US highlights the importance of the interplay of internal and external dynamics in neoliberalization. Although internal structures (such as a national state) shape neoliberal outcomes, external dynamics (such as policies adopted in another country) can also influence policy decisions in situ. For example, Chile's neoliberalization provided a platform from which the Reagan and Thatcher administrations could adopt neoliberal policies (Harvey 2006ii). Second, neoliberalization is not a stable fix. Even the "pure" neoliberal state (Chile) underwent a major crisis in 1982-83, and like other nations in the global south was "bailed" out by the core neoliberal states of the global north. The reality that "pure" neoliberalization is prone to continual crisis fails to register with its protagonists, which

in effect continue to perpetuate mutations of the process that exacerbate uneven development (Harvey 2005).

Although neoliberalism is a contextual process, Miller (2007) argues that three overarching trends can be identified in its implementation. First, the state's responsibilities have shifted; many functions have been downloaded to the local level (without appropriate funding for implementation) forcing municipalities to compete to retain and accumulate capital, and there has been increased regulatory function allocation to supranational institutions (dissolving national barriers for the liquidation of capital flow). Second, decision-making has been altered from once democratic means to favouring undemocratic market-based initiatives. Social reproduction measures that were once prevalent under Fordism have given way to investment in and support of private capital to promote development. Third, market ideology has become hegemonic in all forms of social life. This is represented by the decrease in democratic action in favour of economic efficiency, the consistent drive to keep taxes low, increased responsibility to the "individual," tuition increases at public universities, etc. Combined with alterations in social life, many forms of social action have undergone a draconian shift due to the state's allocation functions being transformed by neoliberal policies (Miller 2007). Neoliberal doctrine presupposes a "one size fits all" policy implementation that assumes universal effects across space (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 6). "The boldest formulations position neoliberalism as a 'master concept,' or as a byword for an ideologically drenched form of globalization" (Brenner et al. 2010, 183). For example, if the doctrine was followed perfectly then the neoliberal approach in Calgary and

Edmonton should produce concomitant effects in both cities, particularly since Canadian cities are extensions of their respective provincial governments. However, there are fundamental differences in the spatial and political makeup of the two cities.

Neoliberalism was created and continues to be altered by contestation and alliances among various groups and actors (such as anti-globalization protestors, social conservatives, oil executives, public-sector employees, etc) (Peck and Tickell 2007), all of which are spatially and temporally dependent. Although Calgary and Edmonton are extensions of the Alberta government, each city also has fundamentally different policy frameworks that are not easily dismantled. For example, after the dismantling of RPCs, Edmonton was able to somewhat retain the structure of their local RPC on a voluntary basis, whereas the political contentions between Calgary and neighbouring rural municipalities made it impossible for its RPC structure to survive even through voluntary means (Climenhaga 1997). Thus, Calgary's landscape has become a virtual open landscape for the private market. There is a stark contrast between neoliberalism in theory and its practical implementation and effects (Harvey 2005), so the process should be conceived through the concept of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck et al. 2009).

The difference between ideology and practice is no accident; rather it is a key ingredient to the implementation of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism in practice should not be thought of as an enclosed system, but should be considered an "uneven, contradictory, and ongoing process of neoliberalization" (Peck et al. 2009, 51). Neoliberalism is not a stand-alone process, but rather exists in what Peck et al. 2009 argue is a parasitic

relationship with other regulatory formations. Neoliberalism is able to attach on to former structures and exploit them to its advantage. Deep-rooted associations forged long before the emergence of neoliberalism, such as the symbiotic relationship between the local state and the development industry in Calgary, provide an avenue through which neoliberal practice and state policy become synonymous. Given that neoliberalism extends itself through trial and error processes, one should not define the success of neoliberalization by some coherent structure (Peck et al. 2009). Neoliberalization is in a constant state of flux, but what is key is how the process is extended through governance structures and contributes to uneven development.

Despite the *laissez-faire* ethos in neoliberal orthodoxy, the practice of neoliberalization ultimately relies upon intensified coercive and disciplinary state intervention to enforce the spatio-temporal versions of market rule (Peck et al. 2009). Neoliberal protagonists will often argue that the state should be separate from the market and an individual's private life, yet these supposed "diametrically opposed principles" cannot be separated (Peck et al. 2009, 53). All socio-economic relations are continually reconstructed politically, which are then intensified under neoliberalization. Neoliberal theory assumes that once its policies are implemented all results will be identical and create a utopia of sorts (Brenner and Theodore 2002). However, given the contextual nature of previous socio-economic structures and policies, a wide variety of outcomes will be produced once neoliberal reform is implemented (Brenner et al. 2010). Neoliberalization "exploits and produces" uneven geographical development (Peck et al.

2009, 53). Uneven geographical development is a key evolving facet of neoliberalization.

The Path-Dependent Nature of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalization is inherently path-dependent due to its adherence to and alteration of past policy frameworks, such as the extension of neoliberal reform in Communist China (see Harvey 2005). The hybridization (neoliberalization) of pre- or non-neoliberal institutions with neoliberalism, specific actually existing neoliberal framework, produces a distinctive outcome with its own evolving attributes (Peck et al. 2009). Neoliberal hybrids also form from former neoliberal frameworks. The multi-scalar connections associated with past policy frameworks do not magically disappear, so while being quite variegated neoliberalization is highly connected across scales. Peck et al. (2009) argue that any analysis of neoliberalization should focus on locally contingent hybrids and their scalar connections, rather than concentrating on types of neoliberalism or their difference from the US stereotype (which has been the common approach).

Despite the recent calls for a change in approach to investigating neoliberalization, it is still important to highlight the general evolution of the process. Enduring crisis after crisis, neoliberalization is still the dominant regulatory framework in the world. However, it has had to reinvent itself time and time again, often through the same measures that spawned crises in the first place. Initially, neoliberalism was represented by the “roll-back” policies implemented by the Reagan administration in the US and the Thatcher administration in the UK. Believed to be the “fix” of failed Fordist policies of the mid 20th Century, neoliberalism swept through the northern hemisphere.

Social reproduction vis-à-vis the public sphere, which was dominant during the Fordist-Keynesian era, was increasingly demonized in favour of the promoting of the private sphere, such cutting state funding for social housing programs. The financial regulatory practices of the Keynesian era were blamed for macroeconomic crisis. Entities such as unions and an “overregulated” labour market were equally faulted (Peck and Tickell 2002). During this era, lean government became the mantra and cities found themselves increasingly strained due to cost-cutting measures imposed by national states (Brenner and Theodore 2002). The outright canonization of the private market was deemed best practice in all realms of life (see Brenner and Theodore 2002).

As the economic sphere was undergoing radical changes through neoliberalization, the political and social arenas endured a similar fate. Due to neoliberal restructuring, namely increased market freedom and the emphasizing of individual opportunity over entitlement, politicians simultaneously stressed conservative viewpoints and root changing agendas (Peck and Tickell 2002). The new conservative political storm continually pushed for root change, while their social-democratic counterparts (unions, social advocates, etc) were left defending a supposedly broken system (Peck and Tickell 2002). The public’s willingness to follow conservatism, particularly the lower to middle-classes that have opposing interests, only bolstered the political movement towards the political right.

What appears now as an almost blind devotion of the public to neoliberal values was not an overnight turn of events, but rather a carefully planned orchestration by an elite class. This chain of events occurred, nonetheless, through democratic means.

Building upon Gramsci, Harvey (2005) argues that a construction of consent grounded in “common sense” was employed to coerce the masses into following neoliberal orthodoxy. Rather than being built upon critical thinking on present issues, or “good sense,” common sense is created through deep-rooted traditions (regional and national) (Harvey 2005, 39). These traditions (such as religion) as well as cultural fears are employed to recruit from the masses. Political slogans are the primary avenue in which common sense is invoked to steer the masses. For example, the word “freedom” has been consistently employed in the US to bolster political support, and any critical thought regarding the usage of the term has become taboo, if not sacrilegious. Rapley (2004) argues that the “freedom” rhetoric is so engrained in US society that it has become an easy political tool for elites to wield when justifying their actions and appeasing or manipulating the citizenry. Political motivations become indistinguishable when they are cloaked as cultural arguments (Gramsci 2005), and can be quite effective in making people oppose their own interests¹⁹.

The movement towards neoliberalism was a powerful one given the entrenchment of Keynesian policies dominant during the 20th Century, and the consent of the population was even more dramatic. Beginning with Hayek in the late 1940s, powerful ideologues infiltrated various institutions (such as universities), media outlets, corporations, etc (Harvey 2005). The creation of neoliberal think tanks aided the conversion of intellectuals to neoliberal dogma. However, these movements are not

¹⁹ A lucid illustration is the health care crisis in the US. The privatized health care machine in the US has used the aforementioned manipulation so well in regards to debate over universal health care that citizens who would benefit greatly from “socialized” medicine are incredibly hostile towards its implementation.

universal across space. Although the Reagan and Thatcher administrations were at the centre of neoliberal turn, the already situated structures meant that process played out differently within the two countries.

The success of neoliberalism in the US was largely due to the Republican Party building a strong alliance with the Christian right (Harvey 2005). A strong movement of well-funded neoconservatives that supported the neoliberal turn (in an economic sense) and mobilized both the positives and negatives of tradition and religious values was able to demonize, rather erroneously, the excesses of the “left elite” (Harvey 2005). Supposedly this “left elite” expropriated state power to provide for special groups (women for example) while leaving the white working classes in a “chronic state of economic insecurity” (Harvey 2005, 50). The movement was very successful in convincing the white working classes that the effects of neoliberalization, such as uncontrolled individualism and free markets, have nothing to do with corporate power and capitalization (Harvey 2005). This alliance between the Christian right and corporate power produced the election of Ronald Reagan, who once elected began dismantling all forms of Keynesian regulation (largely through the appointment of anti-regulatory personnel to key positions in the administration). The Reagan Administration also appealed to labourers by exploiting the bureaucratic rigidity of labour unions (which was a detriment for labour and capital) (Harvey 2005). Thus, the values of freedom and liberty espoused by neoliberals were infused into the “common sense” of labourers.

An overt Christian right is nonexistent in the UK, and corporate power does not support political ventures in a similar fashion as in the US. The Labour Party was

inherently tied to strong labour unions and working class values. Given the strong ties between corporate power and a network of privilege and class (which connected the Civil Service, government, academia, etc), the UK developed a much stronger welfare state than the US (Harvey 2005). Even when the conservatives were in power briefly during the mid-20th Century they dared not dismantle the welfare state. During the 1960s, the rise of global finance capital influenced the UK to both shelter and boast London as key player in the world economic system. This created a contradiction between finance capital (centred in London) and manufacturing capital (nation-wide) that in turn created crises in the 1970s (Harvey 2005). The City of London was a bastion of neoliberal orthodoxy. It was no coincidence then that criticism of the UK welfare state became rampant in the 1960s and only heightened more during the stagnation of the 1970s. The rise of neoliberal think tanks and university working groups, as well as a youth movement towards freedom and individualism began to deteriorate the old class structure of the UK (Harvey 2005). A mine workers strike during the early 1970s saw the Conservative government lose power, and the returning Labour government had to bow to IMF budgetary pressure. Welfare state cutbacks engendered more strikes that led to the fall of the Labour government. An election was called and Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister. She and her middle-class base had a clear aim once she was elected, and that was to squelch the public sector and its associated union labour (Harvey 2005).

The primary means by which the Thatcher Administration dismantled the UK welfare state was to privatize the majority of the public sector. In order to groom this

sector for privatization, the state increased efficiency and drove down its debt by reducing unionized labour power (Harvey 2005). The most effective way the Thatcher Administration was able to reduce the power of unions was discrediting their existence, such as when they provoked a miner's strike in 1984. The strike lasted a year, and even though the miners had support from the public they lost the fight. Essentially, the core element of labour was broken (Harvey 2005). Incentives to private capital were also employed, namely selling off state industries at reduced cost. There was a great deal of land speculation following the massive privatization. Harvey (2005) argues that the Thatcher government's reasoning was to change the political climate by "extending the field of personal and corporate responsibility and encouraging greater efficiency, individual/corporate initiative, and innovation" (60). State industries were sold off so quickly due to the administration's belief that once completed there would be no recourse. However, it was the selling off of the council housing that had the greatest impact to UK society. The number of homeowners increased drastically in the 1980s, and working-classes increasingly adopted middle-class ideals. The immediate speculation surrounding the rise in homeownership benefited the middle-classes as well (Harvey 2005).

Thatcher's construction of consent came largely through the creation of a middle-class vis-à-vis new homeownership. Private property and individualism became a new celebratory function of former working-classes. Working-class identities became overshadowed by middle-class values. The explosion of finance capital brought forward a debt culture and consumption society that transformed the UK class structure (Harvey

2005). Since London was retained as the focus of this change, it became the Mecca of power and capital. As class power gathered around financial sector London, rather than being returned to traditional sectors, the cost of living in the city became notoriously expensive (Harvey 2005).

Although Thatcher's policies aligned with neoliberal orthodoxy more so than policies adopted in the US under Reagan, but both governments set the groundwork for a path dependent market fundamentalist regulatory framework. The avenues in which consent of the population was constructed were different, but they were able to restore class power and bring on board a population with dissimilar interests. However, these policies came to their political limits around 1990, and neoliberalism was reconstructed (Peck and Tickell 2002).

The socio-political framework laid by Reagan and Thatcher made such fundamental structural changes that the following administrations, Clinton in the US and Blair in the UK, had very little wiggle room. They had to retain the restoration of class power, although their political stances were more left than Reagan and Thatcher (Harvey 2005). The Democratic Party has had to stray from past policy directions since the Reagan Republican controlled the US government in the 1980s. The Republican Party was far more than willing to represent the elite class, but the Democrats' support came from wide variety of classes and races. They had a wide popular base. However, the role of money in politics became increasingly important following Reagan's election, and given that the Democrats were also reliant upon "big money" the pressure to conform to their interests only increased (Harvey 2005). The Democrats could not engage in an anti-

corporate political message, which much of their constituency would support, since they would lose their backing from the financial elite. When the Clinton administration came to power in the early 1990s it was at an impasse; placate the financial interests that provide them economic backing or improve the lives of their popular base (Harvey 2005). The Clinton Democrats chose to follow the former path thus pulling them into the prescription of neoliberal policies (see Stiglitz 2003). The Clinton administration was faced with a huge deficit created by both the Reagan administration and the George H.W. Bush administration, so in order to recharge economic growth it had to reduce the deficit. Rather than increase taxation, which in the US is political suicide, it made cutbacks that only increased the socio-economic uncertainty of the US' most vulnerable populations (Harvey 2005).

Neoliberalization following the Reagan and Thatcher years is often referred to as roll-out neoliberalism. It is identified by its more socially interventionist forms, under which the state (and other functional bodies) both becomes an economic player and social life regulator. Roll-out neoliberalism is not only concerned with the growth of markets, but also the cover-up and containment of the social consequences of neoliberalism (Wacquant 1999; Peck and Tickell 2002), namely uneven geographical development and poverty. Neoliberal forms of economic management are still prevalent, but in order to “regulate” the extension market logic the state often employs increased policing, the proliferation of penitentiaries, subsidization of corporations, welfare reform, urban surveillance, gentrification, etc (Peck and Tickell 2002). For example, at the urban scale, the state lubricates private capital's influence in development through market-based

strategies, such as tax increment financing (TIF), while concomitantly criminalizing the city's poor and homeless (revanchism) to spur development. Revanchist strategies are a significant feature of contemporary gentrification (see Smith 1996), and are employed around the globe; although its significance has been debated (see MacLeod 2002).

Regulatory frameworks should not be regarded as an end state, nor should templates be regarded as simple replacements (Brenner et al. 2010). Although important in recognizing how neoliberalism has evolved over time, Brenner et al. (2010) argue that the variegated nature of neoliberalization cannot be defined by transitory stage models. The process is constantly evolving and adapting from previous regulatory frameworks that are spatially and temporally dependent. Roll-out neoliberalism is, in the most general sense, is reconstituted neoliberalization that came about due to the inherent contradictions of the market-oriented policies of the 1980s (Peck et al. 2009). Essentially and quite ironically, policies enacted by the "left governments" of 1990s are neoliberal approaches to solve the crises created by neoliberal approaches instilled by administrations prior. Also, neoliberal regulatory regimes often exhibit both roll-back and roll-out tendencies simultaneously.

3.3 – Alberta's Neoliberal Path

Compared to the US and the UK, Canada started on its neoliberal path rather late (Miller 2007). Since the early 1990s, following the election of Ralph Klein as premier, Alberta has been central in Canada's neoliberal policy implementation. The Klein government, however, was not the initiator of Alberta's neoliberal trajectory. A

combination of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism was initiated by the Getty Tories (Progressive Conservatives). The recession of the early 1980s hit Alberta hard due its reliance upon its largest industrial sector, the petroleum industry, so Premier Don Getty initiated extensive social spending cuts (Miller 2007). Getty also became premier just as oil prices began to fall (1985), and almost immediately the petroleum industry began intensive lobbying for government aid. By the end of the year, an aid package of over \$1 billion was provided to Alberta's petroleum sector (Taft 1997). As assistance to the private sector increased, the public sector underwent drastic cuts. The Getty Tories froze education spending and physicians fees (Taft 1997). By Fall 1987, the Alberta government threatened nurses with a wage rollback. Budget restrictions following a nurses' strike in January 1988 led to reductions in health services, which in turn led to a 50 percent increase of nurses departing the province for good (Taft 1997). By the Fall of 1988, cuts were reduced and the Alberta government provided relief to both the petroleum industry (\$200 million) and to agriculture (\$850 million for drought relief). Incidentally, this move by the Getty Tories spurred another election, which they won with a small majority government (Taft 1997).

A renewed Getty government continued cuts following the election. In 1989, Medicare received a cut of \$110 million and approximately half of all Alberta hospitals were running a deficit (Taft 1997). Long-term facilities drastically increased their resident fees in 1990, and there was also a loss in hospital beds and more workers were laid off. Continual cuts also led to strikes by school teachers and custodians, social workers protested decreasing standards with walk outs, and even private sector

employees walked out on their jobs. Almost 1,000 nurses lost their jobs between 1990 and 1992, and the Getty government instituted long-term controls on physicians' billing (Taft 1997). By the time Getty retired and handed over power to Ralph Klein, Alberta's per capita spending decreased by 15 percent and the province lost 4,400 full-time employees (Taft 1997). Yet, just prior to Ralph Klein becoming premier, the Getty government aided the energy sector with \$485 million in public funding.

Restructuring Under Klein

Former Calgary mayor, Ralph Klein, was elected as Alberta's premier in 1993 on a platform of reducing "out of control" spending. Supposedly the Getty government was spending beyond its means, even though Klein was well aware of the former administration's budget cuts (see Taft 1997). Alberta's neoliberal path came into full swing under the Klein Tories. While in their first year of power, they eliminated more than \$800 million from public spending, cut 2,300 hospital staff and 778 teachers, reduced or completely scrapped benefit programs for Alberta's most vulnerable (seniors and the poor for example), drastically increased health care premiums, imposed a five percent pay cut on public-sector workers (teachers, nurses, etc), etc (Taft 1997; Miller 2007). By 1996, the Klein Tories had reduced public spending by approximately \$2 billion and had purged 4,500 civil service employees. Four inner-city Calgary hospitals were closed, 43 percent of all nursing positions were eliminated, and between 30 percent of nursing positions at the University of Edmonton were eliminated or replaced by less-skilled workers by 1997 (Taft 1997). The cut to Municipal Affairs (provincial programs for social housing, roads, etc) was approximately 50 percent, and per-student school

funding decreased to 14 percent below the Canadian average. Miller (2007) states that by 1996 Alberta's support of public programs was the worst in Canada. Between fiscal years 1991/1992 and 2001/2002, university tuition fees increased 160 percent due to a shift to user fees for funding public programs, which was the highest increase amongst Canada's provinces and territories (Miller 2007).

Albertans were led to believe that spending on public programs was at fault for the province's deficit, yet it was roll-out neoliberalism that was truly responsible. Corporate welfare has been implemented in Alberta since the 1970s, and the province leads the country in private-sector (such as the petroleum industry) subsidization (Taft 1997; Miller 2007). The period in which Alberta experienced "economic peril" (1986 through 1995) corporate welfare was more than \$20 billion. This amount is three times the contribution to income support for the province's poor (Miller 2007). The last time that Alberta received more in corporate taxes than in spent on private-sector subsidies was 1975 (Taft 1997). Spending on industrial development was approximately \$1 billion in 1981; but by 1983 that subsidy surpassed spending on transportation, social services, culture and the environment put together. Incidentally, the time when Alberta's debt increased so rapidly (1986/1987 through 1992/1993) the corporate sector provided a \$5.3 billion net drain on the province (Taft 1997). Spending on industrial development under the Klein Tories has decreased significantly, largely due to increasing petroleum prices and a booming economy. However, there have been significant tax breaks to the business sector in Alberta. For example, during the 1994/1995 fiscal year the Alberta's booming corporate sector contributed less than two percent of the province's total revenue, which

is surprising because at that time Alberta had the second-largest concentration of corporations in Canada (Taft 1997).

The Naturalization of Neoliberal Norms

Taft (1997) argues essentially that Albertans have been duped by the Klein Tories into following a neoliberal path. For the most part, Taft's argument holds true, but Klein's success, and subsequent PC administrations', in pushing neoliberal ideals on Albertans is far more complex. Although Albertans are generally more right-wing than most Canadians, a staunchly neo-conservative political agenda has still been a hard sell in Alberta. Klein's Tories, and subsequent PC administrations, have for the most part drifted from conservative principles of market fundamentalism (Soron 2005). Rather, Albertan politics has been geared more towards its citizenry's libertarian values instead of religious morals (Denis 1995). Yet, despite the rugged individualism of Alberta's population, many still continue to push for the social assistance that neoliberalization aims to destroy (Soron 2005). For example, while approximately 79 percent of Alberta's populace supported the Health Council of Canada (HCC), the Klein Tories resisted joining the organization (Lisac 2004). Alberta only recently joined the HCC in 2012. Why then has the Government of Alberta been out of touch with its citizenry?

The Klein Tories have been consistently praised for their political gains and success, namely their reduction to the deficit (which as shown above is debatable), yet Brownsey (2005) argues that Klein's true legacy is his erosion of democracy and the destruction of Alberta's administrative apparatus. Alberta's hollowed state is due to spread of policies and reorganization of functions to lubricate the private market.

Neoliberal reform was already prevalent prior to the Klein Tories coming to power, but they went beyond the policies of former administrations to ensure that market rule dictated the lives of Albertans. Tory predecessors, such as Peter Lougheed and Don Getty, retained a cabinet, but under the Klein regime power and decision making were concentrated in the Premier's office. All the former cabinet committees were dismantled, central bureaucratic organizations were abandoned, executive assistants were no longer employed based upon their administrative skills but rather on their political motivations, caucus committees were created from non-cabinet members, etc (Brownsey 2005). This new arrangement allowed Klein to control almost every aspect of the province and garner decisions that were out of touch with the rest of Alberta.

The reworking of the state apparatus under Klein gave the Premier's office an unusual amount of control and the decision-making process became so streamlined that it was largely ill conceived. Politically savvy executive assistants approved communications officers (who reported to the Premier's Director of Communications) for every minister's office (Brownsey 2005). Although executive assistants were hired by their respective ministers, their roles were largely political since the Premier's Chief of Staff, Rod Love, guaranteed that they were political operatives. The bureaucratic apparatus became completely politicized and provincial ministers came under complete guise of the Premier's office. With the blending of cabinet and caucus committees, Ralph Klein and Rod Love were able to reduce the number of cabinet committees from fifteen to three, which were then referred to as Standing Policy Committees (SPC). Eventually seven SPCs were created. Minister's still brought proposed policy forward, but now to

the Agenda and Priorities Committee (APC) which in turn direct the item to one of the seven SPCs. The proposed policy is the subjected to bureaucratic processes, but under the guise of new autocratic system. The creation of the SPCs created a completely new administrative system that incorporated backbench Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) (which could then inject their own ideas) (Brownsey 2005). Each SPC had six cabinet members and six backbenchers. However, the SPCs were not as powerful as the now defunct cabinet committees that operated under Lougheed and Getty and could not significantly challenge the decision-making power of the APC (which was chaired by the Premier) (Brownsey 2005). The APC is still chaired by the Premier of Alberta. This form of streamlined decision-making has seriously hampered democracy in Alberta, which was in stark contradiction to Klein's mandate of returning government to the people (Brownsey 2005).

Trolling the Masses

The Klein Tories were in power from 1993 until 2006, hence the popular moniker "King Ralph" being attached to his administration. How has a party (PCs), particularly under the autocratic regime of the Klein Tories, been able to remain in power for so long? The combination of media mergers, government entities, and public policy has made it increasingly difficult for Albertans to be informed of the government's political agenda. Beginning in the early 1990s, Canadian media outlets underwent several mergers and Alberta was included (Sampert 2005). The reduced competition amongst media outlets allowed owners to skew the message to compliment their needs, thus reducing the objective viewpoints for Albertans (Taras 2001). Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) now

owns the CTV Television Network, which includes CFCN in Calgary and CFRN in Edmonton (Sampert 2005), and at one time owned the Globe and Mail (Woodbridge is now the primary owner with 85 percent control) (CN 2010). Canwest, at one time, owned the Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal and the National Post; as well as four major television stations in Alberta (Sampert 2005). The competition between the National Post and The Globe and Mail, exacerbated by the global economic crash in 2008, was tough on the two media outlets. Canwest filed for bankruptcy and creditor protection in 2009 and its broadcasting assets were sold to Shaw Communications Inc. in 2010 (Canada 2010). Canwest's newspaper assets were sold to Postmedia Network in 2010.

Edmonton, at one time, was one of the most saturated media markets in Canada, particularly in radio (Sampert 2005). Radio stations were fully staffed and provided Albertans with a wide variety of newscasts. Unfortunately, this is no longer the case. Corus Entertainment, a large multi-media group formed from assets originally owned by Shaw Communications Inc. (Corus Entertainment 2012), purchased nine radio stations in Calgary and Edmonton (Sampert 2005). Although Shaw Communications Inc. and Corus Entertainment are separate publicly traded companies; the same family controls them both. As a result of the merger, production costs were cut and only a handful of journalists now cover the entirety of the news for the province (Sampert 2005). Many radio conglomerates in Alberta focus almost the entirety of their format on entertainment, leaving very little time for news. One notable example is Standard Broadcasting, which owns several radio stations in Edmonton (The Bear) and Calgary (CJAY 92) (see

Sampert 2005). Private radio now provides 60-second news updates, at most, at the top of the hour rather than the five-minute newscasts incorporated in past programming, which has reduced publicly available information about the Alberta government's agenda (Sampert 2005).

Sampert (2005) states that it is no surprise that there has been a drastic decrease in the journalists working out of the provincial legislature. Between 1991 and 1999, journalists holding memberships in the legislative gallery decreased from 42 to 22, of which only fourteen were active members (Sampert 2005). Active members are journalists who actually work out of the legislature covering the day-to-day activities, and non-active journalists are members who only show up for important events (Klinkhammer 1999). The news coverage of the Alberta Legislature largely comes from newspapers, but with cutbacks, layoffs and conglomeration the news press has lost many of its experienced reporters. Critical analysis of the provincial government is almost absent, save a few blogs from the journalists that were shifted around during the shuffling of media power.

The deterioration of the media in Alberta is not the only means by which the public has become less informed about government activities over the past two decades. The Lougheed Tories established the Public Affairs Bureau (PAB) in the 1970s to, at least officially, send the government in its communication with Albertans (Brownsey 2005; Sampert 2005). However, under the guise of the Klein Tories, the PAB was reorganized and has since been an avenue through which the government steers the discussion. The funding for the bureau has also grown dramatically with a budget

increase to \$18 million for the 2003/2004 fiscal year from a steady yearly budget of \$8.6 million prior to 1999/2000 fiscal year (Sampert 2005). Due to the media conglomeration in Alberta, many journalists started working for the PAB as “spin doctors” promoting the government agenda. According to Brian Mason (leader of Alberta’s New Democratic Party), the number of pro-government voices increased from 47 in 1993 to 133 by 2001 (2001).

During the 2001/2002 fiscal year, the PAB was shifted into the Executive Council and now reports directly to the premier’s office (Sampert 2005). Incidentally, the PAB’s Managing Director under the Klein Administration was the premier’s former Director of Communications. According to Taft (1997), PAB members part of the senior management team that “participate in top administrative meetings of departments” (75). Some select members are specially trained in the media, public relations, and political marketing, or as Taft (1997, 75) states “in other times they would be called propagandists.” Each government minister’s office employs a member of the PAB, but they report directly to the premier’s office and not to their respective minister (Brownsey 2005). The Edmonton Journal (2004) argues that the PAB speaks for the government in a highly partisan method yet it is a publicly funded institution. Essentially the PAB now functions as the PCs marketing department in which Albertans are administered media campaigns that are synonymous with multi-million dollar propaganda (Taft 1997; Rusnell 2004). The PCs are able to outspend their opponents because budgets are based upon the number of MLAs that have been elected (Sampert 2005). This public money does not include the grandiose contributions that the PCs receive from private donors (see

Harrison 2005). The reorganization and use of PAB has created an unfair advantage for the Klein Tories and subsequent administrations, thus contributing to an open range for market rule in Alberta.

Under a mantra of “open government,” the Klein Tories placed into law its Freedom of Information and Privacy Act (FOIP) in 1995. It was expanded to include public institutions, such as post-secondary schools, in 1999 and came under subsequent review in 2002 (Sampert 2005). Alberta was one of the last provinces in Canada to implement FOIP legislation, and in theory it is supposed to increase access to information. However, it has long been criticized as incredibly restrictive for accessing government documentation (Sampert 2005)²⁰.

The use of FOIP and the monies collected by the government from fees have come under scrutiny by both the media and opposing parties. The fees collected by the government are discretionary, as the Privacy Commissioner determines the amount, but what is alarming is the combination of amounts and what information is actually released. The Government of Alberta, notably under the Klein Tories, has used FOIP to manipulate public opinion by charging high fees and releasing selective information²¹.

²⁰There are two overarching components to FOIP; one focuses on the access of public information and the other concentrates on the protection of private information of individuals gathered by public entities (Alberta 2003). The Government of Alberta charges a fee under FOIP for state information, but can be waived if the records are a concern of public interest or if the applicant is unable to afford the fee charge (Sampert 2005). The Privacy Commissioner determines what information can be released the price to be charged to applicants.

²¹During the 1995/1996 fiscal year there were 980 FOIP requests and the revenue collected was \$9,311 (Government of Alberta Public Works, Supply and Services 1995-1996). The Public Works, Supply and Services Ministry (2002-2003) received 1,125 FOIP requests during the 2002/2003 fiscal year, but the monies obtained from fees increased drastically to \$107,141.

3.4 – Housing in Canada

Housing policy is a contentious issue. In the United States and Canadian context, housing policy has been inaccurately portrayed as state assistance for the low-income population and to house the homeless (Hulchanski 2006). In Canada, the majority of the population lives in private market housing, and amongst this the majority are owner-occupiers (one-third of Canadian households are private-market renters) (Hulchanski 2006). In 2006, the Canadian non-market social housing population is just 5 percent of all households (Hulchanski 2006). Of any Western nation, including the United States, Canada has the largest private market housing system in the world (Hulchanski 2002). This reality is a problem for poorer households, particularly in a volatile neoliberal climate. In cities where the private rental markets have become very expensive, such as Calgary, finding a place to live has become exceedingly difficult. Housing, for poorer households, has become almost exclusively a social need, and market mechanisms cannot respond accurately (Hulchanski 2006).

The ownership model that is predominant in Canada would not exist if it were not for the intrusion of the state. The regulations, statutes, and subsidies provided by federal and provincial scales of government have engendered the necessary insurance and mortgage lending institutions to support this model (Bacher 1993). According to Hulchanski (2006) the relatively inexpensive suburban housing (on which rental housing

Concerning the requests for information during the 2002/2003 fiscal year; only 13.5 percent were fully retrieved, 21.9 percent were partially retrieved, and no information was provided for three percent of requests (Government of Alberta Public Works, Supply and Services 2002-2003). In more than half the requests, the information that was requested did not exist. The annual reports ceased after the 2002-2003 fiscal year.

was largely scant) that has been situated around most municipalities was made possible through municipal zoning. Presently, the reason why two-thirds of Canadians own a home is due to the constant flow of government ownership assistance programs (Hulchanski 2006).

Although the federal state did provide direct funding for subsidized rental housing (starting in 1963), which was owned and managed by the provincial governments, it almost entirely focused on promoting home ownership (Hulchanski 2006). After the adoption of the NHA in 1949, a program to provide the public with private housing was created. Approximately 200,000 public housing units had been built by the mid-1970s; the majority of housing provision has been left to the private market (Rose 1980). The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) has been the front through which much public funding has been diverted to aid the private market. For example, the CMHC was empowered by the federal government to insure mortgages up to 95 percent of a house's value for first-time homebuyers (Hulchanski 2006). The First Home Loan Insurance Program, first instituted in 1992, has now since been made permanent and is no longer restricted to first-time buyers (Hulchanski 2006). The CMHC also manages the Mortgage Insurance Fund, which supports banks in risky lending markets (Hulchanski 2006).

Home ownership is supported by all levels of government in Canada. This has far reaching implications, particularly in regards to the gentrification process. Ever since the first legislation that allowed for condominium ownership were passed in the 1970s, in Alberta and British Columbia specifically (Hulchanski 1993), lower cost rental housing

has been under threat. Given the predominance of homeownership in Canada and suburban sprawl in many cities, the demand for condominiums has increased. By sacrificing certain traditional private ownership elements, such as an exclusive driveway, Canadians are able to become homeowners at a lower cost. Changes to government statutes in the early 1970s further enhanced the role that condominiums would play in the housing market.

Due to successful lobbying, owner-occupied housing was exempted from the newly implemented capital gains tax (first instituted in 1971) (Hulchanski 1993, 2006). Rental housing's tax shelter provisions were also removed, so these Income Tax Act alterations only increased the demand for home ownership (Hulchanski 1993). In 2004, the federal government estimated that homeowners were granted a \$3.7 billion state subsidy due to this law, which is twice the annual subsidy for all social-housing units ever built in Canada (Hulchanski 2006). Developers that once dedicated investment in the rental sector now switched gears to satisfy the increased demand for home ownership. Although there were several factors that led to the decline in rental housing, the rise of condominium development was key. Developers no longer received a gradual return on investment vis-à-vis rental housing, but rather with condominium development they were granted an immediate return (Hulchanski 1993). Condominium owners are able to obtain homeownership in neighbourhoods that may have not been possible before, which includes a gentrifying landscape. Rental housing in a gentrifying neighbourhood may eventually be converted to condominiums (presently there are very little restrictions on this), which leads to even further displacement of lower income populations.

Owners often have significant advantages over renters in the search for suitable housing, largely because they are far wealthier than renters. According to Hulchanski (1988), the gap in income between renters and owners was approximately 20 percent in the 1960s. From 1984 until 1999, the median income gap increased by 16 percent between these two demographics (Hulchanski 2006). Owners had approximately double (192 percent) the income of renters in 1984, and in 1999 this grew to more than double (208 percent) (Hulchanski 2006). The disparity in wealth between renters and owners is quite pronounced. Between 1984 and 1999 owners increased their wealth from 29 times that of renters to 70 times that of renters (Hulchanski 2001).

Although demand for homeownership after World War II increased and Canada's housing system favoured the private market (both homeownership and market rental property), Canada has also been involved in public housing. However, most critics will agree that Canada's attempt at social housing has been quite poor. Canada only produced approximately 850 units per year (12,000 in total) between 1949 and 1963 (Hulchanski 2002). Bacher (1993) contends that the 1949 NHA was passed only to deflect criticism that the federal government was not providing housing for its most vulnerable citizens. Bacher (1993) further elaborates that the CMHC held the opinion that the adoption of the 1949 NHA meant that the federal government was no longer politically vulnerable on low-income housing provision. The NHA achieved exactly what its proponents intended. In all manners of speaking, the 1949 NHA exemplified political maneuvering. Since the passage of the 1949 NHA, the federal government has wavered back and forth from a

miniscule role in housing to complete free-market approaches, meaning no role in housing policy and administration.

Even though the CMHC's primary role was to facilitate the growth of the private housing market, it, along with provincial and municipal governments, began assembling public lands in 1945 to facilitate, among many things, the construction of social housing (Spurr 1976).²² Public authorities in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton constructed increased numbers of social housing units on public lands (Patterson 1993). Other Canadian municipalities followed the same path, but there were far fewer social housing units constructed in those cities (Patterson 1993).

Social housing, as well as other development programs, was incorporated in the suburban realm in order to offset the exclusive nature of suburban development. The Home Ownership Made Easy program in Ontario attempted to integrate mixed housing types within communities and focused on construction for modest homes so that low to moderate-income populations could afford to purchase housing (Patterson 1993). During the 1970s, increasing talks led to the CMHC Task Force on Low Income Housing to suggest an up to date joint land assembly program (Dennis and Fish 1972), but the program did not come to fruition because the federal government pulled the plug (Patterson 1993). A few provinces carried on with public land assembly, but not to the scale as prior to federal pullout (Patterson 1993).

Canadian public housing projects were not popular in the neighbourhoods where they were constructed. Given that whole communities were cleared in order to build

²² The federal government officially ended its partnership in this program in 1978 (Spurr 1976).

social housing, many people had to be displaced in order for the projects to come to fruition. Tenants and homeowners who faced displacement did so at a financial loss. Only a minority of people displaced by the construction of public housing benefited by moving into new public housing units. The majority had found private rental accommodation and faced increased rental prices and economic burden due to the dislocation (Patterson 1993). Public housing was also constructed in suburban neighbourhoods, but rather than incorporating them into their respective communities, provinces built them on a large scale segregated manner. Their standardized construction set them apart from other housing, thus creating a stigma. Public housing was so unpopular that future tenants often refused to be housed in suburban housing projects (Patterson 1993).

Following the housing studies conducted prior to World War II, the 1964 NHA set up a joint federal-provincial-municipal housing program (Hulchanski 2002). The federal government then allowed non-profit housing corporations to take out loans, which Patterson (1993) argues bypassed the burdened partnership agreements between the federal and provincial governments. Provincial governments soon started creating housing corporations. However, cities were unable to capitalize on the new arrangement because they were often unable to afford the required ten percent financial contributions.

The NHA was amended, yet again, in 1973 and with it came new programs; namely a neighbourhood improvement program (NIP), native housing program, assisted home ownership program, and a co-op housing and non-profit program (Hulchanski 2002). Through these programs, the federal government bypassed provincial housing

corporations and engendered direction relationships with frontline organizations. For example, after the NHA was amended in 1973 social housing was federally administered and funded through a direct relationship with municipalities and non-profit and co-op housing institutions (Hulchanski 2002). Thus, the federal government became heavily involved in Canadian housing post-1973, and it continued until the Mulroney Conservatives came to power in the 1984.

Winning a majority, the Mulroney PCs changed the tide and led the federal government down the path of little to no support of social housing in Canada. Neoliberalism was popularized under Mulroney's guise, and it was quite evident in Canada's housing policy post-1983. Housing cuts began in November 1984 and it was a sector identified as needing further review (Canada 1984). The CMHC (Canada 1985) then released a paper on housing that stated due to budget constraints new commitments on funding social housing were not practical. Existing housing programs had to be made more efficient and any new programs would have to be funded by re-channeling from existing sources (Canada 1985a). Another report was released later, and it argued that to be more efficient and less costly, housing policy should be refocused on people most in need (Canada 1985b). These new protocols must be examined beyond face value, because they posed serious implications for social housing.

Hulchanski (2002) argues that these declarations were not so much factual as they were ideological. To begin with, only a small portion of the vulnerable population actually lived in social housing. Part of the 1973 NHA's mandate was to allow more of a social mix in Canada's social housing units in order to prevent "project" types of

development in which only the most impoverished live (as seen in the United States) (Hulchanski 2002). The Mulroney housing policy change further concentrated and ghettoized Canada's most vulnerable.

The PC's agenda ran even deeper. According to Government of Canada (1985b), "Supplying new social housing units is a costly form of assistance and results in long term subsidy commitments with little flexibility for new initiatives" (9). Hulchanski (2002) argues that by long term commitments the PCs meant choosing a quick short-term investment over funding social housing over a lengthy time. By "little flexibility" the government meant that long-term commitments to social housing tenants should be ended and tenants should be forced out of their homes and then the housing sold on the private market (Hulchanski 2002). Thus, the federal government made a drastic change to absolve itself from any responsibility in social housing, instead promoting the private market.

The 1985 (b) report, mentioned above, suggested a housing subsidy program, based on cash transfers, be set up to aid tenants in paying their rent. The major issue with these transfers is that they can be increased or decreased at the government's discretion. They can be terminated with little to no warning (Hulchanski 2002). The key aspect of cash transfers fits with the ideology of neoliberalism; they conform to the market (Hulchanski 2002). The private market property owner, a landlord/homeowner in this case, now becomes subsidized by the government, receiving financial assistance directly through the tenants (since the subsidy essentially ends up in the hands of the landowner/homes). Hulchanski (2002) states that due to the influential private-sector

lobby, which is quite powerful in Canada, the Mulroney government went so far as to claim that non-market social housing was unfair competition even though there was no evidence to support such claims.

Non-profit and co-operative housing has made a significant contribution to the stock of rental housing. ... At the same time, this feature of the program has been criticized by private sector representatives who perceive the provision of subsidized market rent units as creating unfair competition. It has even suggested that the program restricts private sector activity by reducing demands for market accommodation (Government of Canada 1985a, 46)

Following the aforementioned logic, the Mulroney government wished to focus housing funding on shelter allowances, but in the end decided that this would be the wrong path. This decision came to a head due to heavy criticism of the shelter allowance program (Hulchanski 2002). Instead the federal government decided to focus its funding attention on non-profit and co-op housing so that people with little to no access to the private market could find affordable living conditions. Unfortunately, this commitment could not survive the continual cuts the Mulroney government instituted, and in 1993 Don Mazankowski (Finance Minister under Mulroney) abolished funding for new social housing projects (non-profit and co-op housings) (Hulchanski 2002). In 1983, the federal government funded 25,000 new units but by 1993 this amount dropped to zero.

In 1996, the federal government eliminated all support of social housing and placed the responsibility on the provinces. The newly formed Liberal Party government, under Jean Chrétien's leadership, continued with the pro-market policies of the Mulroney

PCs.²³ The 1996 decision to download responsibility of social housing to the provinces was Paul Martin's, who was Finance Minister at the time. Paul Martin would go on to become Prime Minister after the Liberal Party won a minority government in 2003. The irony of Paul Martin's decision was that it was in direct contrast to an earlier recommendation he made while he was an opposition housing critic (Hulchanski 2006). That National Liberal Caucus Task Force on Housing, which was chaired by Paul Martin and Joe Fontana, recommended a national housing policy in which specific categories should be funded nationally (Martin and Fontana 1990a; 1990b). Due to Paul Martin's contrasting decision the Liberals took garnered scrutiny, so in the 2001 budget funding was once again allocated for housing. This directional change draws parallels to the 1949 NHA, which had also drawn scrutiny as being a political stunt. The funding was to be spread over five years at \$136 million per year (\$680 million in total), but at that time Canada's population was comprised of eleven million households (Hulchanski 2002). Approximately 15 percent of these households were in crisis, and Canada's homeless population was in the tens of thousands. The government's allocation was scant when considering the number of people that were in need. It was assumed that the provincial governments would supply an equal amount of funding, but Quebec was the only province that took the initiative (Hulchanski 2002).

On top of eliminating funding for social housing programs, the federal government did away with the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) in the 1996/1997 fiscal

²³ It is important to note that the Liberal Party formed a new government in 1993 with a strong majority. The Liberals are considered to be a centre to centre-left party, which highlights the fact that neoliberalism knows no political boundaries. In fact, up until Stephen Harper's Conservative Party won control with a minority government in 2006, Canada's neoliberalization had been under the guise of the Liberal Party.

year (Hulchanski 2002). Federal social assistance was provided for in the CAP, so welfare policy received an incredible blow in the mid-1990s. This had a devastating impact on Canada's vulnerable populations given the rights associated with the act: "the right to an adequate income, the right to income assistance when in need, the right to appeal welfare decisions, the right to claim welfare whatever one's province of origin, and the right to welfare without forced participation in work or training programs" (Hulchanski 2002, 13). The Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) replaced the CAP, but the aforementioned rights were not retained.

The CHST combines post-secondary education, health and social assistance transfer from the federal government to the provinces in one block grant (Matteo and Matteo 1998). Not only was federal funding cut with the CHST (Table 3.1), it no longer required provinces to provide necessary housing assistance based on the previous legislation. Given the overhaul of social assistance programs at the provincial level, which entailed scaling them back, the countries most vulnerable were placed in between a rock and a hard place. Hulchanski (2002) argues that with the CHST replacement, the number of people at risk for becoming homeless as well as the number that are actually homeless has increased.

Table 3.1. Federal Transfers to Other Levels of Government

Year	Canada	Insurance		Canada		Quebec	Total
	Health and Social Transfer ⁽¹⁾	Fiscal Transfers ⁽²⁾	Medical Care	Education Support	Assistance Plan	Other Abatement ⁽²⁾	
	(millions of dollars)						
1983-84		6,208	5,564	2,065	3,288		17,125
1984-85		6,208	6,330	2,265	3,745		18,548
1985-86		6,286	6,400	2,277	3,916		18,879
1986-87		6,679	6,607	2,232	4,051		19,569
1987-88		7,472	6,558	2,242	4,246		20,518
1988-89		8,684	6,678	2,227	4,556		22,145
1989-90		9,582	6,663	2,166	5,006		23,417
1990-91		9,245	6,033	1,862	5,788		22,928
1991-92		9,935	6,689	2,142	6,099		24,865
1992-93		8,664	8,307	2,887	6,686		26,544
1993-94		10,101	7,232	2,378	7,236		26,947
1994-95		8,870	7,691	2,486	7,266		26,313
1995-96		9,822	7,115	2,365	7,191	-417	26,076
1996-97	14,911	9,863	-217	-41	105	-2,459	22,162
1997-98	12,421	10,464	162	5	24	-2,572	20,504
1998-99	16,018	12,121	2		8	-2,626	25,523
1999-00	14,891	11,254			56	-2,958	23,243
2000-01	13,500	13,016				1,217	24,724
2001-02	17,300	12,188				375	26,616
2002-03	21,100	11,397				987	30,645
2003-04	22,341	10,004				342	29,392
2004-05	28,031	13,467				3,807	41,955
2005-06	27,225	12,977				3,940	40,815
2006-07	28,640	13,740				4,018	42,514
2007-08	31,346	15,178				2,956	46,152
2008-09	33,327	15,807				1,024	46,515
2009-10	35,678	16,789				7,822	56,990
2010-11	37,210	17,577				1,935	52,971

⁽¹⁾ In 1996-97, the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) was introduced to replace the Canada Assistance Plan, education support, and insurance and medical care. Since April 2004, the CHST has been divided into the Canada Health Transfer and the Can

⁽²⁾ Certain comparative figures have been reclassified to conform to the current year's presentation.

Source: Government of Canada 2011, Table 11

The conflicts created by the re-scaling of housing programs have been to the detriment of social housing policy in Canada. The changing political and economic tides in state action have only exacerbated the issue. In 1996, the federal government ended its 50-year direct involvement in administering social housing. The 1996 decision stems from 1991 proposals for constitutional change in which the federal government recommended that six sectors be transferred to provincial responsibility (Hulchanski

2006). In neoliberal fashion, the federal government handed responsibility of housing down the chain to the provincial and territorial governments but with no resources to implement social housing provision. Some provinces then downloaded responsibility of social housing provisions to their respective municipalities (Hulchanski 2006). Miller (2007) argues that one distinct trend of neoliberalism is the downloading of responsibilities to the local levels of the state. This transition is often accompanied with decreased funding or a complete funding cut to lower scales of the state responsible for implementation.

In Canada, the transference of resources from the federal government to provinces and territories has decreased since the early 1980s. From 1983 until 1996, federal outflows of funding to provinces and territories were between 3.2 and 4.2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), but from 1996 onwards the transference to provinces and territories ranged from 2.3 to 3.3 percent of GDP (Canada 2011a, Table 8). The eliminated funding was formerly used for education, welfare programs, and health (Hulchanski 2006). From 1987 to 1996, federal transfer of funds accounted for an average of 15 percent of Alberta's total revenue, but decreased to 8.8 percent between 1996 and 2008 (Canada 2011a, table 25). However, from 2008 onwards, the federal share of Alberta's total revenue increased to 13.3 percent but has not reached the level prior to 1996 (Canada 2011a, table 25). How do these changing policies affect a fast growing city such as Calgary?

3.5 – Calgary’s Housing Crisis

Over a relatively short time, Calgary has become one of the most unequal, socio-economically speaking, cities in Canada. According to Miller and Smart (2011), inequality in Calgary was relatively stable from 1991 until 2001, but the gini coefficient for the Calgary CMA jumped to 0.61 by 2006. Calgary’s shelter costs have skyrocketed over the past several years, which spell doom for the city’s less fortunate, particularly in neighbourhoods such as the Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area. These two neighbourhoods have some of the least expensive housing in Calgary as well as some of the most affordable rental prices. The combination of an ever-expanding city, rising housing costs, adjacent spaces and proximity to downtown allow more affluent populations to purchase advantageous property in these neighbourhoods. This is particularly evident in the Bowness area, as new younger families are moving in due to the inflated housing prices in the adjacent neighbourhoods of Parkdale and West Hillhurst. This trend places increasing pressure on Calgary’s vulnerable populations (such as seniors in Bowness), as many are facing potential displacement from their homes and the communities they rely upon to survive.

Due to increasing inequality and rapidly increasing housing prices, it can be argued that Calgary is undergoing a housing affordability crisis (Miller and Smart 2011). According to City of Calgary (2012b), 19 percent of the city’s households (just over 72,000) have an income of less than \$44,000 gross while simultaneously spending more than 30 percent of their income on shelter costs. These households are deemed by the City of Calgary most in need of affordable housing (City of Calgary 2012a). The CMHC

argues that for housing to be affordable a household should not have to spend more than 30 percent of their income on shelter costs (Government of Canada 1991). Of Calgary's rental population, 37 percent meet this criterion, while 12 percent of owners are vulnerable (City of Calgary 2012b).

To put the aforementioned affordability crisis into perspective, one can compare average rents for private market rentals with Alberta's minimum wage. According to the CMHC, the average monthly rent for private market units in 2011 were \$700 for a bachelor apartment, \$900 for a one-bedroom apartment, \$1,087 for a two bedroom apartment, and \$1,082 for a three bedroom or more apartment (Government of Canada 2011b). The average monthly rent for both one and two bedroom row homes was slightly lower than apartments, but slightly higher for row homes with three or more bedrooms. The overall average monthly rent for private market apartments was \$979 and \$1,073 for row homes (Canada 2011b). As of September 01, 2011, the Alberta minimum wage was \$9.40 per hour, but only \$9.05 per hour for employees who serve alcohol (since they receive tips) (Alberta 2011). A minimum wage employee who is working full-time (40 hours per week) during a full year only has an affordable rent limit of \$489 per month (City of Calgary 2012b). Needless to say, there is a significant shortfall for a minimum wage earner in regards to affording a private market rental unit in Calgary. In fact, in order for a person to afford a bachelor apartment (private market) in Calgary without overspending on shelter costs, they would have to earn \$13.60 per hour (City of Calgary 2012b). The wage would need to increase for a larger unit.

Miller and Smart (2011) point out that Calgary has not always had such expensive housing. Prior to 2005, Calgary was one of the more affordable major Canadian cities. However, the rapid rise of petroleum prices around the world created increased investment in Alberta's oil patch, which in turn swelled employment, incomes and heightened migration to Calgary (Miller and Smart 2011). Between 2002 and 2005, Calgary's employment growth was slightly under 2 percent, but in 2006 it shot up to 8 percent; reducing to approximately 4 percent in 2007 and 2008 (Miller and Smart 2011). According to Miller and Smart (2011), the housing market in Calgary just simply could not cope with such an unprecedented growth in employment. Incidentally, there is direct connection between the gentrification of Bowness and the increased investment in Alberta's oil patch. According to contacts that I spoke with, many of the new expensive homes in Bowness, particularly in the Bow Crescent area, have been purchased by oil and gas sector professionals.

Housing prices rapidly increased by 43.6 percent in 2006, with another increase of 16.2 percent in 2007 (Miller and Smart 2011). The percentage change for housing prices between 2005 and 2007 rose dramatically to 65 percent (Miller and Smart 2011). There was a decrease in the multiple listing service (MLS) average housing price in 2009 associated with the international housing market crash of 2008, but it has been steadily increasing since then, with a 4.2 percentage increase between 2009 and 2011 (see Table 3.2). However, what is more alarming about Calgary's housing market are the drastic changes in the rental sector, which have dire implications for Calgary's vulnerable populations. According to Miller and Smart (2011), Calgary has always had an

expensive rental market but the incredible increase of the average rental rate for a two-bedroom apartment, by 42 percent between 2005 and 2008, is quite alarming.

Simultaneously, there was a drastic drop in the rental vacancy rate in 2006 to 0.5 percent, which then only increased to 2.1 percent by 2008 (Miller and Smart 2011). Although the vacancy rate reached 5.3 percent in 2009 (which is the highest it has been since 1993), it dropped to 1.9 percent in 2011 (see table 3.2). Not surprisingly, there was a decrease in the average rent for a two-bedroom apartment after the housing market crash, but the CMHC is projecting a jump back to the 2008 levels by 2012 (surpassing them by 2013) (Government of Canada 2012).

Table 3.2. Calgary Housing Market Summary

Year	Single-Detached Starts	Multi-Family Starts	Total Starts	Single-Detached Average Price (\$)	MLS Average Price (\$)	Rental Vacancy Rate (October) (%)	Two-Bedroom Average Rent (October) (\$)
2009	4,775	1,543	6,318	547,795	385,882	5.3	1,099
2010	5,782	3,480	9,262	514,466	398,764	3.6	1,069
2011	5,084	4,208	9,292	547,670	402,851	1.9	1,084
2012	5,700	5,900	11,600	557,000	410,000	1.7	1,150
2013	5,900	5,500	11,400	567,000	420,000	1.5	1,200
Percentage Change (2009-2011)	6.1	63.3	32.0	0.0	4.2	-178.9	-1.4

Source: Government of Canada 2012

As previously discussed, Canada's housing system largely favours the home ownership model. The lack of rental of new rental units, let alone rental units in general, paints this picture quite well. Between 2005 and 2007, only 229 new rental units were constructed (Miller and Smart 2011). In 2008, there were only 368 new rental units produced. There were 287 rental units built in 2011, and there was an actual increase in 2012 (up until March) with 404 rental units under construction (not including social housing) (Government of Canada 2012). However, not all rental units are identified as affordable housing. For example, new rental construction in 2006 produced 148 units, of which only 60 units were designated as affordable housing under the Affordable Housing Initiative (Poverty Reduction Coalition 2008).²⁴ Although there was an increase in new rental construction, only a small portion of starts have been new rental accommodations (Government of Canada 2012). Many of the units were designated to become condominiums. Some developers have altered their plans to take advantage of in the increased demand in the rental market, but these new rental units will largely have no affect on the vacancy rates given the rising population and heightened migration (Canada 2012). Essentially, very little housing for the people most in need is being produced.

Another detriment to rental housing in Calgary is the condominium market. Ever since the first condominium acts were passed in the 1960s, the rental market in Canada has been under threat. Calgary has witnessed a large number of condominium conversions, which in turn has seriously decreased the city's rental stock. According to the Poverty Reduction Coalition (2008), Calgary lost 919 rental units in 2005 due to condominium conversions and 945 units were lost in 2006. It is speculated that even

²⁴ The Affordable Housing Initiative is an agreement between the federal government and the provinces and territories in which both parties cost-match funding for the increase of affordable housing in Canada.

more older rental units will succumb to condominium conversions throughout 2012 and 2013 (Canada 2012), and this path will likely continue into the foreseeable future.

According to the Poverty Reduction Coalition (2008), the 2.6 percent loss in rental housing between 2005 and 2006 reduced the supply to 40,333 units. Concomitantly, Stroik (2007) found that the City of Calgary lost 4764 rental units from 2001 until 2006. Gentrification and redevelopment in Calgary's older neighbourhoods has only exacerbated the loss of rental housing, and ironically during the time when the city grew tremendously (Miller and Smart 2011).

3.6 – Housing Affordability in Calgary

The need for affordable housing in Calgary is extraordinarily high. Calgary has witnessed a net loss in affordable housing over the last decade. The rental market, unfortunately, faces structural conditions that prevent it from being more successful. Increased construction costs caused by rapid urban expansion denote that new rental construction will only be profitable at high rents (Miller and Smart 2011). Although rental rates have increased, they have not increased rapidly enough to make new rental construction feasible. Since financial institutions consider affordable rental housing a risky venture, they will only provide developers with high interest loans (Poverty Reduction Coalition 2008). Although developers can use other sources of funding, such as government subsidies and grants, the amounts offered are often too miniscule to aid in construction. These financial burdens only contribute to the high rents necessary to produce rental housing. Given that present federal tax laws in regards to affordable

housing are typically set to represent income rather than construction costs, developers can't recoup their development expenses (Poverty Reduction Coalition 2008).

Since Alberta's MGA requires community involvement in the approvals process and since affordable housing is often looked upon as negative (garnering public resistance), a developer's eagerness to build rental housing is normally diminished (Poverty Reduction Coalition 2008). A community's response may be one of outright not in my backyard (NIMBY)ism or a more subtle form of public resistance:

No, I mean it was brought up by the community [GFLA]. There was a desire to protect, mostly, I mean this is the general perspective I got. ... So, there was recognition that the area needed affordable housing, and there was actually recognition that not just affordable housing but the idea of affordability. One of the things that they wanted to maintain in this area was affordability, the idea that the ordinary person could afford a house in this area in addition to maintaining the sort of affordable housing and social housing. There was also, from the 'community,' the desire to not see any more added as part of this process that is for sure. The thinking was that we already have more than our fair share in the city, you know, why doesn't Tuscany or why doesn't X community have any affordable housing, why do we get it all? The BRZ really didn't bring up affordable housing at all. It wasn't part of its sort of. It wasn't a good thing, it wasn't a bad thing; it just wasn't mentioned. And then on the planning side, there really wasn't involvement from Affordable Housing whatsoever. Even if we wanted there to be, there isn't much at the city that actually does affordable housing. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The proponents of redevelopment in the Greater Forest Lawn Area, although supportive of the present affordable housing already existing in the area, are generally opposed to any new affordable housing being built. Granted, the voice represented here is largely non-representative of the area.²⁵ Given that the Greater Forest Lawn Area is one of the most affordable places to live in the City of Calgary, it is also an area most in need of new affordable housing:

²⁵ A more detailed discussion on the plans to redevelop the Greater Forest Lawn Area will be the focus of Chapter 05.

We need affordable housing which meets the standard. It doesn't have to be fancy, but they have to be structurally sound and adequate. They need to be adequate housing [sic]. They need to be safe. And there needs to be lots of them, through whatever way shape or form, subsidized, I don't know. That housing needs to happen. We need more. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

Changes in government policy are also an impediment to the construction of affordable housing. The lack of restrictions on condominium development, which was highlighted above, only makes it more difficult to produce rental housing. The retraction of social housing responsibility at both the provincial and federal levels of government, as well as the downloading of responsibility to lower scales of the state, essentially destroys the possibility of affordable housing construction (Miller and Smart 2011). The government's policy of leaving affordable housing to the market (see Hulchanski 2002; 2006) is inadequate to provide affordable housing for Canadians. The City of Calgary does provide affordable housing (non-market) through the Calgary Housing Company, but what is available is not enough to satisfy the need (10,000 affordable and subsidized units in 2010) (Miller and Smart 2011). As of 2005, non-market housing (social or subsidized) comprised only 3.4 percent of Calgary's private market dwelling units (City of Calgary 2012b).

A possible solution to the housing crisis, secondary-suites, has been at the forefront of discussion in Calgary. Secondary-suites are small rental units that exist in primary dwelling units. They have been a controversial alternative, particularly basement suites, in Calgary because of the NIMBY reactions from residents. Many secondary suites (basement suites make up the majority) are considered illegal because they do not follow housing guidelines outlined by the City of Calgary (for example, kitchen facilities

in a basement). Tanasescu et al. (2010) argue that upon closer inspection of city legal frameworks, the notion of illegality becomes quite ambiguous. Rather than providing a cut and dry definition, legal frameworks tend to disclose a range of legality and illegality in regards to secondary suites (Tanasescu et al. 2010). These frameworks are also under constant revision, which leads to an ever-changing interpretation. In the Calgary context, basement suites are illegal if they do not follow zoning regulations as well as building and fire-code standards defined by the provincial government (Tanasescu et al. 2010). A vivid example of changing municipal standards and eventual confusion over them occurred during the middle 2000s.

In 2007, the view on basement suites changed due to alterations in municipal policy. With an economic boom and a resultant housing shortage, there was heightened pressure from developers, landlords, affordable housing advocates, city administration, Calgary residents, etc to make city housing more affordable (Tanasescu et al. 2010). Due to drastic increasing housing prices, basement suites became critical for residents within the low-end rental market, and the City of Calgary recognized that at that time they did not have the capacity to regulate them. So, city council worked out a deal between advocates and homeowners concerned about the neighbourhood effects of illegal housing, and reconstituted the Land Use Bylaw in 2008 that allowed more legal flexibility for basement suites (Tanasescu et al. 2010). Existing illegal suites could potentially be legalized and the construction of new basement suites in neighbourhoods (developed) made possible. However, the legal framework is still based upon key critical factors. Some of these key factors are what type of cooking facilities are located within the suite, when was the suite built vis-à-vis changing city bylaws, and whether the suite

complies with provincial building and fire codes (City of Calgary 2008). Despite changing legislation, the reality of basement suites is still quite complicated.

The confusion surrounding the state's discretion towards the illegality of basement suites is further exacerbated by the actions of landlords, tenants, communities, etc. Punitive action by the state is likely only enforced if neighbour complaints exist, as well as concerns over fire and health safety standards (Tanasescu et al. 2010). Given that secondary suites are largely located within a privately owned domicile, government enforcement is quite tedious unless there are complaints from neighbours. If a nuisance, such as overcrowded parking or unruly tenants, is non-existent, the complaints from neighbours will likely not take place (Tanasescu et al. 2010). A large number of illegal suites exist near secondary institutions, such as the University of Calgary (U of C), so their existence is tolerated within their respective communities. The state is also wary of enforcing the bylaw because of the social ramifications of shutting down the large number of affordable housing secondary suites provides (Tanasescu et al. 2010). However, given that many of these suites are very affordable places the tenants in a perilous situation. Secondary suites are often under-maintained and lack the amount of sunlight people require to function, thus contributing to poor mental health (Tanasescu et al. 2010). Given the confusion and outright ignorance of tenant and landlord legislation, many tenants do not have the know-how to file complaints. Tenants also find themselves stuck between a rock and a hard place because if they complain they may face eviction by their respective landlords. There also seems to be a lack of social mobilization for tenant's rights and legalization of secondary suites (Tanasescu et al. 2010). The

、
aforementioned social structures serve only to reinforce the state's toleration of illegal suites, and blur the reality of affordable housing in Calgary.

Similar themes presented themselves in the interviews I conducted with social advocates. Both the Greater Forest Lawn Area and Bowness have some of the largest stock of affordable housing in Calgary, much of which is in the form of illegal suites. Given the high number of illegal suites in these two neighbourhoods many tenants have been taken advantage of by landlords, although it was mentioned to me that most landlords are quite respectful of their tenants. Granted, those few disrespectful landlords have made the lives of their respective tenants miserable:

I would say that they [respectful landlords] are the majority. I really would. I started to compile a list of not so good landlords and the list is short. But, my gosh, those few people cause such chaos and heartache and headache for lots of people. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

As argued by Tanasescu et al. (2010) prior, interviewees also mentioned me that the lack of knowledge of Alberta's Residential Tenancies Act can lead to inhospitable living conditions, as well as displacement. Landlords may not even understand the intricacies of the provincial legislation. Although illegal, these suites serve a purpose and house people that normally would not be able to afford other accommodations. As mentioned above, the City of Calgary is usually unaware of an illegal accommodation until there are complaints from neighbourhood residents, but unfortunately these complaints have a far reaching side-effects; the displacement of people from their homes:

Landlords I don't think know the Landlord and Tenant Act. There are a lot of illegal suites. Illegal suites serve a purpose, you know, a very important purpose. They're cheap, and the damage deposit gets waived, and people who would normally not be able to have accommodation do. But, the bylaws come in. Lately, I have seen a large increase in the illegal suites being shut down. People

telling on people. I don't know how they are getting alerted, but a lot of people are being displaced because of their accommodations being shut down because they are illegal suites. (Melissa Bohnsack, Sunrise Community Link, discussion with Kyle Peterson, 02 February 2011)

The combination of desperation and the lack of knowledge of the tenant and landlord legislation place tenants inhabiting illegal suites in harm's way. Often, tenants that inhabit illegal suites are desperate for accommodation because they lack the resources to afford the majority of private rental units. Understanding that a profit can be made out of this circumstance, landlords can develop a portion of a domicile illegally at minimal cost (bathroom, refrigerator, sink, etc) to incur a subsidiary income. Given the illegal nature of the suite, it is not recognized under the current tenant and landlord legislation so the landlord will not necessarily keep it up to code. Health hazards, such as faulty windows or mold, can be overlooked. Lease agreements are often conducted under the table and are written in a way that the landlord can take advantage of their respective tenants. Tenants are not given proper information on rental increases, notice of entry, eviction notices, etc. Even the payment of utilities, which some might consider a simple manner, can come back to haunt unsuspecting tenants. If the utilities are under one person's name, the tenant will normally pay that individual what they owe. If a receipt is not given upon payment, the tenant may be forced to pay multiple times since there is no record of the tenant actually paying their portion. This reality is very complicated, because on one hand people do have a place to live, but on the other they are taken advantage of and are placed in a situation that is very difficult to break free from. Luckily, there are organizations, such as Sunrise Community Link (which is in the Greater Forest Lawn Area) that helps people empower themselves:

They (landlords) develop the basement, for example, and rent it out and it hasn't been passed by the various city of Calgary building codes or all the inspections that need to occur to be renting a legal suite. So, they just put a stove and a fridge downstairs and throw in a bathroom and rent the place. So, quite often the basement windows may have bars or they're not large enough for escape from fire and what not [sic]. With an illegal suite then, the lease agreements, if you will, the rental agreements tend to be under the table and so they take advantage and increase the rent and so because the tenants really don't have a leg stand on because it is not recognized through the Landlord and Tenant Act, etc. So, the place may be in disrepair, they may have mold, they're not sound so when winter comes the windows leak, they don't retain the heat or they don't fix the water heater or the person upstairs comes down illegally and they share the utilities and the tenants really don't have a leg to stand on. They're desperate. They could afford the rent so they move in and then they are really stuck. And it is hard as advocates to deal with that kind of thing because really it's a gray area.

Other types of abuses, even if it is a legal suite, the leases are written in such a way that the tenants are not knowledgeable in terms of what is a good lease, and they sign and the landlord takes advantage of that. Other things are, again, if the suites are legal the utilities are in one person's name and proper receipts are not given, so when one tenant pays for their portion of the utilities it is not recorded. They don't know that they should get a receipt and so it comes back on them and they have to pay twice. There are so many. The landlord even goes in without the 24-hour notice to show the suite, or many things, or they are evicted without the 14-day notice. And a lot of that is because tenants just don't have the knowledge. So, we try to empower them and increase their knowledge factor so they know what their rights are. Landlords are pretty savvy and tend to take advantage. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

Taking issue with ideas postulated by Freeman (2002), Freeman and Braconi (2002a, 2002b, 2004) and Vigdor (2002) that gentrification causes little displacement and is generally good for everyone, Newman and Wyly (2006) argue that displacement, is in fact, a disastrous reality and that low-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods endure harsh realities that cannot be quantified.²⁶ Their critique will be examined in further detail in the following chapters, but the aforementioned circumstances in which tenants find themselves in Calgary are related to what was discovered by Newman and

²⁶ Newman and Wyly focus their critique largely on the Freeman, and Freeman and Braconi findings.

Wyly. The Freeman and Braconi publications took a strictly quantitative approach to investigating gentrification induced displacement, and they found (among several things) that low-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods in NYC were less likely to move away than similar residents in non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. It was postulated that they decide to remain due to improving neighbourhood services. Without a qualitative approach, through interviews for example, how can one be certain this is true?

Newman and Wyly (2006), upon interviewing 33 individuals in the same gentrifying neighbourhoods that Freeman and Braconi publications focused on, discovered that there are various methods by which low-income residents are able to stay in their respective neighbourhoods. Some of the methods uncovered were intentional, such as organizations providing assistance to low-income residents, and others non-intentional, such as residents being unable to afford housing in adjacent spaces. Newman and Wyly (2006) investigated the influence of improved neighbourhood services as highlighted by the Freeman and Braconi publications, but the responses they received were a mixed bag. Residents were on the one hand pleased with improved services, but on the other hand worried about being displaced and angered by irony surrounding the improvements. The residents tried for so long to improve their disinvested neighbourhoods on their terms, but now with the emergence of gentrification improvements are driving them from the spaces they depend on. The qualitative approach used by Newman and Wyly was able to uncover the experiences of people struggling to stay in their homes. Since these experiences cannot be captured by a strictly quantitative approach, it is quite erroneous to conclude that gentrification is a beneficial process just because low-income residents stay in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

3.7 – Conclusion

Neoliberalism is a variegated process, and its extent is uneven. The outcomes of the neoliberalism are based upon in situ structures (past and present), which have influenced researchers to devise more accurate descriptions (see Brenner and Theodore 2002; Brenner et al. 2010). Actually existing neoliberalism is a path-dependent process. For example, due to significant backlash from rural constituencies, Alberta's Regional Planning Commissions were dismantled by the Klein Tories. The administration also significantly altered the provincial planning legislation to reflect a more flexible legislation. The increased flexibility in planning legislation was in reaction to the significant powers that the RPCs had over decision making in Alberta. Rural municipalities believed themselves to be at a significant disadvantage, so they were able to sway the Klein Tories to dismantle the RPC system and restructure the planning legislation. The result has been weak planning legislation because there are no mandates. Given that planning legislation is open to interpretation and that the City of Calgary holds a very conservative viewpoint, anything that has to do with social planning is eradicated.

Canada has a housing system that supports homeownership and discourages rental accommodations. This places lower income populations in a significant disadvantage. Since the Canadian Government has continually reduced its funding for social housing, as well as handing responsibility over to the provinces, there are few protections for vulnerable populations. Conservative interpretations of Alberta planning legislation by the City of Calgary ensures that no social planning will be implemented. This mechanism creates a significant advantage for developers in Calgary. The following

chapter will lay out how the pro-development policies can work to the advantage of the development industry but supplant the wants and needs of communities.

Chapter 04: Pro-Development Policies and Public Disempowerment in Calgary

4.1 – Introduction

A pro-development ethos pervades almost all aspects of life in Calgary. From policies enacted by the municipal government to commentaries in local media, growth is portrayed as a good thing. As stated in Chapter Two, Canada has a housing system that subsidizes the private market and does very little to provide housing for the country's poorer populations. By 2006, two-thirds of Canadians were homeowners and it was through the continual flow of government assistance for home ownership that the country did not resemble a more European rental typology.

Calgary has ballooned in size over the past decade, its area having increased from 104 square kilometres in 1951 to 848 square kilometres in 2010; and the city's built footprint has increased from 40 square kilometres to 463 square kilometers, respectively (City of Calgary 2011). However, the city's growth is not prototypical sprawl. Unplanned growth and leapfrog development are not present in the Calgary landscape (Miller and Smart 2011). Calgary's growth has been largely low density and automobile dependent due to exclusive zoning (Miller and Smart 2011), which according to (Couroux et al. 2006) are attributes of sprawl. Given Calgary's unprecedented growth, one is inclined to believe that the city will continue to spread out at an unprecedented rate; but the newly adopted Calgary MDP aims to reduce the city's geographical expansion by concentrating much of Calgary's new growth within the existing footprint. The MDP has been lauded as a giant step towards urban sustainability, but the pro-development ethos that has shaped Calgary's present still permeates the plan.

Notably a hotbed of conservative ideals and politics, Calgary achieved a milestone by adopting a MDP with a progressive platform. By focusing city efforts away from automobile dependency to human-scaled development as well as promoting mixed-use complete communities, Calgary's MDP is a step forward from the status quo. However, the very pro-development system that has contributed to Calgary's growth to date is also intertwined in the MDP. Gentrification, which has/is already occurred/occurring in Calgary's inner-city spaces (Sunnyside, Hillhurst, West Hillhurst, Inglewood, East Village, etc), can now gain momentum as it expands outward. Bowness and the GFLA are witnessing pockets of the gentrification process, and even though both neighbourhoods are part of the Calgary umbrella both spaces are being influenced by contingent institutional arrangements. However, different as the structures may be, we shall see that they are still deeply interconnected.

Alberta's MGA, with its notion of openness and flexibility, is very influential in developmental decision-making at the City of Calgary. Klein's Tories (and subsequent PC administrations) set out to give the province's municipalities more autonomy in city development. Alberta's former planning legislation was believed to be too bureaucratic and encumbering, particularly with its regional scope. Built upon rural resentment of urban municipalities and development industry quandaries, the Klein Tories restructured planning legislation to benefit these parties. The resultant rhetoric employed by the MGA, namely the voluntary encouragements and open interpretation by Alberta's municipalities, Alberta's planning legislation has served to diminish democracy through limits on planning This chapter will explore, through key contacts, how the various

policy arrangements (provincial and municipal) influence (re)development in the City of Calgary.

4.2 – Research Question and Aims

How does the entanglement of community disempowerment and pro-development policies lead to the exclusion of certain segments of the population from planning processes in Calgary?

The aim of this chapter is to decipher how certain segments of Calgary's population are disempowered through the planning process. The exclusive public engagement policies of the City of Calgary ensure that planning and development proceed with very little public opposition. This has been guaranteed by adoption of Alberta's MGA, but more importantly by the City of Calgary's interpretation of the provincial legislation. City of Calgary planners are socially conscious, but they are thwarted by city hierarchy from implementing progressive initiatives. This reality provides a lucid example of how planning can dissolve protections for city residents, notably vulnerable people.

4.3 – Devaluing Democracy

The Klein Tories waged an out all attack on democratic institutions and frameworks that were contradictory to their agenda. Prior to the adoption of the MGA, the province was a world-class epicenter of regional planning (Ghitter and Smart 2009). Alberta has a rich history in planning, but it is with the 1977 Planning Act that regional planning became standard in the province. However, regional planning has its roots in 1956 McNally Commission. Spawned by the growth and development problems of

Alberta's two major cities and surrounding municipal districts, the province set up the McNally Commission to address development issues and set recommendations. Many of the new recommendations became provincial law. The most significant feature was that membership in the newly set up Regional Planning Commissions (RPCs) became mandatory for most of Alberta's municipalities (Climenhaga 1997). With the rewrite of planning legislation in 1963, regional planning decisions became the responsibility of elected officials (Climenhaga 1997). The Alberta Planning Fund (APF) was established in 1971, and from then on provided the financial resources for the RPCs. All municipalities were required to contribute to the APF.

The 1977 Planning Act set up a hierarchy in which regional plans were second only to provincial decision-making, thus making all other lower tiered planning mechanisms subsidiary to the regional scale (Dragushan 1979; Cullingworth 1987). To enforce the new regional approach, RPCs were designated as legal corporate entities and could employ legal solutions to ensure municipalities conformed to the regional perspective (Dragushan 1979). The planning legislation required municipalities to have membership in the commissions, as dictated by the provincial cabinet (Alberta 1977), and only elected municipal council members were allowed to serve on the RPCs (Laux 1979). This more democratic approach to planning ensured that decision makers were held accountable to their electorate. Granted, the provincial government still held the power to supervise the RPCs, largely through the Alberta Planning Board (APB) and the cabinet (Climenhaga 1997). Ironically, regional planning's virulent opponents tended to ignore this fact when they made it their mission to destroy the RPCs (see below). However, Climenhaga (1997) points out that despite the provincial government's power to direct

planning initiatives, RPCs still made decisions that were not well liked by their members. Regional planning allowed member municipalities to vote on projects that existed outside their immediate jurisdictional boundary (but still within the RPCs jurisdiction). It was inevitable that on occasion project proposals cause strife among members. Often both urban and rural members felt outvoted and ignored (Climenhaga 1997). The political disputes stemming from RPCs' structure contributed to the downfall of regional planning in Alberta.

The quarrel between rural and urban members was evident in a 1979 survey sent to various urban and rural members that asked their opinion on regional planning. Although the committee behind the survey in no way illuminated the reasoning behind the rural resentment, it nonetheless pointed to a growing dissatisfaction amongst a good portion of RPC members. In fact, Climenhaga (1997) found that this survey might have been the crux of the RPCs' demise. Alberta's rural municipalities are very politically influential, and its politicians eventually became disenchanted with regional planning. They believed the RPCs were a mechanism to block rural development and the growth of its tax base (Climenhaga 1997). With the Klein Tories gaining power in the early 1990s, Alberta's rural areas gained the political support to dissolve regional planning in the province.

By late 1993, Stephen West (Alberta's Municipal Affairs Minister) had announced a 20 percent cut to Alberta's municipal assistance grant program (\$104-million of no strings attached funding to municipalities), and planned to completely do away with the program within three years (Calgary Sun 1993). He further elaborated that the Klein Administration would completely cut the support for the province's RPCs. The

\

Klein Tories took a staunchly neoliberal approach to governance with their plans for the RPCs. Two simultaneous and intimately connected events sealed the fate of the RPCs and further entrenched neoliberal governance in Alberta.

The political strife amongst RPC members created an uneasy tension (particularly for the Calgary region) that served to tear apart the commissions from within. With its future uncertain and its power waning, the Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC) convened a workshop of CRPC staff and member representatives in August 1993 and examined the future role of the commission (Climenhaga 1997). The CRPC director (Ivan Robinson) provided an optimistic outlook following the workshop, but the planning director at the Municipal District of Rocky View (MDRV) painted a completely different picture. The majority of the rural municipalities wanted regional planning scrapped in favour of creating and funding their own planning associations (Climenhaga 1997). The Klein Tories were spending money to attract businesses to the region and believed that the RPCs were preventing entrepreneurial activity from occurring. Shortly after Stephen West's announcement to completely cut funding for the RPCs a proposal to develop a large factory outlet mall just west of Calgary, which was in MDRV's jurisdiction, added fuel to fire. Future funding for the RPCs was eliminated and shattered any hope of creating a new form of regional planning in Alberta.

The outlet mall's proposed location, just west of Calgary's city limits, was at the root of the forthcoming friction amongst interested parties. Detractors from the project argued that the development would be incompatible with present residential uses, that the project would drive tourists away by destroying the natural vista of the Rocky Mountains, and that the site was incompatible with rural land use and should be located within the

Calgary city limits (Climenhaga 1997). Rocky View representatives argued that the project would attract tourists, make an unattractive intersection more appealing, and that the site would increase tax revenue that was rightly the MDRV's (Climenhaga 1997). The argument that the project should be within the Calgary city limits was deemed an attempt to deprive the MDRV of much needed revenue. Resentment for the CRPC only increased because MDRV officials believed that if the project were located within Calgary the RPC would have approved it immediately (see Climenhaga 1997). Media outlets in Calgary also agreed with the MDRV. The MDRV was able to lobby enough votes to have the project approved by the CRPC, but an amendment to the regional plan was required for development to actually occur. The project was rejected because the two-thirds vote requirement to pass an amendment was not fulfilled (a stipulation under the old Alberta planning legislation), so MDRV appealed to the APB.

The CRPC was just trying to follow provincial planning protocols, but the MDRV, along with ammunition from the Klein Tories, set out to dismantle the RPCs. Upon the rejection of the outlet mall project, the MDRV made it clear to the Klein Tories, through a written complaint, that they believed that the CRPC overstepped its authority (Climenhaga 1997). They made it clear that they were skeptical of Alberta's planning system. The MDRV also responded negatively to the CRPC's attempt to boost support amongst its member municipalities despite the Klein Tories cutting funding. The MDRV stated that unless some benefit was given to its taxpayers, they would tell the Minister of Municipal Affairs that the district fully supported cutting funding for Alberta's RPCs, as well as make a motion to make membership in the commissions voluntary (Climenhaga 1997). They then expressed their strong support for Stephen West's efforts. When the

APB finally approved the amendment to the regional plan, the submission to Stephen West was immediately rubber stamped (which was not well received by the City of Calgary) (Climenhaga 1997). Ironically, after all the strife between the MDRV and the CRPC, the outlet mall development never came to fruition. Officials with the MDRV hinted that construction would begin immediately, but the delay caused investors to withdraw from the project. Although the opponents to the outlet mall won in the end, the fallout from the entire political battle was the last hurrah for regional planning in Alberta.

Climenhaga (1997) argues that the love/hate relationship with the RPCs coincided with the boom and bust cycle of Alberta's economy. When markets were heated, RPCs were believed to be the best form of regulation (by the citizenry), but when Alberta went through a downturn and municipalities were starved for capital the commissions were considered wasteful. Critics of the commissions also argued that during the boom years RPCs became too bureaucratic, and proceeded with dubious studies and economic projections (Climenhaga 1997). In their later years RPCs were considered a plague on Alberta's markets even when they were heated, which illuminates the increasing entrenchment of neoliberal ideology in the province. The Klein Tories argued that the RPCs were inefficient and only encouraged their existence if they had voluntary membership, thus transferring the responsibility to Alberta's municipalities. The PCs would no longer support RPC "empires" and the "overpaying" of their directors. Stephen West even went so far as to exclaim that RPC boards were constructing buildings reminiscent of development in Soviet Russia (vivid pro-market symbolism) (see Climenhaga 1997).

The Alberta government has always played an important role in guiding planning at the provincial level. Municipalities inevitably appealed to the APB if RPCs rejected their proposals, so why not eliminate the middle man? This reality provided a rationale for the Klein Tories to label the RPCs as an unnecessary duplication of functions. The highly inefficient country residential development, which even the Klein Tories exclaimed as a planning nightmare, was deemed the fault of the RPCs. However, it should be noted that RPCs unquestionably would have opposed such low density development if the provincial government had given them the full authority to keep it in check (see Climenhaga 1997). Although the Klein Tories admitted that the RPCs were of benefit to the province in particular situations, ultimately they were expensive and hindered good planning. Ideologically speaking, what the Klein Tories meant is that the RPCs placed a check on market mechanisms, and that amounted to bad planning.

The dismantling of the RPCs and the implementation of the MGA in 1995 has had a disastrous effect on planning in Alberta, which has in turn only exacerbated uneven socioeconomic development in Calgary. Although the MDRV was quite happy with demise of the RPCs, planners at the time were quite skeptical of the road ahead (Climenhaga 1997). The former Planning Act of Alberta was rewritten and merged into the MGA, becoming part seventeen of the act. The provisions for mandatory regional planning were eliminated, the APF was discontinued, and the APB was replaced by the Municipal Government Board (MGB). The role of the MGB was far more limited than the APB's. It was only permitted to settle disputes between municipalities and ensure that provincial planning legislation was followed. As mentioned above, the reasoning behind the elimination of regional planning in Alberta was largely due to increasing costs

and low efficiency, which falls into line with the overall restructuring of Alberta under Klein. However, as Taft (1997) argues, the out of control spending by the provincial government was a smokescreen for a complete ideological restructuring of the state. Bob Hawkesworth, City of Calgary Alderman, former RPC member and former New Democratic Party (NDP) MLA agreed:

This wasn't a cost-saving measure, it was an ideological measure...I don't think we made the case from a cost-effective, taxpayer-supported viewpoint...that good planning saves money...(The government) solved what they perceived as a political problem with their rural constituency, who were chafing under the restrictions of regional planning. (Climenhaga 1997: 87)

All the responsibilities of the RPCs were downloaded to the municipalities, and planning in Alberta became largely self-funded since the provincial government ended funding. Downloading responsibility without the funds to implement burdened Alberta's municipalities, particularly small rural jurisdictions (Climenhaga 1997). Planning departments became a thing of the past for rural jurisdictions and new homeowners began paying the price for Alberta's neoliberalization. Since subdivision authority became the sole responsibility of municipalities, rather than under the guise of RPCs and provincial funding, development application costs skyrocketed (Climenhaga 1997). Larger cities such as Calgary also found themselves feeling the pinch as planners had to cut corners on planning processes in order to remain within municipal budgets (see below). Since flexibility became integral in decision making with the passage of the MGA, policy frameworks became incredibly ambiguous. Ambiguity, coupled with voluntary cooperation, has become a recipe for disaster.

Although the regional scope of the former planning legislation did cause strife among municipalities, the mandatory membership ensured that coordination over

direction of development actually occurred. Coordinated efforts are now completely voluntary, although the new act requires intermunicipal planning in the form of notifying adjacent municipalities of bylaw changes and planning policies (Climenhaga 1997). The problem with this overt flexibility is that the legislation does not provide for formal agreements, so there is no guarantee of cooperation among municipalities (Elder 1996). A dissident municipality may appeal to the MGB, and the time between when a contested bylaw is passed and when the appeal is filed has been decreased to 30 days (Alberta 2010, Section 690). The previous Alberta planning legislation allowed 60 days for an appeal to be filed. The Klein Tories not only made concessions for their rural voters but also to the development industry, hence the shortened grace period in which to file an appeal (see below). The province's role in settling intermunicipal disputes has been softened under the MGA, so if a mutual resolution is reached between municipalities there is no guarantee that either will abide by the agreement (Climenhaga 1997). The MGA assumes that municipalities will come together and forge an agreement, but the lack of provincial involvement only serves to benefit private developers and growth-promoting municipalities.

Elder (1996) applauds the MGA for giving the provincial cabinet powers to institute compulsory land use policies, but when provincial land use regulations were established in 1995 they were so vague that they were essentially of no value. There is absolutely no definition of what constitutes provincial interests, although Elder (1996) concludes that there is a theme of promoting economic development and the extraction of resources. It would seem that policies are well defined, but the general description "often leaves room for wide-ranging judgment in their application to specific plans, bylaws or

development proposals” (Elder 1996, 31). The land use policies paper suggests that patterns of development should be concentrated and orderly, yet only where practical. Elder (1996) states that this is a very large loophole, because according to the document “Albertans are to continue to enjoy a choice of lifestyles through the maintenance of a range of settlement types” (Land use policy paper). It can be assumed that the unsustainable, expensive and wasteful suburban development can continue unabated, and the present state of Calgary’s expansion clearly shows that it has.

A concerning part of the MGA is that the Natural Resources Conservation Board (NRCB), Energy Resources Conservation Board (ERCB), Alberta Energy and Utilities Board (AEUB), and Alberta Utilities Commission (AUC) have final authority over the entirety of the land use planning process in Alberta:

A license, permit, approval, or other authorization granted by the NRCB, ERCB, AEUB, or AUC prevails, in accordance with this section, over any statutory plan, land use bylaw, subdivision decision or development decision by a subdivision authority, development authority, subdivision and development appeal board, or the Municipal Government Board or any other authorization under this Part. (Alberta 2010, Section 619(1), 337)

If a municipality receives an application for a statutory plan amendment, land use bylaw amendment, subdivision approval, etc that is consistent with any of the boards’ approval, then the municipality must approve all portions legalized by Section 619(1) (Alberta 2010, Section 619(2)). If the municipality holds a hearing on an application there can be no discussion on what has already been approved by any of the boards, unless the discussion is centred on making amendments to any legislation in order for the approval to be implemented (Alberta 2010, Section 619(4)). If the municipality does not approve an application that is guaranteed by any of the boards, then the applicant can file an

appeal with the MGB. However, the MGB may only hear arguments pertaining to the consistency of an amendment with the license, permit, approval, or other authorization (Alberta 2010, Section 619(5)). The MGB can then order the municipality to make an amendment that allows for a board's approval or it can dismiss the appeal. The MGB's decision is final, but it can be appealed by the applicant or the municipality. Ironically, under the old Alberta Planning Act, municipalities had the power to reject projects approved by any of the boards, yet under the MGA these powers have been stripped: decisions made by local elected officials can be trumped by appointed boards at the provincial level, which is a degradation of democracy. Climenhaga (1997) points out that most people are unaware of this fact, and when I asked a developer (Steve) about this process he seemed largely unaware as well. A developer would only need to submit a highly detailed proposal to an applicable board, and if approved it would effectively remove any municipality from the land use planning process.

Climenhaga (1997) argues that rural interests as well as developers influenced legislation under the Klein Tories. The PCs appeased the rural vote by accepting their claims that regional planning policies were only a tax grab by urban municipalities (see Government of Alberta 1994). The Klein Tories also approved of the rural municipalities wish to have a greater range of development along the rural/urban fringe. The push for voluntary intermunicipal development was the vehicle to allow for freer development in rural jurisdictions (Climenhaga 1997). It is no surprise then that Calgary's landscape and the surrounding fringe contain inefficient suburban sprawl. This means that a giant chunk of municipal funds must be tied up in subsidizing this realm, which has adverse effects in other urban areas.

According to Climenhaga (1997), PCs believed that the old approval process was too cumbersome and that duplication should be avoided at all costs. It was argued that each approval process was logical in isolation, but when combined the entire process became arduous and time consuming. The Klein Tories were catering to the concerns of the development industry with this argument, and to be fair the development industry had valid complaints. Given that an application could be approved by one body, yet overturned at the next hierarchical level, meant that the process was unpredictable. The provincial government wished to streamline the process.

When provincial land use policies were finally adopted in late 1996, they were so vague that they were largely meaningless (see Climenhaga 1997). The legislation was littered with “municipalities are expected to...” that boils down to rhetoric of encouragement rather than compliance. The province now entrusts municipalities with the duty of interpreting and implementing land use policies outlined by the provincial state. The policies are so general that a wide array of local interpretations can be used. Former regional planner, Karl Nemeth, stated it best, “It’s wide open...there are no controls. It’s whatever the developer wants,” in regards to Alberta’s new direction land use policy and planning (Climenhaga 1997, 120). What appears to be good planning and community outreach in the City of Calgary only opens avenues in which developers becomes largely uncontested.

Stephen West argued that by removing the planning commissions, municipalities were forced to come to the table to settle their differences, rather than becoming bogged down by the politics of the “sacred cow.” (Climenhaga 1997, 82). He stated that the objective of the Klein Tories was to encourage people to speak with each other, and come

to the table with “cool minds” (Climenhaga 1997, 82). West mentioned that “It didn’t mean that we [Klein Tories] wanted to stop good planning” (Climenhaga 1997, 83). The RPCs were recognized as one of the world’s premier examples of effective and more democratic forms of planning. The rhetoric of “sacred cow” and “cool minds” just reiterates what the Klein Tories were aiming to accomplish: the replacement of a more democratic system with market rule.

4.4 – Neoliberalization and City Development

To the chagrin of some city employees, the City of Calgary is often referred to as a corporation. Granted, this comparison is professed in tongue in cheek manner, but nonetheless it highlights the intrusion of neoliberalism into all matters of life:

Yeah, corporation is the city. Using the whole term “corporation” for the city is a big problem. We aren’t a business. We are not there for profit. If we are, then I have been working for the wrong corporation, because we are there to serve the citizens of the city are we not? But we are being told to serve the customers of the city. Does that mean that they have to have money? Oh, so the homeless don’t matter, oh ok (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Tyson makes an interesting point: referring to the City of Calgary as a corporation that conducts “business,” serves to exclude certain portions of the population, namely the homeless and vulnerable. Does the city only serve those people who have money? To enhance the corporation logic even further, the various city departments are often referred to as “business units.”

The City of Calgary has been central in the facilitation of gentrification within its boundaries. Although the private sphere has been providing the capital, the city has been a facilitator. There are various avenues in which the city provides the lubricant, but all

work in concert to ensure market mechanisms flow with as little resistance as possible. The following sections will examine how the city influences gentrification through zoning, municipal hierarchies, interpretation of provincial policy, public engagement strategies, and planning implementation.

Interpretation of the MGA

The openness of the MGA, specifically Part 17, is simultaneously its greatest strength and its Achilles heel. The provincial government created the legislation to be interpreted in any manner that a municipality sees fit. Following the dismantling of the old Alberta Planning Act, mandates became a thing of the past. Unfortunately, the openness of the MGA has increased the opportunities for markets while thwarting the opportunities of democracy.

The City of Calgary assumes that if a policy is not mandated in the MGA, the City is neither legally bound nor enabled to implement related actions. This interpretation thwarts innovative ideas devised by City of Calgary planners. For example, in regards to Area Redevelopment Plans (ARPs) the MGA states that a municipality may “designate an area of a municipality as a redevelopment area for the purpose of any or all of the following:” (Alberta 2010, Section 634, 345) and goes on to list land use issues only. In regards to MDPs, the MGA mandates that municipalities must address the minimum requirements, such as provisions of services and cooperation with adjacent municipalities (it does not explain how a municipality must go about these procedures), but the legislation does not mandate that a municipality address any social or economic development issues (see Alberta 2010, Section 632). Thus, if the city conducts its required public engagement/open house protocol for a proposed ARP or MDP and

receives any social development concerns from the citizenry, the city is not legally bound to address them in a plan because the MGA does not mandate social planning. When asked about why the City of Calgary impedes social planning, a City of Calgary planner mentioned that it was not the MGA that prevents social planning but rather the city's interpretation of the legislation:

It is not necessarily the MGA that hinders it. It is the adherence by others [City of Calgary personnel] to the MGA that hinders it, if that makes sense. People say that if it doesn't state it in the MGA, we can't do it. But, the MGA leaves it open for discussion about what issues you can get into. There are certain things that you have to follow when you are doing ARPs and stuff like that, but it doesn't say that you can't do social planning. You can't do things beyond what it's saying, but we can only stick to what the MGA says in terms of what we can do. In terms of the social side of the MGA, I know that there other parts of the MGA that speak to the social stuff, but there is nothing specific about social planning policy. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

City of Calgary planners have tried to incorporate social planning into planning, but they have been thwarted by legal precedent (at least in regards to addressing these concerns as statutory in a plan):

It's a legal thing. So, you can put the statement in there, but nobody can actually say that because this bylaw was passed that you have to act on this policy, because technically in the Municipal Government Act, the provincial legislation that kind of guides what is allowed to be in plans, it only says that land use related issues can only be addressed in area redevelopment plans. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)²⁷

City of Calgary planners are told that they should not concern themselves with the socio-economic aspects of planning and not address those concerns in any policy:

We are told as land use planners that it is not your job to get involved in social planning and therefore you should not put any policy in your plans. And the other thing we are told is that there was an attempt a few years ago to put more

²⁷ Information for this chapter was provided by interviews with Steacy Collyer, Marlene Racine, Niki Smyth, Joe Leizerowics, Alina Turner, BN, Diedra, Steve, Bridget and Kendra; but the bulk was provided by Gary and Tyson (including direct quotes)

social policy in plans, and we shouldn't do that anymore basically because when we tried to put it in it was never acted upon. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)²⁸

There is increasing frustration amongst planners at the City of Calgary since any social planning policies are either removed from planning documents as a whole, or they are incorporated as voluntary measures.²⁹

Some City of Calgary planners are actually quite socially conscious, and believe that the MGA is open enough to allow innovative ideas:

But, the MGA leaves it open for discussion about what issues you can get into. There are certain things that you have to follow when you are doing ARPs and stuff like that, but it doesn't say that you can't do social planning... But, my argument has always been, and this is some innovation taken place in some of the other provinces, if it doesn't say it doesn't mean that you can't do it. It doesn't say that you can't do it, so why can't you do it? Why can't we use it in different ways, think outside the box, use them [ARPs] to bring the social policy in. What we have learned through policy is that it doesn't necessarily have to be statutory for council to use it. If council approves it, they should be using it as if it were statutory anyway, because it is law. But, we haven't approached it that way in the past. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Planners are of the mindset that if the MGA has omitted certain prescriptions, such as social planning, then why should the City of Calgary be forbidden to make innovative

²⁸ The attempt at social planning that Gary is referring to is the Millican-Ogden Community Revitalization Plan (MOCRCP). Approved in December 1999 (Bylaw 8P99), the MOCRCP's overall goal is to implement City of Calgary policies "as well as to develop land use policies, social development policies and improvement plans that would help address existing issues and needs in Millican-Ogden" (City of Calgary 2009, 2). The purpose of the plan was to enable residents to better manage any future community development through a more engaged and social approach. Both neighbourhood residents and merchants provided the impetus for the MOCRCP, and "decisions were made by all affected parties throughout the various stages of the planning process" (City of Calgary 2009, 2). Granted, any public engagement approach used in the Calgary, whether it is the official City of Calgary engagement process or an external venture, must be scrutinized regarding representation of voices. This research will show that engagement approaches in Calgary are quite exclusionary. The contacts that I spoke with exclaimed that the MOCRCP was a step forward in the City of Calgary's public engagement process because the people behind it had an "outside of the box" approach. However, only a small portion of the MOCRCP is actually statutory. Any hope of implementing what the neighbourhood deems as the best way to guide its future development, including any social aspects, has been doomed by the City of Calgary's interpretation of the MGA.

²⁹ Gary mentioned that all social planning aspects were removed from SE17

ideas statutory? According to Tyson and Alina Turner, City of Calgary planning receives a significant pushback from the corporation's Law Department. Essentially, no plan can be approved until Law goes through it with a fine toothed comb. Since the MGA does not mandate social planning or provide explicit guidelines on the implementation of innovative plans, then according to City of Calgary's legal department they cannot legally implement social planning. This is key into understanding why the City of Calgary has such a poor record on providing affordable housing and why gentrification can flourish almost uncontested in the city.

The municipal government will not use any terminology in legislation or implement any measure that will interfere with the private market, such as mandating affordable housing in development. Although private property rights are not incorporated into the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CCRF) as they are in the US Constitution (Free Alberta 2013), the City believes it would be sued if it mandated anything that impinged on a developer's right to make a profit. This contributes to an understanding as to why gentrification can be successful in some Calgary neighbourhoods. A vital state protection for low-income residents, non-market housing, presently stands little to no chance of being mandated and constructed due to the City of Calgary's conservative legal decision making. Even if city planners argue for and mandate affordable housing or other non-market protections for low-income populations in planning legislation, it is summarily rejected, on legal risk basis during the approval process. Essentially, the risk advisors at the City have become the policy makers:

“No, it's [affordable housing] not mandated, because that would mean that it's inclusionary zoning, and that would mean that under the MGA, this is the city's argument, the city could potentially get sued by the private developer who's

losing out on potential profit because of that zoning rule. So, the city will not make it mandatory... it's a very conservative interpretation of the MGA that other cities in Canada have not taken, so it's really our city who feels that this is too risky for them... It has come to the point where the risk management is now the decision-making mechanism, which is not right... You have to take those risks, but if the City as a mechanism is risk adverse then that department [Legal] gets undue influence the in decision-making, you know. It is not being taken as advice, it is being taken as a ruling." (discussion with Alina Turner, Calgary Homeless Foundation, 24 August 2012)

It is highly questionable if a developer will even have a legal leg to stand on given the exclusion of private property rights from the CCRF, but the COC is just unwilling to take the risk.

The openness of the MGA, according to Tyson, prevents more progressive and innovative planning implementation, while simultaneously providing an open door for the private market. The City of Calgary's Law Department is strongly implicated in the promotion of the private market. It seems that the promotion of the private property is the institutional ethos of the City of Calgary:

Yes, and I think it is not so much the lawyers as it is just the ethos of Calgary, that it is not in the interest of the city government to be involved in the [sic], it is "social engineering," which was a very common term used by an alderman in the last administration, Rick McIver, [sic] used the term social engineering for virtually anything that came in front of council that had anything to do with social implications or where the city would be involved in the private lives of citizens in any way. It was always branded as "social engineering." Why are we doing this? It's social engineering, and the City shouldn't be social engineering. That's a general sort of Calgary, I don't know, ethos, cultural issue, political issue. Which is sort of... the issue with the triple bottom line is a symbol of that. We don't want to deal with the social because it is then seen as we're affecting the sort of market forces from doing their thing (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The triple bottom line that Gary speaks of will be expanded upon further in this chapter. Even planning implementation, at the chagrin of the planners themselves, promotes the private market.

The Relationship between the City of Calgary and Developers

By 2009, Calgary became the fastest growing city amongst Canada's five largest municipalities, but the rapid growth has been variable given the province's economic reliance on the oil and gas industry (see Miller and Smart 2011). Calgary's economy exhibits classic boom and bust cycles (Markusen 1987) that accompany global changes in oil prices. Alberta's oil and gas industry is Calgary's primary engine of growth and is the contributor to the skyrocketing housing costs in the city, largely due to its influence on the labour market. However, as Miller and Smart (2011) point out, Calgary's labour market figures indicate a more diverse economy (although it is still oil and gas related). The construction industry is Calgary's largest employer, followed by food services and drinking establishments. The third largest employment sector, architecture and scientific services and research, serves both the oil and gas and the construction industry (Miller and Smart 2011). Employment directly related to the oil and gas industry is Calgary's fourth largest sector. Real estate agents and brokers, and insurance are the city's tenth largest employer. Calgary's largest employment sectors are represented by oil while gas related positions and real estate and construction industry fare a bit lower, the latter represents some of city's most significant employment groups (Miller and Smart 2011). The real estate development and construction industry plays a very significant role in Calgary's expanding landscape, but unlike the oil and gas industry's dependence on the global economy it is highly dependent on the local economy (Miller and Smart 2011). Cox and Mair (1988) argue that highly locally dependent capital is deeply involved in local growth politics, and Calgary's sector is an ideal example. Calgary's development industry and the municipal government have had an intimate relationship since the early

to mid-twentieth century, although the hierarchies and organizational structure of the city's administration can make it difficult for developers (see Foran 2007). Contacts in the development industry have lamented the difficulties of dealing with the City of Calgary:

This permit took forever and that was just really a sort of a personal accountability issue with city hall. One person can easily hold your permit up without just doing their job. There is very little accountability down there for the deadbeats. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson,)

There has been a “give and take” relationship between developers and the City of Calgary, but the general consensus has been that both parties should work together in order to achieve common goals (Foran 2007, 61). Calgary's political campaigns (aldermanic and mayoral) have been heavily funded by the development industry, and the city has the least transparent campaign financing system of all Canadian large municipalities (Miller and Smart 2011). Lorimer (1978) and Austin and Young (2006) have argued that Calgary's campaign finance system has a primary influence on the nature of the city's sprawling landscape due to the role developers have in municipal elections. Given, partly at least, the increased demand for suburban housing (single-family development), developers have been quite successful in guiding Calgary's sprawling landscape (Miller and Smart 2011). However, as Miller and Smart (2011) argue, the subsidization of Calgary's sprawling landscape has created transportation and fiscal problems, thus causing a change in practice.

4.5 – Land Use Redesignations and Discretionary Uses

Often, land use designations need to be altered to allow specific types of development, so a land use redesignation process occurs. For example, presently the

commercial strip along 17th Avenue SE in the GFLA is largely designated for auto oriented commercial development, so in order to allow for the pedestrian oriented commercial and residential development outlined in the Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept (SE17), land use redesignations must transpire. Land use redesignations present significant costs to developers due to the fees required and the time it takes to go through the lengthy process. Property owners must apply to the city for building permits and their proposals then come under the scrutiny of community members through public hearings, required by law. After private owners have invested a great deal of money into their proposals, their projects may not even be approved due to public objections. The land use redesignation process creates a great deal of uncertainty for property owners, at least if private owners are initiating the process. Gary and Tyson mentioned that the entire process can be a barrier to redevelopment (and gentrification) in older more central neighbourhoods. Private owners may not even attempt to obtain a land use redesignation due to the uncertainty of the process. Ironically, the land use redesignation process that occurs in new communities serves to encourage suburban sprawl because there is little to no resistance to development on newer tracts of land. Certainty of approval is almost guaranteed in new communities, so the process reduces barriers for private developers in greenfield development.

To increase the certainty that a land use redesignation will be approved and that the project will be undertaken, the City of Calgary can intervene and initiate the process on the behalf of private owners. City initiated land use redesignations essentially remove barriers for developers and reduce their financial burden.

So basically, the land use redesignation process, if the City does it, we go through and we take the risks, we do all the uncertainty, because we go through the process ourselves as a city to redesignation the land in accordance with the concept so that the owners can actually do whatever is allowed onto the concept right away. They don't have to go through the land use redesignation process. They can go right to what is called the development permit, where they basically come out with a design for the plan and get it approved. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Since the City of Calgary takes all the risk by initiating land use redesignations, private owners can skip past the portions of the process that could impede their success. Their visions and concepts can be approved far more easily than if they were to go about the land use redesignation themselves. This approach has far reaching implications, particularly in areas where new concepts are not in line with present land use designations. For example, if the City of Calgary designates SE17 as a priority and initiates the redesignation of various nodes along 17th Avenue SE it would remove various barriers to private development. Contacts that I spoke with mentioned that the GFLA "community" hopes that redevelopment will start at various nodes along the corridor, which is where the city would initiate land use redesignations. Since the vision outlined in SE17 is not necessarily representative of the vision of the community as a whole, the consequences of land use redesignation could be disastrous for many residences and businesses. In combination with other pro-market mechanisms (see below), which are directly tied to land use designations, this City process could eventually lead the gentrification of the corridor and surrounding area.

Land Use Policy and Planning (LUPP) may not actually review development permits submitted to the City of Calgary simply because the proposal fits within the parameters of the present land use designations.

I have to admit that we don't necessarily see all the development permits that come in, because if it has the zoning that is available already to redevelop we don't see those ones unless it is within the ARP or a policy document where we have to review it. It is when they come in for the rezoning that we see the developments. Well we don't see the developments they're proposing, we see the zoning that they are proposing. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

The City of Calgary does not require a parallel process in which a developer must apply for a redesignation while simultaneously applying for a development permit. This effectively removes a significant check on development:

Most of our policy processes end up in rezoning, which don't necessarily speak to development permits. So, the way the system is set up in Calgary...is the land use bylaw in each of its districts allows for so much to happen that when a developer comes in for rezoning they can basically get a heck of a lot under each district. So, if they come in for a rezoning we don't have them do a parallel process where they have to do a development permit at the same time. So if you come in for a rezoning a lot of other places you have to do both. You come in for a rezoning and you have to bring a development permit with you, so that we know what you are building. Here, you can bring a rezoning in and get the lift in land value, lift in zoning, and sell off your land. Then someone can come in with a development permit that has a completely different idea about what's going to happen on the land. People come in with the rezonings and they show all these nice and fancy buildings and everything, but in reality they don't have to build what they are showing unless there is a development permit attached to it. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Often, LUPP planners are not even aware of what exactly is being developed in the Calgary.³⁰ Tyson mentioned that development permits may even be pushed through despite their inconsistency with current bylaws:

There have been instances that I am aware of where on the development permit side of things in other business units, senior management has stepped in to push applications through when they are not necessarily in line with the bylaw. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

³⁰ Development permits are handled by a separate "business unit" in the City of Calgary's Planning Department.

Since development permits are not necessarily required for land use redesignation, the process can be used to artificially increase land values, particularly in spaces adjacent to specific areas of change (such as in the GFLA). If policy documents call for greater densities than what current zoning allows for the potential for speculation will be increased. For example, if a commercial corridor is zoned for lower densities and building heights and a proposed plan calls for increased densities, investor or groups of investors could potentially buy up property in anticipation of the plan being approved. The potential for an increase in value is present because the increased densities and building height increases aligned with the plan would allow for it. Even if the area is not redesignated initially, the potential for it to occur is enough to increase the value of property along the corridor:

So, you are getting an extra, well you are doubling your floor space allowed on site, which increases the value of the land because you have the potential to develop something bigger and sell it for more. So it is all about potential. It is the gap between what the current zoning is and what the policy document says. If you are a smart investor/developer and you notice that, you go and buy those properties even before the plan is. Because as soon as the plan is approved, then the value can go up whether it is rezoned or not, because the potential to rezone is there and you know that the city will do it. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

The aforementioned situation, mentioned by Tyson, occurred along the 16 Avenue N when the entire corridor was redeveloped. Speculation occurred and investors began purchasing land along the corridor due to the proposed plan, which in turn increased the value of the properties they purchased. Increased densities are a guiding principle within the City's MDP, so the city would most likely approve land use redesignations along a corridor (as stated in the above quote). Since development permits are not required alongside land use redesignations, the City is not mandating that private owners have to

build anything on a property. An investor can purchase the property, and flip it for an inflated price once the redesignation has been approved. A new developer can then purchase the property, and given the already inflated property value, the chances for higher end uses being developed on the property are much higher. Land Use and Policy Planning, a City of Calgary business unit separate from the Development and Building Approvals unit, would not even view the new development permit because they had redesignated the land prior to the purchase.

On rare occasions, City planners may actually reduce height limits on proposed developments. So, the capping of building heights can work as a check on development and can potentially limit market value. This was the approach taken on the South East 17 Avenue Corridor. However, Calgary's land use bylaw allows discretionary uses on properties, and although the original intent of discretion did not include increasing height, it can be used for that purpose. In order to cut down on the red tape developers and other private property owners might face, the City can attach discretionary uses as well. In Alberta, categories of land use have specific uses that are automatically permitted. These are defined as permitted uses, but there is also a subsidiary list of discretionary uses that may be incorporated. Discretionary uses can be vague, such as types of dwelling units, or they can be very specific, such as liquor stores. They allow landowners a wider array of uses for their properties, but they must be approved by the City. Some land use designations permit what would be discretionary uses on other land use designations. According to Gary, discretionary uses tend to be more controversial (adult entertainment stores for example), are related to design issues with property, or are tied to developments that get large enough that they affect surrounding properties. Both permitted uses and

their discretionary counterparts give certainty to landowners while simultaneously allowing the City some control over development. However, the crux of their existence is to facilitate market-based development:

So, it's a process [permitted and discretionary uses] designed to basically speed things up and add more certainty, as well as to extend the list of things that a private owner can do on their property while still keeping some control within the city. It is designed basically to facilitate the market process. I mean, that's what it's there for. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Discretionary uses make the development process easier because it opens the door to more possibilities under a particular land use category. Since it is implied that the City is still mediating the list of discretionary uses and could ultimately decline individual applications, the approach appears legitimate and ethical. The City has control over discretionary land uses. However, the caveat to this control is that the re-zoning process allows land owners to have a stronger foot to stand on in negotiating with the city, which in turn increases the potential value of their land.

According to planners that I spoke with, the original intent of the discretionary uses in the land use bylaw was to allow for extraneous exceptions, but instead developers and landowners have manipulated the tool resulting in discretionary use applications being no longer the exception but now common place. Landowners can use the discretionary land use provision to obtain their goals. Given that discretionary uses are essentially synonymous with permitted uses, landowners now believe it is their right to do as they please. Maximum heights on buildings are supposed to be fixed but under the current system landowners are making the argument that it is their right to build to increased heights:

The thing about the discretionary bylaw as well is that the maximum height allowed is supposed to be discretionary too [sic], but it's been used as that's what they are legally allowed to do. That's their right. Their right is the build to that height. No, that was never the intent of the discretionary bylaw. The discretionary bylaw was whatever fits the context of what they are trying to develop. It's not 'I legally have the right to build to this height. I legally have the right to this use. I legally have the right to...' No, it's supposed to be discretionary in terms of negotiating. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

The increased height of buildings adds value to property, so discretionary uses have been employed as a quasi-fundamental right. Ironically, the intention of discretionary uses was a control mechanism on development, but it has been altered to lubricate the private market:

That's exactly what's happening [the city lubricating the private market]...The city has no checks and balances in place. They don't have any processes or protocols in place to ensure that we are getting this height of a sustainably socially just city that we need, that all places need. So, yeah the city is lubricating, making it easy for the development industry to make profit when they are ignoring the other stuff. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

The City of Calgary's MDP calls for increased densities, which is a legitimate argument concerning a city that is so expansive, but it is questionable if the legislation in place will provide a socially just city. The increased densities and land use redesignations can have a cascading effect on neighbouring properties, and the increased value obtained from these city initiated policies can have adverse affects on areas in which lower income populations live.

Properties that are adjacent to areas of change are greatly affected by land use redesignations and discretionary uses simply because the City of Calgary process favours upzoning (which will only be enhanced through the MDP). The City of Calgary normally does not conduct land use redesignations for an entire community, but rather focuses in

on specific areas of change. The argument is that City can then control the staging of development. However, land use redesignations can increase the value of property within the specific spaces because all affected properties need not go through the traditional red tape once redesignations have been approved. This is the case if the City of Calgary initiates the process, so all properties within a designated area of change receive an immediate increase in value. The potential to gentrify can be increased by land use redesignations. The redesignations in areas of change can also affect adjacent spaces outside the immediate area of change. The potential along the commercial corridor in the GFLA is a perfect example.

According to planners that I spoke to, the City of Calgary created a buffer of sorts between the single-family dwellings and the commercial corridor along 17th Avenue SE in the 1970s. Parcels along the side streets immediately adjacent to the corridor were designated to accommodate townhouse/rowhouse types of development and low-rise apartment type dwellings. Many of these parcels are not individually owned and have not been converted to condominiums, so if there were a sudden jump of property value along the commercial corridor, which is to be expected with redevelopment, it would not be difficult for owners to demolish the present structures and build something that could reflect the increased value of the area, such as apartment buildings or expensive townhomes (the latter is already listed as a discretionary use):

“Those areas [adjacent to the GFLA commercial corridor] are, I would, say ripe [for redevelopment], because a lot of them are not individually owned or not 'condo-ized'. So it is relatively easy if the land value suddenly jumps up right next to them on the corridor for the owner to say ‘Oh, gee, I am going to actually build a,’ they don’t even have to through much of a process if it is already designated for an apartment building. They just build an apartment building.”

(Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Since the land use designation has already been completed, the process that would lend to further scrutiny (a check on development) has been largely eliminated. Land use redesignation or zoning changes would not need approval. Many of these properties are run by absentee landlords and given that their priority is to obtain profit from their properties (for the most part) the potential for redevelopment is much higher. Contacts that I have spoken to have also mentioned that once a (re)designation is in place, adjacent property owners will make the argument to the City that their properties should fall under a similar categorization as well:

Well, what they [landowners] do is they come in and change the land use designation. They use that argument all the time. There is precedent over here, why can't I have that here. They come in and get a land use zoning change to allow more intense uses on site, which then increases the value on land because you can do more with your land. We [City of Calgary] don't necessarily make them build anything, so they have a one story bungalow and come in and get zoning for multi-family and it increases the value of land and they can sell their land off for way more money. The way the system is set up is that it allows for that if there is any general policy or if there is lack of policy it usually happens. But if there is general policy that could be interpreted, like I was saying, they [City of Calgary] will generally allow it, which gives them [landowners] an up lift in value. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The system in Calgary allows for land use redesignations and discretionary uses with little to no checks and balances. If the City prioritizes a disinvested neighbourhood for redevelopment, the lax developmental regulations ensures that market logic will prevail in changing the area, and potentially the surrounding spaces. On the surface, resurgence in a neglected neighbourhood appears as a very good thing, but the structures in place in Calgary guarantees that the social needs of the neighbourhood will be ignored. Calgary's

MDP suggests that sustainable development is the city's new path, and this means that older neighbourhoods must be revitalized in order to meet the goals of the plan. Yet, the system in Calgary ensures that broader social revitalization does not occur:

Well, to be quite honest I have heard people say that we [City of Calgary] don't do revitalization planning here in Calgary. It is land use and design, because revitalization would imply that you actually implement it too. So, that would be my take on that. And, I would agree that we don't do revitalization planning because even if we did this and implemented it is not revitalization planning. There is a lot of stuff Edmonton is doing where they are actually working with the communities to do true revitalization planning. They are working with artists in the communities, they are working with the homeless, they are doing streetscaping and actually a lot of physical things, but they are also doing a lot of programming in buildings and reuse of buildings. So, there is a lot of stuff actually going on that is actually revitalization, whereas here it's we will do land use and design planning and try to get people to upzone their land and build new buildings. That is all we are doing. It is not revitalization. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The following sections will outline how planning implementation in Calgary falls incredibly short on social goals. The public engagement approaches used tend to ignore many of Calgary's citizens, and decisions tend to be very focused on the interests of those who stand to benefit financially.

4.6 – City Hierarchies and Planning Implementation

Foran (2007) argues that although the city and the development industry work to further common objectives, the administrative structure of the City of Calgary produces inherent barriers for developers. However, there is a caveat to that argument. As we have seen above, developers do have an uphill battle in regards to approvals in the City of Calgary, but the barriers faced by neighbourhood residents far exceed those faced by developers. In fact, this research will show that in some instances the intimate

relationship between the City of Calgary and developers serves to exclude Calgary's vulnerable populations.

The structural arrangement of the city is a series of broken avenues connecting cavernous black-holes. Contacts that I spoke with reiterated that while there is hope of a change due to the newly elected administration, the city still continues with business as usual. Presently, the City of Calgary is comprised of a series of islands of departments (and disconnected "business units" within the departments), some of which are quite weak in implementing policy. Given the political nature of their construction, what should be a collective team effort boils down to individuals butting heads. For example, the Transportation Department's aim for the GFLA redevelopment was to create a corridor that eased the movement of people from the suburbs to downtown and vice-versa. It was not concerned about the GFLA and the people who live there, rather it wanted to appease the residents of Calgary's more eastern suburbs and the developers that provide them homes. Land Use Planning and Policy was more focused on creating a living environment for the people residing in the GFLA, even though it was prevented from instituting any social planning in its planning. The two departments butted heads when the planning process was under way. However, transportation largely won the battle (to the frustration of the contacts that I spoke with) through the combination of political strength and the public engagement approach.

The siloed nature of the municipal departments is not new; rather it has occurred for quite some time:

I think it's just historically been siloed. The city has grown so fast that they didn't know how to react and they were all doing their own thing, because they

didn't have to integrate things. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Presently, the decision-making process surrounding urban development treats Calgary as if it is has 500,000 people (or less). This management style has huge implications for the social landscape of the city, particularly under Alberta's neoliberal regime, with budget cuts a continual reality.

There's a huge, actually this is part of the issue [silos and transferring responsibilities to other city departments], part of the huge issue. There's a whole mentality at city hall, a lot of the senior managers have been around since the city was 500,000 people, and they are still running things as if it is still a 500,000 person city. They haven't changed their process or changed anything. They are starting to now, only because they are being forced to due to the budget crunch, but it is has been running that way. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

When a city is growing faster than can be managed, and planning staff have been reduced to a bare minimum remaining staff members endure great pressure due to the overload of responsibility. Contributing to an even worse dilemma, the Calgary planning department lost many senior staff during the latest boom cycle:

We don't have the staff, and we've, and this is another issue, a lot of our senior people left during the boom. We did an analysis of our one group; 150 years of experience when I first started collectively amongst eight people, and a year later it was 35 years of experience amongst eight people. So, there was a huge knowledge loss. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Some senior staff retired and others left due to the considerable stresses that the municipal structure placed on them:

It's the whole I am from away and I don't want to stay in Calgary. I came here to make my killing, but I went home because the stress levels went through the roof. We were being asked to do so much during the boom that people were getting to the point of burnout. They were saying, I don't need this, there are jobs elsewhere in the country. The whole economy is hot, I am just going to go home because I can sell my house here and make a ton of money. I can then go

home and live quite well. So there has been a whole series of events in the last five years that really knocked the corporation [City of Calgary] down in terms of what the focus has been. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

As Calgary's growth exploded, the combination of outdated visions of Calgary, loss of staff, budgetary cuts, etc have contributed to an even more siloed approach to municipal policy.

Tyson is referring to the various departments' unwillingness to come to the table and decipher what the city needs as a whole. Budgetary cuts and the loss of staff have forced policy and practice to become focused on departmental needs rather than integration across the board. Presently, there may be multiple city departments implementing stand-alone mandates in a particular neighbourhood rather than communicating with each other on the best approach for that neighbourhood. This strategy is particularly unnerving given that the city has a newly approved MDP that is supposed to integrate services:

The city has grown so fast that they didn't know how to react and they were all doing their own thing, because they didn't have to integrate things. From a planning perspective, all the things in the past have all been protectionist in terms of maintaining single-family home areas. Now, we are trying to do this intensification redevelopment stuff, and they are still functioning in their old models. Transportation is still thinking about how they did transportation ten years ago, where we are trying to move past that. You know, think about things in an integrated way. There are multiple examples of five different departments being out in the same communities doing the same things. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

There have been attempts to create integrated approaches, but according to my contacts these have all been dismissed by senior management or the champion of the project left before it could be completed:

There was even one [integrated approach] called The Community Development Framework...that actually talked about delivering services in a comprehensive manner across the city, across the corporation, instead of the siloed approach. It fell by the wayside, because you had to have a champion championing it and then that person left. It then just fell apart. So, there is nothing engrained in our policy culture to sustain anything that could be progressive in terms of looking at all the issues. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The present municipal structure has no sustainability in regards to innovative projects, because they are normally discontinued once its champion is no longer there to push the idea. The municipal hierarchies essentially thwart progressive solutions to development issues.

The contradicting structures of the City of Calgary are a contributing factor to gentrification. The City of Calgary's LUPP only concerns itself with physical attributes of planning, namely land use and design. It is not equipped to conduct planning related to social planning and, given the City of Calgary's extremely conservative interpretation of the MGA, the department is essentially forbidden to address or implement anything beyond land use and design. Staff members in LUPP are unable to conceptualize and implement holistic planning approaches. However, since LUPP is the only City of Calgary department that has planning as part of its title it becomes the defacto group to deal with any development related issue, even if it is socio-economic:

A lot of the issues that were brought up, which are the causes for what the communities pressure is for doing plans are usually related to things that are not technically in the mandate of land use planning, but because we are the only ones in the corporation that have planning in our title we become the de facto people to deal with it. But, then, a lot of the issues like crime, the location of what are considered noxious uses, things like porn shops, liquor stores, and stuff like that, especially when they are concentrated, which is one of the issues the community has about SE17 along 17th Avenue. Those things are not the things that we can address typically from a land use perspective, but are more related to sort of social needs and/or community services. So, the usual response is "Well,

that is CNS” job, or that’s, the police needs to get involved or whatever.” (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Given that under the current mandates outlined in the MGA and its interpretation by the City of Calgary, LUPP cannot address “community issues” because they fall outside the realm of land use and design. Socio-economic issues are typically reassigned to Community and Neighbourhood Services (CNS). The ironic reality of this responsibility transfer, indicative of neoliberal governance, is that CNS does not have the capacity, funding or knowledge to conduct social planning. In the grand scheme of things, socio-economic issues are typically not addressed in any municipal plan, and since land use and design are the sole factors of planning, market processes are given wide berth. However, the process in which these “community issues” come to the forefront in planning must be mentioned.

Plans normally concentrate on a particular area of change or look at a broader functional area. Some studies begin by focusing on a broader area and then pinpoint the area of change in which to conduct a formal planning process. The fundamental flaw of solely focusing on an area of change is it ignores the impacted population, because a smaller area is inevitably part of a functional area:

So, some people think that we should only be focusing our attention on the area of change. But, then of course that brings up a bunch of issues because you end up having to talk to groups of communities because they’re impacted or involved. And, so there’s been some of the studies, and this sorta [sic] brings in SE17, the thinking is that you should look at a large area to start with so that you can do the community engagement and talk to people, understand all the relationships and everything with the larger area and then once you have sort of done that then you focus in on the area of change, um which sort of makes more sense rather than the expert planner coming in and saying “this shall be the area of change.” You are actually talking to people in the neighbourhood where they think the area of change is, so that makes sense. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

For example, if the City of Calgary initiates a plan to redevelop a business strip within a neighbourhood the residents, even outside the immediate corridor, will be affected, because they use the commercial strip on a regular basis. Many develop social relationships with business owners and other residents who frequent the area. It was mentioned to me by Kimberly Campbell-Cassidy (GFLA resident) that the old Safeway on 17th Avenue SE, which is no longer in business, served as a gathering space for nearby residents. People congregated at Safeway on a certain day to conduct their grocery shopping and get the latest scoop on the neighbourhood. People were heartbroken when Safeway finally shut its doors.

Typically, plans are placed on LUPP's lists due to political imperatives and development pressures. Council may want to speed up the planning process in a particular area, or it may want to ensure that a development does not occur. Sometimes community groups will be involved to either push or prevent development, and in order to achieve their objective they must garner the attention of their respective alderman. Although these politically motivated plans generally focus on an area of change, Gary and Tyson state that LUPP tends to be more objective when planning and focuses on a larger affected area. When LUPP planners start to investigate a larger area they identify "community issues" that require some form of planning intervention. The key problem with this entire process is that when planning projects are assigned, there is generally no support from other departments of the City of Calgary:

The way our planning processes are started...the attention or the support for doing the planning process comes through council to the planning department and it is not usually accompanied by any support from the rest of the City of Calgary, any of the other departments. It is sort of, we have our work plan to do

these plans, which automatically brings up issues that address the sort of span of things that the city does, but then there is no sort of support given through the process of putting the plan on the list of things to do for any of the rest of the people that need to be involved in the plan. It is kind of a really wacky system that we have. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Gary goes on to mention that the process is very similar in other departments, but much of the time they figure out ways to deal with issues. However, since LUPP is not equipped to deal with the “community issues” they must approach CNS with anything social related. Unfortunately, CNS does not have the capacity or the resources to initiate work plans either. The structure of CNS essentially prevents social planning from taking place.

There are three divisions of CNS: the social planning and research section (policy), the area offices (which house the community development workers), and the funding portion which is named Family and Community Support Services (FCSS). The staff in the policy section conducts social planning and research not related to land use planning. They are concerned with specific issues (city-wide), such as seniors or low income issues. Each policy section has a specific manager. The research they conduct is supposed to directly inform the community development workers (CDWs) who are located throughout Calgary in CNS area offices. Community development workers conduct ground work and engage Calgary’s various communities. Their focus of attention is based on the social structure of neighbourhoods. For example, community development workers in the Bowness area focus more on seniors issues due to the high seniors population in the neighbourhood whereas CDWs in the Greater Forest Lawn Area focus more on issues of poverty given the high concentration of low income residents in

that area. The policy group and the CNS area offices, which in theory are interconnected, are completely distinct and have ineffective communication. There is a divide between what communities need and what they receive:

The way CNS is set up, they are not set up basically to have a work plan. They just do mostly research on specific issues. The planners do research on specific issues that are supposed to inform the work that the community, sort of, community development workers on the ground are doing. But the way it is set up is that they're distinct in distinct sections within CNS, and there really is no direct tie between what is going on with the city and its population and its needs, which are being researched by the research group, and then what actually gets done on the ground by the community development workers. They are in a different section, different managers [sic], different outcomes [sic] at the end of the day. So there is no real tie between what's needed and what actually happens. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The third division, FCSS, is the conduit between provincial funding (through the City of Calgary) and preventive social services on the ground. They act through the Social Sustainability Framework policy, which is a very loose policy document. Historically, they have used a blanket approach to allocating funds rather than focusing on geographically specified targets. Hypothetically, neighbourhoods that are in far more need of social funding, for whatever reason, receive the same allocation as neighbourhoods that are not in such dire need. The blanket approach has been inadequate in providing services because every place is treated equally. For example, if the equivalent amount of funding is provided for aboriginal services across the City of Calgary when the city's neighbourhoods have a disproportionate aboriginal population (comparatively speaking), services cannot adequately reach the people in need (neighbourhoods with higher aboriginal concentrations) because equal funds are also being allocated in neighbourhoods with far smaller aboriginal populations. Realizing that

the old model of allocating funds was not reaching the people intended, FCSS instituted a change. The new direction is intended to allow neighbourhood residents to turn their communities around:

FCSS is a division of CNS and their traditional role is to fund preventative [sic] social services. So, it is provincial money that is administered by the City of Calgary. But for years and years they gave out money to all these preventative [sic] social services and then finally they thought ‘Oh geez, we don’t have enough money and we have way more people and we’re trying to be all things to all people and it’s not working. We don’t know for sure that the programs and services we fund are making a difference. So what really does make a difference?’ So, they hired a consultant, who is actually pretty spot on I think. She did a ton of work on what makes a sustainable community, and what really is effective, and what are real issues that we need to be concerned about. She came up with concentrated poverty and social isolation. From there, identified eighteen communities that are called tipping point communities that have between 26-39% poverty. Those communities are communities that, through her research, she showed that if you put concentrated resources into those tipping point communities, not just social service support, but cross-divisional support, and if you really do resident led initiatives you can turn a community around.” (Bridget, City of Calgary social worker, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 21 January 2011)

Now, FCSS is trying to prioritize the funding for “tipping point” communities in order to prevent the concentration of “social problems”:

Recently, they [FCSS] have identified some priorities, mostly around the concentrations of poverty to prevent, what they see, as kind of the spillover into when a neighbourhood has such a concentration of poverty that it’s really difficult to sort of move the neighbourhood up. So there is a bunch of work, the program is called the Strong Neighbourhoods Initiative. So they have identified eight communities in the city that are sort of considered their priorities. So, their work now is to try to, through their work as a conduit, they’re trying to kind of prioritize the funding in those areas to basically try and prevent anymore concentration of poverty in the pockets they have identified.” (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

However, there is some debate on how well this new approach is being implemented and how it has improved the relationship between the policy group and the on ground CDWs.

Well with this social, for years, well we [policy and community development workers] just didn't work together. We didn't talk to each other. Now with this social sustainability framework, what FCSS has done, is that they have picked eight communities that are kind of pilot projects, and now social workers are working with social planners and community recreation coordinators to do resident led initiatives in those communities. But, it is backed by tons of research. (Bridget, City of Calgary social worker, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 21 January 2011)

Despite the optimism, the structure of CNS still inhibits progressive initiatives that have the potential to help in need populations in Calgary:

But, we [City of Calgary] still have it set up where the people, the community development workers, and this is part of the problem they are encountering in trying to do this because that group out of any in CNS is trying to do the most to actually move towards sort of social planning in a geographical sense. But, because of the way that things are set up, the people that actually would get involved, not the community development workers, they are in a different section, different mandate, and there isn't the buy in to actually really do this. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

But, in terms of the structure, none of these three [policy, CDWs, FCSS] are working well together. They all have different ideas about what should happen, and the added intricacy in this is FCSS has staff that report to them out of the area offices. Community development workers in the area offices actually report to FCSS staff. But they are actually on a day-to-day basis talking to the managers in the area offices, and the area office managers want them to do different things than what the FCSS people want them to do. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Community development workers do a great deal of grunt work on the ground to try and engage the communities in far more productive manner. They approach CAs and neighbourhood schools. The CA approach is a limited approach to public engagement because the population it represents is quite small compared to the entirety of a neighbourhood (see below). They conduct open houses to create forums for people to present their concerns, which is problematic because it makes people come to them rather than reaching out to the community. However, CDWs also approach neighbourhood

residents. They go for coffee with people, they knock on doors, they encourage resident led community projects (such as a performing arts project), etc.

The three divisions of CNS are still having a difficult time communicating with one another, even though communication has been improved. The structure of CNS still prevents an open system, which in turn engenders different visions on how to best approach social issues in Calgary's neighbourhoods. Tyson mentions that there appears to be a lack of focus, or too many foci, because the new approach has staff working on community building, community capacity building, and community development (these three foci are generally identical and not geographically specific). There is no strategic social plan that would allow them to decipher what is needed from a social perspective in the targeted neighbourhoods. The grassroots approach is a step in the right direction, but if a long term social plan is not created, community activism and engagement becomes a moot point. The strategy presently guiding CNS is a vague three-page policy statement named Fair Calgary Policy:

That [Fair Calgary Policy] is the only city/corporation city policy directing CNS. So there is no municipal development plan for CNS. There is no Calgary transportation plan for CNS. There is no rec master plan for CNS. A lot of cities that are tackling this kind of thing, they have a strategic policy plan for each of their sections, each of their business units. CNS doesn't have it. They have Fair Calgary, which is a three-page policy statement with motherhood statements and everything else. So, there is no sort of over-arching policy that they are striving to implement. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Fair Calgary Policy, for the most part, is too vague and fluffy to truly guide CNS in social planning. For example, under the Principles of Fairness and subheading Participation, City of Calgary (2012d, 6) states that:

The right and obligation for participation in the processes of governance and decision-making belongs to every Calgarian. Participation in the process of democracy will be based on mutual valued contributions to each other as well as influencing decision-makers in leading to action.

There are no guidelines in the document that explain how to realize that goal. These shortcomings largely thwart any chance that citizens might have in shaping their neighbourhoods, even though it would appear that progressive initiatives are being acted upon. The City of Calgary has a new Municipal MDP that appears to be a progressive step forward, and CNS is presently trying to use it as a guide:

They are trying to use the Municipal Development Plan. Everyone is trying to climb onto that doesn't have a strategic plan, or a strategic master policy document [sic]. They are like 'how do we use the Municipal Development Plan to do our social work?' (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

In an ironic twist, the MDP cannot even begin to address any social concerns because there is absolutely no social component attached to the plan.

4.7 – The Irony of the MDP

Calgary's sprawling landscape is highly unsustainable, so in 2009 the City of Calgary produced a new MDP, and Calgary Transportation Plan (CTP), together referred to as Plan-It. Plan-It has its roots in the "city led, community-owned" citizen participation project named ImagineCalgary (Miller and Smart 2011, 283).

Approximately 18,000 citizens provided input into the project, which ran from 2005 until 2006, and the final product espoused a need for a "more sustainable, livable, socially just, and citizen-driven city" (Miller and Smart 2011, 283). ImagineCalgary showed that the city's citizens were disenchanted by the status quo of suburban development and that they

wanted to direct Calgary in new course. ImagineCalgary was a success and became the benchmark for development of the city's new MDP and CTP (Miller and Smart 2011).

The CTP aims to redirect Calgary to become a more bicycle-friendly, pedestrian-oriented, and transit-welcoming city. The crux of the MDP is to create more complete mixed-use communities and foster more integration amongst the various municipal departments (Miller and Smart 2011). Much of the MDP inspired development will occur along transit lines as Transit Oriented Development (TOD). A city well known for its conservative values, the pro-Plan-It lobby was actually a conglomeration of what would normally be opposing groups, a gaggle of strange bedfellows if you will (Miller and Smart 2011). For example, the Calgary Chamber of Commerce was a broad supporter of Plan-It because it has been continually advocating for better infrastructure, incorporation of affordable housing and transit-oriented development (TOD) (Calgary Chamber of Commerce 2007; 2008). The pro-business aspect of Plan-It and strong citizen support influenced city council's unanimous vote to approve the document, granted only after a last-minute deal to appease Calgary's development industry by reducing minimum density for low-density suburban development.

The merits of the MDP hide a fundamental failing: there is absolutely no social component mandated. Plan-It was supposed to be a three tier plan: the MDP (which is entirely land use and design focused), the Calgary Transportation Plan, and Live-It (the social complement to Plan-It). According to Tyson, Live-It was intentionally abandoned for two main reasons. The City of Calgary does not have the monetary resources to incorporate a social component and quite simply they do not understand how to implement a social approach. Although the MDP was approved, there is no specific plan

to implement the legislation's strategies, thus causing disconnect between local plans (ARPs for example) and the overarching vision. I was informed by city planners that even if strategies were brought forward, they were often overturned due to political reasoning. Also, without a social component, the MDP cannot address and implement one of its key functions, the development of complete communities. The MDP is a step in the right direction for Calgary, but in its present state there are serious doubts that it will be successful:

“There is a good chance of it [Plan-It/MDP] being ‘meh’. I would say there is at least 70 percent chance of it being ‘meh’ (tongue in cheek, laughter). We’re trying, but until the city decides as a corporation, not just planning, that it is going to be a priority to not invest to facilitate new growth at the edges and to instead prioritize intensification, all the various forms that Plan-It calls for, I don’t see it changing.” (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Miller and Smart (2011) mention that during the final approval process for Calgary’s MDP, to appease the development industry, requirements, namely density, were relaxed on suburban development. I was told similar sentiments by contacts that I spoke with, but the role of the development industry goes far deeper. Calgary was knee deep in an economic boom when the movement to approve Plan-It began. This particular economic boom created an extremely over-heated development industry, and in turn they emplaced a great deal of pressure on the municipal government. Demand for housing, due to the overinflated labour market (see Miller and Smart 2011), was so high that it was essential for the development industry that permits flow through the channels as quickly as possible:

“The development industry was screaming bloody murder because they [City of Calgary] weren’t processing stuff fast enough for them.” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

As stated above, the development industry has a great deal of political pull in Calgary, and the resultant weak MDP legislation (according to the contacts that I spoke with) is a direct result of the powerful Calgary development industry and an economic boom. The relaxation on suburban densities is a tip on a very large iceberg.

It was explained to me that the MDP would have been a much stronger and a more thorough document if the City were not going through the approval process during an economic boom.

“If the boom hadn’t happened, the MDP would have been a lot better. Because we started it off right before the boom started, and they were doing it throughout the boom, and they lost a bunch of resources, and people left, whatever during the boom, so it really hindered the whole development of it because it was ‘And a lot of the targets, everything is more, we are going through a boom and the population is going wild, and this is going to happen in the future.’ It really affected how that document was created. They [council and senior management] wanted to hurry it to get it done because they saw what was going on in the development industry, and I think that they wanted to try and slow the development industry down a little bit [direct it properly] because it was just going wild, applications left, right and center right.” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The City of Calgary was enduring a great deal of pressure because the boom both produced an almost out of control development industry and stretched the city’s resources thin. The budgetary cuts limited and focused priorities for City departments. City staff members were either cut, left due to employment pressure, or retired during the boom so there was a net loss of how many people could work on the MDP. There was also a large knowledge loss due to the staff turnover, particularly within the social planning realm, so remaining staff did not have the expertise needed to produce an adequate comprehensive plan. Gary mentioned that now there is an abundance of design-oriented trained planners at the City of Calgary, which means that their planning knowledge has not been built

through social understanding and they do not have the expertise to construct and implement social planning mandates. The combination of limited resources, both monetary and staff, and increased pressure from the municipal hierarchy to finish the MDP in a swift and timely manner lead to the creation of shoddy comprehensive plan:

“If you look at the resources that were allocated to doing it, they didn’t have the time they didn’t have the resources. That is why they had to cut the social piece because they didn’t have the resources to do it properly. Any other city that does this type of plan, they take the time to do it right. They were under the crunch of time. They were told to get it done in three years. An entire comprehensive plan for a city in three years?” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Presently, the MDP has very loose policy statements of how the city could look at development from a social perspective, but in no way will it guide social planning:³¹

“For the city’s strategic document, there’s no, I don’t think you can cut corners. We are seeing the effects of that in one that was actually being rolled out, the senior administration is hearing the message loud and clear. How are we doing social planning? Where are we getting direction from? And everyone has been saying use the MDP, but there is no social policy in the MDP. There are very loose policy comments about how you could look at it from a social perspective, but it is not actually getting into doing social planning at all. It ties back up into the problem. There is no support for a social approach to this.” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Tyson goes on to mention that this plan is not true sustainability due to the lack of a social component. The City of Calgary has been touting the triple bottom line rhetoric ever since the MDP was approved, yet will not be able to implement the strategy. The pro-market ethos that pervades the City also had its due influence because the social component is seen as preventing market forces. Considerations and mandates to help guide the social aspects of urban spaces is deemed as “social engineering” at the City of

³¹ For example, under Section 2.3.1: Housing the MDP mentions that “The provision of an adequate supply of rental accommodation across the city that is affordable to low-and moderate-income households” (City of Calgary 2012e, 2-19) but actually does not supply a guide to achieve that goal.

Calgary, which displays an ignorance of the social effects brought on by market forces. The authors of the triple bottom line perspective hoped to do right by its implementation, but the municipal structures, which are guided by a devotion to market forces, interceded and the result is politically watered down language that has no hope of supporting Calgary's citizens, particularly the population most in need of social considerations. Any legislation thus far just reiterates the voluntarism and encouragement rhetoric employed in Alberta's neoliberal governance.

“I think the people who kind of came up with the triple bottom line phenomena actually wanted it addressed, but it has gotten watered down through the political process to where this is still, nobody wanted to say “well we are not going to address this.” So, instead, they basically say they are going to address but then don't address it by putting all this wishy-washy language in, because virtually every report you ever read around the social reads like this. ‘We should do something about this,’ and then no one ever does anything.” (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The triple bottom line, at least its implementation in Calgary, is a smokescreen for the intrusion of the market. It is an example of how a progressive initiative can be twisted politically to lubricate market forces, rather than be a form of regulation. By employing the triple bottom line rhetoric in any municipal report it would appear that the City is doing right by its citizens, thus providing the impetus for council to approve the legislation. However, the lack of socio-economic mandates in planning legislation can potentially open the flood gates for market forces, creating an ultimate irony in Calgary's progressive initiatives such as the MDP and SE17 (which will be discussed in the following chapter).

Creating complete communities is one of the main objectives of the MDP (see Miller and Smart 2011), but by cutting corners and removing the social component from the legislation, robust measures to achieve the objective are missing:

“There was supposed to be a comprehensive sort of city approach to the triple bottom line of how we address things at the city-wide level. It was cut out, and what is in the MDP does not reflect complete communities. It talks about them, but it doesn’t give any sort of teeth to any of the other components of a complete community other than what land use and design can really do, and what Calgary transportation can do. So all the other business units, social, environmental, a lot of them can’t really use it because it’s not policy that they can use.” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The MDP has become the go-to document for all municipal departments, yet the legislation can really only address land use and design issues (see below). Socially oriented departments, such as CNS, basically have no framework for implementing their responsibilities. How can the MDP address complete communities when an integral component, social planning, is completely absent from the plan? Land use and design issues, which the MDP is supposed to guide, are inherently tied to social considerations, but simultaneously these issues have no bearing on the social production of space. Land use and design framework and implementation lends itself to absolute space, which means it treats space as a container or multiple containers that are mutually exclusive from one another thus affording monopoly rights (private property for example) over space (Harvey 1973). They are just one aspect of spatial production and cannot guide social principles.

The MDP is even lacking a clear framework for implementing land use and design approaches. For starters, a great deal of interpretation is required:

“The whole community side of things, in terms of engaging throughout the process, it was very high level engagement but in terms of interpreting the MDP

on the ground in communities, the MDP talks about local area planning is going to refine what the MDP says, but in lieu of that you use the MDP as policy, but all the lines drawn on the map are so conceptual. So, there are no lines drawn on a map really. It is sort of you have to interpret it on a case by case basis.” (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The directions in the MDP are overly conceptual and vague, and provide no real direction. Planners can interpret the foggy MDP guidelines, apply them to, for example a major activity centre, and possibly refuse the application. However, Tyson explained to me that the Calgary Planning Commission (CPC) will often overturn any MDP influenced decisions that the planners have recommended largely because of the politicized nature of the commission.

A coherent implementation framework for the MDP has yet to be developed and planners are guided by an elearning module, which basically only provides an understanding of the MDP:

So, basically when they approved the MDP the implementation of that wasn't how do you implement this on the ground in communities, the implementation was how do you make everyone understand it in terms of where are going to be putting these elearning modules together and watch these videos to understand the MDP. It wasn't how are we going to do a program of planning to make sure that this happens on the ground. (Tyson, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Planners constantly question how they are to implement the MDP's policies on the ground. How will the plan be applicable to established communities? Contacts mentioned that council's and senior management's only goal was to get it approved and completed, and did not consider how the MDP would be implemented. Local area plans, according to MDP guidelines, are supposed to refine where the MDP initiated typologies are, but based upon my interviews it appears that the city is not following the targets

outlined in the plan. Joe Leizerowicz and Niki Smyth, who are with the Bowness Community Association (BCA), have backed up this claim (in regards to the Greenbriar redevelopment, see Chapter Four).

Due to the inadequate engagement process, planners have received significant pushback from Calgary communities. Many communities have local ARPs and do not understand how the MDP and communities' redevelopment plans are supposed to coincide. Tyson and Joe Leizerowicz have mentioned that lack of clarity about what the city wishes to accomplish with the MDP, which is quite evident in its lack of an implementation strategy and the highly contradictory triple bottom line policy, has led to very poor community relations. This lack of clarity has placed both planners and neighbourhood residents in a tough spot, going head to head about how the City of Calgary should be planning its urban spaces. A disconnect between the overarching goals of the MDP and the implementation of local area plans has been created.

The MDP is great in theory, but lacks the necessary mandates and implementation mechanisms. Presently, the City of Calgary is carrying on with business as usual. The top-down passive engagement strategy creates a disconnect between the municipality and its citizens, effectively disenfranchising them. However, the corporation has retained its intimate relationship with the development industry; together they have successfully disempowered people through the "engagement" process.

4.8 – Community Disempowerment through Public Engagement

Calgary's public engagement approach is a vivid, but specific, example of citizen disempowerment, even through a supposedly open democratic forum. The passive

approach employed by the City of Calgary makes for an exclusionary engagement process, and even City of Calgary planners have commented upon its exclusionary character. Whether or not exclusion is intentional is a matter of debate. There are various methods of exclusion incorporated in the City's approach. The fact that the city already has an intimate relationship with the development industry already excludes people from the decision making process. Plans are typically laid out well before the public has a chance to participate, and when a design is created in the community via an open house, the participating members are so similar, socio-economically speaking, that the end result is highly unrepresentative of the neighbourhood at large. An open house occurs at a specific place, a specific time on a specific day, and depending on your cultural and socio-economic standing you may or may not be able to access the open house. City Engage Department recently created an online forum to receive feedback about how to better improve public engagement. Rather than going out to the public, the City of Calgary created an online survey, suggested that people call into the talkback line, etc. This method of engagement provides very poor coverage of cultural minority and low-income groups; the City is only allowing a population with access to English language ICT to voice their concerns. Interestingly, English speakers with ICT access also typically have access to the open houses, so the City's survey is largely moot. The City of Calgary uses CAs as community representatives to reach out to the broader population. CA members are a very limited segment of the city's citizenry as a whole, so using them as the public engagement liaison excludes much of the population from participating.

The City takes the same approach to public engagement regardless of where in the city public engagement is sought. For example, a public engagement approach in the wealthier, culturally homogenous, neighbourhood of West Hillhurst will be the same as the approach used in the GFLA, which is not nearly as wealthy and is more culturally diverse. Geographical and social distinctiveness (age, cultural, income, ethnicity, language, etc) are completely ignored. A blatant disregard for the diversity of social conditions across Calgary's neighbourhoods is a hallmark of the City's engagement process:

So, in this area [GFLA], of course we followed, we pulled out the template on how to do community engagement and did a couple open houses at sort of each stage of the planning process where we would put up signs in the community and if there was enough time put out ads in the CA newspapers and a few times there were mailouts to every household, like a little flyer thing that said 'you know come out to this open house from this time to this time.' But, of course, there was nothing done in any language but English. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Outreach, can exclude much of the population. The GFLA is the most ethnically diverse neighbourhood in the City of Calgary, and English is largely a second language for much of the area's population. The City automatically reduces the effectiveness of its outreach by sending out mailers only in English. For example, a substantial percentage of the GFLA's newest population is Sudanese. Steacy Collyer (Calgary Reads) and Gary mentioned that the Sudanese population would most likely throw an official letter from a state entity, such as the City of Calgary, into the garbage because the Sudanese have come to Canada to escape state oppression. Also, the area has one of the highest proportions of low income households in the city. Many residents receiving an official letter from the City of Calgary may be tempted to set it aside unopened, as such

envelopes are all too often harbingers of eviction notices, parking tickets, increased property tax notifications, or bylaw infractions. Geography is key in the engagement process, and should be reflective of neighbourhood structures.

The group the City uses to engage its various neighbourhoods and residents is the Community Advisory Group (CAG). The CAG is a collection of “affected” stakeholders (CA members, business owners, BRZ board members, etc) within a particular neighbourhood, and is selected by the City of Calgary. So, every neighbourhood will have their own CAG. Typically the CAG consists of around fifteen members. The City of Calgary works with the CAG directly, educates its members on the planning process and regards it as the “go to” group for neighbourhood engagement. The CAG is regarded as the group with neighbourhood expertise, and as such the City of Calgary will conduct various private consultations with them throughout neighbourhood planning processes. It is then assumed that CAG members will then disseminate information to the respective communities, and feedback will be given to the City. However, there is an inherent fault to using the CAG as the City’s key engagement group: it is unrepresentative of the respective neighbourhoods. In fact, the CAG may be the core group that is driving the gentrification process, which is the case in the GFLA.³²

Community association members, for the most part, make up the majority of the CAG; so City of Calgary relies heavily upon the city’s CAs as conduits to their respective neighbourhoods as well and uses CA newsletters to advertise open houses. The effectiveness of CAs, in general, has become very controversial in recent years. They are also, generally speaking, very unrepresentative of their respective communities. Some

³² It was discovered that the members of the CAG during the SE17 process were intimately tied to the IABRZ, and thus facilitated an aligned vision during the City of Calgary’s public participation process.

、
CAs are more representative of their communities than others, such as the BCA; the Bowness CA board membership consists of both renters and homeowners.

Unfortunately, by using CAs as the main liaison for public engagement, the City of Calgary is unwittingly excluding city residents. To their frustration, the City of Calgary planners that I spoke with are well aware of the ineffective method of using CAs for public engagement, but due to the path dependency, municipal hierarchies and lack of resources they must abide by institutional protocols.

Marlene Racine (Albert Park/Radisson Heights CA) mentioned in our discussion that CA memberships are dwindling, particularly due to the aging population. Not all CAs are in such dire straits, but many are in a perilous position because they simply do not have the representation. Only a small group of people are in charge of the various buildings that the CAs are responsible for, such as the community halls and ice rinks, and the programs that they deliver. Much of the CAs' infrastructure, including buildings, is deteriorating, and CA's community outreach is not as effective as when they had larger memberships. Such circumstances put an incredible load on CA members:

Which, is sort of a negative thing [the strain that CA members endure] for being representative of the community but it also means that there, for those people, that there are a lot of strains on them. So, even if they were representative of the community, it is hard to ask a lot out of them. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Community associations, generally, are not very representative of their respective communities. The great majority of CA members are homeowners, as are CA board members, so the voices of renters are largely absent from community decision-making. There are exceptions to this rule, such as BCA (mentioned above). There are institutional

problems with using a small group like CAs, particularly if they have planning and development boards, as a primary conduit of public engagement.

That is one of the only ways that the city engages the neighbourhood is through CAs, the planning and development sections of the CAs, which is a problem because you are not talking to, other than the immediate affected landowners who are adjacent to the parcel being affected and the CA, anybody else in the neighbourhood about what the effects are. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 15 July 2011)

The City of Calgary, through its engagement process, tends to exclude a good portion of the population because it uses small focused groups as the medium for reaching the majority. In regards to redevelopment, CAs, and by extension CAGs, for the most part are small groups of people who will be immediately affected by any change. The City depends on these groups to bring neighbourhood residents to open houses, but given the focused nature of these groups the engagement approach limits who attends meetings, and by extension who will be informed about any (re)development. For example, several interviewees (Jodi, Melissa Bohnsack, and Fred Hawryluk) indicated they were unaware of the existence of SE17 or any related plans. These interviewees stand to lose a great deal if SE17 ever came to fruition, because their place of work and the core of their social network are located within the proposed redevelopment corridor and could be demolished. Whether or not this approach is an intentional method to exclude people is a matter of debate, but what is certain is that through the engagement approach the City of Calgary effectively disenfranchises a good portion of the population.

“From the planning department’s perspective, it’s simply that those people (social advocacy groups, displaced, etc) are never, not just Forest Lawn, considered as standard stakeholders in a planning process. They’re not landowners, they are not CA representatives, they are not community members that come out to a passive open house. Because you are not one of those, you’re

just not [sic], it's not on purpose, it's the planning process in Calgary." (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The method employed by LUPP to recruit community involvement in planning is very limited in scope. The standard practice in which the general public is allowed to present their voice in Calgary regarding (re)development, is the open house. The common approach to the open house is that a particular place is chosen, such as a public library, as the location and on a certain date and time the general population is allowed to meet and greet the planners and developers who that are involved in the planning project. This open forum allows people to provide input. Often there are several open houses held to accommodate a wider audience; one or two will occur on a weekday evening, followed by an all day event on a Saturday. According to contacts that I have spoken to, the rationale, from the City of Calgary's perspective, is that by holding multiple open houses all demographic differences in the selected area are covered. In theory, the open house structure is a very democratic approach to planning, yet as we have seen above the process can be exclusionary even before an open house is held. And the open house structure itself can be highly controlled and exclusionary.

Since the City treats its engagement strategy equally across Calgary, it does not customize the practice to address the specific needs of the neighbourhood under study. This is a fatal error of process: by not tailoring engagement to the specific characters of neighbourhoods, large portions of the population may be excluded. Open houses are held at specific times and specific places, and the City assumes that everyone will be available. Granted, the City tries to hold open houses in the evening or on Saturdays, but this approach is still ineffective if targeting neighbourhoods with a large percentage of

low income and vulnerable populations. Many people must hold two or three jobs to survive in Calgary. If they have families, then their time is even more constrained. Contacts that I had discussions with lamented the fact that open houses cannot represent the lower income populations because they simply do not have the time to spend a Saturday afternoon examining dozens of technical plans displayed on easels in a community centre. The low income population has the most to lose from a (re)development project, particularly if it were to gentrify the area. Since the City of Calgary only uses open houses in its engagement approach, the potentially displaced population is essentially dismissed from a “democratic” process.

Kendra (City of Calgary social worker) mentioned in our discussion that making the populace come to the experts (open houses) is a less than effective way to involve residents in the planning process.

However, my suggestion to having these open houses is why are we asking people to come to us when they aren't coming. Go to them. Why didn't you go to the mall?...In terms of the corridor study. It was sort of picked certain community associations or certain locations, but it was an expectation that people would come to that location and when I am saying let's go to them we should be going where the people are; you have an audience automatically. And so, Marlborough Mall would have been perfect (Kendra, City of Calgary social worker, in discussion with Kyle Peterson,)

Even gentrification proponents that I spoke with mentioned that the open house approach is a poor method for reaching out to people. In low income neighbourhoods where residents generally cannot afford to spend substantial time at an open house, it is far more effective for City officials to go where the people congregate, such as a shopping centre, to engage with the populace. Apparently, this form of engagement is standard practice in other municipalities:

I worked at another municipality a few years ago, and that was the standard thing. There were three regional malls in the area and for any planning related issue, you went up for a Saturday afternoon, and you put up a booth in the mall, and anybody came by and they could ask you questions. Apparently, people at the City of Calgary have never heard of this! [frustrated laughter] (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Granted, this approach is still a top-down method because plans have already been devised by a small self-interested group, but it is an approach that produces much greater access than open houses. It would open up dialogue and create more balanced evaluations than Calgary's present approach to engagement.

The open house forum can be confrontational, both for City officials and neighbourhood residents, and it can lead to disrupted dialogue. Open houses can also create resentment among participants, which only lead to a breakdown in public engagement:

“It is also interesting because at the one of the meetings we had with the city planning department we talked about this [the City's top down passive approach to public engagement] and one of the fellows high up in the hierarchy said that there is no way I am going to expose my personnel to the abuse that we have seen at these open houses in the past, so we will not do it with the community at large in a dialogue fashion. So, this is a deliberate way and the explanation is that communities abuse the planners.” (Joe Leizerowicz, Bowness CA Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 29 April 2011)

The above statement is indeed anecdotal, but nonetheless it is clear that the open house approach to public engagement, at least as the sole method, is in dire need of retooling.

4.9– Conclusion

Present state policies (provincial and municipal) regarding development in Alberta are largely pro-development. Prior to the Klein Administration, Alberta had an extensive regional planning network that, for the most part, kept development in check.

With the intrusion of neoliberal policies from the Klein Tories, this network was disintegrated. This movement was not entirely due to neoliberalism, because rural municipal districts also played a key role in destroying the RPCs. There were political motivations too. The combination of the opened nature of the MGA and conservative interpretations of the legislation has ensured that certain protections, namely social planning, for Alberta's less affluent, particularly in Calgary, have been kept out of the planning process. Inadequate public engagement strategies ensure that vulnerable populations are excluded from the planning process. Even prominent social groups have been excluded, such as the BCA during the proposed Greenbriar redevelopment. The result of the engagement process has been the disenfranchisement of Calgary's vulnerable populations, sometimes culminated in gentrification. These exclusionary tactics have received resistance throughout the city though, most notably in Bowness. A group of concerned citizens, centred around the BCA, have been effective in limiting the reach of the gentrification process in Bowness.

Chapter 05: Community Activism, Inclusivity and the Limits of Gentrification in Bowness

5.1 – Introduction

Surrounded by an escarpment and Bow River, Bowness seems to be an isolated oasis amidst an ever-expanding city. Cookie cutter suburban development lie to the north and west, and established suburbs and inner-city lie to the south and east. The picturesque trees and river motif have now made Bowness an attractive investment and home for young professionals. The inflated housing costs in neighbouring communities, such as Parkdale and West Hillhurst, have made the much more affordable Bowness an appealing alternative to Calgary's sprawling suburban realm. Small-scale developers have contributed to infill and replacement development within certain parts of the neighbourhood, largely along the more picturesque portions of the neighbourhood.³³ Their activities have been a contributing factor to Bowness' gentrified landscape. The increasing housing prices have been particularly hard on the neighbourhood's senior population due to their fixed incomes and increasing expenses. Some seniors have been displaced.

A host of situational institutional arrangements have largely kept gentrification in check in Bowness, although the same arrangements have allowed gentrification to occur. The stigma surrounding the neighbourhood, which is similar to the GFLA, has been one aspect preventing gentrification. However, the strongest attribute thwarting the encroaching gentrified landscape has been the resistant neighbourhood social groups.

³³ Large multi-national development firms tend to concentrate their efforts in Calgary's suburban realm, while small-scale developers (who are usually focusing on one or two neighbourhoods) direct their efforts in Calgary's core and adjacent neighbourhoods.

These groups have been the watchdog on private interests as well as City of Calgary planning processes that bolster pro-development processes. The Bowness Community Association (BCA) has often been a vocal critic and strategic resistance to City of Calgary /development industry interests that aim to supplant community cohesion. Although public engagement strategies need much improvement in Calgary, including within Bowness, the neighbourhood groups are readily expanding their efforts to create multiple alternatives for inclusivity. The willingness to work together as different groups has been a leading contributor for more inclusive development strategies in Bowness. This inclusivity has been able to limit gentrification.

As Calgary expands, established neighbourhoods will become more attractive for redevelopment strategies, particularly since the adoption of the MDP. Housing prices in neighbouring communities continually increase and expand from the center, which makes neighbourhoods such as Bowness more attractive for professional occupations, and the development industry understand this quite well. Bowness' closeness to Calgary's City Centre was continually mentioned by interviewees when they described the "gem quality" of the neighbourhood. If the cohesion amongst the various neighbourhood groups remains strong, there might very well be a successful resistance to gentrification.

5.2 – Research Question and Aims

How have institutional arrangements, namely from residents' groups, limited the scope of gentrification in Bowness?

The aim of this chapter is to decipher the contextual relationships that when combined have limited the scope of gentrification in Bowness. A series of institutional

arrangements combined with neighbourhood activism have thwarted the progression of gentrification outwards from the inner-city realms of West Calgary. Incidentally, it is also this combination of structural and agency-based mechanisms that have allowed gentrification to occur in the neighbourhood, granted at a much smaller scale than neighbourhoods adjacent to Bowness. These arrangements are largely entrenched, and are not likely to change in the foreseeable future. The situation of Bowness provides an example of how the powerful forces of gentrification can be kept at bay, for the most part, by social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

5.3 – Neighbourhood Dynamics

There is no question that the neighbourhood of Bowness has been witness to revitalization, but the process has been limited to specific areas of the neighbourhood. These areas have either gentrified or are in the beginning stages of the process. The neighbourhood dynamics as well as outside factors have contributed to the gentrified landscape while simultaneously limiting its progression. These dynamics are both structural and agency-based in form.

Zones of Revitalization

Presently, Bowness has several areas undergoing revitalization. Figure 5.1 indicates where in Bowness the following pictures were taken. The most obtrusive form of revitalization in Bowness occurs along Bow Crescent, and it is along this street and the surrounding area that gentrification is most prominent. Upon entering the neighbourhood from the East side (directly across from Montgomery) over the Bow River (Figure 5.2) (labeled 1 on Figure 5.1), one can immediately notice the multi-million dollar homes that

border the river (Figure 5.3) (labeled 2 on Figure 5.1). Bow Crescent follows the Bow River as it meanders around Bowness on its east and north side, but does not transverse across the railway that separates the Eastern and Western portions of the neighbourhood. Bowness' most expensive and largest homes are located along this street, particularly along the side that faces the river. The drastically increased housing prices along the river have also influenced increased costs on the non-river side of Bow Crescent. The “city-centre” of Bowness is adjacent to the Bow Crescent area, and has also witnessed revitalization (Figure 5.4) (labeled 3 on Figure 5.1). This is incidentally the Bowness BRZ.

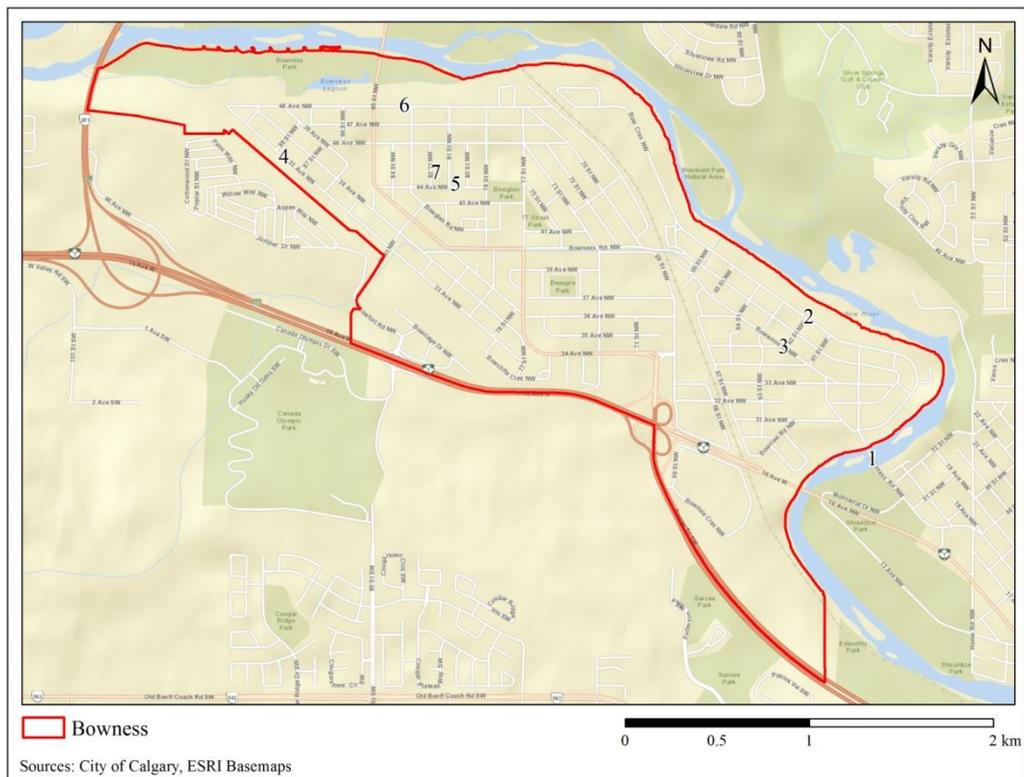


Figure 5.1. Locations of Revitalization in Bowness



Figure 5.2. Entering Bowness



Figure 5.3. Bow Crescent



Figure 5.4. Bowness “City-Centre”

The Western portion of Bowness has also been witness to revitalization, notably below the escarpment on the Southwest side (Figure 5.5) (labeled 4 on Figure 5.1) and near Bowness High School in the West-Central portion of the neighbourhood (Figure 5.6) (labeled 5 on Figure 5.1). The Northwest side of the neighbourhood, near the river, has seen some redevelopment as well (Figure 5.7) (labeled 6 on Figure 5.1). The juxtaposition of these new expensive homes next to the dominant bungalow style of Bowness (Figure 5.8) (labeled 7 on Figure 5.1), as well as the dense rental buildings within Bowness’ “Golden Triangle” is quite surreal.³⁴ Incidentally it is the City of Calgary zoning structure within Bowness that has allowed the building of these more

³⁴ The Golden Triangle is a collection of rental property located near Bowness High School that is considered the “rough area” of Bowness. The street alignments that the properties lie on create a triangle of sorts.

expensive homes, while simultaneously preventing their spread elsewhere in the community.



Figure 5.5. Escarpment Redevelopment



Figure 5.6. R2 Infill Redevelopment



Figure 5.7. Northwest Side Redevelopment



Figure 5.8. Juxtaposition of Bowness Homes

Bowness' Social Atmosphere

Although annexed to the City of Calgary in the early 1960s, a strong neighbourhood contingent has striven to retain the small-town atmosphere that Bowness held prior to becoming part of Calgary. While density has increased, in the amount of dwelling units, with infill development in much of Calgary inner-city areas, Bowness has retained many of its large lots that define the small town feel most of its residents celebrate. Although Bowness does have some infill development occurring, it is at a much smaller scale than other inner-city neighbourhoods (even compared to its neighbour Montgomery). It is this stubborn support for the small-town atmosphere that has provided the brunt of resistance to gentrification in Bowness, but it has also contributed to drastically inflated housing prices, notably along Bow Crescent.

The Bowness area is host to a plethora of social groups, which do need to improve the links to other social groups, that in their own right have a great deal of social cohesion. With that being said, these social groups, and notably the BCA, do understand their shortcomings and are working to try and alleviate these issues (see below – Vital Signs). It was shown in previous chapters that community associations are generally not representative of their respective communities, and it can be argued that the BCA can also be so characterized given that almost the entirety of its membership is comprised of homeowners. According to City of Calgary (2012f) percentage of occupied rental dwellings in Bowness is 47.3 percent. However, of the community associations represented in this research, the BCA generally has a more holistic vision of their

neighbourhood.³⁵ The BCA initiated a public engagement project, in partnership with various social advocacy entities (namely the United Way of Calgary and The Calgary Foundation), to bring awareness to what should be celebrated in Bowness, as well as what should be mended to create a more vibrant community.³⁶ This project is entitled Bowness Vital Signs. The BCA's planning and development board has provided the thrust of resistance against the sporadic gentrification occurring in Bowness. The small-town atmosphere pushed by various social groups has contributed to this effort, because it is a unified vision that they all support. They believe that redevelopment, represented by expensive housing, is a threat to their neighbourhood's atmosphere.

Although the engagement strategies employed in Bowness are far more inclusive than in the GFLA, they still contribute to the exclusion of various groups. There exists an "us versus them" social construction along class lines. Through the interview process it was discovered that much of the population residing along Bow Crescent is not very involved in Bowness activities, yet simultaneously the groups that are very active do not go out of their way to include those residents. A social advocate (Tabitha) in the neighbourhood mentioned that there is a fair bit of resentment towards many Bowness residents from the noticeably poor in the neighbourhood, because they feel shunned by the community. In fact, BCA (2009) states that "others believe that greater engagement is needed, especially among youths and newcomers to the neighbourhood" (8), so the gap in sense of community has been noted. Although it was mentioned to me Sheila Clayden (Bowness Seniors) that Bownesians are very welcoming to outsiders and new

³⁵ The CA's in the GFLA are generally on board with the BRZ's gentrification initiatives.

³⁶ Vibrancy in Vital Signs was represented not entirely by the physical environment, which tends to be the focus of vibrancy in the GFLA. Issues surrounding the built environment were accompanied with ideas on sense of community, education and learning, sports and recreation, etc (see BCA 2009)

neighbourhood residents, the interactions among classes do not necessarily confirm this, at least fully.³⁷ Friction amongst classes in Bowness confirms the falsity of the “social mix” argument for the benefits of gentrification.

5.4 – Downzoning and Class Turnover

Development in Calgary is affected by Alberta’s boom and bust cycles; the fortunes of the oil industry and the development industry are largely intertwined. The optimism in the city, largely based on the price of oil, also influences the downturns and resurgences in the development industry:

It [(re)development] has come back, I mean, the current cycle we are in now things have come back quite well. A lot of it revolves around the price of oil and optimism in the city. So a lot of it is not necessarily actually [sic]based. It’s perception based. So, if people believe that everything is roses, then they loosen their purse strings (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Bowness has, since its creation and through annexation, retained the small-town atmosphere, so the majority of the lots in the neighbourhood are zoned low density residential (R1). However, the neighbourhood has a good portion of multi-family residential (R2). This zoning designation allows for the subdivision of properties. As stated above, Bowness has a strong contingent of residents who fight to retain the small-town atmosphere, so increased density is seen by this group as largely a threat to their perceived neighbourhood atmosphere. During the boom of the late 1970s/early 1980s, the influx of workers and limited regulation at the city contributed to lax regulation of development, particularly in Bowness. There was concentrated development in areas of

³⁷ Bowness residents often refer to themselves as Bownesians, but this social construction is dependent upon who you speak to in the community.

Bowness, which was very poor quality. The Golden Triangle is representative of this free for all development:

Well, the terminology that I used in the late 70s/early 80s when we had our last boom, or before this last boom, is Bowness was raped because it was small town so there was not a lot of regulation and the city just let it go ahead build it because there was such an influx of people. If you go by the high school over here where all the apartments are. Have you been over there? It's amazing what's been built there. You have a house attached to an apartment building, which should have never happened. And all these illegal fourplexes that were built, they just said 'yeah go ahead and build them,' and it was sort of a blind eye from the city just to get density because the city was exploding. That created a vacuum once the collapse of '83/'84 and so did real estate prices like across North America because the rates were at 22 percent, which is hard to imagine today where it's at three, so you know, but what we got left behind was a high density area that was not very well regulated and it left a mess. What it did was that it transformed it into a real a transient area and that's the difference between Montgomery and Bowness. Montgomery doesn't have any high density just until recently, and that's how it got worked over by the boom of the late 70s/early 80s and it's left us a mess. Fortunately with the last boom we had, for real estate purposes, there were lots of condo conversions so they turned them from apartments into condos which has [sic] cleaned up the area considerably. But for years you would see the HAWKS helicopter flying over that area and it was not good, because you just had so much transient people. But I would explain that area to Bankview to Mount Royal, if you know where that is. The only thing separating them is 14th Street and Bankview is high density and Mount Royal is, you know, Mount Royal. So that's how a lot of us who call it the Triangle, explain that area. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

The outcome of poor regulation and construction created resentment against this type of rental housing development and the land use designations it sits on (as well as the residents that inhabit the domiciles). The animosity against this type of development still exists today. When asked about stigma and neglect in Bowness and subsequent renewal, an interviewee responded with:

It really wasn't neglected, but then after awhile I think because there was some apartments, the you know there were apartments being thrown up and duplexes, and that really... I have noticed that there are a lot of infills around here. I would rather see that than a duplex you know... I don't mind, as I said, rather

see an infill than a duplex, or an apartment, I really would... I mean if I did see you know maybe if I lived on another street and I saw a couple duplexes and apartments I might, I wouldn't like it, I wouldn't like it, so you know you don't want to see. (Carole Carpenter, Bowness Resident, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2010)

In order to prevent what they perceived as shoddy development, Bowness residents were given the option of downzoning property from R2 to R1, because the latter designation does not allow multi-family construction:

But there's been a strong watchdog committee forever, so anything that went in here after that boom they wanted to make sure that it didn't happen again. So, unfortunately they downzoned a lot of lots from multi-family to R1 lots and that was in 1979. They wanted to stop the illegal fourplexes from being built at the time so they downzoned tons of streets, Montgomery and Bowness, just to stop the influx of high density. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

The outcome of the downzoning resulted in the production of a plethora of single-family domiciles in Bowness, and it prevented the subdivision of property (thwarting infill development in the future). The downzoning of property has been retained as a recommendation in the neighbourhood's ARP:

In order to maintain the existing sound housing stock and promote stability in the community, areas which are currently designated R-2 may be considered for owner-initiated redesignation to R-1 if such areas can meet City Council's redesignation criteria. (Evaluating Redesignation Applications to Prohibit Small Lot Infill Housing - June 1989.) (City of Calgary 2011a, 25)

The subdivision of property is a key factor for the gentrification process in adjacent neighbourhoods in Calgary, such as the redevelopment efforts in Montgomery and West Hillhurst.³⁸ Ken Richter lamented the fact that downzoning has created stagnation for redevelopment in much of Bowness, so unbeknownst to them the efforts of

³⁸ Residential redevelopment in Calgary is predominantly in the form of replacements or infills, rather than renovations. Although renovations do occur, in order to make reasonable profit Calgary developers must erect new buildings.

the watchdog residents largely thwarted future gentrification. However, their past actions could also lead to drastically increased housing prices in the remaining R2 designations and have contributed to the exorbitant housing prices in the Bow Crescent area. While limiting gentrification efforts in the future, the downzoning may also contribute to class turnover in Bowness.

The downzoning of R2 designations to R1 is not on the radar of many people in the neighbourhood and how it slows redevelopment of residential property in Bowness:

And the other thing people don't understand is the downzoning. With the area, as far as that goes, most people don't know where and how much actually you can develop on...So they've downzoned all this stuff to R1, that in itself has stagnated any development because a builder is not going to build one and make any money. You have to build two at least. These designations are city development, yes. Mmmhmmm [pink is where infills can go in]. And there is pressure on the city to downzone, this is the high school here, downzone all of this as well. Dale Hodges office phoned me and I said 'Definitely not!' You need to have redevelopment in an area, and if you are going to tear down a 600 square foot shack that has been rented for 30-years versus two new infills that will sell for a half million each. Which is better for the area? Oh yeah well [mocking]. So they want to keep it the same but get it better, and the only way it is going to get better is by tearing down some of these things and build on the R2 that's available versus shutting down everything they possibly can because that will be stagnated. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Presently, there is very little new build redevelopment on R1 lots Bowness, except for in the Bow Crescent area. However, redevelopment in the Bow Crescent area is a unique case in the fact that subdivision only occurred because properties were originally double R1 lots:

Yeah, but these were double R1s. So, for me that's great because I can take a huge lot and cut it into two big lots. So, you have this street a good value. I have done quite a few down the other end of the street. A couple subdivisions on the non-river side. Again I target the bigger lots...You can [subdivide R1]. It's all size related. Because 50 foot R1s are not subdividable, but 100's are,

actually 82 is. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

The larger lots allow for larger homes, which increases the price of the property. The value associated with the lots along the Bow River, closeness to City Centre, etc along with the decreased upfront costs have ensured that the Bow Crescent new build redevelopment is out of reach for all but the wealthy. The properties along Bow Crescent are multi-million dollar homes.

Subdividing lots cuts land costs in half, which then contributes to increased profit for developers once construction is completed. When asked why some areas of Bowness are better for redevelopment than others, an interviewee responded with:

Tons of it is zone related. If you can subdivide, and this is why Hillhurst is really taking off and Sunnyside not so much, developer has a built in financial benefit to a subdivision to put in two houses. The disconnection costs, the service costs, the financing, everything, those are all cut in half if you can put two houses in. So for example I built next door [Bow Crescent], this project made a lot more sense, it would really be hard to take one house, knock it down, and build one house mathematically. I am doing that in St. Andrews Heights only because the market there is so high that I can afford to do it. It is not that high here [Bowness]. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011))

The neighbourhoods to the east of Bowness have gentrified largely because the zoning allows for the subdivision of property. The value associated with the neighbourhoods has also contributed to the exorbitant house prices. The potential for inflated profit for developers is increasing outwards from the City Centre, to the point now where Bowness' adjacent neighbour, Montgomery, has seen resurgence in redevelopment (infills). This potential monetary gain will make the available R2 lots in Bowness more valuable because there are fewer of them in the neighbourhood:

So Bowness, the R2 that is here is going to be a lot more valuable because they downzoned a lot of it in 1979. So it is stagnated development because you can't make any money by only building one, so over fifteen years or so it has stagnated the redevelopment only in some of these selected areas, ok. But the better areas, if you want to call them, by the parks and by the river it has stagnated because there is no redevelopment by developers. It is going to evolve into a better bigger homes as Bow Crescent is because you can only build one there, and as those bigger better homes are built then that is going to promote bigger and better homes for redevelopment by developers as well. And the R2 that is here is going to be more valuable because there is less of it than most people think, so it will put demand on the areas that can be developed for redevelopment just like Montgomery. And that's what's going to happen. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Ken Richter is speculating, but the argument is sound and logical. The areas of Bowness that still have R2 zoning have already seen new build redevelopment in the form of semi-detached dwellings (infill duplexes). The area surrounding Bowness High School (particularly North and Northwest of the school) is where much of this, what appears to be, sporadic redevelopment is occurring. From a visual perspective the infill redevelopment seems to be sporadic; but the combination of an expanding city, changing wants and needs of Calgarians (reduced commute times for example), and the scarcity brought about by the downzoning of property in Bowness has ensured that the remaining R2 lots are in the eyes of developers and investors:

Well like the last investor. He is not from the area [Bowness], and I sold him three lots [R2] with little houses on them for like \$220,000. I explained exactly this reasoning [potential for increased value for R2 lots] and he bought three this year. Just for that simple reason. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Ken Richter mentions that the R1 lots that cannot be subdivided will be host to bigger more expensive homes in the future. These lots have a similar likeness to lots in the Bow Crescent area, and with the increased attention by developers in the adjacent R2

area, the R1 lots are becoming attractive for developers. Some lots have even had replacement redevelopment occur. Land prices in Bowness have increased as gentrification has taken hold, so the initial costs for developers have gone up over the past few years. Steve mentioned in our discussion that since land in Bowness is more expensive now, the prices for redeveloped property will be higher. The increased prices ensure that only wealthier households will be buying. The result will be increased class turnover in these areas of Bowness.

The class turnover is already apparent in the neighbourhood, from the built environment to the lifestyles of the new population:

There is in other areas we are watching, particularly, so if you go north up 77th street and going into any of those little communities, those little streets in there, you will see a mix of development happening. And wherever there's a brand new property, particularly duplex or that kind of thing, you can rest assured that that's been built on what used to be one little house. So the density is higher because it is now two families on the same lot, but the kind of nature of that family is different and the income level is considerably different too. And you can just walk along and pick them out. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Speaking with Roweena Cromwell (Bowness resident) and Derek Podlubny (BCA) in the neighbourhood, Bowness as a community has a good level of volunteerism. Residents are willing to participate in neighbourhood events, even though they may be pressed for time. The willingness to participate in neighbourhood events, as well as support local businesses, seems to be less amongst the middle and upper class residents, who are mostly newcomers. Granted, the reason for the resurgence of the BCA was due to younger newcomers to Bowness (see below), but there seems to be a decrease in neighbourhood participation amongst the majority of the new residents, particularly along

、
Bow Crescent. The class turnover in Bowness could be a threat to the social cohesion that has characterized Bowness for so long.

5.5 – Neighbourhood Activism

Neighbourhood activism as well as intimate knowledge of City of Calgary planning practices amongst Bowness residents has limited the scope of gentrification. The neighbourhood activism present in Bowness is more holistic in the sense that there is no singular agenda, nor is it entirely focused on the built environment, which tends to be the norm in Calgary. In fact, it was the self-interested agendas of key members of the BCA that led to its dissolution and plunge into receivership, but activism amongst Bowness residents still remained strong. Activists brought the BCA back from the dead, and the willingness to fight for a holistic vision for Bowness remains.

Bowness Community Association

The current BCA has been an organization since 2007, but as an entity it existed prior to that. In 2004, the BCA went into receivership due to unethical practices, namely the mismanagement of funds by certain individuals. Blatant personal agendas and the coercion of others (reminiscent of redevelopment visions in the GFLA) were also reasons for the BCA's demise. Unhappy with the progression of the BCA in regards to development issues, a group of neighbourhood residents converged and created the Society of Bowness Residents (SBR) approximately eight years prior to the liquidation of the BCA. The City of Calgary relies on community associations to comment and provide advice on development issues in their respective communities, so SBR filled the void left by the BCA. Once the BCA went into receivership, SBR's role increased:

Well, let me kind of connect the Society of Bowness Residents into the community association and I think you will see where we are going with that. The Society of Bowness Residents had been set up in the late 90s, '96 or '97, to look at issues around, particularly around built environment development going on in the community, although their mandate was a bit broader than that. So, you know, built environment and also included not just buildings but traffic, transportation, roads, that kind of stuff. So, I'm not real clear on the reasons for doing that, but there was some unhappiness about what was going on in terms of responsibly responding to those kinds of issues on the part of the then community association. So, that society was actually large and active and had credible voice. There were a lot of homeowners involved, and there were quite a few people that are engineers, geologists, some architects, so there was a level of expertise. And at the time that I got involved and then shortly thereafter the community association went under the society ended up taking on a much larger role. I mean we became the go to group for anything that a community association might have taken on. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The SBR became the watchdog group on development issues, and essentially the resistance to gentrification in Bowness. The old structure of the BCA had allowed for gentrification to occur, but not necessarily because they were pro-gentrification. Rather, the prior BCA was too narrowly focused rather than holistic in vision:

No, I think that would be irresponsible if I would be speculating that [BCA's old structure allowing gentrification in Bowness]. I would, I think if anything it allowed it because they were a little bit oblivious. There wasn't a whole lot of big picture. And the focus at that time was more about preventing things that were being proposed for the area like a plastics recycling facility, so there was a tendency to look at those kinds of issues or to focus purely on environmental issues. So the escarpment has not been destroyed the way it could have been anytime over the last ten or fifteen years because there was such a focus on that kind of thing. But, there wasn't much big picture thinking going on. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Derek Podlubny (Bowness Community Association President), wanting to volunteer for the BCA as a new Bowness resident, discovered that a community association was non-existent. He took it upon himself with some help from other Bowness residents to get the

BCA up and running again. The City of Calgary then handed control of the BCA back to Bowness residents in 2007.

Although the group that brought the BCA back to the neighbourhood has comprised of younger newcomers to Bowness, the SBR was impressed with their more holistic view. The resident members of SBR believed that the new BCA had a similar vision and integrity that they shared. Since the BCA went into receivership in 2004, the new volunteers had to reconstruct the entire organization. Given this venture, the BCA has become more representative of its community than other community associations in the city:

Because we had to re-create the Bowness Community Association, there was a core of people that worked very hard at engaging the community, because they had to acquire critical mass and it took a period of about two years, and some present board members they were the pioneers that were meeting regularly. It was just a small core and it took time for that core to actually get through the critical mass point and there is now more community engagement.” (Joe Leizerowics, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 29 April 2011)

To give the BCA a larger voice, the SBR merged with the organization and became the CA’s Planning and Development Committee (PDC). The mandates of PDC mirror the former SBR:

I’m not sure how the Society was run before I got on the Executive because I got lumped into the Executive pretty darn quick. But there was always an attempt to involve, say there’s a development permit in your neighbourhood, there was always an attempt to go out and talk to neighbours on either side, neighbours across the street, neighbours that are at the back of the alley, to invite all of them including the applicant to meetings to discuss their permit, to bring issues up. And then we would be doing the research on how does it fit the bylaws, because you know the concept was to support the ARP and the bylaws. So, sometimes we would hear things that we really didn’t want to hear as in that we all had our own opinions but. So that’s the kind of thing that we brought to the BCA and found a really welcoming environment for that. (Niki Smyth, Bowness

Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Since the merging of the two groups, PDC members have become BCA board members and with their inclusion the depth of experience involved with the BCA increased.

Rather than a one directional vision, the inclusion of so many perspectives has created a more democratic approach to decision-making:

We're not all on the same page with what's going on, but the most valuable part of all of this is that the atmosphere of integrity and respect is so strong that people are willing to listen to each other and consider ideas that they maybe hadn't considered before. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

This more inclusionary approach adopted in Bowness runs counter to redevelopment visions and practices in the GFLA, where the area's BRZ and its allies (community associations included) have successfully pushed a redevelopment scheme with little discussion and no alternatives (see Chapter Five and Six). The GFLA's BRZ board and its Executive Director have convinced the public to follow its vision, rather than forging a consensus with all the communities in the area. Granted, there are concerns around consensus building in Bowness as well (see below). The PDC has brought a clearer understanding of planning legislation to the BCA, and has gone toe to toe with the City of Calgary and developers on how Bowness should move forward. Plan relaxations have been their primary target.

Contesting Redevelopment; Lessons from Greenbriar

Presently, there is no strategic redevelopment plan specifically focused on Bowness, unlike the GFLA. The current ARP for the neighbourhood and the City of Calgary's MDP are used as guidelines for future development. The PDC understands the

ARP and MDP quite well, and has taken the City of Calgary and developers to task on plan relaxations for quite some time. This effort has slowed the pace of gentrification, and has even substantially slowed a redevelopment scheme for Canada Olympic Park (COP) and the adjacent areas. The role of the City of Calgary's public engagement strategies have also been at the forefront of the BCA's challenges.

The BCA has undergone a confrontation with the City of Calgary and developer interests over the land use amendments and (re)development of COP lands and the community of Greenbriar (which is separated from COP by the Trans Canada Highway). The majority of Greenbriar is undeveloped. According to Niki Smyth (PDC), to support their ambitious plans the Winter Sport Institute (WinSport) has sold off chunks of its land, which was then slated for big box development.³⁹ Incidentally, the plans (which were developed without community input) contradict the Bowness ARP and the City of Calgary's MDP. Understanding the issue at hand, the BCA confronted the City of Calgary and eventually the plans were shelved.

Through the interview process, it was made apparent that the City of Calgary uses significant discretion when implementing plans, particularly the Bowness ARP and the most recent MDP. The previous chapter outlined the ironies of the MDP. There is very little explanation as to how the MDP will be implemented and how contradictions with ARPs will be resolved:

And as a matter of fact it was quite interesting because one of the fellows was quite high up in the hierarchy of city planning mentioned that it is the MDP for sure that is driving what we are proposing for Greenbriar. So, it is quite surprising that that was said because subsequently we have gone back to the MDP and said ok these are the specific MDP issues and recommendations that

³⁹ WinSport, formally known as Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA), is the umbrella organization that manages and operates COP.

we think are not being observed. So, we stand to be educated. We would like to be educated. Tell us how the MDP drives this. For example, one of the things that was being proposed is 15,000 square metres of retail plus 40,000 square metres of office space, and there is no residential that is being put in place that makes this a complete community; in other words contrary to what a complete community that the MDP is advocating. How do we reconcile these things? How do you reconcile explaining what you are doing with explaining what the MDP is recommending? And there are contradictions. Not only this one, but there are many many [sic] contradictions. Moreover, what is being proposed not only contradicts the MDP... Even in amending section 7A, it leaves contradictions in place with other sections that they haven't even looked at. For example, section 8 that deals with retail in here is not being amended. And if you leave it as it is, it contradicts what they are trying to do in Greenbriar. So, there is a very disjointed way of looking at things and a very imprecise way of expressing it. (Joe Leizerowics, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 29 April 2011)

The City of Calgary also works directly with developers in the absence of neighbourhood participation. For example, the City of Calgary (2011a) outlines that Greenbriar shall have no more than 19,500 square metres of retail in the total area, but when the redevelopment plan for Greenbriar came to the BCA for recommendations it was apparent that the City of Calgary worked directly with a developer (Melcor) to ensure that the total retail allowance was targeted for one cell (parcel):

So, we are discussing an amendment to this document that will serve one specific developer. And the other thing that we are objecting, you will be interested to hear this. If you read the land use designation amendment, if you read the ARP amendment, it says expressly in there that there shall be 19,500 square metres of retail space in this cell, and further along in the document it says that this entire Greenbriar study area, which is this entire section here that includes the trailer park, shall have no more than 19,500 square metres of retail space. In other words, everything retail has been absorbed by one developer and the document now entrenches in a bylaw that there shall be no more of that. It will be exactly 19,500. In other words, this guy comes along, what kind of complete community do you develop when there is no retail in there. (Joe Leizerowics, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 29 April 2011)

At the time of the discussion with Joe, the present ARP did not preclude these local retail uses but the proposed ARP (which was approved in May 2011) accounted for the land uses. The BCA was exasperated with the City of Calgary:

In its response to concerns raised by the BCA regarding the use of an ARP amendment to restrict retail space to one developer in an area with exclusion of others, the Administration's report does not distinguish between the current ARP and the proposed ARP.

Specifically, the Administration states that ***"The Bowness ARP does not preclude local retail uses being developed on other sites within Greenbriar."***

While it is true that the current Bowness ARP does not preclude local retail uses being developed in other sites within Greenbriar, the wording in the new proposed Bowness ARP explicitly allocates a total of 19,500 m² of retail space to the developer of Cell 3 (Melcor) and limits the entire Greenbriar Study area (which also includes the developer of Cell 1 (Parkside Holdings) and Cell 2 (Greenwood Village) to exactly the same 19,500 m² of retail space. We refer you to 25P2011, Commercial Core, Items 15 through 33.

The Administration has ignored this concern in its response. (BCA 2011, 2, original emphasis)

Joe stated that the ARP is not intended to be a restrictive document, but rather recommends the diffusing of retail throughout Greenbriar rather than concentrating it in one cell. This type of retail development contributes to a complete community, which the MDP strongly advocates. Yet, it is clear that the redevelopment plan proposed by Melcor for Greenbriar was to be concentrated big box development, which is contrary to what the MDP advocates (even though it was explained that the MDP guided the redevelopment plan for Greenbriar):

The Administration states: ***"The land use amendment application also proposes office uses, in line with the MDP policy to promote a positive jobs and housing balance."***

It appears to us that the Municipal Development Plan is being incorrectly used and interpreted to justify current actions.

The total proposed office space of 39,500 m², in conjunction with retail core space of 19,500 m² concentrated in the same cell, is substantial and will create regional traffic that is in direct contradiction to item 12 in the Commercial section of the current ARP, and to item 11 in the proposed ARP, which specifically state:

“Commercial uses shall be community-oriented. Commercial uses that are oriented to a regional population shall not be allowed.”

We remind all, that this policy was introduced because of the restriction of a single point of access to the Greenbriar area, restriction that will not be removed by a future Bowfort Rd Interchange. The area is land-locked now, and will remain equally land-locked in future. (BCA 2011, 2, original emphasis)

The MDP was watered down during the political negotiations over PlanIt. City Council, it appears, does not even follow the mandates of the weakened MDP:

Even the document that went to council is full of errors. Full of errors that we pointed out. And some of them, it was quite hilarious because they were corrected the very same day and brought to council on that very same day. Oh, and they're sorry for this table here was left as it was when they were proposing changes, so hurriedly they came running on the very same day of the meeting. We're sorry, here is the amendment to this page, but this is just one page of contradictions and errors. So, there is a disjointed approach to city planning and they are waiting until council mandates pretty much anything and we will not plan unless council tells us. So there is a planning department with paid personnel that are supposed to be planning and it appears on the surface that they are waiting for council to mandate certain plans despite the MDP being in existence and telling them that these are the guidelines to the future for the next 30 to 60 years for Calgary, they don't seem to be incorporating those mandates. (Joe Leizerowics, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 29 April 2011)

Neither Melcor nor WinSport can progress past the first phase of their plans unless a grade separated interchange is constructed at Bowfort Road and the Trans Canada Highway. The Greenbriar community has been against the interchange for quite

some time. The BCA believes that there is a hidden agenda involving the City of Calgary and these two developers, and has substantial evidence to support its claim.

An amendment to the Bowness ARP, section 7A (mentioned above), was pushed through City Council by Melcor:

Melcor was able to push through an amendment of Section 7A of the Bowness ARP that allows for a density and a type of regional commercial development that was not envisioned in the original ARP. The original ARP Greenbriar section was written in 2007 and so was fairly recent and was based on Plan It Calgary. At the public hearing before Council they did not accept our arguments that the amendments did not create a 'whole community' as described in the Municipal Development Plan. It's my personal belief that there wasn't enough strength on Council in 2011 to vote against Melcor, one of the city's major developers. We did not lobby members of Council prior to the hearing, and we were the only presenters. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The BCA were the only presenters at the public hearing concerning the Melcor development, and the argument that Melcor's proposal did not represent a "complete community" was ignored. The land use amendments were passed. The interchange was scheduled for construction in 2013, but the designs were sent back for revisions and it does not look like anything will begin until 2015. The BCA hopes that with funding priorities the interchange will not even get off the ground.

The BCA believes that WinSport and the City of Calgary have worked together to alter land use to favour WinSport over the wants and needs of Bowness residents.⁴⁰

Facing financial difficulties, WinSport wished to alter the City of Calgary land use bylaw to redevelop COP and adjacent lands. In 2005, an area structure plan (ASP) was adopted

⁴⁰ There have been two proposals presented at council over the redevelopment of Greenbriar and COP. Melcor's motion was passed, and the BCA were only presenters at the public hearing. The WinSport motion was indefinitely stalled due to lobbying efforts of the BCA. Due to these two proposals, the BCA believes that WinSport and Melcor are competing against each other.

after a three year engagement process. The wishes of WinSport would completely negate the ASP (BCA 2012). The vision for the area, according to the ASP, was integration with the adjacent communities and the protection of the environmentally significant area. According to Niki Smyth, the land use amendment sponsored by WinSport would create big box retail on the eastern slope of COP lands as well as two 14-storey hotel structures on the western portions of the area.⁴¹

The public engagement process for the WinSport proposal was incredibly passive and top down. When City Council made its initial recommendation on the WinSport proposal, there was no open house or opportunity for the public to provide input or suggest alternatives (BCA 2012). An amended version was created but the public was only made aware shortly before an October 2011 open house. Access to the document was forbidden until it was posted to the City of Calgary website (BCA 2012). As with standard City of Calgary open house practice, all information was presented on boards and easels. The only way that residents could understand the information was if they had a planning background (BCA 2012). The information was presented as a completed project, rather than a project in its initial stages (BCA 2012). The BCA argued that this band-aid solution to the financial woes of WinSport should not sacrifice one of Calgary's environmentally sensitive and visually important sites. It has "great difficulty

⁴¹ "The height limitation on sites 3 & 5 in the original ASP was 3 stories and is now being proposed to a maximum of 50 metres (14 stories). This is not visually compatible with the area, nor is it sensitive to migratory bird routes. Should the land-use designation be approved, we request that the building height be restricted to the maximum of 20 metres associated with other sites on the property...The current ASP retail commercial use in the Commercial Core is limited to "a maximum of 11,100 square metres and no single commercial retail unit shall occupy more than 1,400 sq. metres of gross floor area.' The amendments expand the retail and service uses by a magnitude of nearly 4 times, and an increase for the one large format retail use by approximately 10.5 times. The argument that a Regional Commercial Centre will serve a need in the area has no merit in the context of the proposals for commercial development at Greenbriar and along the TransCanada west of Stoney Trail." (BCA 2012, 4-5)

understanding why so much time and money is invested in creating planning policies like ASPs only to have them ignored. Our hope is to cooperate and participate to the best of our abilities as partners in planned growth, not to be placed in a confrontational situation where we are defending a City-generated policy document to the City” (BCA 2012, 9).

The BCA successfully appealed to council and lobbied five aldermen prior to the public hearing in June 2012 and the amendments were turned down.

The work of the BCA exemplifies what a group of concerned citizens can accomplish. Their activism has not only been centred on the redevelopment of COP, they have also actively confronted the development industry and the City of Calgary over gentrification in Bowness. The City of Calgary has also ignored municipal plans for development in the neighbourhood, to the benefit of developers.

5.6 – Gentrification

The gentrification occurring in Bowness is not reflective of the designs of neighbourhood residents but of the relationship between the development industry and the City of Calgary. Gentrification efforts in Bowness have been almost entirely residential in focus. The commercial corridors (there are three) are too small and are separated enough that a cohesive commercial development strategy is almost impossible. There has been some revitalization along the “main street” area in Bowness, which incidentally is adjacent to the focus of gentrification in the neighbourhood: Bow Crescent. Various structures and changing tastes have allowed gentrification to infiltrate the neighbourhood, but simultaneously neighbourhood activism based in social cohesion is limited its scope.

Affordability and Changing Tastes

There exists a direct relationship between suburbanization and gentrification (see Smith 1996).⁴² Although some inner-city Calgary neighbourhoods have consistently been wealthy, such as Mount Royal, other areas are now witnessing incredibly inflated housing costs. As the trajectory of rising costs has moved west from the City Centre, neighbourhoods such as Bowness and Montgomery are now feeling the pressure. Montgomery has witnessed increased residential redevelopment (infill) due to the zoning that exists in the neighbourhood. This movement of rising costs is related to the rent gap theory as well as the land value valley created by the evolution of the ground rent surface (Smith 1996). Although Bowness is an established suburb, the gentrification occurring in adjacent Calgary inner-city neighbourhoods (Montgomery, Parkdale, West Hillhurst, etc) has changed both the designation of the area as well as the perception.⁴³ Although multi-million dollar homes have been built in the neighbourhood, the social-structure that existed prior to gentrification is still largely intact. As Calgary has expanded, the value of property in Bowness has influenced the middle and upper classes to invest in the area. Oil industry executives have purchased or built large homes along Bow Crescent and an incoming “new middle class” has been attracted to Bowness due to the value they see in the area. This value is both in monetary form as well as class taste. The combination of production and consumption forces is changing the socio-spatial structure of Bowness.

There is no question that inner-city Calgary is an expensive area in which to purchase real estate, and there has been substantial research focused on why inner-city

⁴² See Chapter One

⁴³ Ken Richter stated in our discussion that Bowness is changing from blue collar to more of an inner city type.

areas are so expensive in the North American context. There is substantial profit to be made by developers in Northwest inner-city Calgary, and many have done so due to the subdivision allowed on large lots in the city. This is key to why neighbourhoods such as West Hillhurst and Parkdale have exploded with million dollar infills. These drastically increased housing prices increase the land values in adjacent spaces. Montgomery is now witnessing similar infill redevelopment, which is then spilling over into Bowness. The rough and tumble blue collar/biker image of Bowness is being changed to reflect the tastes of the executive and professional classes of inner-city neighbourhoods to the East of the area:

Well the perception is changing from blue collar, small town, to more inner-city type people. And that relates to real estate, so as the blue collar slowly dissipates then you are getting more professionals in here and there is still a broad based real estate portfolio so you get top and bottom end in that. So, you get the \$200,000 to \$2,000,000 so that's so diverse here, but it's changing quite a bit. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Although Ken Richter states that there is still diversity, a social mix if you will, it is also slowly changing:

To some degree, but it is getting more pronounced now...It's been here forever, it is just becoming more as the stigma dissipates from biker and small-town to inner-city that's dissipating, and the Bowness Hotel and the bikers and all that negative stuff, it's dissipating. It's not going to transform over night but it's changing and I can see it changing. And I was thinking about your interview awhile back. I mean we used to have cars parked on front lawns everywhere, and all over the place. And this has changed quite a bit within the last ten years, ten years for sure. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

There is a duality of social and structural forces working hand in hand to gentrify Bowness.

There is no use arguing what came first, the chicken or the egg. There are both production and consumption forces feeding off each other in Bowness to gentrify the neighbourhood. For example, there are international real estate groups that identify areas for real estate investment, and Bowness has been targeted:

Well it's all perception. So the perception has changed. Now, well, it's called Real Estate Investment Network Ring, they have been around forever. I think it is an international, like U.S. and Canada, and they have these meetings monthly, actually my daughter belongs to it now, but they say in their last six months, and it goes through different phases, but Bowness was right up there for rate of return and for dollar value. There's like 300 people that belong to this network in Calgary, and then it has branched out and they put out publications to whatever to invest in different areas. They picked Bowness as one of their areas to invest in for its proximity to downtown to whatever. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Ken Richter did not confirm the group's name, but such a group does exist in Alberta: the Alberta Real Estate Investment Network (AREIN).⁴⁴ According to AREIN (2012), its exclusive membership program educates its members as to where to invest in Canadian real estate and the proper time to focus their attention. Membership allows for networking with real estate experts that then allows the individual to become “experienced, confident and wealthy real estate investor” (AREIN 2012). The website even suggests that members partner with each other to purchase real estate. There has been a concerted effort to capitalize on the potential of Bowness, with some individuals making substantial gains despite the stigma associated with neighbourhood:

Well the stigma was so pronounced about being rough and this and that and whatever, that a lot of investors wouldn't invest, but I have made lots of millionaires including my Grade Eight social teacher, lot's of them by them

⁴⁴ Upon running a search online for Real Estate Investment Network Ring, it was discovered that no such agency exists, at least in that name. Ken Richter was not exactly sure of the name of the organization. However, the online search returned with Alberta Real Estate Investment Network, which has the same function as the organization that he described.

investing in the area and surrounding areas. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

There is a host of developers in Bowness that have tapped into the value of the neighbourhood's property. Their activities have increased investment in Bowness. Much of the value associated with Bowness is derived from the physical environment of the neighbourhood, most notably the Bow River. The closeness to Calgary's City Centre (being the major employment hub of the city) also contributes to investment and redevelopment in the neighbourhood.

The most expensive housing prices in Bowness are along Bow Crescent, particularly along the river side of the street. The inflated costs of the riverside properties have also contributed to rising costs on the opposite side of the street. The value associated with this location is high, especially since some of the most expensive land prices in Calgary are along the Elbow River in Elbow Park:

If you are in the industry and you see what expensive homes go for and the different locations and you compare all around town, depending on your value set, living down here on a large lot on the river is priceless if you are of a certain mindset. You can't replace this. And if you want to put it in city-wide terms, if you want to put this house on Elbow Park or the other fancy neighbourhoods along the Elbow River it would be twice the money. So it is very good value and very high quality. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

When Bow Crescent first caught the eye of developers over a decade ago, the area was considered a risky investment. The land values at that time were far lower than Elbow Park, but the potential profit along Bow Crescent was high enough for investment, despite the nervousness with purchasing land. The fact that Bow Crescent had double R1 lots meant that subdivision could occur, which only increased the potential for profit.

Investment still made developers nervous, even though they argue that the area is now safe from risk:

I think its [Bowness] super safe [for investment]. I have been investing in here for twelve years, but I recently have spent, oh even in the last two years I have spent a couple million dollars in Bowness and I have no problem...I might be more optimistic than the rest, but I think, I mean there's lots of young people establishing themselves here investing in real estate as their primary investment as a young couple. And I think a lot of people are doing that with confidence and I think they are not misguided...I think so yeah [increased safety in investment in Bowness]. I know that ten years ago when I was building a couple nice houses I was a little more nervous, a little more tense, on uncharted waters, but now its charted. People are more; the stigmas down, people know more people who are living here. I think it has traction. I think it is widely perceived more now as a mainstream neighbourhood, not a marginal neighbourhood as it would have been seen as 10-15 years ago. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Given the scarcity of property along Bow Crescent, developers garnered premium prices.

They were able to redevelop property that only a specific class is able to purchase:

Most of my clients are young millionaires, typically. I am 43 years old, so typically my clients are my age or a little bit younger. Large chunk of those are in Oil and Gas. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Along with the upper class home buyers, high end developers themselves have purchased property in Bowness:

But there is actually three or four other high end builders that live on this street...I think one of the owners of Albi Homes, which is a big suburban developer, has purchased and built himself his own palace. It's drawing people from the elites for their own personal, they identify the value, or at least on the river. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

After over a decade of intense redevelopment along Bow Crescent, Bowness has become a more desirable community for the upper class:

What has changed is the style of housing that is being built, particularly along the Crescent. So suddenly it has been identified as a desirable community and

an affordable community. So, if you were going to buy a river front property along the Elbow you would be paying considerably more than you would in Bowness. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The affordability factor of Bowness not only applies to the wealthier classes, but also the middle to upper class that still wants to live closer to downtown. This group has the aspirations of people who can afford a house along Bow Crescent or the adjacent neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification, but cannot afford a multi-million dollar home. Their presence in Bowness still contributes to the gentrification process, even though they are not quite as wealthy as those living in the Bow Crescent area.

The research that has focused on the role of the “new middle class” in regards to gentrification is plentiful (see Butler 1997; Caulfield 1994; Hamnett 2003; Ley 1994 and 2003; Ley and Mills 1993), and this research found similar consumption attributes in the Bowness area. The housing prices in adjacent gentrifying neighbourhoods have reached a level that is beyond the reach of some middle class people, most notably families.

Bowness provides the amenities of the gentrifying neighborhoods, such as West Hillhurst, but with housing prices that are more affordable (other than the Bow Crescent area):

Well what happens is because prices, as you get closer to any inner-city area they exponentially get higher so if they sell and come here it looks like it's a deal and they haven't have lost the amenity as much except for walking to work or something. Like my daughter lives in Montgomery and jogs to work downtown. So the amenities are here compared to the prices that you are getting closer in. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

During the interview process, the amenities associated with Bowness have been repeated continuously. Aesthetic attributes such as the Bow River, parks, trees, bike paths,

closeness to downtown Calgary, and access to the Rocky Mountains were all linked to Bowness as the ideal neighbourhood for Calgarians. Gentrifiers tend to be more politically progressive, ethnically and sexually tolerant, oriented toward leisurely and cultural activities, dual-income earners, etc., but tend to congregate with like-minded individuals in an urban setting (Lees et al. 2008).

Bowness is an established suburb, even though some now consider the neighbourhood inner-city. The majority of the neighbourhood is zoned as R1, so the domiciles are almost entirely single-family. Caulfield (1994) argues that gentrification in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s was a deliberate middle-class rejection of the suburban lifestyle favoured by the generation prior. Caulfield (1994) argues that the new middle class returned to the city because they did not desire the oppressive nature of suburban development. As gentrification has taken hold of inner-city Calgary, established suburbs have now become its new target, and gentrifiers that are moving into these neighbourhoods (such as Bowness) reject the suburban lifestyle (see Caulfield 1994) but simultaneously desire the small detached domicile and small-town setting:

For me it's about the community. It's about, you know, I don't want to be in a big box kind of neighbourhood. I like an old school, small neighbourhood feel, small town feel sort of thing. I know all my neighbours. I love that. I think it is a little bit of a, you know, call it old school. I like to live in an old school environment. I like to live in a park like setting as well, where the homes are smaller. It is all we really need. We don't need a four story 6,000 square foot home for a couple people. It is just about the, for me, it's just about the community, like getting people involved and just knowing your neighbours. Being safe in the community just by looking out for each other and that sort of thing, right. (Derek Podlubny, President – Bowness Community Association, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 26 November 2011)

The new middle class that is moving to Bowness still wants the amenities of neighbourhoods such as West Hillhurst, but not necessarily the density of those gentrifying neighbourhoods (which is also largely due to cost):

Well compared to Hillhurst it's more of just a straight luxury infill neighbourhood, whereas here, the redevelopment I am doing there is a lot of bungalows and old homes that are being fixed up, you know, brought up to more current standards and stuff I am not doing but I see in the neighbourhood. So it is definitely I think socioeconomically apart from this street, the redevelopment is a lower income bracket, a lower socioeconomic group overall in the neighbourhood. Even the redevelopment, some of them are smaller scale, but they are people who want the same things but they wouldn't live in Hillhurst because they don't want to pay the price but they also don't want the density. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

The small-town atmosphere of knowing who your neighbours are as well as community participation is a draw for these new gentrifiers. With relative ease of access to rural Alberta and the Rocky Mountains, Bowness also attracts those who enjoy the outdoors and still want a garage and front lawn:

There is still a perceived value the zoning historically so most of the older homes here are 50s vintage and that early phase of suburban development, so they are on larger lots so it's just now kind of being considered inner city. We are kind of on the cusp of that circle wherever they draw that. Location to the mountains and large lots. I think that is what is drawing people. Double garage, so anyone who has a truck and boat. It has drawn a group of people that have, it's drawing, in my opinion, it is drawing what I call the granola culture. It's people that want to live down here are a little more interested in outdoors, parks, skiing, and they want a yard, they want a garage, they want a place to park their boat or their truck, ATV, or whatever. I think it [redevelopment in Bowness] is drawing a group of people who are interested in those dynamics. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

The resurgence along Bow Crescent beginning over a decade ago has changed the perception of Bowness. The neighbourhood has attracted both capital and people, and is now considered a more affordable alternative to inner-city living. The drastically increased housing prices along Bow Crescent and the incoming new middle class are now

putting economic pressure on Bowness' vulnerable population, particularly seniors. The side effects of the gentrification process are now starting to disrupt the social cohesion of the neighbourhood.

Displacement and Economic Pressure

Bowness has had a steady population for decades, and many are multi-generational. Families are created, and sons and daughters return to continue the line of Bownesians. During the interview process, I spoke with a father and daughter who lived side by side along Bow Crescent.⁴⁵ They were not inhabitants of multi-million dollar homes, and the father had moved back to Bowness from another suburban neighbourhood in Calgary. The memories of his childhood spent in Bowness attracted him back to the neighbourhood. Once his elderly neighbour could no longer maintain his property properly, he purchased the land and his daughter moved in beside him as a tenant. His daughter, after some time, purchased the home and is now raising a family of her own. This scenario of adults returning to their childhood neighbourhoods played out in the many interviews I conducted with Bownesians, and it seems to be one of pride amongst neighbourhood residents (a pride that cannot be captured by the built environment). This characteristic of small-town pride is one that Bowness residents, at least the majority, want to retain. The rising housing costs that have now beset Bowness may threaten the neighbourhood.

Bowness has a comparably higher vulnerable population than most Calgary neighbourhoods and the numbers have been a constant over the years:

⁴⁵ Due to privacy reasons, these two individuals cannot be identified. The father elected to remain identified, and the daughter elected to remain anonymous (pseudonym).

Ok so there are a couple statistics that have remained consistent over decades. One of them is that there is a high level of rental property in the area, and the other is there's, after having that whole discussion on asset based and strength based, there is a whole, statistically there's more seniors, there's more low income families, there's more single-parent families, and there's more rental properties than there are relative to other communities in the city. I think if you took those statistics and moved them to another city like Vancouver or Montreal they wouldn't be unusual at all. They are only unusual in Calgary. And if you took them to New York, we would actually be under the radar because rental properties, for instance, are common in New York. It is unusual for people to own their homes there. There isn't space to do it. So what makes it unusual in this area is that it doesn't reflect what I would consider the general Calgary attitude towards this disregard for just covering up valuable land. You know, just expanding and expanding and doing whatever. Bowness has had a consistent level of population for decades. It kind of jumped in the 30s, jumped in the 40s right after the war in the 50s and then leveled out again, and then it jumped again in the 80s and then it has stayed consistent since then. So it is kind of found its balance point. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

According to City of Calgary (2012x), persons in low-income households accounted for 24.1 percent of the population in 2000, and that number rose to 25.5 percent in 2005. The city of Calgary averages were 14.9 percent and 14.2 percent respectively. Bownesians aged 55 or older accounted for 25.3 percent of the population in 2011, while for the city of Calgary this age group accounted for 20.1 percent (City of Calgary 2012x).⁴⁶ Of the senior's population Bowness in 2006, 39.6 percent lived alone. In the city of Calgary, the percentage of seniors living alone was 26.1 percent in 2006 (City of Calgary 2012x). In 2006, Bowness had 37.1 percent lone parent families, while the city of Calgary had 23.5 percent (City of Calgary 2012x). In 2006, renters accounted for 47.3 percent of Bowness population, whereas the city of Calgary is comprised of approximately 27 percent renters. Of those tenant-occupied households in Bowness, 42.1 percent spend more than 30

⁴⁶ Ages 55 and older are represented because this is the group that can be members of the Bowness Seniors Centre.

percent of their household income on shelter (City of Calgary 2012x). Persons with disabilities accounted for 21.4 percent of Bowness' population in 2006, where as in Calgary the number was 16.3 percent. These populations are feeling the pressure from the drastically increasing housing prices in the neighbourhood.

The most affected by the gentrification in Bowness are the senior's population, and displacement is not the only hardship faced. As Bownesians get older, it becomes more difficult for them to maintain their property. Understanding that they need less responsibility, seniors will sell their homes and move to retirement villages, in with family members, etc. Coincidentally, housing prices peaked in the late 2000s in Calgary, and many seniors took advantage of inflated profit they could receive from their homes:

Some of the older people that live along here, well anywhere, but especially along here [Bow Crescent area] the taxes went up, the prices went up, they'd been there since the 50s and 60s, they said 'I am cashing in, I can get a million bucks for my place' or whatever. A lot of people did cash in, but it was mostly due to the age of the people and the natural age of the area because a lot of people moved here in the 50s and 60s. So, they had been here for 40 or 50 years so when the time is right, I guess when prices peaked, they had to take advantage of it. And no different than any other area, older area...It wasn't because 'it was booming I'm going to sell my house.' No, I think it was just the period of time and there wasn't exponentially a bunch of seniors calling me selling their house because there was a boom on. I think that they would say they would look back and go 'Oh, so and so sold and it sure was a good time' but that wasn't because it was booming. Most of those people. And there is this stat, it was about ten years ago, the City had, Bowness was one of the highest per capita in Calgary with their homes paid for. And like my parents bought a lot for \$500 in Montgomery and built a house, so those people who had been there since the 50s and 60s their houses were long paid for and whether they cashed in on the boom or not it wasn't just a bunch of people saying 'oh it's booming now.' I think it was just natural time. This year I have sold to lots of people. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

Many of these seniors had purchased their homes at much lower rates (including inflation) than what they received when they sold their homes. The mortgages on their

homes were completely paid. The boom definitely influenced their decision, even though they were getting to an age when maintaining a house was becoming more of a burden. It was an opportunistic time for some seniors to sell their property:

I don't think that there has been a lot of displacement. I think people have moved on and I think the redevelopment was really opportunistic on those people moving on. I don't think they've been necessarily moved out so much as this guy I bought the property from doesn't even live in the country. You've got somebody who turns over a rental, and elderly person is leaving their home, it's not, I don't think, there may be situations of displacement but I don't think it's a big factor. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Although there might be some replacement occurring in Bowness, displacement has been more of a significant factor for the changeover occurring in the neighbourhood. There are various types of displacement other than direct.

The redevelopment of property in Bowness, most notably along Bow Crescent, has increased the property taxes in the neighbourhood. This has placed significant pressure on seniors, largely because they are on a fixed income. Some seniors have been directly displaced because they simply cannot afford the increase in property taxes:

Changes in [Bowness]? For our seniors concerned, a lot of them have sold their houses because they can't afford to stay here...Some of the things that maybe happening for some of the seniors too is there are Bow Crescent, that area, million dollar homes. It doesn't help our tax. I live at the far West end of Bowness and we have had some million dollar homes built. That impacts on us who do not have the million dollars because if they are sold around July 1st in the year our taxes in that whole range/are go up. So, that's had an impact on why seniors haven't been able to stay in their homes because of the taxes have really gone up. (Sheila Clayden, President – Bowness Seniors Centre, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 16 February 2011)

Yes, definitely [seniors selling their homes due to higher taxes]...I think it is because it has been exaggerated [along Bow Crescent], if you go from \$3,000 to \$5,000 over a five year period for taxes that's a lot, and when you are on a fixed income that makes the decision a lot easier. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)

A \$2,000 increase in property tax over a five-year period would be an outrage for most people, but for a senior on a fixed income it is disastrous. Seniors that have been able to stay in their homes despite the increased property taxes then face a whole new set of economic pressures and displacement. Calgary residents are able to challenge the assessments on their property, but for seniors it may be more difficult and stressful of an undertaking:

I know that you can challenge it and do all that kind of stuff, but it takes time and effort and stress. Stress, yeah! Even to go and take your income tax form in and say 'I don't think this is right' what you go through at development assessment is very stressful. (Sheila Clayden, President – Bowness Seniors Centre, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 16 February 2011)

Often to stay in Bowness despite the increased property taxes, seniors will have to budget their spending much more rigorously. Their budgets for food, transportation, vacations, etc drop significantly. Budgets are even more constrained if a spouse dies, and unforeseen circumstances (simply due to rising housing costs) emplace unbearable pressure on people:

When a spouse dies and then there's the single person left. That impacts because the pension and incomes that they were getting drops significantly but their costs are still the same. Ok yeah, few less groceries but probably the gas, light and water there isn't a significant drop in what two people have compared to just one. So that impacts on a community too... Well you see when a spouse dies they make it part of the old age pension, well the old age pension goes up a bit from what a single person is but not to the double of what two of them were getting. And the same depending on what they have done with their CPP. CPP can be leveled out so that both spouses get an equal amount, but some people don't do that. And the money that put away 10, 15, 20 years ago and thought we were leaving ourselves with plenty to live on and where cost of living has gone. Like I have had one lady say to me at one point 'You know, I hope my husband doesn't know where things have gone' because he had thought that he had everything set up so she could have a good life the same they always had and because of high prices and economics she's not. She's not able to have it now and so interests rates well the way they are like you get one cent a month on a

savings account. (Sheila Clayden, President – Bowness Seniors Centre, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 16 February 2011)

There are very few “aging in place” facilities in Bowness, so if a senior sells their home or if they are displaced they will have to leave the social networks that they have forged throughout their lives behind. For those who have been able to sell their homes, the dropping interest rates mean that the income received off selling their property has decreased over time. However, their present living costs still rise:

I think a lack of income, dropping interest rates, yeah a lot of them have felt the pressure but as I was saying where do they go? We lose people from this area because we don't have transitional housing or to step out of your own home into a smaller place, it doesn't exist. And not having a lodge our people are moving to a lodge and then they are out of this area. We have a lot of people up in Arbor Lake...because there isn't anywhere else, like there is nothing within our valley...because they could no longer care for their home or their husband dies and they need to have assisted living, simply meals. They are not nursing homes but lodge, you know the difference in phases of care so that they want to be where they can have their meals provided...If they can sell their home at a good price, like during the more boom times...it influenced them yeah, but now that housing has gone down but the cost in the lodges, the really nice lodges has stayed static or gone up so a couple is looking for \$3000 or more per month to live in these lodges. If you are in your 70s and early 80s you have some fear of selling too soon and not. I know of two people who sold, went into one of the lodges and then found with no interest it looks like you get \$300,000 to 400,000 for your home and all of a sudden it [interest] is not there and so they found they had to come back and live with family or find. (Sheila Clayden, President – Bowness Seniors Centre, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 16 February 2011)

Some seniors are finding themselves being displaced several times, and many cannot then afford to even move back to Bowness because of rising costs.

Although developers may not perceive displacement occurring, the outcome produces exclusionary displacement in several forms. Some may consider an aging population selling their homes to a younger population as a natural turnover, but when the outcome is the building of multi-million dollar homes it ensures that only a select

population will be able to “replace” the particular space. When lower income populations are unable to access property due to gentrification, indirect displacement occurs in the form of “price shadowing” (Lees et al. 2008). The exclusion of lower income populations in Bowness, which is already largely a blue-collar neighbourhood, means that over time the upper classes can take control of the social apparatus of Bowness. Sociocultural displacement will be most obvious in Bowness through the changing structure of the any future BCA boards. It was even mentioned during the interview process that the first BCA board after the institution’s receivership was comprised largely from homeowners along Bow Crescent:

I’d say that they’re primarily homeowners. The original board, we are on the second round now because we just re-elected in October, I would say a lot of them were the upper class of Bowness, they all live in Bow Crescent. Five homeowners on Bow Crescent, right...so the original board when we all came to the table I think there were five out of the seven that lived on Bow Crescent (Michelle Dice, Executive Director – Bowness Community Association, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 02 May 2011)

Although younger volunteer board members may have the community at heart, their actions can slowly displace voices within the community simply by their actions with the BCA. Davidson and Lees (2005) state that indirect forms of displacement can be more successful in disrupting and destroying the social cohesion of a neighbourhood simply because the process can avoid protections, such as state legislation (planning and rent control for example), for lower income populations. Currently, there is little to no protection against displacement through Alberta legislation, which means that Bowness might find itself in a precarious position as the year’s progress.

With such a high rental stock in the neighbourhood, the redevelopment that Bowness is enduring is threatening the living situations of tenants. As the quotation

from Ken Richter stated above, many of the apartments that existed within and near to the Golden Triangle were targeted for condo conversion during the last boom. These rental accommodations housed much of Bowness' lower income populations. As shown in Chapter 03, affordable rental accommodation in Calgary is continually lost due to condo conversions throughout the city (see Miller and Smart 2011). Once their children grew up and moved out, many parents and grandparents turned their houses into rental accommodation. Much of this property is then sold, and the rentals are turned over to homeownership:

I would say rather that there has been, that transition that happens in a community that has an aging population that there's still grandparents/parents and children living here but for the most part there has been kind of a Diaspora. Kids that grew up in Bowness have left, but so their parents are still here. Their grandparents are still here...And what has been happening is that some of that stuff is replacing rental property into homeowner property, which is kind of interesting. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Many of these rental accommodations are illegitimate secondary suites, which provide affordable housing for many Calgarians. Unfortunately, these rental accommodations are targeted by developers and the result is displacement of tenants:

Illegitimate secondary suites are all over the place, and sadly they are the ones that I am knocking down and I am actually shortening the inventory. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Bowness has a comparably higher percentage of single-parent households, and the gentrification process in the neighbourhood is significantly difficult for this population. Often, single-parents will live with their own parents at a reduced rental rate or even no room and board at all. If the homeowners (parents) decide to sell the property, the single-parent may all of a sudden face displacement:

Well, what I have heard and have experience in several of our projects would be young families who are living in their parents' houses, either concurrently or after the parents move. It's not like they're renting or paying room and board so whatever happens to the house involves them too. So, if the parents, like I know of one case where the parents sold up and the single mom and her four kids, right, all of a sudden have to find somewhere where they would pay much higher rent. Because there is a really high percentage of single parents in Bowness compared to other communities as well, one of the highest in Calgary. (Iris Spurrell, United Way of Calgary and Area, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 22 October 2011)

Not only will the single-parents find it difficult to obtain suitable accommodations once they are displaced, it will be equally difficult to find the services, such as daycare, that help the support their family.

During the interview process, it was explained to me that the neighbourhood is viewed as a community in need. Bownesians find this designation an insult. They believe that the situation of Bowness is not one of need, but is one of pride that has been created by the occurrences in the community. The mix of populations, which existed before the mix caused by gentrification, was something that made the neighbourhood strong. The redevelopment efforts and subsequent displacement is seen as a threat to what Bownesians have built for themselves.

Contesting Gentrification

To the chagrin of developers and real estate agents in Bowness, the PDC has actively resisted gentrification efforts in the neighbourhood. Although the downzoning efforts spawned by watchdog groups in the past directly contributed to gentrification in the neighbourhood today, present efforts by the PDC have limited the scope of the process. The redevelopment along Bow Crescent, as well as the other areas mentioned above, is generally more representative of City of Calgary decisions rather than the wants

and needs of the community. As shown above, the City of Calgary uses its discretion quite liberally when interpreting municipal plans and this relaxation is also a direct contributor to gentrification in Bowness. The PDC has significantly pushed back against the intimate relationship between the City of Calgary and Calgary's developers.

The redevelopment effort of some developers in the neighbourhood is seen as threatening the social cohesion of Bowness. The multi-million dollar homes are frowned upon because the PDC believes them to be unsustainable and out of character with Bowness. Although Bownesians, for the most part, protect that small-town atmosphere (which is largely bolstered by the single-family residences) they understand that the future requires more sustainable approaches to urban development. It is questionable how representative of the neighbourhood the PDC is, but one thing is for certain: its efforts have been successful in slowing the gentrification process in Bowness.

The development industry and its various allies in Bowness will argue that the PDC is utterly anti-development:

The residents association, yeah that's right [the former Society of Bowness Residents]. Some of those people [BCA's planning and development board] in the original organization were vehemently anti-development. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

The actions of the PDC and SBR are believed to have stalled development in the area, which in the development industry's eyes, is a bad thing for Bowness.

He [the owner of the former Bowness Hotel] doesn't have much good to say about the Bowness Citizens Society or whatever they call themselves...Well it took him a year to just get bigger windows put at the Service Credit Union. He just fought them tooth and nail. I told him to rip that thing down, but they wouldn't let him. Yeah [Society of Bowness Residents], whatever they call themselves. Well they have stagnated a lot of development around here. Guys like him, they took him just for that parking lot in the back there, and they had two or three stop work orders on the parking lot. He goes 'what's up with these

people?' I don't know. I have to stay a mile away from them, because I am so connected to different people that I don't even want to be a part of that... Well I can tell you lots of, that's some of the problem for development in this area, is those guys. They've shut down developers... So, they're very protectionist, but they've gone too far and they've stopped a lot of development. Because, if you go to Montgomery and see the new developments there as compared to here they are exponentially more and they have everything to stay because it is considered an established area. So a lot of developers will not build there, because they have been through that. And if you tie things up for fourteen to sixteen to eighteen months that costs them money, and appeals and all that stuff. They are stagnating a lot with the help of our illustrious alderman... Unfortunately he has been here way too long and it's time for new blood. It's stagnated. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)⁴⁷

Slowing development reduces the profit margins of developers, so it is no surprise that they would state that Bowness residents trying to protect their community from threats is bad:

In the Bowestner, they had about three or four issues ago, they wanted to stop the infills from being built and this was the President of the Community Association. I sold him his house, a young guy. I went 'you have no idea what you are talking about!' And that's the problem with these protectionist rules, and when the communities have everything to say about what goes in you have to be very careful. (Ken Richter, Realtor – Bowness ReMax Real Estate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 October 2011)⁴⁸

Ken Richter's statement, although critical of public engagement, highlights how community empowerment can actually thwart the gentrification process.

Good planning principles, if they are adhered to, can be an avenue by which to limit the scope of gentrification. The problem is that these principles are often relaxed and manipulated by developers and their political allies. Often planning processes in Calgary promote the development industry reaping inflated profits (upzoning for

⁴⁷ The BCA was in receivership at this time, so the conflict was between the Bowness Hotel owner and the SBR.

⁴⁸ The Bowestner is the Bowness community newsletter, which many residents have applauded for increasing public engagement in the neighbourhood. The BCA publishes the document, and brought about its resurgence.

example). Poor engagement approaches also contribute to potential gentrification, and the BCA has continually confronted the City of Calgary on this issue:

So we went to these meetings and there was a big turnout, a really big group from a lot of the community associations who are really annoyed at what was an exercise of the Planning Department at the City telling us what was good for us. And I don't know about you, but that just makes my apples go up. Don't tell me what's good for me. Let's have a discussion. So there was enough of really well informed and really strong-minded people in that group who eventually when it came to third meeting I think said 'First of all, this is supposed to be a discussion so we are all going to move into a circle. Sorry, this is not about you standing up in front of a lecture board and telling us what's going on. This is going to be a participatory process.' So that was kind of, it was really interesting because you could really see the City staff, two of them really resistance to that and the other two really welcoming it. So there's that dichotomy happening when we are dealing with planning and development. Generally speaking, that is what we come against is there's a group of decision makers in the planning and development sector who, some of them are young too, but who have this traditional approach that absolutely doesn't respect or understand community ARP's or ASP's or understand (indiscernible) from the communities. I mean they are city planners and they know what they are doing. So, it just boggles the mind. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The BCA is not necessarily anti-development, but rather supportive of development that follows municipal guidelines (ARPs, ASP's, MDP, etc):

The BCA is not anti-development. It supports development within the context of the ARP, the Land Use Bylaws, the MDP and the Infill Housing guidelines. The Land Use Bylaws have a central concept tied into them which is a requirement for good planning. This is a low-density residential community with several commercial districts. It has been subjected since the 1970's to some good and some bad social housing initiatives by the city and province. Residential developers were allowed to build multi-housing and rental housing at whim with a reckless disregard for building standards and rational community development. This is a community that has a vibrant spirit despite some very bad planning decisions between 1964 and 1990, a legacy that continues to haunt us, and that has organizations like the United Way defining us as a 'high needs' community. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The City of Calgary has a history of relaxations and not abiding by plans. The examples of WinSport and Melcor development discussed above are the most recent example of this, but the gentrification that is occurring in Bowness is also a representation of the City of Calgary's relaxation efforts. Even by trudging through the development permit process, developers are able to bypass public scrutiny for the most part.

A development permit application process with the city is on a one by one basis. So that goes into development. There's [sic] two different tracts, contextual and non-contextual. It used to be called something different. Contextual is allowed without any question from the community, which a lot of buildings are kind of coerced to go into to avoid delays, to avoid politics, to avoid opposition. So the last house I built was to the centimeter, fit the contextual rules, this house was discretionary so I had a longer permitting process and subject to scrutiny from essentially anybody in the city of Calgary who puts up 25 bucks, who can delay and appeal my projects. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

Although there is no strategic redevelopment plan in place in Bowness, the BCA still uses other documentation, such as the ARP, to try to force development to comply with their community vision. Indeed, it seems the BCA advocates the City-developed ARP more than the City itself does:

Well we've got the ARP, have you seen that? And I don't know who wrote it or how much traction it has, I mean, I've reviewed it. It seems like some broad strokes that a few years ago the city asked me to refer to it as a reference on my redevelopments and now they don't even, it's not even in the dialogue. (Steve, Bowness Developer, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 May 2011)

One must really question the intentions that developers have for the communities that they work in if they so easily dismiss broad visions associated with redevelopment. The BCA views Bowness from a holistic perspective, so the PDC scrutinizes redevelopment based upon how it will affect the neighbourhood:

We are also in the position of looking at development from a bigger picture. How will a development affect traffic, transit, neighbours, etc? Does it

positively or negatively impact protected areas like the escarpment? We're not always right, but we do force the questions of community needs and standards against the silo approach of single developments. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

One avenue by which the BCA is able to thwart gentrification is the vigilant insistence that developers follow contextual parameters (see above) and that the City of Calgary ensures their compliance:

Do you know what I would like to say, and I'd like to think that one of the reasons for not being able to see a unified push towards it [gentrification] because there has been tremendous pushback from the community...One of those forms of resistance is an insistence that on contextual, so that's been through the planning and development committee honoring the contextual stuff. A strong ARP. A strong insistence on adherence to the bylaws and to the ARP. So a resistance to relaxations. And an articulation consistently that while we may support higher density we do not support larger buildings on smaller lots. We support more people on a smaller footprint, and we've articulated that for the last seven years, while I have been involved. But, there has been a consistent pushback from the community and a very well articulated one. We haven't hesitated to go down to the appeal board, for instance, to say that this is not contextual in fit. So, you know the massing is out of proportion compared to the neighbour next door. Some of it has been allowed to slip, because you have to pick your battles, but there has been a real pushback. Consequently in the planning department to some extent, they hate us, they just hate us, but they understand that if they push the limit we're going to push right back. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The likelihood is pretty definite that Bow Crescent and other areas of redevelopment would have gentrified more of Bowness if the SBR and PDC were not in existence.

These concerned citizens are not necessarily anti-development, but are against redevelopment that does not fit within the parameters of the neighbourhood, notably anything representative of gentrification:

In fact, we're very supportive of high standards, creative design, developments that meet a community need, and have advocated for changes in bylaws to support more energy efficient buildings. The planning committee is comprised

of engineers, realtors, working and retired professionals in a number of fields, new and long-time residents of Bowness. I think it's important for home builders and commercial developers to recognize us as consumers of their product and employees in their industries and to understand our message is not anti-development; it is about building community and good planning. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Actually, the BCA has helped some neighbourhood commercial establishments negotiate development difficulties with the City of Calgary.

Much of the origination of this pushback against gentrification has been developers' reckless ignorance of building standards and community development practices in the past. This section began by mentioning the grievances of the development proponents against Bowness residents protecting their neighbourhoods. The actions of the then SBR was deemed as preventing much needed redevelopment in Bowness, namely by preventing the new owner of the Bowness Hotel from redeveloping the land. However, the confrontation was not a one-way street. There were issues (historical and present) that garnered significant pushback from the community regarding the redevelopment of the site:

There was a long history of problems with the hotel under its previous owner. (Derelict, gathering place for bikers, violence, drugs, noise late at night). The parking lot behind the hotel is actually zoned RC-1 and there's a shady history of how it got to be a parking lot. So, when the new owners came up with 'changes' they were faced with a long history of conflict and distrust for the hotel. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The new owners sponsored an open house to inform the community that they would be developing a condominium building on the parking lot area. There was pushback from the community on the physical design of the structure. Also, the lot was designated RC1, which is low density residential. Neither the parking lot nor the condominium building

was representative of that zoning designation. There was also considerable dissension from the community because the owner would not abide by City of Calgary bylaws, such as paving the west parking lot without a permit. Bowness residents felt that the owners were not honest with their development information and conveyed an attitude of entitlement, which given the socio-cultural structure of Bowness did not sit well with the neighbourhood's residents. The owner's actions also garnered distrust from neighbouring businesses. However, the BCA has also supported the owners of the site as well:

However, in more recent years there was support for the doctors' offices at the back of the building, and support for the change of use that allowed the liquor store to relocate there and the Chinese restaurant. There is an acknowledgement that the improvements on the building have been positive. We are in conflict right now over their wish to put a Tim Horton's on the west parking lot because of traffic and parking issues. We have been encouraging them to consider long-range plans for developing the site to fit the MDP and the zoning. In summary, there are things we can work together on, and others that put us in conflict. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

There is no question that proponents of redevelopment are largely focused on profits to be made. The pushback from Bownesians is not based on rejection of redevelopment per se, but rather on how redevelopment may threaten the social cohesion of their neighbourhood:

Like, see, again, there is a really democratic attitude in the community, partially because it is really blue-collar. We don't care if you are single-family, or low-income, or high-income, or whatever. We are all neighbours, so let's mix it up so that we can know each other as people rather than as income levels. And I guess I come at it from a slightly different point of view because I have always rented. That was a conscious choice for me. And that's the voice that I try to bring to because it is disenfranchised community. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Gentrification causes the displacement of people, and with that it destroys the social cohesion of the neighbourhood. Social cohesion may have been represented by a particular class, but it does not make it lesser than the wants and desires of the middle and upper classes. The greatest threat associated with gentrification in Bowness is the remaking of the neighbourhood to favour like-minded individuals that do not mix:

It's [disrupting the social cohesiveness] going to depend on basically who moves in and the attitudes that they bring with them. If they still want small community, a community centre, to be really part of this community then I think it can stay. If they move into this community because housing may be cheaper, there's good transportation out from here, but they are not really buying into wanting to come into Bowness as Bowness community, like I want to move into Bowness it may impact people's attitude and how they feel about the area they live in. (Sheila Clayden, President – Bowness Seniors Centre, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 16 February 2011)

5.7 – Consensus and Social Cohesion

Rather than trying to remake the neighbourhood through widespread redevelopment (as is occurring in the GFLA), Bowness undertook a different approach. The willingness to listen to alternatives has allowed the neighbourhood to follow a multi-directional path. Old-fashioned bullheadedness has also proven to be a strong-point of Bowness, particularly when confronting developers and the City of Calgary. The same mentality has also proven, perhaps, to be a weakness as well. The historical and socio-spatial constructions of the neighbourhood have prevented a complete class turnover that has befallen some of the adjacent communities. The diversity is so entrenched, that the likelihood for full gentrification of the neighbourhood is almost nil. Even newcomers to the neighbourhood carry on the charm of Bowness, and some have taken up the reins of volunteerism. There are many social groups in the community that are volunteer-based,

but the centre of these movements appears to be the BCA. The energy surrounding the new board seems to excite neighbourhood residents. Bowness is an example of how community empowerment and public engagement can limit the scope of the gentrification process.

Much like the GFLA, Bowness was targeted as a community in need. In good old-fashioned bullheadedness, the BCA struck back at that argument:

They [BCA Board] are really an energetic and interesting group of people. And part of that whole thing was that the United Way in its infinite wisdom had identified Bowness along with Forest Lawn that areas that needed help. And Bowness, generally pushed back, because we don't like to be identified as a community of need. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Rather than drawing on a “what’s wrong with us?” perspective, Bowness used the opportunity to create a positive strength-based approach for the neighbourhood. Instead of creating strife with those who put a label on them, the community worked with the United Way and other groups to improve Bowness in their eyes:⁴⁹

Well the relationship then became one of if you are not a community of need how do you want to be perceived, and out of that came the really healthy process of the Vital Signs and they worked very closely with the community association in doing that. So that became a really positive strength-based approach. So I don't know if you are familiar with, and it is kind of a social work term, asset based and strength based, is taking the positive approach rather than the negative ‘what’s wrong with you’ doesn't become the way that you perceive the community. You look at what's right and how can we use those strengths to move ahead. So that was a really good relationship because the United Way brought both resources in terms of expertise and financial in terms of the community association and helped them become a legitimate group of people. You know, encouraged them and supported them, and the City did the same thing, they have been enormously supportive as well. The Alderman [Dale Hodges] was; he wanted to see it get up and running as well. (Niki Smyth,

⁴⁹ Vital Signs was sponsored by the BCA, the United Way of Calgary and Area, The Calgary Foundation, Bowwest Community Resource Centre, Boys and Girls Clubs of Calgary, and City of Calgary CNS (BCA 2009).

Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

Many different groups came to the table that normally would not take the Vital Signs initiative full on. The social groups in Bowness are largely volunteer-based, so it would be very difficult for them to push the project singularly (such as based on class). Many different aspects were brought to the table, so there was no singular agenda pushing Vital Signs.

So it was an initiative that had the support of the community from a lot of different aspects and a lot of different groups that did not want to take it on themselves. And the vital signs thing involved the neighbourhood...And they went door to door and asked questions too. People love to be asked, they love to be approached that way. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

During May and June 2009, volunteers and local researchers conducted a rigorous public engagement campaign to gather voices from a wide spectrum of Bownesians. Bowness residents were given the opportunity of filling out an online survey, going to several drop places in the community and filling out a survey, or participating in a community session (BCA 2009). Volunteers also went door knocking to residences in the area to gather information. This information was compiled and twelve issue areas were created. Several primary sources, such as the 2006 Canadian Census and City of Calgary reports, provided complementing information on the neighbourhood. Bownesians were then asked again to participate in providing their thoughts on the twelve issue areas in August and September 2009 and actions should be taken. The research team received 542 responses in the initial public engagement project, and over 200 provided input for vital actions to be taken (BCA 2009).

The twelve issues, which included both strengths and areas that Bownesians believed need improvement, were a combination of social and physical attributes. For example, under “sense of community” highlighted the fact that approximately 70 percent of respondents from District 8a (Bowness, Montgomery, and Point McKay) participate in community events, and more than 50 percent volunteer throughout Calgary (BCA 2009). The same section pointed out that younger generations do not feel as connected to Bowness as older populations. The mix in housing options was stated as a benefit to the community, and even though Bowness had lower rents than the Calgary average in 2009 it was argued that it was not enough for those in need (BCA 2009). The implication being that the neighbourhood is willing to provide much more affordable housing for Bownesians, granted in a non-ghettoized format. They also mentioned that improving engagement for renters must be completed. Rather than complete eradicating graffiti (which has been the approach adopted in the GFLA), the Vital Signs report suggested that community residents be given more opportunities to present public art (similar to the murals in the GFLA). Vital Signs also mention that Bowness residents want some revitalization, but that it should happen at a slower pace (BCA 2009). The engagement approach adopted in Vital Signs points the fact that to better a community requires multiple alternatives and visions, instead of a one directional agenda.

At the time of the initial Vital Signs engagement process, social cohesion and working together across group lines seemed to be lacking. Although it was stated in Vital Signs that many thought the sense of community was doing well, a good amount perceived the community could do much better to bring people out of isolation. The vital

actions were largely randomly picked, and there seemed to be an unwillingness to work together and devise a course of action to improve upon weaknesses in the neighbourhood:

They themselves are not cohesive [Bowness groups], right in there. So in that Vital Signs document that I gave you, every page has got vital actions that people identified when they did the survey, but these vital actions are just kind of picked at random from the ones that came up. They probably occurred than any other, but they're not, you know, anyways, and even though there are I think 40 of them, no one has ever then gotten together as a community and said ok, people said that these 40 things need changing how can we prioritize them, how can we figured out which as a group of us in this room together tonight which we have invited all the community to come to, you know, which ones do we think we should start with. What's important to us to preserve. You know, there's lots about the small town atmosphere, sense of community...56 percent of the respondents thought that it was doing well but see there are some who say like there are some residents in isolation, there's a group that says Bowness is not welcoming to new Canadians, Bowness keeps its aboriginal population under wraps, so... (Iris Spurrell, United Way of Calgary and Area, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 22 October 2011)

At the time of the initial Vital Signs report, the new BCA was relatively young. The SBR had just recently rejoined the institution. Although there were many social groups in the neighbourhood, there was no real platform to bridge the gap between all the groups:

Even though we say all these things, like their social cohesion and that they want to preserve the small town thing that came out in Vital Signs, we haven't had all the groups, like the different local groups...they don't come together and talk about that as one unified community, so and its only since April since this planning and development committee operated under the community associations...so they might have had their idea of what they wanted to do about that development and the community association might have a different idea, and so might the lion's club, historical society, residents on Bow Crescent. There isn't a platform or forum for those things to come to surface and for the community to really understand what the majority hope for the future. (Iris Spurrell, United Way of Calgary and Area, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 22 October 2011)

However, a new Vital Signs report was published in 2013 that represents the next step in building stronger social cohesion in Bowness.

During June and July 2102, 559 Bowness residents participated in Vital Signs

2020. Data was collected through several avenues:

- A session was held with students from Bowness at Bowness High
- In person surveys were conducted at community events (Bowness Stampede Breakfast, Road Race, Community Clean Up, BRZ Street Festival, Bownesians Picnic, Movie Night)
- Visited the Bowness Conversation Café
- A team of local residents contributed 116 hours to door knocking throughout the community
- An online survey was posted on the BCA website, Facebook page and postcards distributed throughout the community” (BCA 2013, 5)

Rather than holding open houses and having residents come to the researchers, the organizers and researchers also went to the public, most notably engaging with students at their school. Local residents actively canvassed the neighbourhood and knocked on doors to speak with other residents, one on one, rather than non-residents conducting this engagement strategy. Vital Signs 2020 provided an age and gender breakdown of who participated in the project, and the numbers are comparable to the age distribution in the neighbourhood (Figure 5.9 and 5.10 visually represents this breakdown). The twelve issues highlighted in the previous Vital Signs project were the focus of Vital Signs 2020, but in the latter version there are suggestions for neighbourhood residents for taking actions. Vital Signs 2020 identifies a movement forward from the initial Vital Signs report, which means that engagement is increasing in Bowness. However, the concerns mentioned by Iris Spurrell about one dominant voice (the BCA) guiding the discussion still resonates with the newest Vital Signs report. Consensus building still may need some work. Although Vital Signs 2020 has community partners, it is obvious that the project is almost entirely a BCA venture. This is evident in the fact that the Bowness 2020 committee is comprised entirely of BCA Board and PDC members, save one

member who is a United Way Coordinator. Vital Signs 2020 is a better way forward for public engagement, particularly concerning City of Calgary processes and NU charrettes, but given that it was a BCA effort the vision might be more a of a self-interested agenda than what is perceived.

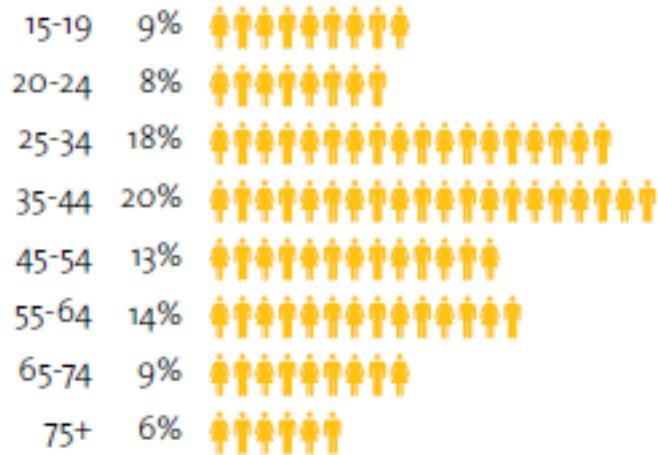


Figure 5.9. Age Distribution of Vital Signs 2020 Respondents
Source: BCA (2013)

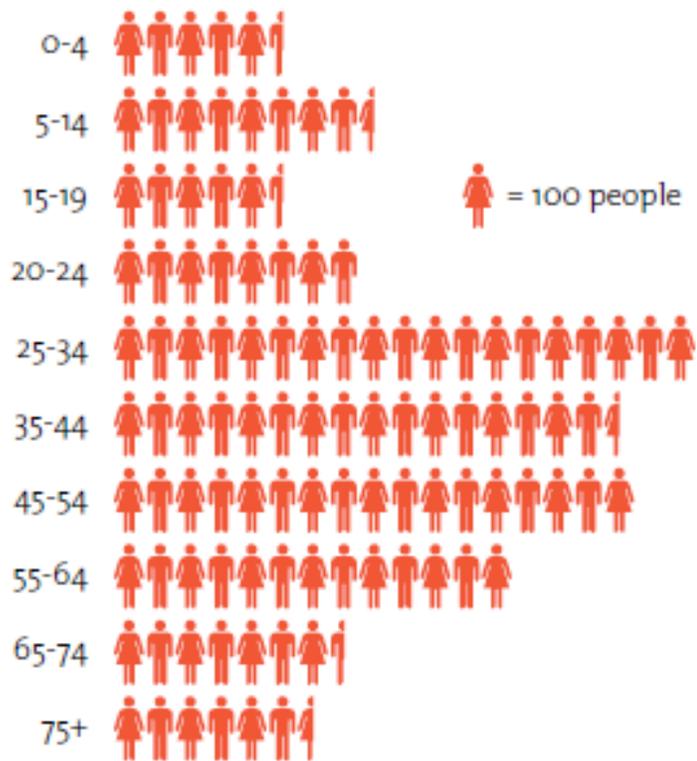


Figure 5.10. Age Distribution in Bowness (2012)
Source: BCA (2013)

Bowness, as a neighbourhood, has much stronger social cohesion than most Calgary neighbourhoods. Social capital was forged long ago, and recent public engagement efforts (Vital Signs for example) illustrate that the neighbourhood is eager to improve upon social cohesion. However, there is still room for improvement and even though there is social capital within groups, there still needs to be improved bridges among them (whether they are official entities or class-based social groups):

The poverty reduction group at the United Way then did an overlay of social capital on top of poverty stats in the city, and Bowness came out as an area where there's lots of poverty, 25 percent, but there's really high social capital. I don't know what to make of that. The people who live on Bow Crescent claim, I've heard them say this in several public forums, that they are very well connected, that they do things together as a group and I am sure the people who live in some of the low income housing would say the same thing but there is no bridge there. A lot of bonding social capital, but very little bridging social capital. (Iris Spurrell, United Way of Calgary and Area, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 22 October 2011)

Comparatively, the BCA is far more diverse and open-minded than many CA's throughout the city of Calgary. The renewed organization is making strides to improve engagement and social cohesion within Bowness:

The BCA is always looking for ways to increase public engagement. This includes collaboration with other groups in the community (agencies, Seniors Centre, Legion, Lions Club, etc). We use a bi-monthly newsletter, Facebook, e-newsletter, twitter, linked-in, door-to-door, public events, support for local small grants for resident led initiatives, posters, etc. The basic principles guiding the BCA are that it is responsive to grassroots. Our job is to solicit opinion and direction and act on that, rather than imposing the agenda of a select few. The Vital Signs report is used as a guideline for the BCA's priorities. There is certainly more collaborative work going on. There is [sic] also an astonishing number of people stepping up to get involved. Our planning committee has 20 members who consistently attend and at least another 20 who attend when they can. Our membership has gone from about 10 people 5 years ago (the year the BCA was revived) to 800 and growing. (Niki Smyth, Bowness Community Association Planning and Development Committee, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 June 2011)

The openness of the Board members of the BCA is its strong suit and should continue if Bowness hopes to retain and enhance the social cohesion within the neighbourhood. A self-interested agenda can supplant democratic action quite effectively, and its affect will be examined in the next chapter.

5.8 – Conclusion

The actions of strong community social groups and increasing social cohesion spawned by the regeneration of the BCA have supported resistance against gentrification. Adjacent communities have undergone major transformations where drastically inflated housing prices have become the norm. Although the zoning structure has allowed for some gentrification in pockets of the neighbourhood, the strict adherence to a lower density small town atmosphere has appeared to slow down gentrification as it move west from the City Centre. However, the downzoning spawned by the willingness to keep the small town feel has also been a contributor to gentrification in Bowness, one that has also been influenced by gentrification in the adjacent communities. The gentrification that has occurred in West Hillhurst, Parkdale, Montgomery, and even along Bow Crescent has made Bowness as a whole more attractive for investment.

The social groups in Bowness are working on bridging the gaps among them, and by moving towards better public engagement the social cohesion of the neighbourhood will only increase. The public engagement approach in Bowness is not entirely focused on the built environment, and illustrates other avenues and alternatives that can better a community. This is not to discredit improvements to the built environment, but the narrowed focused of physical design as means for redevelopment blinds people from

everything else that define community. The willingness to listen to alternatives and to view and protect Bowness in a holistic fashion has blocked a complete class takeover of the community and strengthens bonds amongst residents. Public engagement in Bowness has brought people closer, increased democracy and inclusion, and has been part of the success in limiting the gentrification process. The same cannot be said for the GFLA.

Chapter 06: New Urbanism and the Gentrification of the Greater Forest Lawn Area, Part One

6.1 – Introduction

The expansion of gentrification to the suburban realm is not accidental. Rather, various structures in Calgary and its neighbourhoods have contributed to this expansion. The Greater Forest Lawn Area has witnessed pockets of revitalization within its devalorized spaces, and a recently adopted non-mandatory conceptual redevelopment plan (SE17) has the potential to gentrify the community's commercial corridor if it comes to fruition. The uniqueness of the corridor, which currently hosts the most ethnically diverse concentration of businesses in Calgary, will be eradicated. The residential areas adjacent to this commercial corridor, which house much of Calgary's low income residents, will follow suit. The residential areas surrounding the commercial zone also house long-time GFLA residents who, while perhaps not as vulnerable as their low-income neighbours, are also susceptible to displacement. Ironically, many residents currently living in the GFLA have already been displaced due to urban renewal in Calgary's inner-city, notably from the neighbourhood of Victoria Park. Although there are merits to SE17 and its predecessor, the International Avenue Design Initiative (IADI), namely their focuses on pedestrian oriented development, the plans were conceived by a select population. As will be revealed in the next two chapters, the rhetoric associated with the plans makes it appear that all residents and businesses of the GFLA were supportive of the projects. The strictly design orientation of the plans' goals overlook the needs of the majority of GFLA's residents, and allow for a New Urbanist vision and process to gentrify the space.

6.2 – Research Question and Aims

How have institutional arrangements, namely through a regime's exclusionary public engagement processes, contributed to gentrification in the Greater Forest Lawn Area?

The aim of the following two chapters is to explain how the International Avenue Design Initiative (IADI)'s New Urbanist principles and public engagement strategy are poised to lead to gentrification in the Greater Forest Lawn Area. The guiding principles of the IADI were evident in the ensuing City of Calgary's 17th Avenue SE Corridor Study (SE17). Although the municipally sponsored redevelopment plan held its own engagement approach, it yielded nearly identical results as the IADI. New Urbanist theory supports a reworking of the spatial structure of neighbourhoods through design-oriented (re)development. The focus of New Urbanism (NU) is to create pedestrian-oriented urban villages through physical design, but what it also accomplishes is a social process that serves to exclude vulnerable populations through public engagement. Although there are significant merits to New Urbanism, the democratic nature of its engagement approach is questionable. Although IADI has been lauded as a grassroots approach to urban planning, this research demonstrates that it was a deliberative process, and that sustainable development in the GFLA is not as equitable as its proponents argue.

6.3 – The Gentrification Lobby

The potential gentrification of the GFLA has its roots in the founding of the International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone (IABRZ) in 1992, although the pace of redevelopment only started to gather real steam in the early 2000s. The IABRZ,

namely its appointed board, has been at the forefront of a concerted effort amongst aligned parties to improve the negative image associated with the GLFA. A largely design-oriented strategy guided by New Urbanism is at the heart of transforming GFLA's image. Although an early redevelopment scheme developed by the IABRZ incorporated New Urbanist theory), the full influence of New Urbanism on the GFLA took hold several years later. New Urbanism is adept in gathering support from a wide audience, including low-income populations, and thus became a rallying point from which the aligned parties could attach themselves. Thus, a hegemonic bloc was created in the GFLA.

Founded in 1992, the IABRZ has represented the businesses along 17th Avenue SE and promoted the corridor through beautification projects, media promotions, etc. All Business Revitalization Zones (BRZs) in Alberta are governed by a membership board, which is appointed by their respective municipal council through the business revitalization zone bylaw (Government Alberta 2010). Presently the board consists of ten members (City of Calgary 2013). The IABRZ board has a chairperson (one board member), and at the head of the day-to-day operations as well as the lead on the IABRZ's various projects is the Executive Director, Alison Karim-McSwiney. All businesses within the corridor are required by law to be members of the IABRZ, and a portion of each business' property tax provides the budget for the organization.

Two former City of Calgary planners, Dr. Paul Maas and Malcolm Ho-You, were integral in the formation of the IABRZ, and were key players in its activities. After completing doctoral studies in architecture in 1991, Dr. Paul Maas gave a series of lectures on urban vitality (Heart of the City Conference) that caught the attention of

somebody from the GFLA, which in turn invited him to make a presentation to a group of business owners wishing to set up their own BRZ for 17th Avenue SE.⁵⁰ Paul Maas was not affiliated with the IABRZ in an official City of Calgary capacity. Malcolm Ho-You was the other City of Calgary planner that worked closely with the IABRZ, particularly with regards to the beautification strategies along 17th Avenue SE. Unlike Dr. Maas, Mr. Ho-You was a City of Calgary planner assigned to the GFLA and performed that role for approximately fifteen years. Although Paul Maas and Malcolm Ho-You were experts on the area in a professional capacity, neither lived in the GFLA.

City of Calgary aldermen for the GFLA have also played an integral role. Former aldermen Joe Ceci (Ward 9) and Diane Danielson (Ward 10) were City of Calgary aldermen when IADI began. Diane Danielson is still an integral player in the redevelopment effort as a key member of the 12 Community Safe Initiative (12CSI), which is a crime prevention collaborative in the GFLA. Ward 9 Alderman Gian-Carlo Carra and Ward 10 Alderman Andre Chabot are the GFLA's current elected municipal representatives. Gian-Carlo Carra was also a lead urban designer and project manager for IADI, but he was not a City of Calgary alderman at that time.

The GFLA's various Community Associations (CAs) and their board members have also been key redevelopment participants. According to Diane Danielson, the CA presidents were integral in attempts to alter GFLA land uses, namely through the Triple A Land Use Team. They have led a concerted effort to alter the image of the GFLA by working with the IABRZ to reduce and prevent unfavourable land uses, such as pawn

⁵⁰ During our conversation, Dr. Maas could not recall who from the GFLA initially approached him after the conference.

shops, and have worked with City of Calgary and the IABRZ to enforce the Community Standards Bylaw.⁵¹

The U of C's Faculty of Environmental Design (EVDS) has been a strong supporter and ally of the IABRZ. As will be soon elaborated, it was through the efforts of EVDS that New Urbanism became the catalyst through which a new vision of the GFLA was devised.

These various individuals comprise the hegemonic bloc of the GFLA. However, the IABRZ is the central mechanism guiding the entire gentrification process in the neighbourhood.

6.4 – The International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone

The IABRZ's mission is to “promote, improve and create a more pleasant environment in which to shop and live” (IABRZ 2010), and there is much commend about their work. Compared to other BRZs in Calgary, which tend to focus entirely on business development, the IABRZ appears to be holistic in their vision:

We represent the 435 businesses within the area; however we have been very cognizant of the fact that in order to have revitalization occur in this area we need to include the community. So, we have been very community focused, which I think is a lot different than any other BRZ. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)

The IABRZ believes that through urban design it can create a vibrant corridor that is inviting and safe for people to come and shop. Although the corridor is largely

⁵¹ The Community Standards Bylaw regulates “nuisance, safety and livability issues” (City of Calgary 2004, 1), such as yard maintenance and physical upkeep of building exteriors, in Calgary neighbourhoods. According to the several key contacts I spoke with, community volunteers (together with 12CSI and the IABRZ) make regular sweeps through the GFLA and document infractions, with a key focus on absentee landlord properties. Incidentally, it is absentee landlords that provide most of the housing for the neighbourhood's vulnerable population.

automobile oriented, according to Ms. Karim-McSwiney, approximately 40 percent of neighbouring residents and business owners use other means of transportation in the corridor. However, the landscape of 17th Avenue SE was not originally conducive to pedestrian traffic, given the lack of sidewalks through the majority of the corridor. With aid from the City of Calgary, the BRZ installed several bus shelters and sidewalks, planted 335 trees along 17th Avenue SE, and performed other beautification projects. The automobile oriented landscape of 17th Avenue SE makes the corridor precarious for pedestrians, so subtle improvements make a difference:

The physical improvements also help, because it does say that the community is involved, you know. You have a decency to have a bus shelter because winters are cold, the decency to have a bench, a garbage container. These are little things that don't fly off all over the place on a windy day... These are the little things that make a difference in the area. (Malcolm Ho-You, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 February 2012)

In comparison to other Calgary neighbourhoods, the GFLA was largely ignored (both socially and physically) by the City of Calgary before the early 2000s. Understanding this, the IABRZ has played an active part in trying to improve the area's infrastructure, albeit with a fair share of frustrations. Through these changes the IABRZ believes it is starting to rectify the GFLA's residents' feelings of neglect.

The Purpose and Establishment of Business Revitalization Zones in Calgary

A BRZ is a self-help program/organization through which businesses in a particular area, or zone, cooperatively generate funds and administer what is collected to promote their businesses and improve the zone in which they lie (City of Calgary 2013b). Alberta's MGA allows for the establishment of BRZs, but it is the responsibility of the businesses to initiate their establishment. After defining the boundary of a BRZ (which

may be a street, multiple streets, or even a district), a request for the creation of a BRZ is sent to the City Clerk's Office (City of Calgary 2013c). Although membership in a BRZ is mandatory once the zone is established, the creation and approval of a BRZ only requires the signatures of at least 25 percent of business within the potential zone (City of Calgary 2013c). Once the City Clerk receives the BRZ request, notices of the proposal are mailed to all the potentially affected businesses. There is the possibility that a BRZ will not be established if the City Council receives a petition from more than 50 percent of the businesses within a potential BRZ within 60 days of the first notice (City of Calgary 2013c). This policy is not an Alberta mandate (see Alberta 2010, Division 05). If the City Council receives no petition within 60 days, then it may continue with the process and establish a BRZ. The BRZ is officially created through a bylaw; which then defines the BRZ boundary, its name and purpose, and authenticates the membership of the board of directors (City of Calgary 2013c).

The administrative duties of a BRZ are undertaken by the institution's board of directors. The board members are business owners that are nominated by their peers (other business members of the BRZ), which are then officially appointed (annually) by City Council (City of Calgary 2013c). The BRZ board must have ten members. The BRZ's annual program is developed by its respective board, which then presents the organizations budget to City Council (City of Calgary 2013c).

The business owners within the BRZ fund its activities through revenue collected by a special BRZ levy, which is attached to the owners' yearly business tax (City of Calgary 2013c). According to City of Calgary (2013c), the BRZ's levy amount is based on the institution's program budget. To fund their activities, each respective BRZ board

of directors creates their annual budget and submits the request to City Council (City of Calgary 2013c; 2013d). According to IABRZ's Executive Director, their members vote on the budget before the board ratifies the amount. City Council then decipheres how much tax is required to meet the annual revenue of the specific BRZ, and then passes a tax rate bylaw that summarizes the venture (City of Calgary 2013c: 2013d). The City then collects the tax levy (in addition to the normal annual property tax that businesses pay to the state) and administers it to the BRZ board, which in turn appropriately directs the funding for the organization:

And what happens is that we have our property tax that we pay to the city and so what happens is...each business revitalization zone then says ok in here if you want to have a budget then all of the businesses in here, we will just apply a surcharge to what their normal business tax is and that will go to the business revitalization zone. So it is like 1.4 percent or something like that that we pay in addition to our other property tax, but then the revenues come right here and they go to the banners that you see out there and the hanging baskets of flowers and all of the other things that the BRZ does. (Anthony, former IABRZ board member, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 August 2011)

The BRZ levy is devised based upon the business assessment and its tax rate. Presently there are 391 businesses comprising the IABRZ, and with a budget of \$225,000 (4th highest amongst Calgary's ten BRZs) the BRZ tax rate is 1.5 percent (City of Calgary 2013d).⁵²

Calgary's ten BRZs contribute significant value to the city⁵³. Through local improvements and direct spending, each BRZ has made streetscape investments amounting to more than \$14 million since 1983 (City of Calgary 2013b). After this initial capital investment, each BRZ annually invests in special events, promotions, and

⁵² According to the City of Calgary, 391 businesses comprise the IABRZ. However, according to the IABRZ Executive Director there are 435 businesses along the corridor.

⁵³ Including all of the 5400 businesses they represent (20 percent of all Calgary businesses), BRZs provide \$59 million in business taxes and their entire assessed value is over \$661 million (City of Calgary 2013b).

street improvements and upkeep. The City's BRZs contribute in total approximately \$2 million in these ventures (City of Calgary 2013b). According to City of Calgary (2013b), BRZs play a decisive role in revitalization and are partners with their respective communities in crime prevention tactics. The City of Calgary works directly with BRZs on community operational issues, such as parks and land use. The City of Calgary (2013b) boasts that BRZs have been the leaders in creating some of the city's most revered and distinctive neighbourhoods. Incidentally, the neighbourhoods in which all ten BRZs are located have either gentrified (Kensington and Inglewood for example) or are poised to gentrify in the future (GFLA).

Displacement and socio-economic exclusion are overlooked in the City of Calgary's description of these "exciting" neighbourhoods. The City of Calgary (2013b) claims that its BRZs "give Calgary a distinctive, appealing 'character'," but it does not specify who this "character" is meant to appeal to. Also absent from the discussion are the power relationships at play during the creation of the BRZs, which may have suffered internal dissent or manipulation.

The member businesses, unlike many other BRZ's in the city, are generally more reflective of the community at large. Granted, as we shall see below, the leadership of the IABRZ is not necessarily reflective of the neighbourhood, both for business owners and residents. Comparatively speaking, the IABRZ is not as exclusive as similar BRZs in Calgary:

So, they're sorta of [sic], I don't know, they are more like the rest of the community; a lot of the business owners. Not all of them and they're certainly are a few, but to the extent that they represent the BRZ, like the representatives on the BRZ. I think that BRZ, less so than a lot of the other BRZs in the rest of the city, is more sort of reflective of the community. It's not such as the elitist

group of business owners, like you might say in Marda Loop and definitely in Hillhurst. It's more reflective, and not everyone and maybe not the leadership of the BRZ, but certainly some of the individual members that they are purported to represent. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Showcase 17th Avenue SE

Shortly after presenting at the Heart of the City Conference in Calgary, Dr. Paul Maas was invited to meet with a group of GFLA business owners about creating a BRZ:

Well, I was particularly interested [in the GFLA], well actually even before that; when I came back after my Ph.D. I gave a talk at the Heart of the City Conference and soon after that somebody from Forest Lawn...approached me to give a presentation to a group of shop owners there on the notion of forming a BRZ. There was myself and two other people, and we advised that yes if you [sic] the first sort of step if you want to start revitalizing your downtown, your centre city there being [sic] 17th Avenue, you need to work together. And the way to do that is to form a BRZ. (Dr. Paul Maas, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 December 2011)

These businesses were part of the original Forest Lawn Area Business Association, which in turn formed the IABRZ with the entirety of businesses along the corridor.

Prior to meeting with the group of business owners, Dr. Maas examined Canadian Census data and discovered that the area had an incredible diversity of ethnic groups, which he argues is essential for creating urban vitality. The mix of socioeconomic groups coupled with the range of ethnic groups attracts unique goods and services to the corridor.⁵⁴ Dr. Maas conducted pedestrian surveys while completing his graduate degree in Vancouver and discovered an interesting fact about the areas in his study:

⁵⁴ Paul's graduate work focused on vitality and his interest was on the animation of core spaces, which tend to be areas in a city that are lively throughout the day and evening. He argued that these places are attractive to not only the local population, but also for people that live outside the area and in our discussion used Robson Street in Vancouver as a prime example. When Paul conducted pedestrian surveys in the Robson Street area he found distinct socioeconomic groups that had enough purchasing power to attract unique goods and services to the area. He also discovered that the majority of the shop patrons lived in the immediate area rather than outside. Although little public money was used at that time to enhance the streetscape of the area, it still retained the vibrancy due to the population that lived in the immediate

We got some money and we did 2000 surveys in four areas of Vancouver. And one of the things was interesting was that what we found was that the people that lived within about a mile or mile and a half were the most regular customers of those areas. And probably more importantly that in those really vital areas there were certain what you might call socioeconomic groups that had enough purchasing power to draw special goods and services and that is what made it attractive to people outside the area. (Dr. Paul Maas, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 December 2011)

Although these areas of a city attract visitors, it is the people that live in the immediate area who are essential to its uniqueness and survival. Upon his return to Calgary, Dr. Maas then approached Calgary's inner city BRZs and asked if they would be interested in being part of a similar pedestrian survey. Paul became very involved in the GFLA at that time, as it was one of the seven districts surveyed. The IABRZ had then hired Alison Karim-McSwiney and she was incredibly enthused about the project. Upon completing the surveys, they discovered that the majority of the pedestrians surveyed lived within a very close proximity of the shopping districts:

We had found both in Vancouver and in these surveys that we were doing in Calgary, in every single area that we surveyed in the two lots of surveys in the '93 and '96 surveys, what we found was that the people who actually keep the business alive, the people who do use the shops and restaurants, something like, depending where you were, 60 to 70 percent of the people shopping on that street at any one time lived within a mile and a half, on average, but by and large they lived within a mile and a half of the place they were shopping at. (Dr. Paul Maas, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 December 2011)

The results of these surveys pointed to the fact that the very thing keeping 17th Avenue SE vibrant was the people that lived in the immediate area, which suggests that any

area. Paul stated that attractive areas such as Robson Street can sow the seeds of their own destruction by attracting sky high rents and large chain stores, effectively displacing the very businesses that made the area attractive in the first place. Robson Street has now become gentrified, and according to Paul has lost its vitality.

GFLA redevelopment strategy should be focused on the wants and needs of GFLA residents.

However, since the IABRZ was founded, it has sought to attract non-GFLA residents to the area. When Dr. Paul Maas was first giving advice to the newly formed IABRZ, he was shocked by some of the shopkeepers' notions:

I think some of them had some strange ideas. I remember one person saying 'We want to be like Elbow Park.' And I said that you can never be like Elbow Park, because of the kinds of people that live in Forest Lawn are quite different from the kinds of people who live in Elbow Park, and so get rid of that idea. The first thing that you have to do is to analyze the people that live here, and look at their social characteristics, and their economic characteristics, and look to see what kinds of shops and services and restaurants would serve their needs. Not the sort of things you get on 4th Street SW or Hillhurst/Sunnyside because they are quite different people, and they would attract quite different services. (Dr. Paul Maas, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 December 2011)

Granted, there were business owners that had a different mindset and understood that they could be successful if they provided goods and services for the community at large, but the present direction of the IABRZ does not reflect this attitude. There is a substantial focus on attracting the middle and upper classes to the area, which follows the social mix rhetoric prevalent in so many gentrification strategies.

To make the GFLA more attractive to outside populations, the IABRZ has concentrated its efforts on exploiting the corridor's international flare. The corridor is the most ethnically diverse space in regards to businesses and restaurants in Calgary. The area does attract outside visitors, but the majority of patronage is provided by GFLA residents. Nevertheless, the 17th Avenue SE corridor is being altered into a showcase for the rest of Calgary, one that will change the perception of non-GFLA residents for the area:

We have developed Elliston Park, which is quite a beautiful park. There is a great festival [Global Fest] there every year now, but it is still fairly young, you know... The fact that this Arts and Culture Center that I have been involved in and building, you know, that will be one more thing that will have people's eyes turned to this part of this city. But, I don't think any one of those things is just going to hit a homerun out of the park and have people come out here. I think that is going to be continually improving the businesses and showcasing little gems that are out here, because they are here. But I am thinking every once and a while John Gilchrist or whatever restaurant reviewer will come out here and find a little place and talk a little bit about it and bring people out here. And [sic] same with Around the World in 35 Blocks that the BRZ does; where they put the people on the bus and put them out here. Those things are what will change people's perception a little bit at a time. (Anthony, former IABRZ Board member, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 August 2011)

International Avenue

In order to create a better image of the GFLA, the IABRZ unofficially changed the name of the corridor to International Avenue. Given that "International Avenue" is located in one of Calgary's most stigmatized neighbourhoods; the name change represents a hip new flare to one of Calgary's frontier spaces (Smith 1996). Similar marketing strategies have been used the world over to attract the middle and upper classes to neglected spaces, which has subsequently led to gentrification (see Lees et al. 2008). Some notable examples are SoHo in New York City, The Docklands in London, and Kensington in Calgary. Incidentally, Kensington has been erroneously labeled, due to successful marketing, as a neighbourhood when in fact it is a BRZ located in the neighbourhoods of Hillhurst/Sunnyside.

Around the World in 35 Blocks

The 17th Avenue SE corridor has a wide variety of restaurants serving unique ethnic cuisine, and this diversity has been used to showcase the area through the IABRZ's Around the World in 35 Blocks (AW35) food tour. According to the IABRZ (2010),

AW35 is Calgary's best food tour and was the first of its kind in the city. Beginning in 1997, AW35 has allowed "tourists" to sample shops and food markets representing over five continents in the 35 block stretch of 17th Avenue SE (IABRZ 2010). The AW35 bus tour has received rave reviews, and has been successful in bringing the non-residents to the GFLA when they would not have otherwise visited the area on their own. Non-GFLA residents are skeptical of visiting the area due to its rough stereotype, but through the AW35 tour the area has come alive in the eyes of outsiders:

Yeah partly it was the BRZ, and I sort of told Alison in order to make this place come alive, you have to try and work with the television people, work with Herald, work with the Sun, and all these people and write articles about the area or some of the people would write about their restaurant because there are some very very [sic] good restaurants in the area. And that Around the World, you know, in Forest Lawn that was the concept. And that concept worked very well, because a lot of people from Mount Royal [one of the most affluent neighbourhoods in Calgary] came out and they were really scared to come to the place. And once they came out of the bus and Alison, being Alison, you know, she has personality and persuasion and she talked to all these people and said "look." And they persuaded all the restaurants. I don't know if you have been on the Around the World in...yes that was the restaurants [sic]. Then they get the food, you know, that's the social aspect. When I was there it was \$5, but obviously they got more than five dollars' worth of food and, you know, samples and all that. (Malcolm Ho-You, former City of Calgary Planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 12 February 2012)

[Diversity]'s a positive image. Being diverse is not a negative. But people do think so. People do think so. In fact, there was this one lady, she says "We are going to be on a bus going through Forest Lawn???" like you know, that is so dangerous. She really was worried that she was going to have some problems. (Diane Danielson, former City of Calgary Alderman, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 June 2011)

There is no question that AW35 has been one of many successful initiatives to bolster the ethnic identity of both the GFLA and of Calgary, a city which supposedly is not overly receptive to cultural diversity:

Forest Lawn has an incredible array of phenomenal cuisine, ethnic cuisine, and Calgarians are keen to experience that and so even to shop and get the very best low cost deals, once you go on that bus tour and you are taken to the markets and you taste food at each of the markets you come back to go shopping. I think that is a successful initiative that is trying to attract all of Calgary and to really ramp up the cultural/ethnic diversity reputation that Forest Lawn is trying to market for themselves. I think it is good thing. (Stacey Collyer, Calgary Reads, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 January 2011)

The IABRZ intends on selling an “authentic” Forest Lawn experience not only to the rest of Calgary, but the rest of the world: according to the IABRZ’s Executive Director, the AW35 bus tour was used as a real estate selling tool by London’s Financial Times in 2007 (see Financial Times 2007). The GFLA was lauded as a space for cheap real estate amongst the drastically increasing housing prices of the late 2000s. The unofficial title of the corridor, International Avenue, was used as the name of the ‘main drag’ rather than its official designation, 17th Avenue SE (see Financial Times 2007), a title that the majority of the GFLA’s population still uses to this day. The article states that businesses are gearing up for an influx of new clientele, most notably the young professionals.

Community and city restorative formations (see Smith 1996), such as AW35, are not new endeavors, but have been used the world over to gentrify urban spaces. Projects such as AW35 may appear to be progressive and community oriented undertakings, but the selling of authenticity can be harmful in neighbourhoods such as the GFLA, both for the businesses and the residents. Most of the businesses along the corridor have a symbiotic relationship, and when gentrification occurs (IADI mentions that gentrification will happen) the uniqueness of the corridor may be in jeopardy. These topics will be discussed further below, but AW35 and other neighbourhood promotional projects undertaken by the IABRZ are pieces of an exclusionary process.

Global Fest

Global Fest, an incredibly popular international fireworks festival and one of Calgary's largest outdoor events, has been the showcase project for the GFLA since 2003. Approximately 100,000 people attended the first Global Fest, and it has been a major draw to the area since (Global Fest 2002). Although Global Fest has been a great success in providing summer entertainment for over 100,000 Calgarians and other tourists, it plays a similar role as AW35 in its potential to gentrify the GFLA.

There is no denying that Global Fest is an impressive event, and it does provide some pride and enjoyment from some of the GFLA's population:

Global Fest, I think, would be an indication of something that's inspiring a neighbourhood to be more proud. Because of that annual August festival that happens here, I think it is getting more Calgarians over to the East side of town and hopefully more Calgarians are realizing that, you know, poverty and extreme circumstances that they could maybe donate towards or contribute to reside in their own community just as it does in Africa or wherever else they send their money to. (Stacey Collyer, Calgary Reads, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 January 2011)

[Global Fest] does have buy in, and it actually does have buy in from people that I know personally that live in the area, that they see kind of see it as a neat event, you know that 'wow, this is Forest Lawn's time to shine in the rest of the city' kind of thing. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

However, the event is tailored to attract outside populations and its presentation is not representative of the social relationships that exist in the GFLA. Elliston Park, where Global Fest is held, is cleaned up for a wholesome presentation to the rest of Calgary. As mentioned above, the GFLA has been stigmatized to the point where an irrational fear of the area is present in the minds of most Calgarians. Due to the heavy police presence, Global Fest spectators are protected from the perceived danger present in Calgary's frontier (see Smith 1996):

There are people all over, and they close the streets. It is almost one of the nights where it seems more safe [sic] to walk around that area at night. A lot of people, I think, are fearful of going to that area at night. So, even a lot of people in the neighbourhood, I get that impression. So, it's almost like, sort of the one time during the summer where a week or ten days when it becomes, you know, a safer place to be because there are lots of police there and there are lots of people, so it is not as scary as it is normally. So, there's that. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Also, Global Fest is not a free event, so attendees must have disposable income to actually enter the grounds (although some GFLA residents are able to watch the fireworks presentations from their backyards). The side effects of a charged event acts as a method to exclude lower income populations from attending:

The other thing that I know that a lot of people do in the community is watch it from their backyards and stuff, so it is kind of a free event. Obviously, it is not free, and a lot of the people in the neighbourhood probably don't have the money to pay to get into it. It is more of a city event, than I would say, than it is a community event. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Although there might be a number of ethnicities who attend the festival, due to the cost of admission, they will likely be of similar socioeconomic class, which questions how inclusive Global Fest truly is.

Gentrification can present itself in many different forms, and some may appear to be progressive and community oriented. The redevelopment approach that the IABRZ has taken, and its promotional projects mentioned above are key ingredients, is an attempt to commercialize the GFLA's ethnicity (see Wilson et al. 2004). Their methods are not a neighbourhood driven exercise, but instead represents a select cohort's need to display an "authentic" ethnic community. Together with their spectacle events and presenting an "ethnic authenticity," this select community aims to culturally commodify the area. Similar projects constructed ethnicity to generate investment for the area, and often for

the betterment of developers and builders. Most notably, cultural commodification was used as a gentrification strategy in the Pilsen neighbourhood of Chicago, Illinois (see Wilson et al. 2004). The coalition pushing this form of gentrification aimed to display a “natural Mexican barrio and by doing so would improve the economic stature of the community as well as augmenting Chicago’s cultural foundation (Wilson et al. 2004, 1180). The IABRZ is attempting a similar strategy of improving the image of the community as well as improving Calgary’s image as a world city. Wilson et al. (2004) states that ethnicity then becomes a sort of good that is branded and sold to consumers (such as tourists and gentrifiers), thus commodification is exerted “through a system of codes and constructions to construct ethnic identities for purposes of intensifying land and property values” (1180). This research will also show that the redevelopment strategy of the IABRZ and its allies increase the economic viability of the area through the international flare of the area; rather their construction of cultural diversity.

Community Support?

When discussing how supportive the surrounding community is of IABRZ activities, those tied to the BRZ argue that they have their full support. Alison Karim-McSwiney responded with “Absolutely” when asked if the IABRZ is well received in the neighbourhood. Media documents that the IABRZ’s efforts, namely the IADI and to a lesser extent SE17 redevelopment plans, have the backing of the community:

‘We’re finally at a real pinnacle in our work and this is a very key piece. We’re 100 percent behind it and we’ve been pushing for it. We couldn’t be more happy,’ said Alison Karim-McSwiney of the International Avenue business association. ‘This community is so behind this project and we’re so excited for what it can do for this whole area and the city as a whole. We have been waiting for this for well over 20-plus years, and it’s finally coming to fruition.’ (Calgary Herald 2012)

Although, SE17 was a City of Calgary led venture, the IABRZ had significant input and much of SE17 is reflective of IADI. There is no denying that the proponents of both plans, as well as major media outlets, have championed the area under the guise of a grassroots approach. However, the IABRZ, its allies, and the activities that they undertake are not bottom-up community supported endeavours; rather they represent a select group within a wider community.

There are two overarching groups that are affected by the IABRZ activities: neighbourhood residents and business owners. Revitalization proponents would have you believe that they are community focused, but in reality the majority of the population has very little knowledge of the IABRZ and its activities. Although there are residents within the GFLA that do support the ventures of the IABRZ, it is a small select group (largely middle-class homeowners) out of the entirety of the group.

The IABRZ is the body that represents the businesses along the corridor, and with that general description one would assume that the businesses support the BRZ. However, there exists a large disconnect between the member businesses and the IABRZ Board of Directors and its Executive Director. From its inception, the IABRZ has never represented a common voice amongst the businesses along the corridor. There is little turnaround of members of the IABRZ board, and there is low participation in the actual organization by its member businesses.

Business Oriented?

When BRZs first emerged in Calgary, they had a difficult time gathering steam because the majority of business owners were against their creation. Businesses already

pay property taxes, but in order to fund the budget of a BRZ the member businesses must pay higher rates. Even if the tax percentage is relatively low, it still affects their business' profit. In the GFLA, many of the businesses were (and still are) not profitable enough to be burdened by more taxes. According to Bob Crick, the majority of businesses in Calgary were against the establishment of BRZs, and it was no different in the GFLA:

When the BRZs were first trying to organize, the BRZs in the city, nine out of ten businesses were against it, absolutely dead set against paying more taxes, etc. We [GFLA] didn't have businesses that were affluent enough to really afford this kind of advertising, and that type of thing. They were really really [sic] against it. There were a few that were on side, and there were a few that were totally against it. (Bob Crick, Business Owner – Economy Automotive and Transmission, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 10 October 2011)

If there was so much opposition to forming a BRZ, how then was the entity approved by the City of Calgary? Did the City of Calgary not receive the minimum amount of signatures from opposed businesses to petition the halting of the IABRZ? According to Bob, there was more than enough opposition and signatures were collected.

Nevertheless, the City of Calgary approved the IABRZ despite business disapproval:

They tried to take in, they did, they took in [sic] from 52nd street east. I was the one that went around and organized a petition to block them. I had 82 percent of the businesses sign against being taken into the BRZ. The city took it in anyways. I went from business to business to business and talked to business owners. (Bob Crick, Business Owner, Economy Automotive and Transmission, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 10 October 2011)

There is no definitive answer as to why the City of Calgary approved the formation of the IABRZ despite an overwhelming disapproval from the businesses in the area.

When asked what businesses approved of the formation of the IABRZ and what class they represented, Bob Crick elaborated on the approval of the IABRZ:

I don't know if we can break it that way. I would break it another way. I would say that the more progressive businesses wanted to make a change, it didn't matter who ran them. The ethnic businesses didn't have the where with all, they were struggling. A lot of them were only selling to ethnic community, ok? So, some of the older established places were doing ok and active in what they were doing and everything. They didn't want it either. The newer businesses didn't have the where with all and were in still in the three year golden opportunity struggle period. It takes three years to get a business off the ground, to get it running. They didn't have the money to do it, and here they were faced with extra taxes and people telling them what to do and given more restrictions and all this type of stuff. So, they were against it. There was [sic] the more progressive more established businesses that were really on the push side of it. People who wanted to see change in Forest Lawn. Some of them wanted to see change that was not necessarily good but was going to push certain parts of the population away from it (Bob Crick, Business Owner – Economy Automotive and Transmission, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 10 October 2011)

The priorities of the business owners along the corridor were not necessarily on the formation of the IABRZ. Many ethnic businesses did not have the capacity to actually oppose the proposed BRZ and were struggling to make ends meet. They were also selling to a select population, so as long as there was a demand for their specific goods from their target customers, they had little incentive to adopt further promotional strategies. The same decision is faced by new and upcoming businesses. These business owners are more concerned about the stability of the company and attracting customers than the creation of a local business organization. Some of the older more established businesses had already a solid customer base and were doing quite well because of it. According to Bob Crick, these businesses were also against the formation of the IABRZ. The majority of businesses along the corridor were focused entirely on the success of their businesses. They did not have the appropriate knowledge to oppose the creation of a BRZ, nor did they care about the BRZ enough to prevent its establishment. This attention gap has opened up a realm of possibilities for powerful voices, namely the

IABRZ Board and its Executive Director, to push through visions and projects through the guise of “community support”:

Anytime that you have an organization doing something, whatever you are doing, I don't care if you are revitalizing a section of the city or you are running a program to run a curling club or a teen organization, big brothers, whatever, if you have 100 members and you have ten active members, you have one of the stellar organizations in the city. It is usually driven by less than five percent of the population, and that is true in Forest Lawn, wherever. So, if you have 100 businesses, and you have ten that were involved, and they [IABRZ] ten involved, they have accomplished what they have accomplished because of it. (Bob Crick, Business Owner, Economy Automotive and Transmission, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 10 October 2011)

6.5 – “International Avenue: Vision for Renewal”

In 1995, the IABRZ sponsored the “International Avenue: Vision for Renewal” project and Wiseman Associates were hired to prepare the plan that aligned with IABRZ's vision (IABRZ 1995). The IABRZ wished to complete a short, medium and long range plan for the 17th Avenue SE corridor, from 26th Street SE to 52nd SE, and Wiseman Associates fulfilled this request (IABRZ 1995). One of the motivating factors for this study was the IABRZ's disapproval with the City of Calgary's ARP for the area:

Now, I am not sure if you are aware, but we do have an actual plan that we had before the charrettes... This is something that we did to counteract the ARP, because when the ARP came we are not very happy with the ARP. In fact, the ARP was mainly the residential community and it didn't actually, um, they brought the businesses in for three meetings only, and essentially the whole plan was done before we were even able to get in there so we were not happy with that ARP as businesses. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)⁵⁵

⁵⁵ City of Calgary ARPs are comprehensive land use plans that provide a neighbourhood-based assessment based through a range of issues; historical contexts, socio-economic factors, demographics, as well as public survey data (IABRZ 1995). As mentioned in the previous chapter, ARP's are Alberta's method of “managing” redevelopment, and have typically been used in the City of Calgary to protect neighbourhoods from development outside the scope for the neighbourhood.

The two biggest grievances that the IABRZ had against the 1994 ARP was that they felt left out of the entire process and it was not an urban design project:

Well, it's just that there were so many things that could have been done better and it wasn't an urban design document for one, it was just mainly an ARP that really was pretty poor we thought. So, this is the plan we came up with to counteract that... (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)

There is substantial credence to the IABRZ's disapproval of the ARP, because at that time standard City of Calgary planning practice did not incorporate urban design and pedestrian oriented development:

So, anyhow, this plan we did go down to the city and showed them this and they did not like it, because, again, this is kind of interesting, this plan actually had things that were kind of untoward at the time. We had traffic calming. We had delineated sidewalks. We had delineated crosswalks. We had trees. We had all sorts of interesting things. We had bus lay bys. The city was all about transportation. They were all about moving vehicles. They weren't about the community, and for us we wanted to create a community street and not a transportation corridor. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)

In the mid-1990s, disagreements occurred between the City of Calgary and the IABRZ as a result of the City's desire to retain swift transportation movement through the GFLA.

The IABRZ has been a dominant voice in the GFLA since it was established, and it has been able to garner support for their cause. For example, the disagreement over the ARP on the part of the IABRZ did not sit well with the GFLA communities, but the IABRZ was able to smooth over lingering concerns:

So, we had a bit of a problem with our communities back in '94 when that ARP was done. We weren't talking. It was an all out war between us and them, because what they wanted to do was not what we wanted to do. And, we kind of came to terms over a number of years when they realized that we wanted to do what was best for the community. But, yeah, there was a bit of a rough patch for about two to three years really to be honest. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ

Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)

The notion that the IABRZ wanted to do what was best for the community is not supported by evidence outlined in their vision of renewal and through the interviews I conducted. The 1995 “International Avenue: Vision for Renewal” is a self-interest plan in that it focuses entirely on the corridor and ignores the GFLA as a complete community, despite claims of including community groups and providing historical background on the GFLA. Granted, the role of the IABRZ is to represent the businesses along 17th Avenue SE so their focus is going to be narrow. The recommendations and responsibilities of the report are as follows:

- 1) That the City and the BRZ reaffirm their commitment to International Avenue by establishing an ongoing programme of physical and planning improvements, combining private and public funding.
- 2) That the BRZ and the City reaffirm their commitment to International Avenue as a viable commercial district and direct all future efforts towards developments that will enhance that viability.
- 3) That the City and the BRZ make all efforts to ensure that non-essential traffic be directed away from International Avenue and onto roadways that is more conducive to their presence.
- 4) That the BRZ and the City ensure that future improvements, including road closures, do not unduly restrict access to the businesses of International Avenue, while ensuring that adjacent residential communities are not excessively affected if these improvements are not undertaken.
- 5) That the BRZ and the City make efforts to encourage non-motorized uses including the crossing of International Avenue by people of all means including pedestrians, cyclists, school age children and the elderly.
- 6) That the BRZ should actively identify and recruit those businesses that would help complete the mix and/or provide after-hours activities along the Avenue.
- 7) That the BRZ should actively identify and recruit those complimentary activities – post-secondary schools, a farmer’s market, government service centres – that would add diversity to the mix and/or provide after-hours activities along the Avenue.
- 8) That the BRZ and the City should actively encourage the introduction of upper storey residential uses in new developments along the Avenue.

- 9) That the City, surrounding communities and the BRZ work together to facilitate quality development by producing a set of guidelines that would fast-track the approval process.
- 10) That the BRZ and the City formulate a set of signage guidelines to aid in reducing current visual clutter.
- 11) That the BRZ encourage businesses to improve upkeep of their premises. (IABRZ 1995, 3-5)

Only two of the recommendations incorporate the surrounding communities.

Recommendation four suggests that surrounding residential communities are not adversely affected by improvements along the corridor, namely road improvements, and recommendation nine recommends a collaborative effort to fast-track approval process⁵⁶.

A public participation component was integral to developing “International Avenue: Vision for Renewal”⁵⁷. An open house was held on March 23, 1995 and consultants provided sketches of similar shopping district designs to the stakeholders (IABRZ 1995). Focus group sessions were held with three stakeholder groups that dealt with a number of issues, such as image and safety, and then were captured sketch form (IABRZ 1995). These sketch vignettes were then presented to the Community Planning Advisory Committee, and then from that meeting the set of recommendations were compiled and presented to the IABRZ Board of Directors for approval (IABRZ 1995). Once the recommendations were approved by the IABRZ Board, then another open house was held for stakeholders so that they could view the culmination of all the work⁵⁸. Community Planning Advisory Committees, which were discussed in the preceding chapter, are also highly unrepresentative of the communities that they represent.

⁵⁶ Incidentally, IADI incorporates a very similar recommendation for fast-tracking the approval process that may overshadow the public scrutiny process for development (see below).

⁵⁷ The public participation process in this plan was very similar to the strategy employed in IADI and SE17.

⁵⁸ It should also be noted that the IABRZ Board approved the recommendations, which calls into question if they disapproved of some measures which were then thrown out of the redevelopment vision.

The IABRZs dismisses social issues, and instead recommends that “proper urban design” be implemented as a measure to monitor space. The GFLA does suffer from socio-economic problems, but rather than working through the issues with the people living there, the IABRZ prefers to address these issues through design. The recommendations of the IABRZ’s plan are quite attractive and are appealing across all classes, but without adequate social policy these progressive measures have the potential to exclude the GFLA’s vulnerable populations from the corridor instead of benefiting them.

6.6 – The International Avenue Design Initiative

Labeled as a community-driven grassroots venture, IADI was a redevelopment initiative that brought together various actors in an attempt to alleviate the redevelopment stalemate that plagued the GFLA. Incorporating New Urbanism as a theoretical foundation, IADI aimed to confront the corridor’s social and economic issues through design.⁵⁹ Identified as a more inclusive and democratic approach to urban planning, IADI also opened a dialogue with the City of Calgary, MDRV and the Town of Chestermere on how to better plan the corridor (IADI 2005). The design-influenced recommendations are thought to be a model and a better way forward for planning in general.

Lauded as a bottom-up approach to redevelopment, IADI is believed to confront and improve upon the top-down nature of City of Calgary planning practices. The inclusive nature of IADI brings all stakeholders together in one forum to devise their

⁵⁹ In fact, IADI (2005) states that “the challenge that confronts International Avenue is fundamentally an issue of design” (11), so there is no question that “poor” design is believed to be the crux of the issues confronting the GFLA.

future. This research shows that there is a fundamental disconnect between this project's theory and practice. It is generally accepted that New Urbanism is a design exercise, but the practice serves to exclude and eventually displace people from urban spaces.

Through the formation of a Steering Committee, the Envisioning International Avenue studio course at the U of C, and a pre-defined charrette engagement strategy, the IADI

became surprisingly similar to the top-down planning approaches it sought to alleviate.

The process was carefully orchestrated to convince the GFLA's population (at least the minority that was not excluded from the project) that New Urbanism was the only

alternative. Steacy Collyer, of Calgary Reads, gave a lucid description of the

redevelopment efforts:

It's the 'white backpack mentality' for sure, right? So, I as a white person carry this kind of invisible backpack on my back of all of my assumptions, my prejudices, my luxuries I have in my life. And so my paradigm as a white person, I think 'oh you must want your neighbourhood cleaned up and pretty because that is the kind of neighbourhood I would like to be in' right? The person who is there right now may have come from war torn Sudan. They don't care, or it doesn't bother them that the paint's chipped off because I've got walls and roof over my head, right. So, on one hand I think it does impose when we redevelop or fix up we impose some of that white backpack mentality on other people assuming they want the same thing that I would want. I think people deserve to live in the best way they can, and if redevelopment is being done to increase levels of safety to be sure that people are in hygienic situations, if there's some of that basic needs stuff and it is not just about design then I think it is for the good. (Steacy Collyer, Calgary Reads, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 January 2011)

From the very onset of the project, IADI was focused on design:

You know the Avenue itself isn't particularly well designed. The street stop and start and misaligned [sic]. So it is kind of a hodge podge of things that happened over time. One of things that we got involved with very early was the idea that we needed something that was form based as opposed to use and function. The notion was that we would be looking at the physical environment. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

Before a public engagement process even began, a design-oriented perspective was the approach to be used to “help” the GFLA. Safety was not in the form of improving the lives of the current residents (as what Steacy Collyer alluded to), but rather safety encapsulated in a design scheme. Although several forward thinking ideas were espoused in the IADA, the narrowed vision and process adopted to realize it excluded voices and alternatives.

How it Began

IADI was not a community driven plan in the sense that the entire GFLA was responsible for its creation. The roots of IADI begin with the establishment of the IABRZ. The IABRZ already completed a visioning process with its 1995 redevelopment plan; however the IABRZ needed a partner that would provide a more legitimate base for its plans and vision. The EVDS’ Urban Design program housed academics that had similar visions and notions as the IABRZ. The U of C also provided an intellectual base to make redevelopment in the GFLA happen:

It wasn’t community driven. It was someone knew someone and got the university involved because it would help legitimize as part of that whole legitimizing this area in relation to the rest of the city, “Oh the University of Calgary is interested in this area, then hey hello rest of the city, maybe we aren’t as bad as you think we are.”...The BRZ and the businesses and that whole movement were trying to use the university to help legitimize them in relation to the rest of the city. That is partly how it started. Also, to help with their political agenda I am sure, to help raise the, I mean if the assumption long term was that let’s get the city to invest in this area, and whatever that means, whether it is planning or actually investing physically in the infrastructure. If we are going to do that, let’s get the university on side and let’s start building this and that will get some sort of political support and we will look like we are legitimate. We will get the aldermen on side. We will get some community members on side, which will help convince the more community minded aldermen [tongue in cheek, laughter]. Community members meaning the community association reps mostly. So, it was that, and obviously through their

process that they created and completed with the university's help, they were able to raise enough political capital to get the city to legitimize it through our own process. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Not only was IADI a redevelopment scheme, but it was also a political measure for the IABRZ to bring the City of Calgary on board, which was the final step to push their agenda. In fact, after IADI won a Charter Award from the Congress for the New Urbanism in 2005, the key players in the project "marched" into the City of Calgary Mayor's office to show him that they "were pretty much not crazy," which eventually led to the creation of SE17:

They [City of Calgary] came on board actually just, well the charrettes did win a Charter award [Congress of New Urbanism], and so myself, Gian-Carlo Carra, Kirby and Geoff Dyer went down to receive that award. We then marched in, Gian-Carlo and myself and I think that Geoff was there too, we marched into the mayor's office and made him aware that we had won this award and that we were pretty much not crazy and we felt that this was something that could happen and look at how great it could be. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011, 24 November 2011)

The original core group behind IADI was comprised of "individuals professionally and personally invested in East Calgary, including Alderman Joe Ceci and former Alderman Diane Danielson, City of Calgary Senior Planners Dr. Paul Maas and Malcom Ho-You, and International Avenue BRZ Executive Director Alison Karim-McSwiney" (IADI 2005, 1).⁶⁰ It was Dr. Paul Maas that bridged the gap between this original group and EVDS. An informal conversation occurred between Dr. Maas and Robert Kirby, who at that time was an EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban

⁶⁰ It should be noted that only Diane Danielson actually lives in the GFLA.

Design, in the parking lot of Totem (a building supply company) in Bowness.⁶¹ Robert Kirby and EVDS then became an integral part of IADI.⁶² Professor Kirby immediately recruited EVDS Sessional Instructor and Urban Designer Geoff Dyer and Master's student Gian-Carlo Carra to be part of the project (IADI 2005).⁶³ These eight members comprised stage one of the IADI Steering Committee.

The members of the Steering Committee were well educated middle to upper-class individuals with very little understanding of the hardships that GFLA residents endure and their day-to-day lives:

I actually, I have to tell you that I think this, and I mean from the very time that I actually came here, the very first day that I had my interview I [sic], before that I had done a number of things around here going 'wow.' It really shocked me because I am from West Calgary and I come from a higher income background than here, and it shocked me on what people here were having [sic] to live with. It made me angry. It still makes me angry every time that I drive up here and I go past Deerfoot and I see the difference in the infrastructure and how the design is different out here and there is no reason for it. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011)

Ms. Karim-McSwiney's comments on poor infrastructure quality in the area were echoed by other interviewees:

The general view of the community is that they have never really been brought up to city standards ever since the annexation. I think that there are a lot of people there, some of them have lived there since those years, since the 60s, and

⁶¹ The connection that we made was through a planner [Paul Maas] that got me involved very early on. I simply met him at Totem, you know the building supply place, and he was the one who put me in touch with Alison, and it was his reading that we should be involved with that kind of activity. So, he was really the main connection that I made, and it was his insights into what was about to happen. (discussion with Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design)

⁶² During our discussion, Dr. Maas mentioned that when he approached Robert Kirby he suggested that he involve his students in yearly university projects that focused on the 17th Avenue SE Corridor, implying that just one project would not be sufficient. Granted, IADI was believed to be such a project and even though Dr. Maas commented on how design would be the key ingredient it was not the only remedy to the "problems" facing the GFLA. Unfortunately, this vision was not undertaken and design remained the only ingredient and guiding force in both IADI and SE17.

⁶³ Alderman Carra was an EVDS Urban Design Master's Candidate at the time that IADI was underway.

some of them just from living in the community get that sort of general community, the general community feeling is that you know they're the poor second cousin to other parts of the city because they have this legacy of never having adequate services and all that, and being disconnected. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Design is one avenue through which to work towards better infrastructure, but who provides the input for the design? Certain class prejudices and assumptions create a paradigm in which we view the world, and the paradigm that the Steering Committee had for the GFLA was not reflective of the population that lives there. When asked why and how the Steering Committee was chosen and its community representation, the IABRZ

Executive Director stated:

Because they [Steering Committee members] were the most knowledgeable and the best people to have on the team... No [representative of the whole community] . It was representative of the BRZ. It was our project, so we were running it. But, we certainly did invite people at the other things. So, it is BRZ initiated, so it needed to be a BRZ committee. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011)

Various Steering Committee members may be knowledgeable from an academic stance. Other members may understand the corridor from a strictly business perspective, and some may understand from planning perspectives. However, none of the Steering Committee members understand how people actually live their lives in the area. If this project was truly an inclusive endeavor, why was no neighbourhood resident part of the Steering Committee? At the very least, why was not a single CA board member (who at the very minimum would have a better understanding of the GFLA) included? Ms. Karim-McSwiney was clear on the matter: the project was BRZ initiated so it needed to be a BRZ committee. From the onset, the entire IADI process was undemocratic in nature. She mentions that people were invited to other meetings, such as the Charrettes.

However, the IADI's entire visioning process and engagement strategy was an exclusive project for reasons elaborated below. The exclusive engagement approach was forged in EVDS' Envisioning International Avenue studio design course.

Envisioning International Avenue

Robert Kirby, with the help of Gian-Carlo Carra and Geoff Dyer, created the graduate-level interdisciplinary urban design course, which was available to students even outside EVDS (IADI 2005). An advertisement, in the form of a poster, was placed across the U of C campus to attract potential team partners (Figure 6.1). The aim of the course was to create a broad project team and through certain principles create a vision for the GFLA.⁶⁴ “The hope was that individuals motivated to step outside their normal Academic Frameworks in order to be of service to the greater community, would possess the right mix of skills, ingenuity and intent to further enrich the project” (IADI 2005, 13). There is no question that it was a success story in collaboration amongst a diverse academic crowd:

⁶⁴ According to IADI (2005), “bringing the University into the process offered two significant benefits: 1) it was an economical source of labour; and 2) it provided expertise that was unconstrained by current Policy Frameworks” (12). Recognizing the faults of using University expertise, IADI (2005) states that “1) student labor can have quality issues associated with it; and 2) operating free from Policy Frameworks constraints all too often characterizes academic work as the unrealistic exercise of the ‘Ivory Tower’” (12). The developers of IADI also realized that academic work tends to have a short attention span due to the semester system that it follows and transient nature of the lifestyle (IADI 2005). One of the mandates of EVDS is to bridge idealism with real world practice, so the team felt qualified to start IADI with confidence (IADI 2005). They also believed that by enlarging the Project Team meant that IADI's scope and success would increase as well (IADI 2005). Understanding that a deficit existed between yesterday's policy frameworks and today's objectives, the Core Project Team developed IADI to address the shortfalls. They completed this in two fundamental ways: “1) the IADI would develop an alternative framework specific to Greater Forest Lawn today; and 2) the IADI process would function as a working model to test and demonstrate the effectiveness of this alternative framework” (IADI 2005, 12-13). The expectation was to apply the aforementioned model in three ways: “1) at the municipal level, and particularly in the Greater Forest Lawn; 2) within the University as an expression of interdisciplinary collaboration; and 3) as an ideal example of the integrative relationship that should exist between a University and the city it serves” (IADI 2005, 13). However, there is contradiction in the alternative; the situation of the GFLA cannot be applied universally (which is a shortfall of the charrette process). These understandings formed the practical construct of the Envisioning International Avenue studio course.

So we had an incredibly diverse class, and from my point of view it was trying to get back to the roots of EVDS, which was losing the idea of being interdisciplinary, and I was concerned that interdisciplinary had come down to the idea that there are these three or four programs that were involved in the, they had parted ways and weren't really involved with anybody other than they were forced to in the first year of classes. So, it was somewhat of an experiment and it was also telling the faculty where it should be going [to hell]. But it worked. I mean we had a really interesting class, and a lot of it was because they were truly interested in being involved in this thing. They were really energetic and that is why I think we did so well in pulling this off was that we had a lot of energetic people and nothing was dictated to, they were free to move this in whatever direction. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

The expertise from the U of C was represented by individuals from Urban Design, Sociology, Planning, Geography, Communication and Culture, Business and Finance, and Community Recreation (IADI 2005). According to Robert Kirby, the team consisted of business people from downtown as well, and the entire group was comprised of approximately 20 people. It was through this course that the vision of IADI was established:

Well the thing [IADI] was divided into two steps, right? The first step, it was a class. It was a legitimate class and it ran over two terms I believe. Then after that Gian-Carlo and I took it and turned it into a report. But the beginning, the major ideas and the interest of the community had was really in that first step where it was a legitimate class for I believe it was two terms...One way or another the main set of ideas and everything came out of the class, and Gian-Carlo and I simply refined everything and developed it into the drawing and writing. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

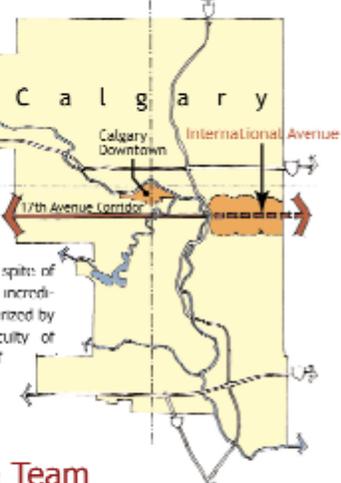
However, the Project Team did not include any GFLA residents. How can a vision be accurate if persons with lived experiences in the GFLA are not part of the strategy for redevelopment?

from the Faculty of Environmental Design Community Outreach comes
An Interdisciplinary Studio in Urban Design
Envisioning International Avenue

"We have the ability to restore the dwelling place of our civilization. The more difficult question is: do we have the will to be civilized?"

James Howard Kunstler

Defining the original eastern gateway to the City of Calgary, 17th Avenue SE, extends 3 km from the Bow River and Deertoot Trail Corridors to Calgary's eastern edge. In 1993 it was renamed International Avenue in recognition of the vibrancy of the businesses that have emerged to serve the adjacent communities of Greater Forest Lawn. Unfortunately, this vibrancy is accompanied by an equally vibrant range of social issues that stigmatizes an already background redevelopment process. Today, in spite of these issues, International Avenue is the centre of public life for an incredibly diverse assortment of ethnic communities in a city more characterized by homogeneity. A newly formed partnership between the Faculty of Environmental Design, the International Avenue BRZ and the City of Calgary seeks to address this important sector of the city.



The Issues

Current City of Calgary plans for 17th Avenue SE see transportation policies favoring automobile speed and mobility at the cost of community and walkability. Integrated urban solutions such as a pedestrian friendly environment supported by strong public transportation, building types that address the street and shape public space, and housing on the Avenue providing a 24 hour community presence are difficult to achieve within the city's sprawl focused policy and design - further exacerbating the area's social issues. **This project intends to confront city policy's suburban bias head-on with sound principles of urban design, offering a pragmatic integrated redevelopment plan and implementation strategy developed through an interdisciplinary team effort.**

The "Studio"

This studio, offered during the 2004 winter session, is the start of a multi-year "real world" collaborative research project that will interact regularly with Calgary's public and private sectors. An introduction to the project and the interdisciplinary of urban design will kick off the semester. The studio will foster a creative and interdisciplinary atmosphere while allowing for discipline-based individual and group contributions. All work will be accumulated into a comprehensive "preliminary project report" at the end of the semester. **Don't miss this unique opportunity to work directly with Calgary's development industry and apply your chosen discipline to a real-world project.**

The Team

Graduate and fourth year Undergraduate students from a variety of disciplines are encouraged to participate. Some areas of interest required are:

- Alternative Energy Systems
- Business Development
- Community Development
- Community Empowerment & Municipal Government
- Crime Prevention & Social Work
- Cultural Diversity & International Relations
- Development Finance
- Marketing
- Mixed-Use Housing Prototypes
- Public Art & Installations
- Public Relations & Public Process
- Street Design & Transportation Innovation
- Urban Modeling
- Urban Sprawl
- **How Can You Contribute?**



Course Info: EDVS 743.03
 email: VisionIntAve@urbanspacesstudio.com

Professor Robert Kirby
 phone: 220-6661

Figure 6.1. Envisioning International Avenue,
 Source: IADI (2005)

The course designers came in with the notion that no one single person would possess more knowledge than the rest of the team members.⁶⁵ Students and faculty members worked side by side in a team effort, and decisions were made through roundtable consensus (IADI 2005). The team quickly agreed amongst themselves that they could achieve the IADI's Stage One mandate, which was: "1) to establish a conceptual-scaled overview of International Avenue's future; and 2) to develop a process that would achieve build-out" (IADI 2005, 13). The team then argued that a balance be forged between the City of Calgary's regional considerations and the grassroots aspirations of the GFLA (IADI 2005).⁶⁶ It was then up to the team to decipher the best process to achieve the end goal.

To be fair, the entire IADI process was funded with limited resources. The interdisciplinary studio provided cheap labour, so to speak, in the form of students and university faculty. University resources were used quite effectively to conduct interviews and gather demographic information. However, NU was the guiding principle of the studio course. Although students and faculty members incorporated their paradigms into

⁶⁵“Yeah, we did this, we had what about 20, there was [sic] 20 some students involved [The Interdisciplinary Studio in Urban Design: Envisioning International Avenue] and I worked with Gian-Carlo and Geoff Dyer, and they were sort of my assistants. And we sort of started off by just, you know, not having a sort of set course with the structure but more the idea that here's our problem how do we deal with this. So, every day in the class there was a discussion more than me coming in and having a set of lectures about how to get involved. I think we started off by giving a kind of overview, but the notion was that we did not try to solve everything yourself. You didn't have a king in a position of knowing everything. You simply had a range of things that you had to deal with and try to solve, and then you found as many hits so we broke our classes down to a series of two or three people forming the team in any particular aspect of whatever that whole project was going to be about.” (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2010)

⁶⁶ The term grassroots (in this particular situation) must be held in skepticism though, because the entire redevelopment vision beginning in the early 1990s has not been a community driven project but an idea forged by a select population that is out of touch with their respective community.

the general thought process of the Project Team, NU provided the predominant theoretical construct.

The academic leadership of the IADI, namely Geoff Dyer and Gian-Carlo Carra, are true-believer NU practitioners. James Howard Kunstler, a notable proponent of the NU, is quoted at the top of the course's advertised poster: "We have the ability to restore the dwelling place of our civilization. The more difficult question is: do we have the will to be civilized." One could assume that from reading this, the project leaders believe that the situation of the GFLA is uncivilized. It also shows that the project leaders draw inspiration from a New Urbanist proponent. The poster continues the advertisement with:

Current City of Calgary plans for 17th Avenue SE see transportation policies favoring automobile speed and mobility at the cost of community and walkability. Integrated urban solutions such as pedestrian friendly environment supported by strong public transportation, building types that address the street and shape public spaces, and housing on the Avenue providing a 24 hour community presence are difficult to achieve within the city's sprawl focused policy and design – further exacerbating the area's social issues. **This project intends to confront city policy's suburban bias head-on with sound principles of urban design, offering a pragmatic integrated redevelopment plan and implementation strategy develop through an interdisciplinary team effort.** (IADI 2005, 12, original emphasis)

This explanation cleverly leaves very little to critique. It suggests solutions to Calgary's unsustainable footprint, as well as a potential resolution to the GFLA's social issues.

Such rhetoric appeals to a wide range of people, particularly people who are frustrated with their living conditions in the GFLA.⁶⁷ There is an underlying theme suggested in the above statement: the policy frameworks employed by the City of Calgary have, in effect, destroyed community and walkability, which have in turn made the GFLA an uncivil place (represented by the lack of surveillance and social issues). Through "sound

⁶⁷ Frustration with City of Calgary practices, whatever they may be, was a repeated by participants throughout the interview process of this research.

principles of urban design,” civility can be maintained through the proper built environment, which will miraculously eradicate the GFLA’s social issues.

Although students and professors brought to the table diverse expertise, it was urban design theory that would guide the entire IADI process. In fact, visions of how to solve the GFLA’s issues were contrived even before the convening of the studio course:

When I do these projects I try to have an idea what the answer is somewhere. I have to know something. But then, I don’t push it. So, basically I try to solve, when I did this [IADI] I tried to solve this whole thing before we even talked to anybody, right? So I start off, I did my first drawing was a version of that big one that is in here somewhere. That was the first thing I did. I drew an image of what I was after, and then I never showed it to anybody, right? So it is a funny contradiction is that in some ways you really have to have the answer then you just don’t give it. Instead, you try to work this other way around where everybody has to come up...It was pretty crude, but what it did, it taught me enough about what I was after. So, it is a kind of contradiction in the way that I do try to solve this thing before I go talk to anybody. And then I never tell anybody what it is. In the end you are hoping that it [the designer’s solution] comes up, but yeah I thought about and then again it comes up in ways that you would never have the brain power to solve yourself. So, the idea is that there is some ingredient in there, I always think about it as magic, but that is probably too vague of a term. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

Robert Kirby’s approach to solving the issues in the GFLA is not surprising (given that he is an urban designer), but an ingredient had been planted that guided the entire class.

Although a collaborative vision of the GFLA came out of the class, and Robert Kirby mentioned that there were ideas included that were beyond his expectations, New Urbanist theory guided the entire process. The urban designers created the course and they were the same people driving the process:

At the same time you have to have somebody driving this. When we did this [IADI], it was Gian-Carlo and Geoff and me. We made the thing work, you know, and again if you are going to have community involvement you really have to, you find the same thing in Forest Lawn there is a core of doers that make it happen and if you didn’t have that you would not have the kind of

energy that goes into supporting that community. And yet at the same time, you can't have it where it is top down. You can't have a King. You have to have bottom-up to make it legitimate, and to bring this kind of unexpected events that happen that are beyond your single thinking. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

There is a fair bit of irony in the aforementioned statement in regards to keeping IADI a bottom-up process. The notion of a 'King' implies that a top-down approach is only achieved if a single person is driving a process, but a top-down approach can also be achieved by a group of individuals with a singular purpose. The IABRZ has had a singular purpose since its inception, which was then been bolstered by the addition of the U of C.

The Charrette Process

Gian-Carlo Carra mentioned in our November 2011 interview that it was during the EVDS studio course that the Project Team agreed that the charrette process would be the best avenue in which to tackle the issues confronting the 17th Avenue SE corridor. The arguments for the charrette were that the process is a grassroots approach to redevelopment, and it would be the "most bang for the buck." According to IADI (2005), the effectiveness of charrettes is well recorded as a method used in North America for redevelopment strategies.⁶⁸ Geoff Dyer, one of the EVDS studio instructors and IADI Steering Committee Member, brought extensive experience to the table. He has been a design team member on a number of North American high-end charrettes (IADI 2005).

⁶⁸ It should be noted that the EVDS studio course poster highlighted that it was an excellent opportunity to work with Calgary's development industry and apply theoretical constructs to real work practices. Nowhere on the poster is the reference of working with neighbourhood residents listed. This truly begs the question if IADI was truly about working with the GFLA community or instead about revitalization in the name of profit.

In fact, it was Geoff Dyer that persuaded the Project Team that the charrette provided the best avenue from which to approach the GFLA (IADI 2005).

In simplest terms, a design charrette is a public engagement strategy that is supposed to bring all stakeholders to the table in a collaborative effort for redevelopment. There are three distinct avenues in which charrettes are different than other forms of public engagement. First, the charrette process ensures that all designs are completed on site through interaction (formal and informal) amongst all stakeholders (IADI 2005). Defenders of the charrette process argue that the standard procedure of producing designs off site and subsequently bringing them to their respective community for its approval creates too much conflict between parties (IADI 2005). Second, since all stakeholders are brought together by the charrette process it speeds up the development process by alleviating multiple meetings and protracted negotiations (IADI 2005). Third, the dual benefit of collaboration and efficiency in one process engenders a great deal of buy in from all parties (IADI 2005). On the development side of the equation, the expedited approvals process and the marketing capability of charrettes is extremely attractive for developers (IADI 2005). From the City's perspective, it believes that the charrette process is true engagement and increases neighbourhood pride (IADI 2005). Also, "with its emphasis on collaboration and consensus, the Charrette offers a fundamental reworking of Democracy that recognizes and accommodates expertise, checks the 'tyranny of the majority,' and removes the 'spoils to the victor' and 'winner take all' themes that counteract the true spirit of participatory government" (IADI 2005, 14). When asked to expand upon tyranny of the majority, Gian-Carlo Carra stated:

As for ‘checking the tyranny of the majority,’ ... what we are talking about there is the idea that the charrette process could become the consensus, I mean, part of the problem with democracy is that it first past the post, you know, the idea that gets the most votes wins. A candidate that gets the most votes wins. At a certain point, you have to make a decision, but you get a certain tyranny of the majority there, where this group is large enough to say this is how we are going to go. What the charrette process tries to do is it tries to create an environment where it is not first past the post. This is the decision we are making period, it is saying what are your concerns, what are your concerns, what are your concerns and through design and collaboration can we come up with something that addresses everyone’s hopes and aspirations overlays everyone’s fears. That is the ideal charrette process, and in my experience having been part of dozens, I mean closer to 20 charrette processes in my life every time I think you know I have not had a charrette process that has gone south. I have had processes where they might have not been realized after due to after the fact politics, but in terms of everyone coming to the table and being able to achieve broad consensus and excitement and overcome barriers that you know, first past the post, tyranny of the majority basic democracy sometimes exacerbates, that’s been solved. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

The theory behind the charrette process is a progressive attempt at the public engagement process. However, there is a drastic difference between theory and practice in regards to the charrette process.

Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) argue that the academic analysis of charrettes is particularly waning. Much that has been written on NU’s public engagement method is either descriptive or promotion based without a critical reflection on the process (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007). As with IADI (2005; 2006), these descriptive and promotion-based accounts of charrettes state that they are structured to deal with complex issues and its forum is open and inclusionary. The charrette process allows all voices to be heard. Sarkissian et al. (1997) argue, however, that there are certain circumstances in which a charrette process is appropriate but may not be well suited for complicated projects that hold many conflicting view points.

When commenting on a similar charrette process undertaken in New Zealand, Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) stipulate that New Urbanists are quite protective of their charrette process. Quoting from interviews, the New Urbanists involved in the New Zealand project state that the charrette “‘is a very specific process’ and that they ‘don’t like the way the word has been misused’ and ‘bandied around’” (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 1997, 455-456). Similar rhetoric was employed in IADI (2005):

But due to the inconsistent nature of public engagement today, the term ‘Charrette’ is being loosely employed to describe a variety of different processes (14).

According to Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (1997), the protectiveness of the charrette process may be due to practitioners’ commitment to spreading NU to a wider audience. New Urbanism is “a doctrinal project with New Urbanists as intent on spreading their ideas as they are building communities” (Beauregard 2002, 182). The strict adherence to design principles illuminates the increased role of the “expert” in creating design solutions, given certain criteria (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007).

Given the dogmatic belief in design, namely the role of the expert, as well as the defensiveness associated with the charrettes, Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) question the real reason why the public is included in the New Urbanist’s version of the planning process. They highlight several answers that are directly related to the findings of this research. First, although there is a commitment to participatory planning, New Urbanists are not aware of the potential side effects of the process that they bolster.

Second:

...New Urbanists seek only information or local knowledge to inject into the project outcomes, rather than the more transformative and often intangible outcomes advocated by many contemporary planning theorists and practitioners

with a strong focus on ‘bottom-up’ approaches, the outcomes of which include social learning, capacity building, the generation of social capital, and the engagement of local people in decision making that affects them” (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007, 456).

Third, New Urbanists are able to push their ideals and vision while at the same time appeasing the increased demand for public participation in the planning process. Given the true believer mentality of New Urbanists, they will often not recognize these contradictions of the New Urbanist process and are convinced of the core importance of charrettes (Bond and Thompson- Fawcett 2007). According to the interview I conducted with Gian-Carlo Carra, the proponents of IADI are so convinced of the democratic nature of the charrettes that they are completely unaware of the power relations that appear in the process.

Although New Urbanists advocate diversity in urban environments, they are often intolerant of alternatives and opposing viewpoints (Grant 2006a). This confrontation engagement atmosphere is not a new phenomenon in Calgary. Joe Leizerowics, and interviewee in this research, commented on how the City of Calgary’s open house structure engenders hostile relationships between planners and neighbourhood residents. The charrette process is largely no different than the modernist planning approach used by the City of Calgary, so it is no coincidence that charrette processes yields similar results as the City of Calgary’s engagement strategies.⁶⁹

The charrette process is an attempt to overcome the reactive nature of engagement approaches used in dominant planning practices (McGlynn and Murrain 1994; Morris and Kaufman 1996). Although New Urbanists will argue that their Charrette process is a

⁶⁹ I discovered, through the interview with Diane Danielson, that both IADI and SE17 yielded the same results.

more “inclusive expression of democracy” (IADI 2005, ii) in (re)development strategies in practice the approach is a manipulative tool that allows New Urbanists to equate spreading their ideas with the building of communities (see Beauregard 2002).

Manipulative and deliberative strategies do not emerge at the start of the charrette exercise, but rather at the pre-charrette stage (see Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007).⁷⁰

It is within this phase that a steering group is devised, information is gathered, education on the area under study is completed, publicity and promotional efforts are undertaken, etc (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007).

IADI's Pre-Charrette Phase

Once the IADI Project Team came to the conclusion that the charrette was the best choice for public engagement, a series of tasks were completed. Alison Karim-McSwiney was consulted and, working closely with the IABRZ, the Project Team was able to set the dates for the Charrette Week, which occurred from Monday, March 15th to Saturday, March 20th, 2004 (IADI 2005). The charrette process kicks off with a town hall meeting during which the Project Team presented the pre-charrette analysis. The venue chosen for the town hall meeting was Southview Community Association Hall. The studio space for the charrette was to be located at Café o Lei. Three sub-teams were formed; each with individual tasks. A comprehensive overview of the GFLA was prepared by the Analysis Sub-Team, and it incorporated a presentation based upon base-mapping and other data that would support the design process (IADI 2005). The Communications Sub-Team's role was to create the initial engagement strategy, which consisted of three interrelated parts:

⁷⁰ Which can be anywhere from two to six months prior to the actual charrette

- 1) Using local organizations to foster direct engagement with the GFLA and canvassing along the Avenue as well as with the local schools.
- 2) Engaging government, developers, and landowners to ensure their participation.
- 3) Creating a media strategy to attract multiple outlets (such as newspapers and television) to promote and inform the public of the charrette process (IADI 2005). The Logistics Sub-Team guaranteed that the venues for the town hall meeting and the studio were selected and properly supplied. (IADI 2005).

There were substantial shortcomings on the part of the IADI in regards to engagement from the very beginning of the charrette process. The Project Team, and its subsequent sub-teams, included no GFLA residents. Essentially, the Project Team consisted of experts, but only within their specific field. Although the Project Team would be quite capable of generating a report on the GFLA from statistics and general history, they would have little understanding of the various social networks that exist in the area. The only way to obtain this information is from intensive interviews with GFLA residents, and, more importantly, including them as Project Team members.

Initial designs, along with other visions of the 17th Avenue SE Corridor were produced in the EVDS studio course, which means before the public was even incorporated into IADI the Project Team had devised a direction from which to revitalize the area. When asked if designs were constructed in the studio course before the IADI charrettes, Robert Kirby responded with:

The beginnings of all those [redesign sketches of 17th Avenue SE] would be. So, there was really a kind of refinement that was involved in the final report but in terms of all the regional ideas they would have come from the class, and it would have come from the beginning meetings. We had a meeting, and I think we tend to do this all the time. Your first meeting really is an overview and you try to give people an understanding of what your intentions are, and you also try to do things like giving people history of what led up to this... It is almost telling people what they already know in some ways. You try to jar their memory. So, it is an idea of being historical, giving them the past that they might not know about in terms of all the things that have gone on in Forest Lawn and so on, but

you are also trying to paint a picture of where you want to go, where you want everybody to think about where they should be going in the future. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design)

The visions created in the studio course, along with some other analysis conducted by the Analysis Sub-Team provided the information that was presented to the public in the first town hall meeting. According to this analysis, the GFLA is on the brink of a “bright new future,” largely due to the uniqueness of the area (which the IABRZ has been promoting since organization’s inception) (IADI 2005, 17). The analysis was presented to the town hall participants in five parts (Figure 6.2 outlines these five parts). The town hall meeting aimed to demonstrate to the attendees the effectiveness design would have on the issues confronting the GFLA, claiming design, through IADI, will allow the neighbourhood to unlock its potential (IADI 2005). The analysis provoked a lively discussion amongst the IADI team and the town hall audience, which, according to IADI (2005), characterized the spirited nature of the following charrettes.

1. A social history of Greater Forest Lawn illustrated the ties between the community today and its homesteading roots. The incorporation of the Town of Forest Lawn, annexation by the City of Calgary in the early 1960's, and build-out in the 1980's, was interwoven with the elements of diversity, adversity, and pride that have historically defined the community. (see fig. 3.3.3)
2. A social, cultural, and services inventory of Greater Forest Lawn addressed the challenges and opportunities associated with the area's location and diversity. The interconnection between the social and the physical environment was explained and the IADI's contribution of physical design in addressing the social challenges facing International Avenue was introduced. The roll of physical design as an 'umbrella' framework to coordinate the programs currently addressing social challenges in the area was also suggested.
3. A statistical analysis of the demographic trends that set Greater Forest Lawn apart from the rest of Calgary supported the findings of the historical and cultural analysis. The numbers revealed that Calgary is increasingly diverse. However, this large-scale diversity is not reflected at the local level where individual communities are very homogeneous. Greater Forest Lawn is the exception, offering an integrated, fine-grained, and heterogeneous microcosm of Calgary today. The stated goal was that International Avenue's integration become the model for the city's future. (see fig. 3.3.4)
4. A morphological and urban design analysis of Greater Forest Lawn examined the incredible opportunities associated with the area's historic development patterns, proximity to the downtown, abutment to the countryside, ample corridor connections, and diversity of land-uses. (see figs. 3.3.6 - 8)
5. A presentation of the urban design approach that the Team would employ further emphasized the interconnection between the physical and social environment. Examples of the successes of similar corridor reclamation projects in other parts of North America executed by New Urbanist practitioners concluded the analysis on a realistic and hopeful note.

Figure 6.2. Town Hall Meeting Analysis
Source: IADI (2005)

The engagement strategy that the Project Team employed resulted in IADI participants from the community who were of a similar mindset as the IABRZ. According to IADI (2005), there were approximately 200 residents and other stakeholders in attendance at the town hall meeting. There is no question that the Project Team was extremely successful in arousing the attention of several neighbourhood residents. Although the number of attendees at the town hall meeting was much higher

than what the City of Calgary can attract to its open houses, a critical question was largely ignored: how representative of the GFLA was the audience?

When approaching the public about IADI, the Communications Sub-Team liaised with local organizations and canvassed the corridor and schools. When asked to elaborate on how the public was engaged and who participated in IADI, Robert Kirby stated that:

I guess it [who were the stakeholders] is whoever showed up. You know, certainly there is a strong core that comes from people like Diane Danielson that have been very involved in their community for years. Alison is a promoter for that whole avenue. She has a network of people who are really quite strong that have to do with all people that are involved in the retail business on the avenue. You know, so they are very vocal because that is sort of a bread and butter issue for them. That is the state of their community, the state of their avenue, it makes a big difference. So they would constitute a kind of core, and then there are those people that revolve around her, you know Alison and Diane. And then in general, as I said before, there is a kind of core interested in their community and they tend to come out all the time, whatever. You find the same people that came out to our charrettes that came out to the city's stuff [SE17 open houses], the same group. What we tried to do in ours, because we had this student manpower was to broaden that base as to who was interested in being involved in their community, so we were able to get meetings where we could fill the hall plus, they were outside the building in some cases. But, that's rare. Usually when you are involved with any kind of community involvement you don't get a big turnout. Alison makes a difference because of her sort of retail connections that she has with all of the people that are involved in businesses on that avenue. She knows them all. That makes a big difference when we try to get community support. She has a network from all those people, she knows everybody by name and so and so. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

The core group of people attending the IADI meetings was connected with key members of the project's Steering Committee as well as the IABRZ Executive Director. Robert Kirby mentions that a CNS official and some other social service agency officials were key in gathering voices, but to a far lesser extent than the aforementioned individuals.

Although the town hall meeting was well attended, the audience was not representative of the GFLA community.

When the Project Team conducted the analysis on the GFLA, they concluded that the area is represented by three demographic groups. Although their conclusion is incredibly generalized and short-sighted, their findings provide valuable insight into IADI's public engagement strategy and who actually participated in the charrette process. Gian-Carlo Carra provided a very clear description of their findings:

I mean, there were all these different leadership groups, but what we [Project Team] really discovered was that there were three demographic units in Greater Forest Lawn. And that was the original townies; you know the people who lived in Greater Forest Lawn back in the day and their children...

Then, of course, the next group that moved in, the next unit in the three part demographic units of Greater Forest Lawn circa 2004, were the groups with legitimate social housing, and sort of, a large concentration of people with legitimate social disorder, social issues. So what we discovered was that from 1961 and up until around the '80s when the money stopped, an unbelievably large percentage of the social housing projects of the province and the federal government were placed into the Greater Forest Lawn area...

Now, the third group is when all of that social housing went in, you get the [sic], you know, the ground rent just starts to plummet and it starts to become a really cheap place to live, and Calgary starts to experience increased international immigration from around the world, and it is chain migration so you have people from all over the world touching down in Calgary, moving to Forest Lawn because it's cheap, and then all of their friends and family start to join them there. That formed the third demographic, which was, you know, an unbelievable pinwheel but was distinct from those other two in the sense that they were the immigrant population that were, by 1993, people realized that wow there is something happening here, something completely unplanned. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

With the demolishing of the East Village and Victoria Park, many of its inhabitants were displaced to the GFLA. The GFLA provided affordable housing for this population, so they began to settle in the area. The result of this outcome was prejudice against the

incoming vulnerable population. This prejudice still exists. The resentment between the “townies” and the “legitimate social disorder, social issues” was commented on through the interview process of this research, notably from CA and IABRZ board members as well as social advocates. When describing the reactions from the community and the City of Calgary over the establishment of East Side Victory Church, Victoria stated:⁷¹

Yes, absolutely [an existing social division between the GFLA’s population]. And I think just the neighbourhood’s response, and I think when it first came here [sic]...It started with 18 people in a basement and within five weeks it had 78 people attending church in the basement, right? It is on the steps. It shows you a big need, a real hunger for something different, right? So, the church went to city hall and they didn’t want us bringing those people around here, because we were talking about reaching the poor. They didn’t want those people around here and that element around and there was no way that they would do the church for us. And then some community members put pressure on some of our neighbours actually probably because they probably didn’t want us parking all over the place, right? Put a little bit of pressure on the community association and we met there for a long period of time, but it is that whole business of those people and them, right? There is that divide, I think. (Victoria, GFLA social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 09 February 2011)

The engagement approach in IADI was quite successful in gathering the voices from the GFLA’s “townie” group, but very unsuccessful in gathering the voices of the “legitimate social disorder, social issues” group. Since the Project Team used the connections of Steering Committee members for community outreach, the townie group provided the overwhelming voice for IADI. Already holding some prejudice against the vulnerable population and social service agencies that help them, there is no question that the interests of the potentially displaced were completely unrepresented. In addition, the vulnerable population could not be present at the town hall meeting because the engagement approach adopted by IADI was unable to reach them. Also, focusing on

⁷¹ East Side Victory Church is also an outreach centre for the GFLA’s vulnerable population. They have a food bank, provide clothing, provide counseling and a bridge between detox, etc

design oriented development, which cannot address the issues that the vulnerable population faces. With social policy being often difficult to grasp in the first place, the audience is often distracted from real solutions (see Grant 2006a).

There were other avenues through which the Communications Sub-Team attempted to reach out to the GFLA. Canvassing was completed by students along the corridor. Gian-Carlo Carra informed me in our discussion that the Project Team made presentations at the school and talked to principals. Canvassing the 17th Avenue SE Corridor can be an effective outreach strategy, but if it is completed by outsiders the effectiveness of the attempt is diminished. Without local knowledge of the corridor it would be more difficult to reach out to the public. Students would not have the knowledge of social networks in the area, particularly if they occur within the private sphere. For example, there are various restaurants and pubs along 17th Avenue SE (notably Mama Jeans and The Border Crossing) that many GFLA residents frequent regularly. Many of these businesses would appear to be “sketchy” to an outsider:

It was the Border Crossing forever [has changed names and hands, but retains the same clientele], you know... You go in there and it is just a complete facelift, but all the people are still the same. You get the biker trash, you get the working girls, you get the drug dealers, and you get the working folk and they all sit around and shoot pool together, you know, like families kind of thing right. That is just the way Forest Lawn is, you know. We accept people at face value. I don't think, well I hope, they don't take that from the people trying to do what they are doing [sic], and I really don't think they can. (Jodi, GFLA resident and social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 23 February 2011)

If IADI's community outreach understood these social networks, they could have tapped into that resource.

An extensive media strategy was developed so that IADI could do outreach to the rest of the GFLA. The Project Team used newspapers, radio, and television to cover the

lead-up to the charrette. Some notable quotes from the media exploits were “Crime is a problem and it will continue to be a problem until the physical environment is no longer conducive to it,” “Diversity to be emphasized,” “Businesses and residents asked to participate in process,” and “the challenge is can we make an area more prosperous and realize all of its economic and social potential without driving out the very people that are responsible for that prosperity” (IADI 2005, 16).⁷² Using the media to do outreach appears to be an effective form of engagement, but not necessarily effective for the GFLA. The costs associated with television sets, let alone the monthly cable costs, would not necessarily be a priority for low-income populations. Since the Calgary news on the cable networks are broadcasted in English, it would be more difficult for the immigrant population to obtain the information on IADI. Granted, subtitles could be used, but that assumes that the immigrant population would choose Calgary news over a network more aligned with their cultural tastes. The costs of a monthly subscription to a Calgary area newspaper would also not be a priority for low-income households. The use of the media for public engagement in the case of the GFLA would largely only reach the predominantly English speaking middle-class population.

The Communications Sub-Team also produced a pamphlet that was distributed throughout the neighbourhood (see Figures 6.3 and 6.4).⁷³ Theoretically, mailers and pamphlets would appear to be an efficient approach to engaging with the community, but the Project Team completely ignored the socio-cultural structures that comprise the

⁷² The irony of the last headline is that the use of media for public engagement will lead to exclusion of the people from the IADI process that would be most affected by redevelopment. Also, it is assumed that these headlines are from Calgary area newspapers, because IADI (2005) was not specific about their origins.

⁷³ According to Alison Karim-McSwiney the Project Team produced some invitations to the charrettes as well and was mailed throughout the community. These invitations are not publicly available.

、
GFLA, and thus the pamphlets failed to attract a diverse audience to the town hall meetings and to the actual charrettes.

<p>International Avenue and the Communities of Greater Forest Lawn are a great place to live and work.</p> <p>But Things could be a lot better.</p> <p>What does the Future hold for this part of Calgary?</p> <p>and Who Decides?</p> <p>City Government? Private Developers? Traffic Engineers?</p> <p>or The People who actually Live and Work here?</p>	<p>Charrette 1 Envisioning International Avenue It being made possible thanks to the support of:</p>  <p>The University of Calgary Faculty of Environmental Design</p>   <p>Alderman Diane Dancilison, Ward 10 Alderman Joe Cacl, Ward 9</p> 	<p>You are Invited to take part in</p> <p>Charrette 1 Envisioning International Avenue</p> <p>of the INTERNATIONAL AVENUE DESIGN INITIATIVE</p> <p>Come join your neighbours March 15-20, 2004</p>	
<p>Come join the Team and help Envision the Future of International Avenue and the Communities of Greater Forest Lawn</p> <p>For More Information Phone: 248-7228 Email: WQ@urban.ca</p>	<p>The Triple A Communities</p> <p>With Special Thanks to: Bad Ass Coffee for Hosting Charrette #1 and Providing Beverages to the Public</p>  <p>A growing partnership of many different people and groups working together to make the future of Greater Forest Lawn better for everyone.</p>	<p>A Charrette is a New kind of Public Process that gives You a Real Say in Your Community's Future.</p>	

Figure 6.3. IADI Charrette 01 Pamphlet, Part 01
Source: IADI (2005)

<h1>What is a</h1>	<h1>Charrette?</h1>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Open Public Design Process • A Place where Your Ideas Matter • A Chance to Meet your Neighbors • A Process for Effecting Change • The Start of Something Great
<h2>Monday Night</h2> <p>March 15, 7:00-9:00pm at the Southview Community Association Hall 2020 33 Street SE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meet the International Avenue Design Initial in Town • Meet your Local Politicians • Meet New Neighbors • Learn about the International Avenue Design Initiative • Learn more about Greater Forest Lawn • Learn about Charrette #1 • Learn New Urbanist Principles <h3>A Town Hall Discussion</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask Questions • Voice your Views • Join the Design Team <p><i>Children's Programming will be Provided</i></p>	<h2>The Design Studio</h2> <p>March 16-20 10:00am-7:00pm at Bad Ass Coffee 3670 17 Avenue SE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stop in for a quick visit or stay all day • Question, Comment, Critique • Share your Ideas • Special Focus Group Discussions • Nightly Public Reviews of each Day's Work at 6:00pm <h2>Saturday Afternoon</h2> <p>March 20, 4:00-7:00pm Bad Ass Coffee 3670 17 Avenue SE</p> <p><i>Come see what we have Designed Together</i> Everyone is Welcome</p>	<h2>The Future Charrette 1</h2> <p>Envisioning International Avenue</p> <p>Is only the Beginning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 Goals for Charrette #1 • Unite to Develop a Shared Vision we can All Agree with • Understand the Principles of that Vision • Identify areas requiring further Study • Prepare for Future Charrettes to take our General Vision into Specific Solutions
		
		

Figure 6.4. IADI Charrette 01 Pamphlet, Part 02
Source: IADI (2005)

The GFLA is the most culturally diverse set of neighbourhoods in the City of Calgary, and yet the pamphlet was only available in English. The other issue with the pamphlet is the language used to attract would-be charrette participants. To begin with, the word “charrette” is academic vernacular. By examining the Figure 6.4, Charrette 01 is clearly the presently in the largest bold-type font on the front of the pamphlet. The vast majority of GFLA residents does not refer to the corridor as International Avenue, but rather use its original name, 17th Avenue SE. Much of the public do not identify with the IABRZ’s unofficial naming of the corridor, nor do they identify with the BRZ in the first place. Although it is important to highlight the various official entities that are part of any development project, using them as advertisement in an area such as the GFLA will make people hesitant to participate. For example, Melissa Bohnsack mentioned in our discussion that many vulnerable GFLA residents, such as prostitutes, are continually harassed by the Calgary Police Service, yet they are represented on the pamphlet. Would they be willing to attend the IADI charrettes if they have had issues with the Calgary Police Service? Chances are that they would ignore the pamphlet.

The proponents of IADI argue that the charrette process is a more inclusive form of democracy, yet the rhetoric to encourage people to participate was incredibly paternalistic and top-down. The front page of the pamphlet states that:

International Avenue and the Communities of Greater Forest Lawn are a great place to live and work. *But Things could be a lot better.* What does the Future hold for this part of Calgary? *And Who Decides?* City Government? Private Developers? Traffic Engineers? *Or The people who actually Live and Work here?* Come join the Team and help Envision the Future of International Avenue and the Communities of Greater Forest Lawn (IADI 2005, 15, original emphasis).

The implication present in this statement shows that the entities behind the charrettes are the decision makers and not the resident. First, who is to say that the GFLA could be a lot better? This statement implies that the entities behind the charrettes intend on changing the GFLA. Second, asking people “to come join the team” also implies that some vision has already been conceived, and being asked to provide input in that type of setting can be intimidating for some GFLA residents:

Well see [sic], there’s the thing [attending open houses and similar meetings]. You’re in this community where there’s [sic] barriers and people aren’t going to want to go to those kind [sic] of meetings, because they find them intimidating, right. Because it’s people talking down to you, like you know nothing. And that is the reason why people don’t go to things around here. And they don’t want to be talked down to. So, why would you go, because you are not going to be listened to anyway in that kind of thing? Really, in the grand scheme of things, how many times do they actually listen to what people say? (Dawn Cruickshank, Calgary Reads and neighbourhood resident, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 January 2011)

Intimidation is one factor, but low self-worth is another hindrance that was not considered. Given the socioeconomic hardships that they endure, the vulnerable populations may not exercise their political avenues to the same extent that the middle and upper classes would:

And/or hear about them [charrettes and open houses]. And then the other thing is when you are dealing with the poor, the poor don’t feel that they can impact their environment anyways, so they don’t pay much attention, right. It is kind of like whatever, what will be will be [sic], right? And I mean you take anything. When I worked in different poor areas, and we are talking about the aldermen and whatever, go and vote, it is like I mean [sic] vote. Like it just doesn’t happen, right? Because that is out of their league. That is not what they do, right? So, I think a lot of times the poor don’t exercise their political avenues, right? (Victoria, GFLA social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 09 February)

The IADI charrette pamphlet fails to reach out to the GFLA's vulnerable population due to the project's little appreciation of the social situation in the area.⁷⁴

I asked both Robert Kirby and Gian-Carlo Carra to elaborate on the shortcomings of the document, namely why they were only presented in English:

Good question. I can't remember. Vagueness says yeah we tried to do that...but I can't remember. Gian-Carlo may know. I think that we tried to do that, because I think we were aware of that. I can't remember how we responded, whether we did that or not. Because I know that we had the ability to translate. Yeah, I can't remember, but I am sure that we would have tried to do something. I am sure that we would have tried to do something. I know that was certainly thought of. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

⁷⁴The rhetoric in Figure 5.9 has three major implications and bolsters the intimidation factor for GFLA residents. At the top of the pamphlet, the ominous word "charrette" is used and a description of the process is presented to the public. Incidentally, the definition is so vague to the point where the public can misconstrue the term "charrette" with that of the open houses that the City of Calgary holds for its planning processes, which the public is already hesitant on attending (see below). When advertising the town hall meeting, the rhetoric suggests a potentially intimidating atmosphere for some GFLA residents as well as patronizing. Meeting a highly educated group of urban designers, local politicians, and even new neighbours can be intimidating for some residents. Suggesting that you residents should come to the town hall meeting to learn about IADI, about New Urbanist principles, and more importantly about the neighbourhood that they live in (namely from individuals that do not live in the GFLA) is a patronizing way of attracting an audience. Some residents would definitely feel as if they were going to be "talked down to." The rhetoric also states that NU will be the only option for IADI. Given that "voice your views" is listed as second to last amongst the highlights of the evening, residents would definitely feel that their input would not be valuable. Finally, many of the GFLA population are noticeably poor and are employed at several jobs to just make ends meet. The timing of the design studio, Tuesday through Friday during normal working hours, will exclude these populations from participating in a redevelopment strategy that will definitely affect their lives. Although the charrette provides more opportunities (an entire week) for people to participate than standard City of Calgary open houses, it still suffers from the same fundamental failure; using a static model that will end up excluding the poorer populations, who could be displaced, from the planning process. The Project Team was not fully mindful of the potential side effects of the model they had chosen to adopt; partly due to budget constraints but largely due to the strict adherence to New Urbanist principles. Given the socio-economic situation of GFLA residents, the opposition to alternatives was a grave mistake and the standard charrette procedure was not an appropriate avenue in which to engage the population properly (see Sarkissian et al. 1997).

Yeah, that was, you know, if we would do it over again today and then when I ran in Ward 09 for Alderman, I translated my pamphlets into, yeah, those are things that would have been amazing and should have been done, and could have been done, and weren't. It is an evolutionary process. We weren't there yet, mentally, but definitely we would be today. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

Redevelopment plans such as IADI have far reaching implications and potential side effects, and incorporating an engagement document that excludes a good portion of the population means that they have no direct input into development that will affect them.

IADI's Design Studio Process

The design studio portion of the charrette occurred from Tuesday until Saturday, where the Project Team worked 12-plus hour days (IADI 2005). Since the design studio was open to the public, they wandered in and out of the office throughout the day. According to Gian-Carlo Carra, the design studio had between 50 and 100 people cycle through every day, although there was no recording of actually who participated. It is quite possible that the citizen IADI participants were repeat visitors. Project Team members provided insight into the design work, both from a passive and active engagement approach (IADI 2005). Focus group meetings were scheduled with cultural groups, social agencies, city representatives, and landowners over the lunch hour on Tuesday through Friday (IADI 2005). Incidentally, there is no mention of focus group meetings with business owners. The majority of businesses along the corridor are not the actual landowners. As the week continued, the assumptions of the Project Team were continually challenged by the public, both during design studio and at the evening review meetings (IADI 2005). By Friday, the Project Team had a clear vision of the corridor's future, which was apparently distinct from what the urban designers had anticipated

(IADI 2005). During the final meeting on Saturday afternoon, the Project Team received a standing ovation from the packed shop-front studio (IADI 2005).

IADI as a Deliberative Strategy

The rhetoric employed by IADI (2005) makes it appear that the charrette process was an outstanding success, and on some levels it definitely was an achievement. In the City of Calgary, it is a rarity to obtain over 200 people at an open house (which is similar to the town hall meeting used in IADI). The turnout to the design studio, if Gian-Carlo Carra's estimations are correct, was equally impressive. The reason for the high turnout was that IADI used the connections of the area's CA's, Diane Danielson, and Alison Karim-McSwiney; the latter of which is extremely passionate and persuasive about the IABRZ's vision. Alison Karim-McSwiney is a model advocate for her organization, let alone similar organizations across Calgary (according to Gary).

Although IADI received a comparatively high participation rate, the more important question about the engagement process is "who wasn't there?" As discussed above, the initial engagement strategy of IADI was flawed because it excluded both immigrants (other than the leadership) and the GFLA's vulnerable population, who stand to lose the most out of the redevelopment. The engagement shortcomings transfer directly to who participated in the design studio. According to discussions I had with lead IADI members, they either boasted about the amount of attendees or were not concerned about excluded voices just as long as they received a high turnout:

There was money available for the charrettes and I will tell you they were really really [sic] engaged. You not only had your community associations who were affected on board, you had residents come out. I couldn't believe the amount of residents. The businesses came out. And they designed it in such a way that they had a couple of big events where everybody came out and you had a 100 to

200, but they designed the little charrettes in such a way that it was like ten or twelve people. So you might have ten or twelve community association directors sitting around the table. You might have had ten or twelve business owners sitting around the table. I was involved with one with just city people. So it was just city staff sitting around the table. So they got the different perspectives, because you do talk differently when you are in your “own group, own language.” But, they managed to, they had lots, I couldn’t believe the amount of different little focus groups that they had. And they pulled all the information together. (Diane Danielson, former City of Calgary Alderman, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 June 2011)

We had a number of ways that we did it [public engagement]. We had; for instance, we had set times that people could come. We had lunches. We would have, let’s say, a lunch of 30 property owners and they would then meet with our team, the urban design team, EVDS. So, we essentially invited people. We also had a number of open houses. The charrette itself was open 24 hours a day in an actual storefront on the street, but we did have set times where we actually invited people to come in and we fed them and did all that kind of stuff. But we did then have a number of town hall meetings as well... We invited the community associations, but there are a number of agencies that work here. There are a number of ethnic groups that work here. So, all of those were connected. All of those were essentially done. We also met with the churches. We essentially hit everybody. It was a very extensive public relations plan that was done through our office and we really targeted a lot of people. We did newspaper advertisements. We also did a lot of media coverage, so it was really a new thing at the time so we were very lucky and that we did get, like we were on CBC, we had the Herald, we had business edge, a number of things. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011)

However, business owners were not highlighted as charrette participants; only property owners. The majority of businesses along the corridor do not actually own the land that they are situated, but they are still represented by the IABRZ. Also, it is stated that the design studio was open to the public for 24-hours per day, but that was not the case. The boosterism of IADI proponents in regards to diverse engagement must be held in skepticism. Upon speaking with a social agency employee, I was informed that most residents have little knowledge of the intentions of the IABRZ, and more importantly information on the two redevelopment plans for the area (IADI and SE17):

I knew that they were trying to [sic], all I knew was that they were trying to improve the look of Forest Lawn. I had no idea what the BRZ was and its intention and still, even right now [sic]...even working here as an advocate, I don't have much contact with the BRZ. So, the contact I have is the Stampede Breakfast. I am still really unsure of what their [IABRZ] intentions are, what their goals are, what they want to do, in my mind, it is still just making it look prettier and cleaning it up. In my mind, cleaning it up means, cleaning up the people that they don't want. Like I don't know of any new initiatives. (Melissa Bohnsack, Sunrise Community Link and GFLA resident, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 02 February 2011)

Even though the majority of the design work was completed during the charrette portion of IADI, much of the visioning was created prior. Robert Kirby mentioned that he created an initial design of how he would have perceived the redeveloped corridor, but did not show his creation to anyone. It would be naïve to believe that the other designers did not follow the same path as Robert Kirby, and even if they had not drawn anything a concept would have been created in their minds:

It may have been in conceptual only in somebody's mind. It may have not been drawn per se. However, there was already an idea, which seemed pretty evident based on the way the drawings were laid out. That, ok, here is conceptually, you know, what we would like to ultimately like to see on the avenue, and so a nice little conceptual drawing, you know, emerges almost instantaneously and then its broken down into detail what's the streetscape actually going to look like. What are the boulevards going to look like? How wide is the street going to be? How wide are the sidewalks going to be? But, essentially, I think a lot of that was already engrained in the brains of the planners that were coordinating the charrette process, and a lot of it seemed almost like leading people down the garden path, so to speak. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2012)

The subject of Andre Chabot's comments is quite familiar, having participated in a charrette myself. When asked about how the designs came about and who was involved in their construction, Robert Kirby provided an admirable response:

So it is hard to separate yourself and at the same time have the strong belief that you have to find some way of getting everybody involved. That is an absolute requirement is that it has to be bottom up. That you have to get as many people

engaged so there's this funny connections [sic] that you really need strong individuals and at the same time you really want it to be broad based. You need both. And you also have to have; you cannot be neutral in this process. You really do have to come with ideas, so in that diagram you know I was trying to do this and come out the other way, you really need something there. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

Robert Kirby's explanation echoes arguments of McGlynn and Murrain (1994), and Morris and Kaufman (1996), who state that the prerequisite for a charrette process is a solid design philosophy that simultaneously guides the selection of the Steering Committee and the lead designers, as well as highlights neighbourhood voices. Even from the beginning of the charrette process, decisions were made that would "distort or stage-manage the public process" (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007, 462).

This begs the question whether or not New Urbanists understand the power relationships in the charrette process. As IADI (2005) states the core problem confronting the GFLA is an issue of design. New Urbanists are so sure of their purpose, convinced of the correctness of their vision, and are clear and concise when explaining ideas to the public that these "essential truths" blind them from the socio-political contexts of urban design and planning (Beauregard 2002, 188-189). There is no denying that the charrette process does include members of the community, but the practice is entirely led by an "expert(s)" who are both charismatic and persuasive (Fainstein 2000; Thompson-Fawcett and Bond 2003). The public are essentially informed of the proper way forward. Although the designs may be polished, largely through feedback loops (see IADI 2005 and T-Six 2006); the community "supported" refinement leaves no room for alternatives. This environment does not allow for an oppositional voice or alternative vision (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007).

The residents in the GFLA would likely not envision their neighbourhood in a similar fashion as the experts (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007):

I mean the thing about the charrette obviously is that there are designs there. People essentially say what they want to see, and then you refine it. The interesting thing is I think that you have to remember that your average citizen is not going to say; oh you know I envision this. They are going to say I want a safe street; I want a place that I can go for a coffee, do whatever. So, it has to be kind of, there has to be a base that they can then work with. (Alison Karim-McSwiney, IABRZ Executive Director, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 24 November 2011)

Ms. Karim-McSwiney is not cognizant of the potential intangible outcomes that could come from a more bottom-up perspective. Many of these outcomes would have better success in confronting what IADI has deemed “social disorder” than design.⁷⁵ Alison Karim-McSwiney also points out that the base visions for the corridor came from the designers. Pre-formed opinions by designers often overshadow the opinions generated by community members (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett 2007). Input is generated by the designers and not from the community:

⁷⁵ I just feel like that somehow, somehow of breaking down that barrier and really becoming a community, and really working together to overcome some of the barriers. I am just trying to figure out how to explain this. It is sort of like, you know, if the community could work together to clean up the community. If the community could work together not to push negative people out or push the poor out, and see them as sort of the negative element in the community. If there could be a, you know what this is our community. These are people who live within our community. Why don't we work together to try and build something and help and feed them and encourage strength and growth in them. I think that somehow, if we could somehow get that model going. Like in LA, in some of the areas of LA like around the Dream Center where they adopt a block and clean up a whole block and then they go from one area to another. Just some way of really sort of empowering one another, instead of spending all the energy fighting one another [sic]. Yeah, so, even some of the criminal element in the community and I think there has been real breakdown. The police have done a huge clean up. But a lot of people who are here that will sometimes fall into addiction from time to time who are relatively clean or just the poor, there is a real sense of love in this community, and I just wish that somehow there would be some way of bringing people together and really building it. You know, if we are looking at different models to, look at the different models of working with the homeless and so we have a ten year plan to end homelessness. You know, I mean, why couldn't this community instead of kind of wanting to get rid of the poor and the rougher element, why not work with them to build something and build this community and help people get out of where they are? And, you know, it could happen. I don't think it is like a pipe dream. I think that this could be something that is really quite workable. (discussion with Victoria, East Side Victory Church)

People were coming with no concept of what potentially it [17th Avenue SE redesign] could look like. You've got professionals or students that have spent a whole bunch of time studying a whole bunch of different concepts and they already have a preconceived idea on their minds of what could be, and a lot of what could be ends up forming part of what is being recommended, and people are led down sort of the path of wouldn't this be great, you know. Wouldn't you agree that this would be a good way to go? So it wasn't so much led by public input. It was more of 'Here, come with me and listen, I'll have a look at this and don't you think this looks great. Don't you think this would be great for the avenue?' You know, at the end of the day, people could say 'oh yeah, I was involved in developing that,' but I think they were more convinced rather than directing what actually ended up being developed there. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2012)

The dominant resident voice throughout the entire IADI charrette process was the “townie group.” It was through the engagement approach that IADI undertook that made it possible for the “townie group” to steer IADI along with the Project Team.⁷⁶ When asked what group was the most engaged in IADI, Gian Carlo Carra responded with:

I will say that that International Avenue Design Initiative, the charrette, engaged the citizenry, you know, remarkably successfully, but what we also found was that we had more townies represented than low income people and immigrant people...It was largely the townies [that provided the most inputs on the IADI designs]. It was largely the townies. Then, by then, you could argue that the townies were the guys who had been there the longest dreaming for a, you know, transformation. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

The proponents of IADI have lauded that its engagement strategy offered a “new and inclusive expression of democracy” (IADI 2005, ii), yet the process was entirely exclusive because New Urbanists were too focused on their principles of design to adjust their practices:

I mean that was just a fact, and part of it is the low income people are too busy dealing with life than to sort of, and the same thing with immigrants is a lot of them were much more interested in getting their feet underneath them and

⁷⁶ The “townie group” represented the majority of the charrette participants and provided the most input on the designs that IADI produced.

sometimes getting the hell out of the neighbourhood than worrying about the transformation of the neighbourhood. That is another thing about urban design though, is that you are not, at the end of the day people are people and you are creating an environment for human beings as opposed to an environment for cars, and it will work for everybody. So we weren't overly fussed about the fact that we didn't have the broadest representation across the citizenry demographic group. What we wanted to make sure was that we brought the citizens out in force, and they did come out in force, and it was unprecedented with number of people. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

There are many social advocacy groups within the GFLA that could have been consulted on the proper way to approach GFLA residents, and how to better incorporate their visions into the planning process. The engagement strategy, which was entirely based on numbers, created an overreliance on a prejudiced view of the "townie group." The resultant vision may very likely create, through design, a space that serves to displace and exclude those who do not fit the bill.

An example of the aforementioned exclusionary effect was provided by an outcome of the IADI process. Based upon ignorance of their fellow residents, the townie group lumped both the ethnic populations and residents living in social housing together as a "social disorder" demographic:

One of the things that I think the International Avenue Design Initiative served to do for the townie group is that it started to differentiate between the social disorder groups that were part of the social housing and the immigrant groups. And I think, that for some of the townies, those groups had sort of blended together so it was like, you know, 'this place is a dump now because, this place is a ghetto now because all the Chinese, because all the East Indians.' Now they started to realize, oh wait a second, here are these immigrant groups, they are the hardworking groups that are helping and we have to address the social disorder issues as a separate issue. I think the crime, and the drugs, and all of that they saw the immigrants as being culpable rather than not having a part. Now, I think that that, I think that that is one of the major sort of things that occurred, is that there was this sort of realization that we are an International Avenue and we can take pride in that, and that is not the problem, that is the solution. And so I think that that was a major, sort of, shift that occurred within the mentality and the

collective gestalt of the townie population. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 March 2011)

According to Gian-Carlo Carra, IADI encouraged the townie group to become more tolerant of the GFLA's ethnic populations. There is credence to that argument, but there is a caveat to the rationality. I argue that IADI reinforced ignorant perceptions of the GFLA's vulnerable population. According to the above quotation, residents living in social housing are associated with criminals, drug users, etc. Drug use, criminal activity, etc. is not confined to only social housing and their residents. It can also occur in "well designed" domiciles and/or in affluent neighbourhoods. It is dangerous to lump all residents living in social housing as criminals, drug users, etc. IADI may have inadvertently become a medium for reinforced prejudice against the GFLA's vulnerable population. Ironically, gentrification is labeled as one cause of the concentration of poverty and stalled revitalization in the GFLA:

To the west: Inner City Gentrification The inner sub-regions of the Corridor, from the Deerfoot Trail to the Downtown, are experiencing significant redevelopment pressure. Due to the lack of support the Current Framework offers redevelopment, these processes are typically conflictual [sic], protracted, and highly inefficient. This results in exaggerated price points that contribute to displacement of the traditional socio-economic and demographic diversity of these areas. This is essentially the suburbanization of urban environments. Formerly mixed areas become - like their suburban counterparts - demographically homogeneous. Additionally, the once diverse and integrated array of services and opportunities the inner city provided now withers as it serves increasingly fewer lifestyles. The potential impact of this process on the Primary Study Area is the influx of the displaced - the low income and the socially challenged - further saturating the area's already disproportionate share, entrenching stigmatization, and ending hopes for a meaningful revitalization. (IADI 2005, 27, original emphasis)

Not only does IADI suggest "the low income and the socially challenged" limit meaningful revitalization, the project is an attempt to solve issues associated with

gentrification with gentrification. The authors of IADI (2005) do recognize that gentrification is an outcome, yet casually dismiss the effects of gentrification on GFLA residents (the process is mentioned twice in page 88 of the document).⁷⁷

6.7 – Conclusion

According to IADI (2005), “the process facilitating this redevelopment is designed to resist displacement” (5), but the public engagement process excluded the voices of the potentially displaced. The Project Team dismissed this fundamental failure as an unfortunate reality, and instead bolstered the fact that they received a much higher turnout than standard City of Calgary engagement strategies. A blind eye was turned to the social impacts of the process. Charrette attendees were led to believe that the designs created in the IADI process will alleviate their worries on crime, drug use, and other “social disorders,” so public scrutiny of the designs is negligible. An engagement approach is not bottom-up when the direction is deliberate and the majority input is provided by the leaders of the project. Also, relating “good design” with the alleviation of “social disorder” through IADI’s New Urbanist tactics has only increased the prejudice against an already disenfranchised population. Rather than confronting “social disorder” and working with GFLA’s “low income and socially challenged,” IADI has created a New Urbanist vision that may displace this population. The narrow scope of the IADI design-oriented redevelopment plan has far-reaching implications that the Project Team did not adequately acknowledge. The flawed vision espoused in IADI has been

⁷⁷The International Avenue Design Initiative is supposed to be a celebration through design of the corridor’s ethnic diversity, namely through its restaurants and unique shops. Ironically, in the case of IADI, the increased tolerance of ethnic populations transfers directly into cultural commodification which could eventually displace the many of the ethnic restaurants and shops along the corridor (see below)

、
influential, namely by arousing the interests of the City of Calgary and the development
of SE17.

Chapter 07: New Urbanism and the Gentrification of the Greater Forest Lawn Area, Part Two

7.1 – Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept

The Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept is non-mandatory pedestrian-scaled revisioning of the GFLA's central business core. Although SE17 was technically a separate process, the findings of the IADI fed directly into the plan.⁷⁸ The key players in IADI's engagement strategy were also key players in SE17's community outreach. Rather than a week-long design studio, the engagement approach SE17 adopted was slightly different, but the methods to attract the public were very similar. Although IADI and SE17 were not identical, their engagement approach yielded much of the same results. Like IADI's engagement strategy, SE17 also excluded the GFLA's vulnerable population simply due to the City of Calgary systematic approach. Although SE17 is a conceptual plan, the outcome of the entire process could mean the destruction of the uniqueness of the 17th Avenue SE corridor along with the gentrification of the core and surrounding areas.

How it Started

After approaching the Mayor of Calgary, the proponents of IADI created a chain reaction that focused the City of Calgary on the GFLA, partially because the various ARPs for the area were outdated. The City of Calgary's post-1995 ARPs moved from focusing on entire communities to areas of change. The role of IADI and the City of Calgary's new focus on ARPs is how SE17 was begun:

⁷⁸ "The reports on both charrettes [IADI] provided valuable information and insights on the 17 Avenue SE Corridor Planning" (City of Calgary 2009b, 9)

And then, sort of post 1995 we started going away from ones that covered entire communities or groups of communities, and went to what are called target or focused ones. So, they are basically only for areas of change. And so that is how the SE17 Corridor Study started. It was supposed to be an Area Redevelopment Plan focusing on the corridor, 17th Avenue and a few blocks off of it (kind of). And so then, I believe the history of this goes back to the whole International Avenue Redesign Initiative and all that, which was sort of “community” led [critical laughter]. Well you know, led by the BRZ, University of Calgary to bring, you know, redevelopment, or mostly design oriented and/or economically advantaged investors to the corridor. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 18 January 2011)

From the beginning of the SE17 process, there was a fair bit of resentment from IADI proponents. They believed that the success of their project guaranteed the City of Calgary would adopt IADI verbatim. Since the City of Calgary was only an observer in IADI, they were not aware of how exactly the project was developed and if it was representative. Often, “community-driven” plans do not necessarily follow the guidelines of the MGA, MDP or legislation, so the City of Calgary must conduct a separate planning process.

In May 2004, Calgary City Council approved the Greater Forest Lawn Reserve Fund, which was created to improve 17th Avenue SE’s physical environment (City of Calgary 2009b). Various departments within the City of Calgary were also encouraged to help the GFLA improve its pride in any way that they could. Also, in 2004 the former Aldermen in the GFLA, namely Diane Danielson, directed Administration to begin a planning process to improve 17th Avenue SE’s land uses (City of Calgary 2009b). Unfavorable land uses, such as pawn shops and cash stops, were targeted for increased regulation as it was believed these uses were some of the main contributing factors to

social problems and safety in the area.⁷⁹ The finalized report, Scoping of Planning Options for 17th Avenue SE, was published in 2005 and recommended that the area undergo a comprehensive corridor study (City of Calgary 2009b). The Scoping Strategy also recommended that the 16th Avenue N redevelopment could be used as a model for SE17. A Plan[It] Calgary 17 Avenue SE Case Study report that also provided guidance for SE17. The aim of these charrettes was to test the implications of the City of Calgary's sustainability principles when applied at a smaller-scale, such as the GFLA. Then, in June 2007, LUPP launched SE17.

City of Calgary (2010) states that SE17 “is a non-statutory Local Area Plan that establishes a long-term framework for land use, urban design and mobility for the Southeast 17 Corridor” (3). The revitalization based on SE17 is entirely conceptual, and is aligned with the Calgary Transportation Plan (CTP), the MDP and the City of Calgary's sustainability principles (City of Calgary 2010). The objectives of SE17 are:

- To develop a future land use framework, which prioritizes growth and redevelopment
- To provide land uses that support community development, economic vitality, and sustainable transportation modes including walking, cycling and transit
- To link land use decisions in the short- and medium-term with the long-term transportation plans for the 17 Avenue SE Corridor
- To reinforce the positive character, quality and stability of existing neighbourhoods in the surrounding area
- To assist in achieving complete communities where people can live, work, learn, shop and find recreation

⁷⁹The motives behind targeting “noxious land uses” deserves scrutiny, because they cater to the area's vulnerable populations. Noxious land uses have been a target of the IABRZ and its allies since the inception of the organization, and now a City of Calgary adopted strategy is aiming to reduce and limit their presence. During the interview process of this research, key contacts mentioned that targeting land use is a deflective measure to hide the real targets of sanitization; the GFLA's less affluent populations (see below). Land use has never really been the issue, because present regulations would already allow for the densities to accommodate the IABRZ and its allies' vision.

- To identify strategies• To provide guidance for developing local area plans, policies, and programs in the area. (City of Calgary 2010, 3)

Project Study Area

The SE17 conceptual area is bordered on the west by 26th Street SE/Barlow Trail and the Canadian National Railway on the east. Figure 7.1 (below) visually outlines the SE17 conceptual area. The MDP identifies the 17th Avenue SE as an urban corridor, and the plan area is generally consistent with the legislation (City of Calgary 2010). The plan area also incorporates the majority of the IABRZ. The City of Calgary believes that concentrating growth within the plan area will help contribute to the stability of the surrounding area (City of Calgary 2010). Finally, City of Calgary (2010) states that the plan area cannot be viewed in isolation, because it will directly affect adjacent communities (contextual area).

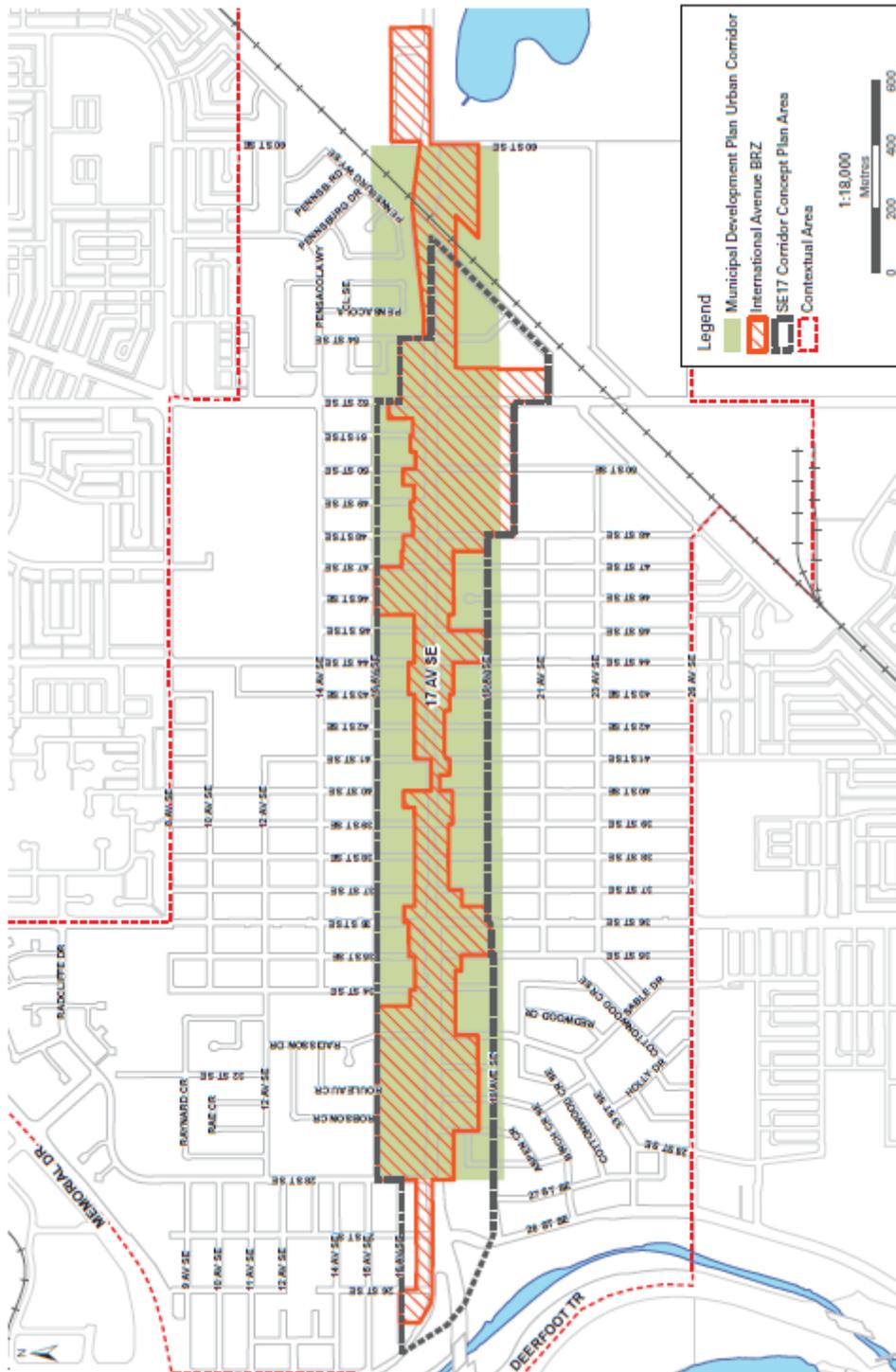


Figure 7.1. SE17 Concept Plan Area
 Source: City of Calgary (2010)

Vision and Guiding Principles

Through SE17's public engagement strategy, the plan's vision and guiding principles were developed. Incidentally, the very people that created the vision for IADI also contributed to the vision of SE17, making them almost identical. In fact, Diane Danielson commented on the fact that the results from the public engagement strategy employed in both IADI and SE17 were nearly identical.⁸⁰ Since SE17 is only a conceptual plan, it aims to guide all interested parties, such as development planners and local businesses, in the corridor's redevelopment efforts. The evaluation of development permits should also use SE17 as a guide for an overall vision.

City of Calgary (2010) states that the 17th Avenue SE corridor is the hub of the GFLA, and attracts both residents of the community as well as the city at large. Although the corridor is presently an automobile friendly environment, the aim of SE17 (and IADI) is to transform the space to a multi-modal urban boulevard (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). Figure 7.2 presents a visualization of the present condition of 17th Avenue SE/52nd Street SE intersection, and then what it would look like after SE17 was implemented. Figure 7.3 is just a general vision of what a multi-modal boulevard would look like if IADI came to fruition. Priority will be given to walkability, transit and cycling, but will still accommodate the high levels of traffic that use the street (17th Avenue SE is a major connector between Calgary's fringe and downtown) (City of Calgary 2010). As a shopping avenue, 17th Avenue SE creates

⁸⁰ One distinct feature that is different between the two though is the street car system; located in the middle of 17th Avenue SE on the SE17 plan (not unlike the city's CTrain system) while running on the edges of the street in IADI.

a sense of identity for the GFLA, and will be a showcase for Calgary. It is no mere coincidence that this particular vision coincides with the IABRZ's promotional attempts since its inception. Given that SE17 aims to increase density along the corridor, the space will become an employment hub and a place to live (City of Calgary 2010). The aims to create a green and walkable environment increase the safety within the corridor.

Before



After



Figure 7.2. SE17's Multi-Modal Boulevard
Source: City of Calgary (2010)



Figure 7.3. IADI's Multi-Modal Boulevard
Source (IADI 2005)

Ten principles guide SE17. One, SE17 should create an attractive and distinctive community. Diversity will be enhanced by providing more public spaces, enhancing social and cultural events, encouraging distinctive architecture, and delivering sufficient community services (City of Calgary 2010). Two, the SE17 plan will lead to the creation of memorable and inviting public spaces. Three, the multi-modal boulevard should be the dominant focus rather than highlighting automobile dependency. Four, vibrancy will be enhanced through the promotion of a mixed-use commercial corridor. The aim is to promote architecture that incorporates

retail and commercial on the ground floors of buildings with residential directly above (see Figure 7.4). Five, SE17 should protect and enhance the current historical retail character of 17th Avenue SE. Six, the revitalization plan will increase housing as well as promote diversity in housing (City of Calgary 2010). Seven, by identifying key commercial and transit nodes, SE17 will strategically intensify density. Eight, through New Urbanist techniques, namely Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, SE17 will create safe and walkable spaces. Nine, SE17 will preserve and improve green spaces and biodiversity (City of Calgary 2010). Finally, sustainable building innovation and design will be promoted by SE17.

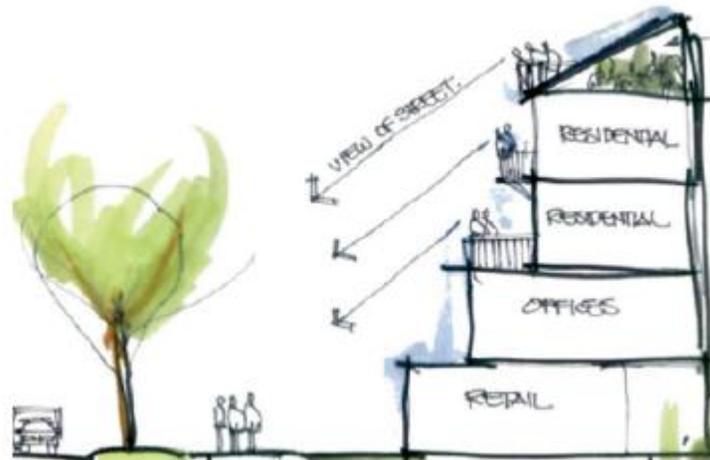


Figure 7.4. Mixed Use Development
Source: City of Calgary (2010)

Land Use and Urban Design Concept

The SE17 concept is based on a 30-year time frame (City of Calgary 2010).

The corridor will have three Character Zones.⁸¹ Each zone will be marked by differences in land uses, streetscapes, design criteria and building heights. The

⁸¹ A Western Gateway to signify the entrance to the corridor and the welcoming of visitors, a Central Boulevard focused on central shopping and a hub of activity, and an Eastern Parkway that will be a landscaped extension to Stoney Trail (City of Calgary 2010).

conceptual plan recognizes 36th Street SE and 52nd Street SE as the major transit hubs along the corridor, and will be the locations of the highest densities (City of Calgary 2010). They are also the signifying markers of transition between Character Zones. Smaller transit hubs have also been identified, and building height is restricted to six stories at these locations (City of Calgary 2010).

The majority of parcels have been designated as mixed-use commercial, with retail at street level and office/residential above. The mixed-use commercial parcels in between transit hubs will provide the daily needs for local residents, and the required residential above will provide “eyes on the street” (City of Calgary 2010). Large-scale commercial development will be located at transit hubs. Parcels that are limited for street level retail development will Multi-Residential or General Mixed-Use (City of Calgary 2010). The surrounding communities are low-density residential parcels, so a transition zone (Multi-Residential) will be developed between the corridor and the surrounding spaces (City of Calgary 2010). According to City of Calgary (2010), SE17 sensitively increases residential density, ranging from low-rise to high-rise development, and most commercial development will have a capped building height of four stories (which will terrace down to the surrounding communities). The western edge of the plan area as well as the 52nd Street SE hub will be the locations of the tallest buildings. The street/building interface is designed to create unique public spaces so as to create memorable places. Land use and urban design will accommodate the CTP.

Growth Target

There are approximately 3,000 residents living within the plan area, and it has more than 4,000 jobs serving local business (City of Calgary 2010). Over the next 30-plus years, the eventual build-out is projected to increase the population size by 13,000 and generate 9,000 more jobs (City of Calgary 2010). These projections are representative of the MDP's target of jobs and population for an Urban Corridor. The estimate for density, expressed in floor area ratio (FAR), should range between 2.0 and 6.0 FAR (depending on location) (City of Calgary 2010). Upgrades to the water and sanitary services will need to be completed to support the projected build-out, and storm water quantity and quality will need to be dealt with as redevelopment progress (City of Calgary 2010).

Community Outreach

In a similar vein as IADI, SE17 incorporated outreach strategies to engage the GFLA for the redevelopment plan. Standard protocol with the City of Calgary is to not differentiate planning practices across the City, so the same process is used in every neighbourhood:

So, we did create the SE17 as a parallel, sort of, a city endorsed process. I would say the same criticism, if that criticism was applied to the University/BRZ process, the same criticism can be applied to the city process because we do a very similar thing. It's a, we have an open house for a day, and this is not just true of the SE17, it's true of everywhere in the city. I would say that part of the problem with SE17 is that it's less different, or it's more different than some areas of the city to the extent that we probably should have had a customized process that addressed the different needs and the sort of different demographics of that area. But, we aren't set up to do that [sic] and that's not sort of how we do things... Yes, and the way, the only way we address that is a very sort of carte blanche, we treat the whole city the same way, which is generally you have one open house that is for a few hours on an evening night and then one open house for most of the mid-day period on Saturday. And that's kind of the, 'Oh

ok we've covered off people's different demographic differences. It doesn't matter if you are doing it in West Hillhurst or if you are doing an area structure plan in a newly developing community on the west edge of the city. It doesn't matter where you are doing it. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2010)

Standard City of Calgary protocol for community outreach is to mail newsletters, advertise meetings with bold signs, use a community advisory group to attract participants, conduct visioning workshops, hold open houses for the public, etc. The City of Calgary did not complete any in-depth research of the GFLA's demographics or conduct interviews with any social advocacy groups prior to community outreach. As a result, the City of Calgary received very low numbers at the SE17 open houses. The City of Calgary developed SE17 from earlier studies, namely IADI. The fundamental failure with SE17's engagement approach, like IADI, is that it failed to step outside the standard model and take into consideration geographical context.

Newsletters

The initial method of notifying the GFLA residents, business owners and landowners about SE17 was a mailed newsletter. The first newsletter was sent out in May 2007, and the letter documented the project launch (City of Calgary 2008b). In December 2007, a second newsletter highlighting the visioning workshops was sent throughout the GFLA. All the newsletters were distributed by Canada Post either by mail-drop (by postal code) or through addressed mail (for landowners not living on their actual property) (City of Calgary 2008b). The City of Calgary mailed 30,000 newsletters in total. All the newsletters had pertinent information related to the SE17 project (City of Calgary 2008b) including:

- Upcoming public events

- Status of the project
- Content related to the corridor study
- A map of the study area
- A project timeline explaining the planning process as well as highlighting the opportunities for public engagement
- How to contact city staff

In theory, these newsletters had more than enough information to bring people out to the various SE17 events. Also, according to City of Calgary planner Gary, community newsletters were given to the various community associations in the area, but it was up to them to distribute the information.

As indicated in the earlier case of the IADI, the use of newsletters in a neighbourhood such as the GFLA is inadequate. Many GFLA residents already feel excluded from the City of Calgary, namely because the City has largely ignored the GFLA, and would most likely throw away the newsletter as well. As with the IADI, the use of newsletters was not very successful in reaching out to the non-Caucasian residents as well as renters:

Yeah, and that was a huge part in how they were excluded, to the extent that we did any engagement in the non-white population, it was sending out flyers to people's houses. Well, that's nice [tongue in cheek]. A, they might be a renter in which case they are thinking 'Well, what does this have to do with me?' We didn't explain how it had to do with them, or make it have to do with them. B, if they were an owner they may have not been able to read it, they may have not been available at the times, and we didn't make any concerted effort to try to get those communities knowing that it was going to be difficult through our sort of conventional engagement strategies to actually get large portions of the population, or to be representative of the neighbourhoods. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

The newsletters targeted business owners and landowners/homeowners only, so renters, which make up a large proportion of GFLA residents, were largely left out of the engagement process.

Bold Signs

There are a plethora of large “bold signs” throughout the city of Calgary advertising a host of things such as open houses, job hiring, etc. Community bold signs were placed throughout the GFLA and within the study area. Although these signs typically have letters in bright colours, neon orange or yellow for example, they are so plentiful around the city that many people just ignore them as they pass by. Although the GFLA is an area in the city where everyone knows everyone else’s business, bold signs are a lackluster approach to gather people for planning processes:

There was lots of signage up on the street. Have you ever driven down Forest Lawn and tried to read all the signs in Forest Lawn. So, unless, even if you were walking lots of times people don’t even see the signs...I said the other day ‘oh I see that Safeway has closed down.’ ‘Safeway has closed down?’ This was a big food store! You drive by it every day. They didn’t see that it was closed down. So, people who live within 10 or 12 blocks of that don’t even know that it is being done [Loblaws replaced the old trailer park]. Why? We tend to live in our own little world. You can drive by or walk by something 100 times and you are never actually conscious of really what it is, you know, or know the people in their running the businesses or whatever. It’s weird, really weird. (Bob Crick, Business Owner – Economy Automotive and Transmission, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 10 October 2010)

Also, the GFLA is an ethnically diverse part of the city and all the bold signs are in English. How would a recently landed non-English speaking immigrant be encouraged to participate in a planning process through a bold sign?

Webpage

The SE17 project information could also be found on the City of Calgary website. Similar information was displayed online and in the newsletters, but the webpage also included an on-line registration option. The webpage also included all the city staff’s

names and their phone numbers for so that community members could contact them directly.

In theory, the majority of the population is believed to have access to online materials, but for the GFLA community an online forum is an uncertain venture. Many of the GFLA's population are struggling to make ends meet and they cannot justify spending the money on internet access. Some of the population may not even be trained well enough to access online material, which may surprise some individuals:

Yeah, well not everybody has, like you talk about computers, I don't have a computer. I get my daughter or son to do everything for me if I want something on the computer. Some people look at you like you are from another planet when you say you don't have a computer. (Jacki, former GFLA resident and social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 25 November 2011)

An internet website can be a very effective public engagement method, but the ability of the particular neighbourhood to access it determines its success. For example, a website might prove effective for a more affluent neighbourhood, such as West Hillhurst, because neighbourhood residents both have the time and disposable income to access the materials online.

Public Engagement

The visions and outcomes of SE17 were entirely dependent upon who actually participated in the public engagement strategy and how the City of Calgary was able to guide the process. The standard protocol for City of Calgary public engagement is to use the CAG (see below), which then acts as an intermediary between the City and the community at large. Through educating the CAG on the planning process, the City of Calgary's intention is to reach out to the public through the respective CAG recruitment efforts in their respective communities. The City of

Calgary then holds open houses, or public information sessions, to kick off the planning process. However, visions and scenarios have often already been contemplated prior to the City of Calgary's engagement with the public. In the case of SE17, IADI had already informed the City of Calgary of the particular vision it should follow. After the open house process, visioning workshops that allowed urban designers to present certain visions to the residents occurred. Although the duration of the visioning workshops were shorter than IADI's design studio, the process and outcome were largely identical.

Community Advisory Group

The CAG for SE17 operated as a sounding board as well as an advisor for the plan's project team (City of Calgary 2009b). This group was created in the summer of 2007. The CAG had multiple roles that included (City of Calgary 2009b):

- Contributing input on planning processes and advising public engagement strategies
- Receiving feedback from both the City of Calgary and the GFLA public
- Acting as an intermediary between the City of Calgary and the GFLA public
- Providing commentary on conceptual land uses
- Commenting on potential planning policies and recommendations

The CAG for SE17 had fifteen members who were appointed based on certain criteria that included: "years of residence, owning or operating a business in the study area, area of expertise/experience, location of residence, past planning participation experience, and willingness to commit the required term" (City of Calgary 2009b, 22). The City also took into consideration age, gender, and life situation when appointed CAG members so that it represented a broad spectrum of the population. According to City of Calgary (2009b), SE17's CAG had no decision-

making power and building a consensus was not a goal for the group: “the CAG has no decision making power and consensus building was not a goal of the group” (22). The members of the CAG were not a broad representation of the public, and were a key component of the plan’s direction.

Although City of Calgary staff members interviewed many applicants to ensure some diversity in SE17’s CAG, the structure of the process led to the participation of a group of individuals that pushed for IADI influenced redevelopment and were representative of the IABRZ and its allies. When asked about the representative nature of SE17’s CAG, a City of Calgary staff member stated:

Um [laughter], I was involved in creating that group. We took applications. A newsletter went out to all the households in the area, and we all dropped them in. We interviewed a bunch of them to try and get as much diversity as we could. Representation from the Community Associations was one of the criteria. BRZ representation. Community at large representation. We tried to get some ethnic representation. An interesting thing is that the two ethnic people that put their names forward and were selected dropped out after two meetings. They didn’t seem to get it, or we didn’t make it, they thought it was something different. They thought that we were going to be doing something a lot more grassroots stuff. Like getting down into doing it. They became disinterested, and didn’t respond to any of the callbacks to try and get them involved, so they detached themselves from the process. So, most of the people were older white Caucasian middle-class or higher type people. So, not very representative of the area. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

By appointing members of the GFLA’s CA’s as well as IABRZ members to SE17’s CAG, the exclusive nature of IADI’s vision of redevelopment became infused into the project. The direction of SE17 was already set before the general public even brought insight into the project, which might why the two ethnic members of the CAG lost interest so quickly. The CAG was comprised entirely the older Caucasian middle-class

people who stand to benefit a great deal from redevelopment. Since the City of Calgary relies on the CAG to recruit participants in the planning process, the structure ensured that like individuals, for the most part, would be the primary voice in SE17's engagement strategy and outcome. The open houses and the visioning workshops were the avenues in which the public was able to provide their voice in SE17, yet their attendance was primarily determined upon the engagement efforts of the CAG. Thus, the vision of SE17, from the very beginning, was increasingly narrowed.

One key exercise undertaken through the SE17 process was a "density game." This exercise was reserved only for the CAG and occurred in April of 2008 (City of Calgary 2009b). The density exercise allowed the CAG to explore, through an interactive process, visions of increased employment and population along the corridor. Working in three small groups, the CAG allocated density by placing game blocks on specific sites. An additional 20,000 people and 13,000 jobs were distributed throughout the corridor (City of Calgary 2009b). One blue or red block was equivalent to 56 jobs, and one yellow block symbolized an increase of 40 people or 20 housing units (City of Calgary 2009b) (see Figure 7.5). Once the exercise was completed, the three groups presented their individual findings, which were then collected by SE17's project planners and analyzed (Figure 7.6 represents this analyzation)



Figure 7.5: Density Game Blocks
 Source: City of Calgary (2009b)



Figure 7.6: CAG Preferred Intensification Area
 Source: City of Calgary (2009b)

Although the density exercise is labeled as a game, the outcome of the activity contributed to the entire vision of SE17. It was a collaborative effort amongst a very small unrepresentative group. Once density is increased on land, the profits reaped from the development are larger than development on less dense land. The CAG's outcomes would thereby increase the value of the land along the corridor and surrounding communities, particularly from the landowner's perspective. As active members in the CAG, landowners were able to affect the density game process and potentially increase the value of their land:

One is the T&C [Town and Country Hotel] owner. Mike Shymka, his family owns the T&C. Of course, they have a business and they are making money, because it is a place where all the truckers go and the prostitutes go. But, you know, if they get an upzone in their value of land...they did the density game in one of the community advisory group meetings and it was quite interesting because of what happened. One of the members said "Look Mike, I put a bunch of density on your site to help you out there buddy." A Community Advisory Group member. I think it was because he wanted to see that site redeveloped, because of the uses that were going on there. But he literally said in front of everyone, put a bunch of density...It basically trying to skew the results so that when we move forward with the plan then that site has more density on it, right, which gives that value, which gives him money in his pocket. You know, so they had influence over the process and they verbally said it in front of everyone. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Mike Shymka is the current Chairman of the IABRZ board, and his business was the site of IADI Charrette 02. The density game makes it quite evident that the CAG did in fact make key decisions on the how the corridor should be redeveloped. The individual agendas of the CAG and its members compromised the democratic process through manipulation of City of Calgary planning practices. The CAG was able to upzone land

along the corridor and surrounding communities within a closed environment. The CAG had significant power and it directly influenced the direction of SE17.⁸²

Open Houses

The community outreach methods mentioned above were the primary means, other than the CAG, of attracting the public to the SE17 open houses. Although not quite as successful as IADI's engagement approach in attracting participants, SE17's two open houses (Tuesday, June 18, 2007 and Saturday, June 23, 2007) still attracted approximately 150 people (City of Calgary 2009b). The open houses were held at the Forest Lawn Community Hall. City staff received approximately 100 comments from a variety of sources; including a questionnaire, email correspondence, and on-site discussions (City of Calgary 2009b). Common grievances from participants were centred on appropriate land uses, pedestrian safety and comfort, and poor street/building design (City of Calgary 2009b). The majority of the open house participants' comments echo the "improvements" suggested by IADI. The pro-development interviewees of this research, such as Alison Karim-McSwiney, suggested repeatedly that the GFLA already has its fair share of affordable housing, and city planners mentioned that affordable housing was a non-issue in discussions they had with the IABRZ. The similarity between the comments provided by the SE17 open house participants and the findings of IADI is not happenstance.⁸³ The public suggestions made during the SE17 open houses are representative of the "townies" group.

⁸² Incidentally, it was the CAG that also played a key role in recruiting members of the community to participate in the SE17 open houses, and they were also key players in the visioning workshops.

⁸³ The community outreach protocols ensured that the participants of the SE17 open house, for the most part, were the same participants that were engaged in the IADI public participation process.

The avenue through which people were invited to the open houses as well as the format of the open houses themselves limited the representational aspect of the process. A standard City of Calgary template was employed for engagement in the GFLA. The open house participants were not representative of the GFLA. All materials in the SE17 open houses were presented in English only. By holding the open houses on two separate days (a weekday evening and Saturday afternoon), the City of Calgary believed that it was able to garner enough input from multiple demographics (see above). The City of Calgary did not take into consideration that much of the GFLA population works multiple jobs to make ends meet. They could not attend the open houses because it was not economically feasible nor did they have the disposable time:

What happened was we held one of them, the visioning workshop, at a school. Not the high school, but one of the elementary schools. And the principal said to us, who are coming out to these? We said we don't know. And he said, you know you aren't get [sic] anybody in these communities coming out to these because they work two or three jobs. So, this isn't really representing them. He actually said that to us. So, a perspective from somebody in the community [sic]. He is like, ok, but that is why no one is here because they don't have the time. Another interesting comment was a lot of the cultural backgrounds of these people; a lot of people come from cultures where government isn't seen as a good thing. So, they don't want to come out and participate in this kind of stuff because they think that they are going to be, they bring their preconceived notions as to what government represents. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 March 2011)

Open houses were not conducive to gathering the diverse voice of the area's ethnic populations simply because many are distrustful of government activities.

The open house structure itself is a very controlled environment. They are always held at a specific time and are typically held at a community association hall. All conceptual drawings and plans are placed on placards for public viewing, indicating that significant conceptual work is completed prior to any public involvement. The placards

are presented in planning vernacular, which requires some knowledge of in order to provide a valid critique. An interviewee that I spoke to, Joe Leizerowicz, heavily critiqued the open house setting because the use of planning vernacular essentially diminishes dissent. If the public does not understand what they are viewing, they cannot adequately challenge the City of Calgary. Questionnaires are given to open house participants as they leave the event, thus reinforcing the reduction of dissenting voices. The City of Calgary planners and any other individual that contributed to the planning documents are thus saved from any one-on-one critique of the conceptual plans.

Community Visioning Workshops

Together with Co-Design Group, the City of Calgary held community visioning workshops that permitted community members to work directly with urban designers.⁸⁴ The workshops were held on January 19 and 26, 2008 and 46 people participated (City of Calgary 2009b). Setting aside any policy restrictions, workshop participants were asked to envision what the corridor would be like in 40 years. Once the designs were completed, they were offered to the public for their consideration and scrutiny (City of Calgary 2009b).

The visioning workshops were very similar in process to the IADI design studio charrettes. The Co-Design one-on-one atmosphere allowed participants to convey their thoughts, imaginings and perceived way of living with the designers, who then represented these ideas in drawings. The Co-Design process differs from other forms of public participation in that the consultation with the public is “pre-conceptual”; participants are asked to visualize before the design work begins (City of Calgary 2008b).

⁸⁴ Co-Design Group is an architectural/urban design firm that has conducted similar visioning workshops for the past 25 years (City of Calgary 2008b).

The designs then provide the framework for a plan's land use concepts. "Co-design operates on the assumption that positive community involvement in design generates harmony and a healthy psychology in individuals and communities alike, especially in urban areas that are confronted with complex and controversial design issues" (City of Calgary 2008b, 9). This public engagement approach, according to the Co-Design Group, allows designers and participants to work together to create a new future for their community.

The City of Calgary used the Co-Design group's process due to the similarity it holds with the charrette process undertaken in IADI. The reasons for the City of Calgary decision to use Co-Design Group are as follows:

- The images, drawn on the spot at the dictation of groups or participants, focus the discussions and communicate the groups' ideas quickly and fully to the community and eventually the designers;
- The images focus on the creation of a positive, vibrant community life to assist City staff in understanding the community's vision and priorities for a great community;
- It engages more members of the public in being a part of the creation of the future vision for the community and site area
- It allows participants to mutually share their visions for the area and to receive feedback on these ideas; and
- The emphasis is on allowing the public to participate comfortably as 'experts' in terms of their experience living in their neighbourhoods rather than as design or technical professionals (City of Calgary 2008b, 9-10)

Although the visioning workshops were much shorter in duration than the IADI charrettes, their purpose was almost identical. The Co-Design forum supposedly was an inclusive approach because the final results were derived from mutual partnership between community members and urban designers.

The January 19 visioning workshop was held at Ernest Morrow Junior High School and the January 26 event was held at the Southview Community Centre (City of

Calgary 2008b). Both workshops ran from 10:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M. They had four components along with a final public rating of the results. First, participants were asked to envision their lives after SE17 had been completed. They then called out the activities that they wished to experience or see go around their lives on any given day in any season. The activities were then written on a timeline that represented a future day (Figure 7.7 represents participants' perceived activities throughout one day). Second, these activities were then subdivided into groupings that had their own designer and note-taker. Visioning workshop participants then chose the grouping that they wished to join (City of Calgary 2008b). Third, participants then engaged in site visits of the potential activities while note takers recorded their comments. Finally, once the participants returned from the site visits they then worked in groups with the design team to represent their potential activities in drawings vignettes (City of Calgary 2008b). Once the drawings were completed, they were placed on rating sheets and displayed for all of the participants. The drawings were then rated based upon three criteria, ranging from "great idea" to "does not belong here" (City of Calgary 2008b). Each rating sheet had space to allow for additional comments from the participants. Figure 7.8 is an example of one of the rating sheets for SE17. A drawing was supported by a rating sheet placed below.



1. MOVEMENT & CIRCULATION	Great idea. Go for it!		Good idea, but needs more thought.		Idea does not belong here.	
15' Sidewalk, bench, tree, lamp stand, bike, bus stop lane, road.	94%	33	5%	2	0%	-
Parking (A) Over stores.	15%	4	33%	9	52%	14
Parking (B) Underground.	88%	29	12%	4	0%	-
Parking (C) Behind stores.	90%	35	10%	4	0%	-
Store facades in various styles to reflect ethnic character.	90%	37	10%	4	0%	-
Apartments over stores, 4-6 floors.	82%	33	17%	7	0%	-
Benches at angles.	78%	28	19%	7	3%	1
Noodle place (cart).	55%	22	10%	4	35%	14
Outdoor T.V.	30%	10	18%	6	52%	17
Water feature walls throughout avenue.	46%	17	41%	15	3%	5
Decorative stamps (leaves) in sidewalk paving.	87%	33	10%	4	3%	1
Tuk-Tuk summer time delivery & transport.	47%	15	31%	10	22%	7

Figure 7.8. Visioning Workshop Drawings and Ratings
 Source: City of Calgary (2008b)

The community outreach approach used by the City of Calgary ensured that the participants in the visioning workshops were an unrepresentative group. According to City of Calgary planners, the CAG and its social connections made up the bulk of the 46 people that were involved in the visioning workshops. The scheduling of the visioning workshops was only favorable for participants who had disposable time. Also, the participants were bringing visions that were already shaped by the IADI process.

As shown above, the participants in the visioning workshops broke off into groups to envision “day in the life” themes for the 17th Avenue SE Corridor. Through a collaborative effort with participants, these themes were then drawn by the urban designers. However, themes created through this process are questionable. They were often too broad, in that it was difficult to delve into the peculiarities of life in the GFLA given the structure of the model used:

I would say that the themes, because they were used in more than one project, the themes are the same in all the projects. So, the “day in the life of” the idea behind it is that you do 24 hours 30 years in the future of what you want to see. So, people just shout things out in the morning and they write it up. Then you have one guy who sits back and goes ok here are the themes that I heard and shows all the themes. But, they seem to be the same themes for every project; West LRT, SE17, because there are not a lot of different things you can talk about. They are broad themes. So, what they do is that they take artist and sit them down in groups after lunch based on those themes... What people want to see in their communities in 30 years, there’s only so much that you can think of in terms of visioning about it. Oh, I’d like to walk on city pathways. I want to, you know, walk down the sidewalks where there are nice buildings or nice comfortable walk beside; we have nice park space. There are a lot of general things. There are not, well there are some specific things like in this intersection it would be nice to see this type of development. But, a lot of times it is very general, so the themes are very general. So, people go in the afternoon, they sit down and talk about general things and they get into some specifics about what they want to see on certain sites or in certain areas of the corridor or area, but it is very broad, very high level stuff. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

According to Tyson, there were some specific themes addressed in the workshops, but the majority of visions were so general that they could be applied to any redevelopment vision in the city of Calgary. The visions espoused were often based upon the participants feeding off each other, yet still from a very broad theme.⁸⁵

Despite the generalities produced by the participants, there were specific themes addressed during the visioning workshops: celebrating the ethnic diversity in shops and restaurants, as well as the lifestyles of the neighbourhood's ethnic population. However, the representations of ethnic diversity within SE17 were created by broad themes constructed from Caucasian middle-class lifestyles:

Well it's funny; it's interesting because a lot of the ethnic/cultural stuff that people were suggesting I found was coming from people who weren't from those cultures. So, it was sort of like their idea of what would make good cultural or ethnic experience might be in the area. But, if you are not part of the culture, then what do you know about what's a good cultural experience. It becomes a Disneyland of your ideas of what it should be like. Very stereotypical. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

The celebration of the GFLA's ethnic diversity in SE17 was not created by the ethnic population, nor was it created by them in IADI. These plans, by creating a culturally commodified space, are at risk of displacing the very lifestyles that make the corridor so unique in the first place (see below).

⁸⁵I think they are feeding off one another when they are shouting stuff out. They figure out what's appropriate given the social context, if that makes sense? People are shouting out stuff, and ok I will shout stuff out like that. If someone is way off the ball, then...So, it's peer pressure, right?Keep the ethnic diversity. Like all that stuff came out too. There is some stuff that is specific to the area that came out, but it's very general stuff. And the afternoon is taken from the generalization of the theme. (discussion with Tyson, City of Calgary planner, 03 May 2011)

The collaboration between urban designers and the GFLA population in SE17 appears to be a level relationship, but it was discovered (as was the case in IADI) that the artists would often lead the participants towards certain redevelopment ideas:

They [designers] are drawing three-dimensional pictures of the things that people are talking about. But, well, I found that a lot of times the artist leads them. 'Oh, so you are saying over here blah blah blah' and you know [sic]. They are drawing in front of them, and these drawings are used so they can't sort of scribble it out and start another one. They have to continue on with the drawing. Some of them were good at probing before they started drawing, but some of them were like 'oh you are saying this, and oh it should look like this.' (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Although City of Calgary (2008b) states that the visioning workshops were "pre-conceptual" it is questionable if that was the case. Urban designers will always create some visual conception of an area, whether it is on paper or in their head, before they work with the community (as was the case with IADI). If the urban designers for SE17 were leading participants, they already have a preconceived notion of what the corridor should look like. These broad-based themes constructed by the designers may even contribute to the displacement of the actual lifestyles they are trying to represent simply because their perceptions are completely ignorant of the GFLA's social constructions. This is assuming that design will be able to represent these constructions in the first place. The structure of the visioning workshops accomplished identical results as the IADI charrettes did, in that the process convinced participants of the "proper way" forward for redevelopment. Given that the participants were generally the pro-development lobby (IABRZ members, "townie group," etc), meant that long held prejudices against vulnerable populations in the GFLA may have been raised during the collaborative planning processes.

Agendas and Governance

Although the engagement strategies employed in IADI and SE17 were not identical, the similarity between them ensured that the results were nearly the same:

The SE corridor study, when it was started, they did slightly different consultations on that one. We had a steering group of people, residents, majority were residents, and quite a bit from all walks of life too. Then as we went along, we studied it together with the city, and then we had two big sessions where everybody was invited that kind of thing, they showed the thing and all this sort of thing, it was very similar I think. So it was slightly different, but we ended up with the same results as all the charrettes. So, they basically redid it. (Diane Danielson, former City of Calgary Alderman, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 June 2011)

The combination of the strategic and politically-active IABRZ and poor public engagement strategies allowed a pro-gentrification agenda to guide democratic process. Urban design became an anchor point from which a select group of individuals were able to convince like-minded residents of the proper way to change the image of the GFLA. Alternatives for social redevelopment were largely absent given the over-reliance on design-oriented tactics. The visions that had already come out of IADI informed SE17 prior to public input. The engagement process in IADI and SE17 ensured that resistance to gentrification was almost entirely absent from the process. Given that 1) the themes for redevelopment are not reflective of the day-to-day realities of the GFLA, and 2) the residents who will be most affected by redevelopment were largely absent from the planning process, gentrification is a very real possibility because of both the IADI and SE17. Presently, there is little to no provincial policy that will provide for protections against displacement, nor is there any preventative social policy in either the IADI or SE17. Gentrification and displacement were identified in IADI as potentially occurring developments once redevelopment took hold. Displacement was effectively dismissed by

IADI, and City of Calgary interpretations of the MGA forbid planners from incorporating social policy mandates in SE17 that could prevent displacement.

Social factors are largely overlooked in IADI's documentation, and the lack of social theory is similarly absent in the IADI charrette 02. The summary of recommendations in IADI (2005) states that a growth regime will be constructed through triple bottom line sustainability and the rest of the document states unequivocally that IADI's design proposals will allow for triple bottom line.⁸⁶ Granted, the authors of IADI argue that:

that despite our best intentions, and despite the endorsement of Policy Objectives that seek a meaningful change, we are held in check by outmoded Policy Frameworks; we will be unable to achieve Triple Bottom Line solutions that integrate regional scaled thinking with a grassroots approach, until our tools and processes are designed accordingly. (IADI 2005, 72)

Despite being held back by present City of Calgary policy frameworks, if IADI expected to provide a "better way forward" it should have expanded upon triple line sustainability and mandate how to obtain social objectives. The triple bottom rhetoric states that the social "problems" associated with the GFLA are beyond the scope of the report, and dictates responsibility of addressing the issue to the City of Calgary and neighbourhood residents (see Figure 7.9). Social aspects were summarily dismissed.

⁸⁶ For example, "In a broader sense, the Streetcar System would necessitate a fundamental reworking of Policy Frameworks that could actually make the achievement of our Triple Bottom Line Policy Objectives realistic, positioning Calgary to fully realize its potential as a New-World City." (IADI 2005, 39)

THE MASTER PLAN AND THE TRIPLE BOTTOM LINE

Overview

While the scope of this report is focused mainly on physical redevelopment and economic sustainability, it is important to speak to the overall issue of sustainability that will be an important consideration for implementation.

Economic

Economic sustainability on the municipal level is achieved through the use of existing infrastructure and the recapturing of property value that increases the tax base. From a market perspective, a diversity of residential units, a diversity of commercial spaces, and a general mix of uses allows the area to more readily adapt to changing market conditions than homogenous, segregated land use pods. This will be strengthened by flexible and supportive land use policies. The liner building and live/work units provide incubator space that support the area's entrepreneurial business community.

Social

The area currently suffers from several social problems that are beyond the scope of this report. As gentrification takes place, displacement may occur. A suitable plan of action should be developed by the City and stakeholders to deal with these social problems in place, or by other means. A plan should also be established to integrate low income housing and allow space for local businesses. The urban form will provide much needed surveillance and ownership for the public realm.

Environmental

This redevelopment represents the recycling of land and reuse of existing infrastructure. The walkable character will allow for an alternative to compulsory automobile use and represents the efficient use of land. Green technologies and best practices are encouraged for municipal service delivery, building construction, and operations.

Figure 7.9. 50th Street East Urban Centre's Triple Bottom Line

Source: IADI (2006)

The authors and principled designers of IADI (2005) suggest that gentrification in neighbouring spaces has contributed to the social problems occurring in the GFLA.⁸⁷ The gentrification of Calgary's inner-core has directly created an "influx of the displaced – the low income and socially challenged – further saturating the area's already disproportionate share, entrenching stigmatization, and ending hopes for a meaningful revitalization" (IADI 2005, 27). Examining the rhetoric, it is clear that the abundance of "low income and socially challenged" individuals has contributed to GFLA's stigmatization. This presents a barrier for redevelopment, and in order to create "meaningful revitalization," it is essential that the stigmatization be (re)moved. Through this line of reasoning, IADI's conception of revitalization is gentrification.

The social portion of IADI's triple bottom line stipulation states that gentrification will be a reality and that displacement might occur. Gentrification implies displacement, so the expulsion of the GFLA's vulnerable population is inevitable if IADI's vision comes to fruition. Although the IADI authors acknowledge that gentrification will transpire, they do not hold themselves accountable or provide a solution. Rather, vague encouragements reminiscent of planning rhetoric used in Alberta's MGA are utilized; "a suitable plan of action should be developed by the City and stakeholders to deal with these social problems in place or by other means. A plan should also be established to

⁸⁷ Gentrification in Calgary's inner core, according to IADI proponents, is due to the conflictual, highly inefficient, and protracted approach in the current redevelopment framework in Calgary (IADI 2005).⁸⁷ This reality, according to IADI, has created exorbitant housing price costs, which then has displaced the socioeconomic and demographic diversity associated with Calgary's inner-core (IADI 2005). The once vibrant and demographically mixed inner core of Calgary has become homogenized and services have disintegrated as lifestyles have become increasingly similar; not unlike suburbanization (socio-economically at least). These changes have had an impact on the GFLA.

integrate low income housing and allow space for local businesses” (IADI 2006, 30).⁸⁸ Incidentally, this rhetoric has been employed by New Urbanism’s chief proponent (see Duany 2001). Presently, the conservative interpretation of the MGA by the City of Calgary ensures that little to no measures will be taken to prevent the displacement of people in the GFLA. By acknowledging that gentrification will occur, the intent of IADI to create an entirely new space for wealthier populations is quite evident.

7.2 – Socio-Economic Exclusion and Displacement

The combined efforts of IADI and SE17 will cause gentrification in the GFLA due to a number of factors. The engagement strategies adopted by both IADI and SE17 favoured middle-class values, visions and interests be expressed in the plans’ outcomes. The socio-economic situation of the GFLA as well as its cultural aspect was systematically ignored. Both redevelopment plans were part of the IABRZ’s agenda and vision for the GFLA, which supports remaking the 17th Avenue SE corridor, through notions of sustainability, in line with middle to upper class wants and tastes. The hegemonic actions of the IABRZ, through IADI and SE17, ensured that “social problems” were displaced rather than confronted. Although IADI and SE17 do not admit that displacement will occur, it is through their practice of public engagement, devotion to design-oriented principles, ignorance of the socio-spatial realities of the GFLA, that gentrification becomes a probable outcome of the plans. The authors of IADI lament the fact that gentrification contributed to the present situation of the GFLA, and then propose no solution to prevent displacement. Rather, IADI (2005) places the responsibility of

⁸⁸ Climenhaga (1997) argues consistently that Alberta’s MGA is fundamentally weak in providing any meaningful planning implementation because it only provides encouragements rather than mandates.

addressing displacement in the hands of the City of Calgary (and neighbourhood residents), which do not have the resources to properly confront gentrification, nor the political mandate due to the City of Calgary's conservative interpretations of the MGA.

Socio-Spatial Realities and Affordable Housing

When finding solutions for the GFLA, the urban designers behind IADI only examined the physical environment. They argued that there was a disconnect between activity along the corridor and the quality of physical structures in the adjacent communities. The urban designers believed that with such a diverse population and high pedestrian traffic, the corridor needed to increase its density. The increased density would then somehow alleviate the social side effects of historical neglect and instill the residents with more pride for their community.

Well I have always gone on the notion that if you can get people having a sense of pride in their community, then that makes a big difference. So, one of the ways of attacking that is to get everybody involved. That is probably more direct than saying well we will make a nicer looking place. So, idea of having the citizens involved was something that we were interesting in right from the beginning as the main way of attacking this kind of problems of a graffiti and crime and those kinds of things. The fact that when you drive down the alleys and you see people throwing chesterfields out that sit there, that kind of stuff. There is that kind of disconnect between what the environment looks like and then how people respond to it or behave accordingly. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

Is the pride of one's community only created through the physical environment, or are there other avenues in which pride can develop? Do distinctive social attributes (cultural, class, etc) create a physical environment that is at odds with middle-class to upper class norms, and if so how are they manifested in the GFLA? Do people use space in ways that urban design may not appreciate? Do low density dwellings near the corridor

provide much needed affordable housing for low-income residents and ease of access for their needs despite the “shabby” nature of their exteriors? The agenda of the IABRZ and preconceived visions created through New Urbanism prevented these questions, and those like them, from being answered.

Compared to most Calgary neighbourhoods, the GFLA has higher concentrations of low-income populations as well as ethnic communities. Despite enduring hardships that most of Calgary’s population will never experience, there is a great deal of resilience among the GFLA’s vulnerable population.⁸⁹ This resilience has engendered pride amongst the vulnerable residents, which cannot be captured through physical design. In fact, during the interview process the term “ghetto” was used as a form of empowerment, at least from residents not living in subsidized housing. Although it was stated (Whitney) that people living in subsidized housing are eager to get out of the complexes, there was still a sense of community amongst the residents. The GFLA is host to many place-based services for residents in subsidized housing that address the needs of people and empowers them through ownership of the particular space. By working directly with residents in place, advocacy groups better understand what the needs of people are, such as outreach to non-English speakers:

So, when you are there you are able to understand that if you are sending a letter to someone who can’t actually read English and in that letter you are telling them if you don’t show up for an appointment then there are going to be consequences. But, when you are there and they are coming to you going ‘what’s this, help. I don’t know what this says’ I think that is a good example of

⁸⁹“From a professional perspective, I have always worked for non-profit and just through my path in the professional field it has steered me into this neighbourhood [GFLA]. And I have stayed because I have noticed that the individuals here are resilient, they are wonderful, they have strength beyond measure and the majority of the individuals simply just need a bit of extra help. And so it really feeds my passion.” (discussion with Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, 20 January 2011)

how as professionals it is sometimes too convenient to sit back and go ‘Well they didn’t show up, I guess they don’t need that money or that support or whatever’ and just scratch them off that list. Whereas being there, you can understand, it might not be something on forefront of our lines that ‘wait a minute, we sent them a letter in English but they don’t communicate in English.’ It is that little piece that when we share that with our funders and we share that with other professionals or when we are making referrals we can bridge that and, again, decrease that barrier and promote and understanding and advocate for people to get their needs met by those of us in this field, therefore understanding really what that means. (Whitney, GFLA social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 May 2011)

These advocacy groups help the vulnerable populations engender pride and community where otherwise it would be waning. The engagement approaches adopted through IADI and SE17 was not able to access this socio-spatial reality.

GFLA has a large stock of affordable housing, much of which is located directly adjacent to the 17th Avenue SE corridor. However, given that Alberta does not have a living minimum wage, and due to increasing living costs in the city, it is even difficult for many residents in the GFLA to afford rent in affordable accommodations.⁹⁰ Thus, many residents must use illegal suites or crowd into a rental property. Ethnic populations will often share an accommodation with an entire immediate and secondary family. Landlord abuse, whether in the form of drastically increasing rents or taking advantage of under the table rent agreements, make finding suitable accommodation even more perilous. Legal rental agreements can be written in such a way that the tenants are unknowledgeable if the leases are legitimate or not. Often utilities for an entire unit are in one name, and if the other tenants are paying cash there is no record of their covering of costs. Low-

⁹⁰Especially in this city, you have to work 120 hours I think at minimum wage to be able to afford rent. That’s just rent. So, I think they are trying and end up getting behind on Enmax bills or the debt builds and they end up applying for housing because they have to. (Whitney, GFLA social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 May 2011)

income tenants move into these situations because they can afford the rent, but become trapped by the situation. The GFLA has several social advocacy groups, namely Sunrise Community Link, that empowers low-income renters and increases their knowledge of these traps. In an unfortunate twist of irony, Sunrise Community Link itself was displaced from the 17th Avenue SE corridor due to rental abuse and drastically increased rent. Presently it is difficult for clients to access their services due to their new location in Erin Woods, at the South East corner of the GFLA. Luckily, according to Denise Cunningham, the majority of landlords in the GFLA are respectful of their tenants.

The affordable rents in the GFLA attract low-income tenants, an unkempt physical environment and criminal activity. Part of the aim of IADI was to eradicate some of these elements through use of urban design, but design is not the only avenue in which these issues can be confronted. The high amount of absentee landlordism and irresponsible tenants in the area are the main culprits to the deteriorating physical environment. Additionally, there was no consideration, due to socio-cultural reasoning, that some tenants just may not understand “proper” etiquette:

Oh, it’s varied [why tenants do not maintain their accommodations]. Some just don’t care. Some really don’t know how. And, again, when we talk about maintaining, again that is a grey area. That should be really more defined, because I know that some individuals that are renting the grass may not be cut and the hedge may not be trimmed or the snow may not be shoveled and there are instances where some are newcomers to Calgary and they simply do not know that is what is to be done. They don’t know so they don’t do it. I have heard, again through my networks, in their culture in their country having a tall green lush lawn is a sign of affluence, so they let the grass grow. You know, it all depends. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

A bridge to understanding these cultural and social differences was never attempted, nor was there any outreach extended to work with these populations to form some mutual

agreement. According to contacts, affordable rents also attract a criminal element to the GFLA, but the GFLA is not an unusual case. Nevertheless, due to the stigmatization of the GFLA, criminality remains a persistent issue:

Drug culture, that's really really [sic] a concern. And again, because of somewhat affordable rents, a [sic] certain element of individuals are attracted to Forest Lawn. I mean simply that is the only area that they can afford to live and then with that comes their lifestyle. So there are many many [sic] reasons why Forest Lawn has this thing. And the unfortunate thing is that those aspects get the media and get the attention and the other wonderful aspects of Forest Lawn, individuals that have lived here for years and years and years, pay their taxes, salt of the earth individuals, get cast in that light...I am not versed enough to say why Forest Lawn specifically is targeted, so I am not going to go there. But I do know that other neighbourhoods have similar issues; vandalism, absentee landlords, domestic violence, etc. It is just not put in the news. I know of it through my own social network, professional network. I know that in some SW more affluent neighbourhood's vandalism is huge and property damage is huge, you know, because the children run amok and they have no supervision. So, it runs all over...And vandalism occurs for many many [sic] reasons, you know, so. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

According to social advocates in the GFLA, the area needs more affordable housing, as well as other services, to accommodate the low-income and ethnic populations. The housing should be adequate.

We need affordable housing which meets the standard. It doesn't have to be fancy, but they have to be structurally sound and adequate. They need to be adequate housing. They need to be safe. And there needs to be lots of them, through whatever way shape or form, subsidized, I don't know. That housing needs to happen. We need more. And employment services [sic]. I am just trying to think. I am not aware of any agencies along 17th Avenue. We need to have an employment agency come back. I think Alberta Employment and Immigration used to be in Deerfoot 17. I don't think that they're there. And due to the huge population, we need to have that accessible. I think the closest might be Marlborough Mall. So, that needs to come back. (Denise Cunningham, Sunrise Community Link, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 January 2011)

Currently, there has been no mandate by the IABRZ and its allies to improve upon affordable housing to prevent the displacement of GFLA residents, save some loose

arguments for keeping the area affordable. There was some concern presented in the SE17 planning process about retaining affordability, while simultaneously arguing that the area does not need any more affordable housing. Indeed, affordable housing should be considered a priority of GFLA residents, as these concerns were presented by open house and visioning workshop participants:

I mean it [affordable housing] was brought up by the community. There was a desire to protect it, mostly. I mean this is the general perspective I got. When I say community I mean the CA reps, to the extent that we got input at the open houses from the general community members. So the “community,” that definition of community, there seemed to be some desire to maintain what was there. So, there was a [sic] recognition that the area needed affordable housing, and there was actually recognition that not just affordable housing but the idea of affordability. One of the things that they wanted to maintain in this area was affordability, the idea that the ordinary person could afford a house in this area in addition to maintaining the sort of affordable housing and social housing. There was also, from the community, the desire to not see any more added as part of this process that is for sure. The thinking was that we already have more than our fair share in the city, you know, why doesn't Tuscany or why doesn't X community have any affordable housing, why do we get it all? The BRZ really didn't bring up affordable housing at all. It wasn't part of its sort of. It wasn't a good thing, it wasn't a bad thing, and it just wasn't mentioned. And then on the planning side, there really wasn't involvement from Affordable Housing whatsoever. Even if we wanted there to be, there isn't much at the city that actually does affordable housing. There is a small team of people that work in what's known as the Office of Land Surfacing and Housing. They are kind of the affordable housing team for the city. They're mostly in charge of trying partner up community groups that are out there with sites that the city has to try to get the funding to actually build something, to kind of get people off the wait list. So they are very immediate, they are very 'so let's get something done rather than doing nothing.' There is a really fluffy affordable housing policy that the city has, but in terms of actually doing anything in the specific geographic area of the city, we don't do that. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 19 January 2011)

Increased Prices and Displacement

Through the engagement process, IADI and SE17 exemplified the middle class' desire to maintain the corridor's ethnic diversity, be it through the restaurants or the

unique shops. Presently, the diversity in restaurants and shops comes from “mom and pop” businesses that are already struggling to keep their businesses afloat.⁹¹ The majority of businesses along the corridor do not own their property. Whether or not the IABRZ and its allies understand the consequences of IADI and SE17 is questionable, as the outcomes of the plans will likely diminish the unique attributes of the corridor and will lead to the displacement of businesses and residents. The resultant implementation of the plans, at least in the sense of what the IABRZ and its allies hope to achieve, is not viable unless there is a drastic increase of property prices and rents (residential and commercial). The cultural diversity the middle population hopes to retain will change because the original business owners that are presently there will not be able to afford drastically increasing rents.⁹² The displacement of these businesses will have a reverberating effect throughout the surrounding communities due to the specific nature of their products.

Planners with the City of Calgary understand how their planning implementation can affect land values. When a particular vision such as IADI, with attention to increased density, influences City of Calgary planning strategies the inevitable outcome is increase of land prices:

They could be, it could be intentional, but it could be completely ignorance as well. I don't know if they went in with the. I can't speak for the BRZ, but I think that initiative, and I think that a lot of instances that may be coming up I don't know, this is a unique perspective that I have these days goes to capacity issues in our planning documents. We don't think through how much added land value and added value in general when we are creating these design documents in terms of heights and densities. So, we are basically handing the landowners money because we are saying you can develop to X densities, which

⁹¹ These businesses more often than not cater to specific populations that live in the immediate area, despite the IABRZ's and allies' arguments that much of their patronage comes from outside the GFLA.

⁹² Wilson et al. (2004) discovered a similar gentrification discourse in Chicago's Pilsen neighbourhood.

increases their land values immediately. There may be intentional thought behind that, but it doesn't seem like this exercise may have been done with that in mind. I don't know. I could be completely, you know, naïve about that. But, in terms of the progressive rhetoric, it's...being a planning professional and knowing that they're professionals in their own mind, they had have to of known of the consequences that they were proposing in terms of gentrification. They may have been thinking in their own minds, they are thinking in general, that it is a good thing for the community to have all this new development going on, and gentrification going on, because it then gets rid of the social issues. But, they are probably aren't looking, like I am saying about the recommendations in the document, they aren't thinking you know "Oh, well, it's not really solving the social issues. All it's doing is moving them somewhere else. The whole displacement issue." So, I don't know if the understanding is there from the people who did the design initiative's perspective, that that was actually happening. From the City's perspective, we are well aware of what design initiatives do in terms of land values and what not. We are not actually supposed to factor that into our decisions, but it is really hard to remove it as part of a decision making framework in terms of bringing land use documents forward and design documents forward... Well, yeah, we are not supposed to consider what it does to land values. We are supposed to base it all on some planning principles. We are not supposed to examine the actual value added and values attracting costs. It is not a very comprehensive way of looking at things. (Tyson, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 03 May 2011)

Without any protections for low-income housing in place, such as rent control, the effects can be detrimental. Whether or not the IABRZ and its allies are aware of the City of Calgary's influence in increasing land prices is debatable, nevertheless, the bigger issues is that people are unaware that the outcome of a design-oriented vision has the potential to displace them if SE17 is implemented.

The increased land prices due to the implementation of SE17 will remake the conceptual area for a more affluent class than that which currently exists in the GFLA, including the population that is represented by IADI's vision:

Except that, like I say, part of the intent through, you know, the upzoning and the nodal developments and the higher density types of developments are specifically targeting a higher, I guess, a higher valued type development which would provide housing of people of a, you know, more affluent nature. You

wouldn't be able to see those units for \$200,000. You'd have to build units to make it viable that are \$350,000 \$400,000. If you are talking about a \$400,000 condominium, now you are talking about a different demographic than what is currently existing in the neighbourhood, and so if somebody can afford \$400,000 facility they probably have a lot more disposable income than those people in the immediate surrounding area. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2011)

According to Andre Chabot, in order for the redevelopment to be viable the residential units for the mixed-use development would have to be in price ranges that most GFLA residents cannot afford. The increased residential prices will be accompanied with a simultaneous increase in price of commercial space as well, which will displace the unique businesses that are currently located along the corridor. Not only would these businesses have to close down to make way for new development, the chances that they could afford to move back to the corridor once construction is complete is slim. These business owners are already struggling to make ends meet. Direct displacement is inevitable.

The resultant increased affluence along the corridor will also cause indirect displacement, namely in the form of price-shadowing. When asked if SE17 would increase housing prices in the GFLA, Alderman Andre Chabot stated:

Absolutely [increased housing prices]. That in itself creates a bit of a challenge. So, when we are going through the whole 17th Avenue redevelopment plan, part of what was envisioned was increased employment opportunities because what is envisioned on the plan was something like 13,000 jobs, 8,000 new residents, and so that was one of the concerns that I had...because if you increase the property values of the avenue it will have a reverberating effect as it goes out into the communities. So you start increasing the values of those properties, you also increase their taxes. So, a lot of people in those areas are very equity rich and cash poor, so you start increasing the equity in their homes you are also increasing their property tax, but they don't have a lot of disposable cash so you could potentially push them out of the community. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2011)

The solution to indirect displacement, according to Chabot, is to develop a housing mix along the corridor:

Like I said, if we create enough opportunity on the Avenue from a residential perspective initially of a different type of housing mix, it won't necessarily impact the adjacent residents quite as much, depending on what zoning opportunities you provide for on the immediately adjacent properties you kind of limit the deskopcreep [sic] increasing in value of properties. Like if you have commercial corridor, and only half a block of it is zoned commercial everything else beyond that is transitioned down from a density perspective right back down to R1, you are not going to affect the R1 properties nearly as much as you are on the immediately adjacent properties. And you expect that a lot of those properties will probably sell, there will probably be a lot of consolidation of properties for people who would build something that is more comprehensive, maybe a multi-family housing complex that goes from six stories down to one story back into the residential community to minimize the shadowing impact and all that. And so far as the single family residential, I think the displacement can be minimized through some of the visions already of the 17th avenue [SE17], because that is something that came up during the discussions over some of the things that I brought up, because I certainly didn't want to push people out of their own community as a result of this redevelopment, right? Certainly it will increase the vibrancy of the avenue, put more boots on the street so to speak, you know, more pedestrian activity, create more of a natural surveillance which would also help to push out some of that negative social element just by virtue of having that natural surveillance. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2011)

The fundamental issue with the housing mix solution is that it will create a social mix along the corridor, and this strategy has been shown to actually facilitate the gentrification process (see Cameron 2003; Davidson and Lees 2005; DeFilippis and North 2004; Wyly and Hammel 1999). The ideology of the social mix implies that a mix of residents would be beneficial for the entire population, particularly for the lower income populations as rubbing elbows with the middle classes will encourage them to better themselves. However, the outcome of this strategy only isolates classes. For example, when investigating new-build gentrification in London, Davidson and Lees (2005) discovered that long-time working class populations avoided the adjacent middle

to upper class new build developments simply because they were uncomfortable with the new environment, and vice versa. So, social mixing as a strategy actually leads to social isolation and exclusion.

Social isolation and exclusion are likely to occur along the corridor due to the increased concentration of the affluent classes. The mixed-use development will cater to the affluent population because they will have the disposable income to afford the more expensive products of the new commercial district:

Well I think the intent on more so on the 17th Avenue redevelopment, and this is part of some of things that came up during the discussion, the intent on providing those retail commercial opportunities and mixed use opportunities along 17th Avenue isn't going to be so much to service those people in those existing residents in the immediate area, and hence the reason why we had to look at mixed use with residential above retail, like at grade retail with residential above, being as the residential above may not necessarily be of an affordable nature per se, it will be there to accommodate people that may have a little more disposable income and those businesses in themselves, or those residents in themselves will have to be able to maintain or sustain those retail commercial type facilities that are at grade within their own existing facilities. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2011)

Not only will the corridor redevelopment allow for a concentration of wealth in regards to the residents, it will also lead to more affluent businesses. The present business will be directly displaced initially, and then they will be indirectly displaced once redevelopment is complete because they will no longer be able to afford to conduct business. The redevelopment of the corridor will increase the costs associated with owning a business, such as rental rates and property taxes. The loss of these businesses will have a reverberating affect for residents in the adjacent communities, largely due to socio-cultural displacement. Nevertheless, Andre Chabot does not believe displacement will occur:

So no need to displace anybody to be able to keep those businesses viable and maybe make some of the other businesses that are already in existence even more viable because now you are putting in a demographic of individuals that have a little more disposable income than the existing residents. The existing residents don't necessarily need to be displaced because they're not necessarily the ones that are going to be fueling those businesses to keep them afloat. It is going to be a lot more of the new residential component that is going to be developing above some of that at grade retail that we want to develop on the Avenue. (Andre Chabot, Ward 10 Alderman, City of Calgary, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 11 January 2011)

Presently, the businesses along the corridor are the livelihood of the residents in the adjacent communities. The desires of residents are provided by the businesses, and they are within walking distance. The loss of the businesses will contribute to the displacement of adjacent residents because the corridor will no longer provide the essentials they need (both socially and tangibly). These residents will become socially isolated because they would no longer feel comfortable within new space affluence, which is what Davidson and Lees (2005) expose. The social mix is not a solution to displacement, but is instead a contributor to gentrification. The process ensures that the affluent populations are mixed with the lower income populations, and not the other way around (low income mixed within affluent neighbourhoods).

7.3 – Conclusion

The IABRZ has been a powerful force in the GFLA, and has undoubtedly increased the area's potential for gentrification. Since their inception they have worked tirelessly to change the face of the corridor, inevitably affecting the adjacent neighbourhoods. Alison Karim-McSwiney is an energetic Executive Director that has made several improvements in the area: such as the planting of trees, the construction of sidewalks along 17th Avenue SE, placing shelters and bus stops, and encouraging

Calgarians to question the future role of the automobile in the City. However, the fundamental issue with the direction that IABRZ has undertaken is not its willingness to confront unsustainable forms of development, but rather its willingness to use democratic and inclusionary participation rhetoric to help it achieve its vision for GFLA. The IABRZ is driven more by a particular vision it has for the GFLA than by the wants and needs of its member businesses and the majority of residents in the GFLA. The redevelopment plans were lauded for the inclusive approach, but as we have seen their community outreach efforts were highly exclusionary. The IABRZ and its allies do not have an adequate understanding of the social dynamics of the GFLA, and thus their outreach model is only able to attract those individuals that were already accessible to the organization. Although IADI, and to a lesser extent SE17, attracted a larger number of participants, by Calgary standards, to their democratic forum, the resultant vision was limited in visionary scope and reflective of prejudices of the GFLA's vulnerable groups. Those who were successfully reached and invited to these forums were generally convinced of the design's ability to alleviate the socio-economic woes of the area. However, the outcomes of IADI and SE17 ultimately serve to reinforce hegemony. The final result is conducive to the gentrification of the corridor and the surrounding areas.

Chapter 08: Lessons from Bowness and the Greater Forest Lawn Area: Inclusivity and Consensus as Equitable Spatial Practice?

8.1 – Introduction

Although Bowness and Forest Lawn were annexed to the City of Calgary at approximately the same time, the structural arrangements (both within the neighbourhoods and at the city scale) have produced far different outcomes in the two neighbourhoods. The motivations of geographically situated actors have also shaped the socio-economic, cultural, and political landscapes of the neighbourhoods. As gentrification has expanded out from Calgary's City Centre, the inner-suburban realm has become susceptible. Formerly neglected spaces have now become ripe for the gentrification process. Both Bowness and Forest Lawn appear to be following this trajectory, but where one neighbourhood has put up active resistance to gentrification the process the other has been co-opted. Public engagement and community empowerment have been at the centre of the evolution of these two neighbourhoods, but the outcomes have been very different.

Bowness has been a space of conflict between the desires of Bownesians, who wish to retain the small-town atmosphere, and the desires of the development industry. Through institutional design and practices, the City of Calgary has largely been a chariot of developer interests, although the wishes of developers are also confronted by the protocols of the City of Calgary. Gentrification has been anchored in specific areas of the neighbourhood, but its reach is limited due to institutional frameworks and the will of Bownesians. The potential for gentrification to expand in Bowness still exists, particularly due to rising housing costs and an ever-expanding city. Although social

cohesion within the various social groups in Bowness is relatively strong, the bridges among them are still somewhat shaky. However, recent public engagement projects have highlighted the weaknesses of the connectivity in Bowness, and rather than fixating on these issues as a problem they have used the projects as a means to improve the social cohesion throughout the neighbourhood. The expansion of gentrification will be met with increased resistance as time progresses.

Unlike Bowness, which currently has no strategic redevelopment plan (outside of an ARP), the GFLA may undergo gentrification through a coercive redevelopment strategy implemented by a group of “well intentioned” activists. Incidentally, the equivalent of the mode of resistance in Bowness (namely the actions of social groups) is the mode of gentrification in the GFLA. So similar groups in Bowness are resisting gentrification, while in the GFLA they are supporting it. The focus of redevelopment is almost entirely centred on the commercial corridor of the GFLA, which will affect the adjacent residential communities (namely the displacement of residents). Bolstered by rhetoric of sustainability, revitalization efforts have been described as democratic and inclusive. However, strict adherence to design-oriented principles and exclusion of many minority communities has only reinforced status quo Calgary development practices. The self-interested agenda of a few dominant actors has supplanted the wants and needs of the GFLA’s residents. It is through notions of “consensus” that the view of the IABRZ was legitimized.

Public consultations have been held in both neighbourhoods under study, but the qualities of consensus and inclusivity are open to question. The notion of consensus presumes that all affected parties came together and drew the best possible conclusion for

the greater good. However, differences in inclusion resulted in very different outcomes. Neoliberal hegemony in Calgary was only entrenched further through the actions of public participation in the GFLA, whereas in Bowness the actions of the social groups, namely the BCA, can be deemed as counter-hegemonic. The degree to which the resistance to gentrification in Bowness is counter-hegemonic is questionable due to the fact that it is largely based upon adherence and implementation of the MDP and the ARP. These two plans actions were put through by Calgary's neoliberal regime and churned out in watered down form, especially the MDP (having been severely compromised by the development industry). The amendment change to the Bowness ARP that affects Greenbriar is an example of the imperative of capital compromising the desires of the neighbourhood's residents. Nevertheless, the actions of both neighbourhoods exemplify how public participation can be used to the advantage of capital, as well as to oppose it.

8.2 – Research Question and Aims

How has public participation been used to reinforce hegemony in the Greater Forest Lawn Area, and how has it been used to counter it in Bowness?

The IABRZ and its allies have sought to gentrify the GFLA, but it is through the IADI's and the City's public engagement process that their actions have been legitimized as democratic. Because the New Urbanist charrette model was exclusionary, the consensus building effort in the charrettes received little resistance from people who were included. The rhetoric of consensus building and sustainability can serve to mask the interests of a select group of people and capital. The end result is poised to be the displacement of GFLA residents who were excluded from the process, as well as the potential

displacement of those who were co-opted by the process. The SE17 engagement process produced similar outcomes as IADI's.

Although Bowness has witnessed some gentrification, the actions of a group of concerned citizens have limited its progression through the neighbourhood. Where in the GFLA a similar group of concerned citizens are largely on board with the pro-gentrification activists, the Bowness group views the actions of developers and the City of Calgary as threatening to their livelihood and social cohesion. The institutional arrangements and the actions of actors have produced two completely gentrification dynamics in neighbourhoods perceived by outsiders as nearly identical.

8.3 – Increasing Responsibility

Full inclusiveness is impossible, because any inclusive process must also exclude (Purcell 2009). Hillier (2003, 42) states that when a “we” is involved, the inevitable “they” also exists. “The constitutive outside is necessary to all social identity; every inclusive ‘we’ must exclude a ‘they’ in order to exist” (Purcell 2009, 153). The ideal of inclusivity must be expunged, because any process will inevitably exclude a portion of the population. The ideal of full inclusivity is impossible in practice (Purcell 2009). Realistically, full inclusiveness is beyond the resource capacity of any agency. However, engagement approaches can be improved to incorporate a greater variety of communities and interest groups. Alternatives exist that are outside the City of Calgary's current institutional practices, but unfortunately strict adherence to conventional models of participation is the norm.

There's a responsibility of city hall say, or if you are the BRZ for that matter, to go and meet with people and find new and creative ways of doing that, and it is

very hard for city hall to do that because every time that they go out and they try something new and nobody shows up and they have a hard time in the budget process to fund doing again, right? It didn't work. So, you need to have people inside city hall who are brave and courageous to do that crazy stuff over and over again, or try it different, make another contact, let's try again, right? (Beth Sanders, Populous Community Planning, Inc., in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 06 December 2011)

The IADI project found itself in a unique position of being unencumbered by state bureaucracy as well as traditional academic constraints. It was argued that the limited span time of semesters prevented academic work to relate to real world endeavors, and the multi-semester IADI project would bridge this gap. This opportunity allowed the Steering Committee to step outside the box, and with such free reign one would believe that this group would seize the moment. However, IADI demonstrates dogmatic adherence to New Urbanist principles and practices. Strict guidelines (use of charrettes, for example) were followed, which prevented alternative avenues of public participation.⁹³ The open forum and consensus building of the charrette allowed stronger voices, namely the IABRZ and the steering committee, to prevent alternatives from being presented. An emerging literature now focuses on the shortfalls of consensus. The hegemonic structure associated with the IABRZ was strengthened both by the neutralizing (power relations) nature of the charrette, as well as the exclusionary community outreach methods adopted prior to public participation.

Although IADI was a different project than SE17, both were almost nearly identical in implementation. The findings of IADI fed the SE17 process. Similar community outreach approaches, namely through the networks used, were adopted for

⁹³ IADI (2005) laments the fact that the term "charrette" is loosely used, which implies that the team ensured that its charrette followed principles and guidelines of the Congress for the New Urbanism: "The Design Charrette, as defined and implemented by members of the Congress for the New Urbanism, was identified by the Team as a process that met all of the IADI's requirements" (13).

SE17. A generalized template was adopted, and City of Calgary engagement strategies are similar regardless of where they take place. Collaboration and consensus on the best vision for the 17th Avenue SE corridor was achieved by essentially the same group of individuals that drew conclusions for IADI. Redevelopment visions were geared toward the built environment. In effect, the SE17 drew the same conclusions as IADI (as argued by Diane Danielson).

Geography Matters

The fundamental failure of the public engagement strategies for both IADI and SE17 was the fact that neither considered geography as the starting component of the process. The models adopted were the leading factors for the exclusion of people from the public participation process. The neighbourhood specifics, namely the lived time-space realities of residents, were ignored. Intensive social research on the GFLA was conducted by professionals for IADI, but they were not personally involved in the neighbourhood. There was not a single neighbourhood resident on the team of analysts. The City of Calgary's SE17 used standard operating procedure, and although it incorporated an outside urban design firm they still used an open hour format for public input. Engagement implementation for SE17 was largely devised for other redevelopment plans for other Calgary neighbourhoods, namely the West LRT project and the 16th Avenue North Urban Corridor Concept Plan. In fact, the planning options report for what was to become SE17 clearly states that the latter plan could be used as a model:

The 17th Avenue SE corridor study could model after the 16th Avenue North Urban Corridor Concept Plan, which is scheduled for completion in 2006. Results of the corridor approach for 16th Avenue North will be useful in

focussing how the 17th Avenue SE study should be managed. (City of Calgary 2005a, 24)

Socio-spatial practices vary across the city of Calgary, so using a single participation model for all Calgary neighbourhoods is too simplistic. The frustration over this issue was apparent in the conversations I had with City of Calgary employees, but unfortunately they are bound by hierarchal structures of the City (although the structures are changing). There is a bevy of alternatives that could be employed to improve engagement to garner more diverse voices, particularly in the IADI process since it was not bound by the procedures of the City of Calgary.

Closed Networks

The public engagement approaches adopted in IADI and SE17 exemplifies the failures of using a one-size-fits-all planning participation model. Although IADI and SE17 were two separate, but ideologically connected, processes their strict adherence to an exclusionary participation model prevented any alternatives from being presented. Although IADI's research component might have been more extensive than what was used in SE17, it still failed to grasp the socio-spatial reality of the GFLA. There were many alternatives that could have produced a more accurate understanding (socially and culturally) of the GFLA than the process that was followed.

There is no question that IADI was successful in attracting a large number of participants to its charrettes, but the diversity represented in them was minimal. Part of this was due to budgetary concerns; they had to do the best with the resources available. However, the main culprit was structural. The IADI Steering Committee was unwilling to step outside institutional arrangements to reach the broader neighbourhood.

Connections to the GFLA were forged entirely through the immediate network tied to the Steering Committee, namely through IABRZ. As the previous chapter demonstrated, there is a significant gap of understanding between GFLA residents and the IABRZ, and there is even a significant disconnect between the organization and its member businesses.⁹⁴ The majority of the GFLA's residents do not identify with the IABRZ and its allies.

Critiquing the use of closed networks tied to institutions is not an attempt to demean those hard-working individuals who provide meaningful support for neighbourhoods. These individuals have valuable knowledge and should be included in the planning process. However, if the engagement strategy is delimited by an institutional framework, the conversation stays within the same group of people:

My current job is with Sustainable Calgary and looking at engagement around sustainability in the Northeast, and for the first two months or so I met with people in some professional capacity that work in community development at some scale in the Northeast. So, whether it would be people from the BRZ, United Way or City social workers or people from the Calgary Foundation, but all those conversations actually happened within an institutional context and I could have, all those conversations happened without actually speaking with residents or to citizens. And even if people lived, or happened to live in the communities they were still speaking to me from as their places as professional. I think that happens a lot in Calgary. The conversations stay within the same groups and we have these sort of institutionalized conversations.” (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

These professionals may be connected to the neighbourhood through their employment, but they do not actually live in the area. They will approach any community issue through their professional lens. If the IADI engagement strategy had expanded network

⁹⁴ According to Bob Crick (Business Owner – Economy Automotive and Transmission), approximately 30 percent of IABRZ member businesses are aware of the activities of the Board and its Executive Director (see Chapter 06)

of contacts (using snowball sampling for example), they could have been provided with a much clearer understanding of the neighbourhood.

According to IADI (2005) extensive social research was conducted in the GFLA, and part of that process was conducting interviews with people in the community. As stated in IADI (2005), the project team only liaised with local organizations so the realm of input was limited. A limiting factor of IADI was cost (according to several interviewees), but it would have not been costly to expand the interview portion of the project's social research. It would not be erroneous to begin the interview process within the institutional setting, because it is guaranteed professionals would have other connections (thus expanding the contact base). Eventually, the chain would find a voice that could provide a better account of lived experience in the GFLA than an outside professional could ever supply. For this research it took four connections to reach a voice for GFLA's vulnerable population.⁹⁵ The final connection put me in contact with other individuals who shed light on the GFLA that professionals tied to IADI could not. For example, the Border Crossing pub serves as a communal space for a wide variety of people (drug dealers, working girls, working folk, social advocates, etc). Although the bar may seem a bit "sketchy" to outsiders, one can learn much more about the lives of GFLA residents than in an open house setting. Contacts mentioned that the pubs are where "everyone knows everyone" no matter your creed. Several of the social advocates that spoke with me visit the pub regularly, and could have been an "in" for any social researchers.

⁹⁵ The GFLA's vulnerable voice was largely gathered from individuals tied to the East Side Victory Church. The snowball sampling approach began with the United Way, continued to the Calgary Learning Village Collaborative, which then steered me to Sunrise Community Link, which then lead me to East Side Victory Church (as well as some other social advocacy groups).

The information about community life provided by a snowball approach could provide would have been priceless. Even if the individuals that IADI could have discovered wanted no part in the planning process, they would have at least learned that a project that would affect them was being undertaken. A host of opportunities could have been opened for GFLA residents. They could have been active in informing the project team of lived realities in the neighbourhood (which would have led to a more holistic vision). If opposed to the redevelopment they could have organized to thwart the efforts of the IADI, etc. Was the project team so blindly devoted to their model that they could not think outside the box in regards to community outreach, or were their efforts an intentional exclusion of people from the process? The answer is not clear. What is clear is the IADI was entirely devoted to a New Urbanist project, and the outcome of this reliance was the exclusion of the very people that would be affected the most by redevelopment. The intentional aspects cannot be ascertained, because one will not admit fully that the aim of IADI and SE17 was to exclude. It was clear that IADI aimed to surpass the City of Calgary in regards to the number of people participating. Gian-Carlo Carra stated that the project team was not overly fussed with the fact that they did not have a broad representation from the community. The IADI project team just wanted people to come out in droves. Strict adherence to a particular engagement model is also present in other engagement tactics employed by IADI, notably the use of the charrette's design studio.

Going to the Public

Much like City of Calgary's engagement strategies, such as the use of the open house structure, IADI used the approach of making the public come to the experts to

discuss how they want their neighbourhood to evolve. Once again, time-space routines were completely ignored and the majority of residents in the GFLA did not come forward. There are many reasons why GFLA residents would not participate in the open house/design studio setting, but the largest factors are time and economic means. In a neighbourhood with an above average poverty rate, professionals should not expect neighbourhood residents to come to them because time is a precious commodity. Many people are working multiple jobs just to survive, so they cannot take the time to participate. Fortunately, there are other avenues to reach this population and neither IADI nor SE17 attempted to incorporate an alternative.

The rationale for using charrettes as the engagement approach in the IADI was not forged by the socio-spatial reality of the GFLA, but instead based on the fact that the person who pushed for its use, Geoff Dyer, had employed the model across North America (see IADI 2005) for other projects. There was no consideration of the fact that charrettes may not work everywhere (see Sarkissan et al. 1997), and the divergent views within the neighbourhood meant that the dialogue generated by the model IADI employed was extremely limited. Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) identified skepticism and frustration amongst charrette participants for a standard New Urbanist model being adopted in Wanaka, New Zealand. Based upon interview research with participants, Boyd and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) stated that “similarly, one councilor was ‘very uncomfortable’ with the New Urbanist agenda, arguing that you cannot ‘automatically transplant all that around the world’ (463). It was further argued that some ideas were well founded, but that care in their application is necessary. What the

charrette was able to do quite successfully was legitimize the actions of the IABRZ through the voice of a like-minded group of participants.

One question that is never asked of neighbourhood residents is how they would like to be engaged. Neither of the project teams associated with IADI and SE17 thought to ask what the proper course of public engagement would be for the GFLA. During an interview with a former GFLA resident (who was displaced) I broached the very subject of proper engagement for the neighbourhood, and they responded with:

The best place that I would set up a place like this for the Greater Forest Lawn Area would be COOP. Since Safeway is gone, COOP is so busy all the time. You could set up in Marlborough Mall but some people don't go there in Forest Lawn. (Jacki, former GFLA resident and social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 25 November 2011)

I then continued and mentioned that IADI Charrette 02 was held at the Town and Country Hotel (T&C), from which they responded with:

The T&C? Yeah, the people that live in that area that own homes don't go there... There are still people who own homes that are addicted, and the last place anyone goes is the T&C... because they are addicted to alcohol or there, that's a hotel that's known for drug dealing. It wasn't a good place. Not all the population goes there, but you take it to a grocery store. (Jacki, former GFLA resident and social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 25 November 2011)

The T&C was chosen because, according to IADI (2006), the site is a significant barrier to redevelopment in the area:

However, the most significant constraint of the proposed redevelopment is the Town & Country Hotel, an aging hotel linked to a notorious bar and adult entertainment facility that is viewed by many as integral to a number of local social problems. This establishment is currently regarded as a significant detractor of local land value and hampers redevelopment efforts. It is appropriate then that the redevelopment process, as supported by the International Avenue BRZ, is initiated in good faith by the proprietors of the T&C Hotel signifying an invaluable gesture to surrounding land owners and the community. (3)

However, there was a more significant strategy by holding IADI Charrette 02 at the T&C rather than the aforementioned argument, and the reasoning was not resident based (despite the use of the word “community”). The owner of the property, Mike Shymka, stands to benefit greatly financially if redevelopment were to occur on the site. During SE17’s density game, participants manipulated the City of Calgary planning practice by intentionally increasing density on the T&C site, which meant that the owner stood to gain significant profit of the realization. Also, Mike Shymka is currently the Chairperson of the IABRZ board. The use of the T&C site for a participation process gave significant advantage to the IABRZ to steer the direction of the conversation to the exclusion of GFLA residents. The project team was on home turf leading the discussion, rather than being immersed in the community.

The use of the T&C as a site of public engagement is an example of doing things easy, and they should not necessarily be demeaned for that choice (people are often overworked). However, public engagement strategies more often than not benefit the schedules of the people initiating the process, rather than benefitting the people that will be affected by a redevelopment scheme:

I think that we often, and we being those who hold the open houses and the charrettes, the timing, the location, the logistics happen around the schedules of those people rather than those schedules of those you would like to engage. And I think if you want people to participate, you need to as the initiator of that participation you need to take the first step towards it to making that happen for the people to get there, rather than expecting people to come to you... The responsibility and the effort has to actually come from those holding it to meet those people you want to hear from where they are, rather than expecting them to come where you are. (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

Making the population come to the experts, particularly in a neighbourhood such as the GFLA, is not the most effective means of public engagement. A stronger effort must be conducted to find out how people should be engaged, and the starting point can be institutions and community groups:

I think that should be, and this is the biggest question, is asking people who we want to be engaged, how would that look? I think that we [professionals] don't ever ask that actual question before we start something; how would you like the be engaged? And I think that, you know, when you are speaking to people that pre-research who are looking at the stakeholders and the important community assets and groups, like the first question once you find them should be that! Like how do you think we should engage with this community? And especially when you are in diverse communities, because they know how it's going to be...and I think that too takes time and investment of resources and the outset, but I think in doing that brings more legitimacy, more validity, and gets a richer process. (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

Although IADI technically was engrossed in the community with their storefront design studio, they still were not involved in the community per se. Rather they used a model to engage the population. If they had increased their community network and asked what the proper means of engagement for the GFLA would be, then they might have extended the community outreach to the neighbourhood grocery stores

You just set up a table, just as you come in the entrance there [COOP grocery store], there is usually somebody there, like that is where they sold their poppies and all that, and they are right there as soon as you come in and if there is something interesting like a layout of the plans that are sitting there people are going to stop and want to know what it is. But holding open houses at T&C is not the way to go, believe me. I wouldn't go there. If they told me that it was there I wouldn't go there. I was there once...Yeah you don't want to be having that at the T&C. That is probably why they had it there because they knew nobody would come [tongue in cheek, laughter] (Jacki, former GFLA resident and social advocate, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 25 November 2011)

Private spaces, such as COOP, provide gathering places for social networks in the neighbourhood. Many key contacts mentioned that Safeway was also a gathering spot for

residents, and certain people would shop on certain days just to make sure they could speak with their friends.⁹⁶ Tapping into these businesses could have allowed IADI to reach a wider range of people:

I would think so [BRZ representative of businesses only], because most of us people don't know nothing about it and I have never even heard any businesses in Forest Lawn talking about it. Yeah, you go to Mama Jeans or Grandpa's Pub or Sinclair's and there's the click, you know, they sit around. And you hear stuff there, but you don't hear anything about this, you know, so who the hell knows what is going on right, you know. (Jodi, East Side Victory Church and neighbourhood resident, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 23 February 2011)

It is conceivable that IADI could have used these businesses as an outreach to neighbourhood residents, because they are all members of the IABRZ. The IABRZ's Executive Director is passionate and persuasive, and alternatives could have been forged (at minimal costs). Jacki provides a valid speculation as to why one of the charrettes was held at the T&C; that it was chosen because they knew that no one would show up. This is anecdotal evidence and cannot be proven legitimately. However, the outcome of that choice by the project team, whether intentional or not, led to the exclusion of GFLA residents and allowed the IABRZ to control the conversation. The charrette model adopted by IADI was not appropriate for the GFLA.

Outreach via Neighbourhood School Children

According to key contacts, the GFLA has some of the best schools in the city of Calgary. The GFLA's area schools were used for IADI, but the depth in which they were used was particularly shallow. The project team only spoke with school principals, but they could have reached much further and involved the students as active participants. A SE17 visioning workshop was held at one of the area schools, but the participants were

⁹⁶ The Safeway in the GFLA no longer exists.

adults that were largely unrepresentative of the GFLA demographics. With so many languages represented in the GFLA, the area schools could have been used to bridge the gap and reach these populations. Presentations and workshops are not the avenue that the redevelopment projects should have taken.

Both IADI and SE17 used mailers to reach out to the public for participation in the redevelopment plans. Chapter 06 touched on the fundamental failure of that engagement approach in a neighbourhood as diverse as the GFLA. Schools are a far better way to reach these populations:

Let's take for example let's say you are going to build a street between Earnest Morrow and Forest Lawn High School, which would have been a mistake but the city did. Then you send out letters through the schools, not through the city, it has to be a community thing, where the schools are part of the community, and I think what happens in many areas is that the city council will do one thing based on their idea for the city, and they will mail these things out. The school will do its thing, and mailed, but the school did it because kids seem to have a better way of convincing their parents to these meetings. So, if you go through the schools and say you know there's a meeting next week about creating a garden here or creating a street here, it is really important that you come, most of the time parents are going to come and they are going to listen. (Alex, Calgary Public Schools administrator, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 18 May 2011)

Children can be surprisingly convincing, and would be able to get their parents involved.

Schools are an anchor in any neighbourhood that a community can get around, and the networks associated with them are astounding. Using the schools would be a grassroots approach, because you would be gathering ideas from such a diversity of backgrounds (all using the schools as a hub). It could even be possible to somehow create a class project around a redevelopment scheme, which would then give the neighbourhood a chance to speak:

The neighbourhood needs an opportunity to speak. In fact, that is the biggest thing. It needs an opportunity for pockets. I would go through the schools,

because that is a quick way of getting to people. Simply go through the schools and say is there any way we can organize a meeting this evening? Would you be willing to help host with us? Ask a bunch of questions? Actually, I would go through the students. That could be a project. Get your parents to sign, like, what you like to see in the Forest Lawn area. They are kids, but your job is to create but I want you to go home and sit down with your parents and talk what it has been like for the last ten years in Forest Lawn, and what kind of things you would like to see in your area. The kids would then come back with the information, and then from there you could. I know that it is work, but you are getting the ideas from the grassroots. I think that if you popped even into Forest Lawn High School, and just do this one high school, or even to the catholic high school and that one, that would be a ton of information. That would be more than enough people to get questions and input from. But I would want to look at schools. Schools to me are a hub, like churches are.” (Alex, Calgary Public Schools administrator, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 18 May 2011)

The information provided by such a project would exceed anything achieved in a design studio or an open house. A far better understanding of how GFLA residents live their lives could be ascertained much clearer, and would be more informative than a scheme that focused entirely on the built environment. School children would be an excellent outreach because they would get their parents involved.

Communication

As professionals we sometimes forget that our rhetoric and how we express ourselves does not translate to segments of the population. We are unwilling to step outside the box and contemplate that our communication can alter the reactions from people. The socio-cultural make up of a particular space must determine the proper approach to engage the public, and adopting the standard charrette model might not have been the best way to outreach the community. The rhetoric employed by the charrette as well as communication efforts during the process led to exclusion.

New Urbanists are so dedicated to their charrette process, that they are unwilling to understand that the term “charrette” itself may not resonate with the wider public.

Like the word ‘charrette,’ if you are going to invite a citizen to a charrette nobody knows what it is. Nobody knows what it is! Like if you say a revitalization project, people still don’t really know what that means. (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

Even professionals may not understand what is meant by a charrette, so the term and the strategy are specialized within urban design circles. The IADI Project Team distributing pamphlets through the neighbourhood to outreach to the public, but from understanding the socio-cultural aspects of the GFLA these were more off putting than engaging. Also, the pamphlets were only available in English, so even before the public was brought in there was disconnect between GFLA residents and IADI. One of the aims of the charrette was to explain to the public the role that design has in redevelopment. There is some credence to the argument that design has something to offer, but using the word ‘charrette’ to convey that argument was not the best choice:

And I’ve struggled a lot with using the word ‘charrette’ for the May Calgary project, because part of the goal of that entire event was to not be scared of design because part of the event was to share what design has to offer to the city. And so, it was using design methodology to work through issues, right. So, just be up front about that and provide sense of what you are doing I guess. But ‘charrettes’ is not a very engaging word...I know, and design workshop maybe, I don’t know. And sometimes it’s an advantage and sometimes it’s not, because if they don’t come because they don’t know what it is that’s an issue. (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

If it turned out that the charrette process was the correct avenue to engage a population, a team could still employ it without actually using the word to describe the process. The simple fact is that the Project Team had very little understanding of the socio-spatial construction of the neighbourhood because they never considered asking residents what would be the proper way to engage GFLA residents.

The entire IADI project was facilitated by non-residents of the GFLA, or if they happened to be a resident they approached the project from a professional standpoint. In other words, there was a fundamental flaw in the facilitation process. The GFLA is one of the most diverse neighbourhoods in Calgary, so it should stand that an engagement process conducted within that space should also be diverse. The charrette would have been more social sound if they had neighbourhood residents, in a resident capacity, as facilitators on the project. If IADI had invested time to understand how people would be engaged properly in the neighbourhood they would have come to that conclusion. For example, sustainable development is at the heart of IADI but no consideration was given to the incredible ambiguity associated with ‘sustainability’:

“How do you ask people that live there, how are they engaged? So, you know, if you start a conversation with the word ‘sustainability’ you lose a lot of people. So what is the word that kind of means the same, because sustainability means like 800,000 things so what is the word in your language or the way that you talk about things that means that, right.” (Kate van Fraassen, former EVDS graduate student, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 17 November 2011)

A neighbourhood resident as a facilitator could convey a sustainability message much more completely than a professional in the GFLA. The knowledge gap in engagement strategies was also a complaint amongst Bowness residents. The open houses conducted in Bowness by the City of Calgary have consistently used series of boards that presented potential plans, but without sufficient planning knowledge the message was abundantly unclear to participants. Although the facilitation process in IADI might have been more active than City of Calgary strategies, the message presented still suffered from the same fundamental failure.

Conclusion

It is an impossibility to have complete inclusion in an engagement project, but the methods adopted in Calgary, whether it is through the City of Calgary or private ventures such as IADI, are wholly irresponsible. The dedication to models for engagement and decreased attention to geography leads to the exclusion of mass segments of the population. Alternatives are not impossible on a small budget, but it also takes willingness to put your standards aside and engage a community based upon their necessities. This truly begs to question whether the GFLA truly needs redevelopment in the first place.

8.4 – Public Participation and Gentrification

The social practices of the IABRZ and its allies have been hegemonic in form. It has been shown that through consent of the larger population, often through persuasion and exploiting socio-structural arrangements in the GFLA, the IABRZ has been able to exert increased control over development decisions in the neighbourhood since its inception. For example, through exploiting the circumstances of owning a business in the GFLA, and the IABRZ has been able mask singular agenda driven development visions as community-driven wants and needs (even prior to the IADI process). The vast majority of GFLA business owners are too busy keeping their establishments afloat to even follow or support the initiatives of the IABRZ. Since the IABRZ is an umbrella organization representing the interests of the businesses, any vision garnered by the core group appears to be derived by the entire membership. The actions of the IABRZ reiterate hegemony as specific group's political project to conflate their interests as the

general interests of society (Gramsci 2005; Purcell 2009). The role of IADI and subsequently SE17 was to reinforce these interests (namely to the benefit of capital), and quite cleverly co-opted the public into signing off through the rhetoric of building a better process.

The initial engagement approaches of IADI lead to the exclusion of the GFLA's vulnerable population. An almost identical engagement approach was incorporated into SE17. The groups that would be most dearly affected by the redevelopment efforts were displaced from the planning process even before they had an opportunity to lend their voice. However, the visioning portions of both redevelopment projects still included some neighbourhood members. It was through this public participation portion that consensus and collaboration were used to extend hegemony.

Communicative Planning

The primary role of the planner in communicative theory is to be a sounding board for public's stories and then assisting them in forging a consensus for the proper way forward (Fainstein 2000). The planner is not so much a leader per se, but through a learner type role is being sensitive when multiple ideas converge and providing information for participants. Planners help people agree with the right course of action, but ensure that no one single voice is dominant (Fainstein 2000). Communicative planning is largely based in a communicative action constructed through the work of Habermas, but no one dogmatic implementation dominates communicative practice. In fact, many communicative planners take a step back and selectively incorporate the theories constructed by Habermas in planning implementation (Purcell 2009). Few planners follow Habermas perfectly, and since his ideals have become almost zeitgeist

some planning implementation may incorporate them without documenting their origin (such as IADI). One such selective use of Habermasian ideals is consensus-building, which is a keystone of IADI. There is significant body of critique of communicative planning because in practice it placates existing power relations, although it was not Habermas' intention to reinforce power structures. As such, it is not the intention of communicative planners to be at capital's disposal either (Purcell 2009). However, in practice communicative action reinforces hegemony and does not challenge the status quo.

Habermas identifies communicative action, where participants seek an intersubjective understanding through deliberation, as the basis of the common good (Purcell 2009). Communication, free of inequities in power, is the ideal. In order to obtain this ideal participants are required to express their true feelings; power relations should be defused so that deliberation can be achieved; all individuals must participate meaningfully; chances to deliberate are equalized across all parties; all individuals must empathize with other viewpoints; and that the good of all supplants all individual self-interest (Cohen 1997; Cunningham 2001; Flyvbjerg 1998a; Habermas 1990, 1993; Purcell 2009). This environment will supposedly allow participants to form honest decisions that are free of coercion or control (Habermas 1985). This form of communication is ideal rather than realistic and Habermas argued that the ideal will likely never be achieved (Purcell 2009). However, he stressed that the ideal is a form that society should strive towards. This modernist approach is what communicative planning has adopted, and many critics argue that it is the wrong project to follow.

For the purposes of deliberation, communicative action aims to neutralize existing power relations (Purcell 2009). However, power cannot be erased because it is embodied in social relationships (Hillier 2003; Huxley 2000; McGuirk 2001; Mouffe 2005), and will always be present. In fact, any attempt at the diffusing of power relationships through planning implementation is in itself an imposition of power (Flyvbjerg 1998b; Hillier 2003; Huxley 2002). The reduction power through deliberation diminishes the effect of what Mouffe (1993; 2002; 2005) identifies as ‘the political,’ which is the ever-present antagonistic relations that exist in society. Mouffe (1993; 2002; 2005) does not argue that all relations are antagonistic, but rather it is impossible to engender a textbook society without the friend/foe associations. Purcell (2009) argues that a society without these relations is not desirable. Democratic practice, according to Mouffe, is to domesticate antagonism and to instead construct ‘agonism’ (see Purcell 2009). Agonism recognizes that conflict will always exist in democratic practice and will be key in political relations (Purcell 2009). Reiterating Mansbridge (1992), Purcell (2009, 151) states that “the communicative ideal, on the contrary, seeks to progressively minimize the us/them distinction, to emphasize ‘shared’ interests, and to constitute a comprehensive ‘we.’ Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argue that such a project is undesirable. Rather than searching for collaboration and intersubjective understanding, politics should instead be used to transform power relations and mobilize counter-hegemonic struggles (Purcell 2009). The latter produces new hegemonies, while the former seeks to manage current hegemonies. The management of the status quo vis-à-vis common good approaches allows the powerful, namely capital, to control the discussion largely unchecked.

Purcell (2009, 152) states that by aiming for a “shared understanding of the common good,” communicative action is an attempt at suturing society’s wounds; conflict and difference. Rather than viewing conflict and difference as but a subtle scratch, they should be viewed as ruptures (antagonism) that aim to remain open. Purcell (2009) then argues that sutures impair the body rather than heal it, because a rupture cannot be healed in the same manner as a wound. If antagonism cannot be resolved through intersubjective understanding, then consensus is just a temporary reprieve favouring some interests over others (Hillier 2003). Given that antagonism is ever-present, every agreement or consensus will empower some at the behest of others (Hillier 2002; McGuirk 2001, Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998). Consensus does not create a win-win situation no matter how persuasive the advocates’ arguments (Susskind et al. 1999). “Even if communicative advocates readily acknowledge the difficulty of achieving substantial agreement around the common good, the fact that they aim at it, that they conceive of it as possible and desirable, means that when participants successfully agree to a course of action, that outcome will very likely be accepted as a decision that is in the best interests of all” (Purcell 2009, 152-153). Such projects often boast their success at consensus, but rarely can take seriously the avenues which they used for its accomplishment (Forester 1998). They argue that some conflicts and differences have been sutured (Purcell 2009). However, according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985; 2000) conflicts and differences are never removed, but only masked. This masking serves as a useful tool for hegemony since the fundamental structures of power can remain largely unchecked and legitimized at the same time (Purcell 2009).

The common-good approach proves to be fundamentally dangerous for disempowered populations because it negates their most effective political tool; they cannot, and more importantly are discouraged from advocating for their own interests (Abram 2000; Hillier 2003; Purcell 2009; Sanders 1997). Instead they must surmount their weakened status through the promotion of strategies that befits the interests of the whole group and not just their concerns (Purcell 2009). The political burden on disempowered groups is only increased by communicative action rather than being ameliorated. Social movements that advocate for disempowered interests would find that communicative action marginalizes them rather than increasing their democratic voice (see Purcell 2009). Although in theory communicative action would be seen as an improvement upon democracy, it instead emplaces barriers for challenging power relations from the bottom-up. Thus, Purcell (2009) argues that communicative action only supports these power relations. Rather than following the status quo, marginalized groups should alternatively mobilize strategic action to counter hegemony (Purcell 2009). Sandercock (1998) argues that disenfranchised groups require a planning theory and implementation strategy to counter hegemony.

Communicative action aims to create a “we” as well an inclusive “one.” It was shown above that society’s wounds, according to communicative action, should be sutured, but Healey (1997) argues that also anyone affected by the development decisions should not be excluded from the process. Critics of this viewpoint argue that total inclusiveness is non-existent, and inclusiveness implies exclusiveness. Hillier (2003) argues that a “we” unavoidably implies a “they.” Drawing on Mouffe (1993), Purcell (2009, 153) states that “every identity must be constituted as much by what it is not (its

outside) as what it is (its inside).” An ideal of inclusiveness must then always be unrealized. During the implantation phase of planning, agencies then gather the most affected stakeholders (landowners for example), rather their representatives, and exclude stakeholders that are less affected (social advocates for example) (Purcell 2009). The ideal of communicative action does not consider this reality, and what is more alarming is the fact that the break between ideal and reality is too easily sutured in practice. So, exclusive practice is erroneously labeled as inclusive. It is thus unavoidable that strategies taken through consensus building will be imposed on people who have not been able to provide their full voice, and who are affected by the process (Purcell 2009). This exclusionary effect is in fact systematic, rather than accidental. Granted it would be a stretch to claim that poor populations are being systematically excluded, it would not be out of order to state that property owners are being systematically included in a communicative process (Purcell 2009). Under the current capitalist system, namely neoliberalism, it would seem inconceivable that landowners and business interests would be excluded from the planning process. Thus, a communicative process systematically creates an advantage for those parties and necessarily excludes others, yet the process will never exclude the ones who are advantaged (Purcell 2009). The fundamental problem with this reality is that the inherent exclusivity associated with the process is rarely questioned, so consensus building is always recognized as inclusive democracy.

Some critics of communicative action will argue that the process favours specific social groups over others. Since Habermas’ communicative ideal is held by many planners as universal (common to all) and relies on “persuasion through rational argumentation” (Purcell 2009, 154), it requires that individuals recognize their

arguments. Sanders (1997, 349) aptly labels this as “equality in epistemological authority.” However, as Purcell (2009) states, some populations hold greater epistemological authority than others. Sanders (1997) states then that disadvantaged populations are more likely than not to be ignored. She goes on further to state that deliberators will decidedly disregard some arguments, but when this “disregard is systematically associated with the arguments made by those we know already to be systematically disadvantaged,” then we must seriously question the democratic merits of deliberation (Sanders 1997, 349). Dominant culture grants unequal recognition amongst social groups (Fraser 2001; Honneth 1995; Purcell 2009; Taylor 1992). If some social groups are less recognized, the acceptance of their arguments and wishes are nearly nil compared to other groups that are dominant. Even though there are admirable attempts by deliberators to be inclusive, dominant groups will always have superior epistemological authority even prior to their arguments are vocalized (Purcell 2009). When a society is built upon property ownership, competitiveness, and economic growth arguments favouring these factors will outweigh all others. Consensus is commendable, but a reality that recognizes some arguments over others (which are socioeconomically based) will never be fair and it will systematically favour dominant voices over disadvantaged ones (Burgess and Harrison 1998; McGuirk 2001).

Public participation can reinforce the status quo as it aims to reduce conflict and neutralize struggle. It opens a realm in which hegemony is allowed to dominate and become legitimized. The engagement process associated with IADI, and subsequently SE17, boasts how consensus signified strength in its new vision of inclusionary democracy. The collaboration amongst various groups allowed the projects to create a

vision that represented the common good in the GFLA. However, the consensus building tied to the engagement process of IADI only reinforced hegemony in the neighbourhood and legitimized the efforts of the IABRZ. It is then no surprise that the outcome of SE17 was nearly identical to that of IADI, because both processes included the same parties, reinforcing the status quo. Neither process was a dramatic step forward or a win-win scenario; people were excluded both before the open house/design studio process and during the public commentary portion. However, engagement efforts in Bowness have produced a counter-hegemonic force to the City of Calgary and development industry machine that aims to redevelop the neighbourhood. The movement, largely tied to the BCA, has resisted gentrification efforts in the neighbourhood. The socio-spatial realities in the two neighbourhoods provide opposite examples of how public participation can function: in one neighbourhood it reinforces the status quo while in the other it challenges the status quo.

Hegemony and Consensus in the GFLA

The ideological force behind the redevelopment efforts in the GFLA has been design-oriented, with New Urbanism leading the way. New Urbanism, along with Communicative Planning and the Just City are the dominant approaches in contemporary planning theory today (see Fainstein 2000). The three approaches are not mutually exclusive, and they all borrow from each other. However, the public participation approach in New Urbanism and Communicative Planning are nearly identical; both embrace the power of consensus and collaboration in forging common visions for (re)development. Consensus and collaboration produced through public participation are fundamentally related to gentrification in the GFLA. The community outreach prior to

the IADI charrettes was an exclusionary approach to public engagement, and the charrette process provided a forum in which hegemony could be legitimized.

The design charrette process, as described in the IADI Charrette 01 documentation, appears to be quite progressive:

The proposed Design Charrette Process, as described in this report, is recommended as an additional approach to augment the current development process in Calgary. The Design Charrette replaces conflict with collaboration amongst all stakeholders, streamlines and removes barriers particular to redevelopment, and offers a new and inclusive expression of democracy. The Design Charrette process is an integral component of the IADI's proposed future for International Avenue and is a proven means of facilitating growth that meets Triple Bottom Line Policy Objectives. (IADI 2005, ii)

However, this progressive rhetoric is a deflection from what could become gentrification in the GFLA. First of all, conflict is irreducible and when combined with the goal of collaboration, it is clear that IADI seeks to neutralize potential power struggles. Second, the use of the word stakeholders is ambiguous. Under a capitalist system, a stakeholder is one who can be affected financially from a redevelopment scheme, and given that Canada is an ownership society a stakeholder in this case would more likely than not be a property owner (one who stands to gain financially from redevelopment). Third, it is clear that IADI aims to remove barriers to allow the flow of market-based investment. In fact, the economic recommendations of IADI (2005; 2006) are to streamline the development approvals process and remove the checks and balances on developer interests. Although the IADI redevelopment scheme was design oriented, there is a definite social component as well. It is debatable whether or not the urban designers understood fully that their push for collaboration would disenfranchise charrette

participants, but the neutralization of potential challenges, combined with IADI's pro-market policies, ensure that hegemony remains unchallenged.

There were many avenues through which potential power struggles were neutralized, both in IADI and SE17. The intent of both processes was to gain "community support" for economic development. The central grievance of the IABRZ and its allies is that the GFLA has been ignored by the City of Calgary. City policies have led to the concentration of poverty in the GFLA, and the aim was to change the image of the neighbourhood. Although the IABRZ may believe itself to be doing good thing, their actions may make the corridor a spectacle to attract capital and investment rather than creating a place for current GFLA inhabitants to enjoy. In effect, they are destroying place. The effect of their consensus-building and collaboration has been the legitimization of this endeavour.

Since the IABRZ's inception, NU concepts have dominated the discussion around redevelopment in the GFLA. The IABRZ found an ally in certain members of EVDS, and it was clear from the beginning that NU theory and practice would guide the entirety of the IADI. The IABRZ also made it abundantly clear that the entire initiative was based upon the needs and wants of that organization, but more specifically upon the intentions of the BRZ Board and its Executive Director. Although the IABRZ Board may not state that their self-interest guides the institution it is through the socio-cultural realities of conducting business along the corridor that has allowed it to push its wishes unabated. The majority of businesses are unaware of the activities of the IABRZ because they are just trying to make ends meet and keep their businesses alive. This reality has benefitted the IABRZ Board a great deal, because dissent has been minimized. The

IABRZ machine and EVDS thus became the dominant voice over all other interests along the corridor.

The central objective of IADI (2005, 1) was to create a positive redevelopment regime through “stakeholder collaboration and consensus building” in the GFLA. It is argued that EVDS’ role in IADI was one of service to the GFLA community (IADI 2005). From the initial meeting between Professor Robert Kirby and Dr. Paul Maas, notions of how the 17th Avenue SE Corridor should take shape were already being crafted. An EVDS interdisciplinary studio course was created for the sole purpose of constructing redevelopment visions for the GFLA, and New Urbanism was the theory and practice followed. The rhetoric of IADI paints the picture of a group decision to adopt New Urbanism and charrettes as the theory and practice for redevelopment in the GFLA, but New Urbanist designers were the leads on the Project Team. The charrette was chosen as the avenue for public participation largely by one individual. Through the studio course information on the GFLA was gathered and the charrette process was devised. The first effort at consensus building occurred with the first town hall meeting. This first town hall meeting was held one day prior to the start of the design studio. Based upon interviews with some members of the IADI Project Team, it was determined that the IADI resident participants were overwhelmingly representative of the “townie group” of GFLA residents, who held the same grievances towards the City of Calgary as the IABRZ. Although the initial participants of IADI were already largely supportive of the IABRZ’s efforts, they still needed to be convinced that IADI was the right path. The sole purpose of the first town meeting was just that; to convince the “public” that urban

design was the answer and that through consensus “we” can make the neighbourhood “better.”

The Project Team presented their analysis in five parts, but the last two were key in convincing the town hall participants:

A morphological and urban design analysis of Greater Forest Lawn examined the incredible opportunities associated with the area's historic development patterns, proximity to the downtown, abutment to the countryside, ample corridor connections, and diversity of land-uses.

A presentation of the urban design approach that the Team would employ further emphasized the interconnection between the physical and social environment. Examples of the successes of similar corridor reclamation projects in other parts of North America executed by New Urbanist practitioners concluded the analysis on a realistic and hopeful note. (IADI 2005, 17)

The discussion that followed, according to IADI (2005), was in the spirit of interaction and exchange that would define the whole process. Questions from the participants were aimed at the two City of Calgary aldermen in attendance (Joe Ceci and Diane Danielson) about whether there would be real buy in from the City of Calgary. The response was given:⁹⁷

The realistic answer that was given was that the purpose of Charrette #1 was to demonstrate to the City and Developers that resident stakeholder support and consensus for the redevelopment of International Avenue was possible, and that it was the job of everyone in attendance to work together to achieve that goal. (IADI 2005, 18)

This answer identifies an attempt to eliminate any self interest in the name of a common good approach. Any facilitation process that aims to neutralize power is in effect the imposition of a specific power relation (Flyvbjerg 1998b; Hillier 2003; Huxley 2002; Purcell 2009). However, it does not mean that we should not try to reduce the power of

⁹⁷ The authors of IADI are not specific on who gave the response; Joe Ceci or Diane Danielson. They may just be paraphrasing.

dominant actors. But, from the very beginning of IADI's public participation process a forum was opened for unwavering support of hegemony in the GFLA, namely promoting redevelopment of the IABRZ. Consensus-building continued unabated through the design studio process (on site with "collaborative" feedback loops) and culminated with the Project Team receiving "a standing ovation from resident stakeholders who packed into the shop-front studio" (IADI 2005, 18).⁹⁸

It is no stretch to state that some GFLA residents have felt neglected by City of Calgary planning processes, and thus could be easily co-opted if someone could suggest a better way forward. In fact, the "better alternative" argument was used as a selling point on the charrette pamphlet that was distributed throughout the community.⁹⁹ Consensus-building proponents claim that they can provide a better alternative to decision-making, one that will create a win-win solution that will benefit everyone (Ehrmann and Stinson 1999). The larger issue within this framework is 1) unequal power relations among participants and 2) who is included and who is excluded. The antiquated ways of doing things, such as the City of Calgary planning implementation, cannot offer these benefits. According to Forester (1999a, 464) consensus building "can produce unexpected results that seem almost magical to the parties involved." This idea was echoed during a discussion with Robert Kirby

⁹⁸ The charrette is supposedly a harmonious forum where everyone has a voice: "Taking its name from the intense productivity of beaux-arts architecture examinations, the Charrette brings all the professionals involved in the regulation and design of a project together with all the stakeholders, in the same place, at the same time. In a Charrette, a plan is collaboratively generated on site in the space of four to ten days. The concessions and impasses that too often characterize redevelopment processes are averted. With cooperation replacing conflict and with all involved taking ownership at the ground level, the Charrette's feedback loop design process sets the stage for achieving real synergies and solutions." (IADI 2005, 10)

⁹⁹ "International Avenue and the Communities of Greater Forest Lawn are a great place to live and work...but...Things could be a lot better..." (IADI 2005, 15)

So, for me, what I have learned over the years was that bottom up processes where you don't solve everything are the most effective way of solving things. There is a magic that you can have in bottom up process that you can never find by having. You see you don't have a king, what you do instead is you try to plant a seed of something and you try to do that in a way that it just takes off. (Robert Kirby, Retired EVDS Professor of Architecture and Urban Design, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 20 October 2011)

The thesis of the aforementioned statement is that bottom-up processes will produce outcomes that are beyond the visions of the designers as well as the public. However, there is a caveat to this magical process; an idea has to be implanted by the designer. Consensus in this manner is not quite as organic as the proponents argue. The rhetoric of “a better way forward” is omnipresent in IADI. Some examples include:

This process, centered on the Charrette, is designed to overcome the roadblocks that exist to Policy Objectives within the current Policy Framework.” (IADI 2005, iii)

“Further, the IADI has proceeded with a clear recognition that the Municipal Policy Frameworks that currently exist in Calgary are inadequate towards achieving these integrated Municipal Policy Objectives. As such, the Strategic Concepts which the Initiative has developed have been designed to anchor a proactive change in both physical development patterns, and to the policy frameworks that facilitate these patterns.” (IADI 2005, 4)

“With the IADI mandate to challenge Current Municipal Policy Frameworks and to propose a new approach, the Findings of Charrette #1 certainly did not startle the Design Team - but the directions that were taken, and the emphases that emerged out of the Charrette process hadn't been entirely anticipated either. (IADI 2005, 19)

The “win-win” situation here implies that there is no need to question the dominant power relations because as a team “we” can rise above petty struggles. In other words, GFLA residents should not question IADI or the actions of the IABRZ because together they can create a better Forest Lawn. This is of great benefit to the dominant actors because they can create the position that collaboration fits within their vision (Purcell

2009). An admirable sentiment for sure, but in some situations such consensus building ends up supporting a repressive group.

The use of the concept “stakeholder” sheds light into how consensus is used to bolster the dominant voices through a common-good argument. Stakeholders are individuals who have a stake in a particular space. The traditional definition of agents in a democratic decision-making process is “citizen.” However, under neoliberal hegemony this conception has been changed to the word “stakeholder.” Rather than representing a broad citizenship, it is far too easy to narrow the definition of stakeholder to someone who is deeply impacted by a decision (Harris 2002). By only incorporating populations that “have something tangible at ‘stake’” (Purcell 2009, 157), the pool of participants is significantly decreased. The terms “citizen stakeholder” and “stakeholder” were used interchangeably in IADI. Moving from the “broad, civically interested ‘citizen’” to the narrowed term of “stakeholder” ensures more advantage and consideration to landowner interests rather than the broader citizenry (Purcell 2009, 157). Landowners are literally always systematically included in stakeholder deliberations:

From the planning department’s perspective, it’s simply that those people (social advocacy groups, displaced, etc) are never, not just Forest Lawn, considered as standard stakeholders in a planning process. They’re not landowners. They are not community association representatives. They are not community members that come out to a passive open house. Because you are not one of those, you’re just not, it’s not on purpose, it’s the planning process in Calgary. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 15 July 2011)

Gary provides a concrete example of what is meant by a “stakeholder” in Calgary; landowners. Both IADI and SE17, through their engagement approaches, attracted the same stakeholders, which mean the public participation process greatly benefitted property owners in the GFLA. Purcell (2009, 157) argues that the “systematic

augmentation of the power and influence of property owners is precisely the agenda of neoliberalism” so IADI and SE17 simultaneously reinforced the status quo in regards to development in Calgary. In fact, IADI went a step further and blatantly suggested a streamlined development process that would increase the advantage of the already powerful development lobby in the city of Calgary. The recommendations of IADI would remove the checks and balances on market processes in the GFLA.

The potential of the GFLA is highlighted throughout IADI, with the implication that the area could obtain significant profit if attention were drawn its direction. In fact, this has been the motive of the IABRZ since the beginning; to make the area a showcase for reinvestment. The collaboration and consensus building efforts of IADI created a safe haven for hegemony, namely the continued power of the development industry.

Developers and landowners were key stakeholders in IADI’s public participation process, and it is self evident with the recommendation to streamline the approvals process for developers. The removal of the protracted approvals process ends a check on market processes, and increases the profit margin for developers. The idea, in theory, is supposed to reduce housing prices (through reduced construction costs), but the simplistic model outline by IADI does not take into account other processes, namely rent, that lead to increased land prices.

A key recommendation in IADI is to create a system that makes redevelopment easier, which means that the structures with the City of Calgary must be streamlined so it is easier for developers to build in established neighbourhoods. Both developers that I had discussions with and IADI lamented the fact that the City of Calgary’s development process favours the suburban realm, and there is credence to their argument. Gian-Carlo

Carra provided a lucid explanation of the City of Calgary's development process in regards to established neighbourhoods:

Then you have something called the Land Use By Law, which is the legal mechanism by which the city regulates what happens on the ground. The policy and the land use are not integrated. They exist today in the city of Calgary as separate situations. Now, then there is sort of a line in planning and below that you move from policy development to approvals. And then the approvals is [sic] where you have outlined plans, development permits, and building permits. So, there are two classes of planner. There are the policy guys that are the stary eyed dreamers about what would be nice to see, and then there are the approvals planners who sit there and referee whether something meets the planning policy. There's [sic] also the land use specialists who are policy wonks about the land use by law. And so what the approvals planner does is they, if you want to building something in the City of Calgary, piece of land, say you inherit it say you want to buy it, you want to build something on it, the first thing you have to ask yourself 'can I build this?' Maybe the market's demanding that I build this, but I don't know whether I am allowed to build it or not. So, you look at the policy and the policy says this is the neighbourhood, this is what it does, this is the general, and then you look at the land use by law and you hope that the land use by law applies and the policy line up, and you hope that that lines up with what you want to achieve. And if it does, then you go and create a plan. You hire architects to develop a plan, and you send it into the city and it falls onto an approvals planner's desk. The approval's planner looks at the policy, looks at the land use by law, and starts to compile a checklist of whether you are in conformance or not. But what the land use planner also does is that he sends out your potential plan to the community, because the community, because of fighting at the grassroots level has a say of what happens in their neighbourhood. They have influence, like they don't decide, but they can influence the process and they get to comment on it. The approvals planner also sends it out to the transportation department, he also sends it out the urban development experts who talk about where pipes under the ground and curbs and stuff like that go. He also sends it out to the Parks department because there is an impact on park space. He also sends it out to the sanitation department, who have [sic] to back in their trucks, etc. He also sends it out to the Fire Department. So each one of these specialists are looking at it through a particular lens and what gets compiled is a list of conformance and non-conformance and that gets sent back to the landowner, or the developer who wants to build something. The developer then has to go through this huge list of things that have been compiled by people who are looking at one aspect only, and then he makes kinks to his design, sends it back and it goes in and out through several iterations that take months and months and months. Now, if you are talking about a farmer's field out in the middle of nowhere where you are not impacting a lot of people and the policy is pretty simple, no problem. If you are talking about the inner-city, huge

problems. The layers of complexity are layered on and the system is not set up to, and very often the more you get into the inner-city the less conformance you have between policy, the land use by law, and transportation requirements, and all of that. So, what you have to do if you actually want to redevelop the inner city is you have to create a system that is much more attuned to the complexity of the proposition that you are dealing with... (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary and IADI Project Manager, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 November 2011)

Part of the issue outlined by Gian-Carlo Carra is the dysfunctional setup of the City of Calgary departments; they are siloed. In regards to the redevelopment in Calgary, the departments are not set up to work as a team:

There's the wrong red tape. When we have, like I was saying, we have red tape related to the fact that departments are not strong, because we have these political silos in the city, things that should be done as a collective team within the city isn't addressed that way. So they are all addressed in silos, and then you have to go through the hierarchy where this manager has to talk to this manager, and then two directors have to talk and blah blah blah. So everything, all that process. That is where the red tape needs to be cut. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 15 July 2011)

The effect of the siloed nature of the City of Calgary has caused a great deal of frustration amongst developers, particularly from inner-city developers who view that the City is biased towards suburban development. Although the development industry is already a powerful force in Calgary, there is still a push to make development easier for their interests:

I know [developers are already powerful], but there's that constant process, a sort of political/administrative process in the city is that the problem with development in the city is that the process takes too long. The city staff take [sic] too long to process things. There is too much red tape, blah blah blah. You can take a look at the new mayor; he has this whole cut red tape initiative. That's all related to that. (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 15 July 2011)

The IADI process represents part of the movement to ease barriers for developers to completely transform space, namely to remove the barriers to gentrify the GFLA, and

what is more alarming is that developer interests have been legitimized by the consensus building and collaboration inherent in the charrette process.

Diving through the smokescreen of collaboration, it is not difficult to discern that IADI has favoured developer interests over the wants and needs of the neighbourhood residents (at least the majority, which is not represented by the townie group); simply through a simplistic model that aims to explain why redevelopment is so difficult in Calgary. Derived from strategic concepts, which are entirely based upon city as a biological organism (Poly-Centric City), IADI (2005) exclaims that redevelopment in the central part of Calgary presents significantly different challenges than Greenfield development on the city's fringes. The challenges to development are based entirely upon developer logic; time and money. According to the diagram (Figure 8.1), as the price of land and stakeholder involvement increases near the central city, time become an increasing factor for redevelopment (IADI 2005). The time required to get a development project off the ground, the quality standards of the development precipitately decreases. The assumption is that increased time required to go through the development process with the City of Calgary reduces the quality of development because the developer must then cut costs to recoup their expenses. The authors of IADI then exclaim that much valuable inner-city land then lies fallow due to a redevelopment stalemate.¹⁰⁰ Since the GFLA is an established area of the city, redevelopment would have to occur and the proponents of IADI argue that the approvals process must be

¹⁰⁰ This argument is highly exaggerated. Presently, fallow lands due to redevelopment difficulty are minimal at best. It was explained to me by a developer that despite some difficulty with City of Calgary redevelopment processes, they are still able to produce a quality product at substantial profit. The model used by the proponents of IADI to explain redevelopment problems is overly generalized, and does not take into account how development in Calgary is inherently tied to the boom and bust cycle of Alberta's economy.

expedited. Essentially, they view red tape as a road block to gentrification, and offer a “better way forward.”

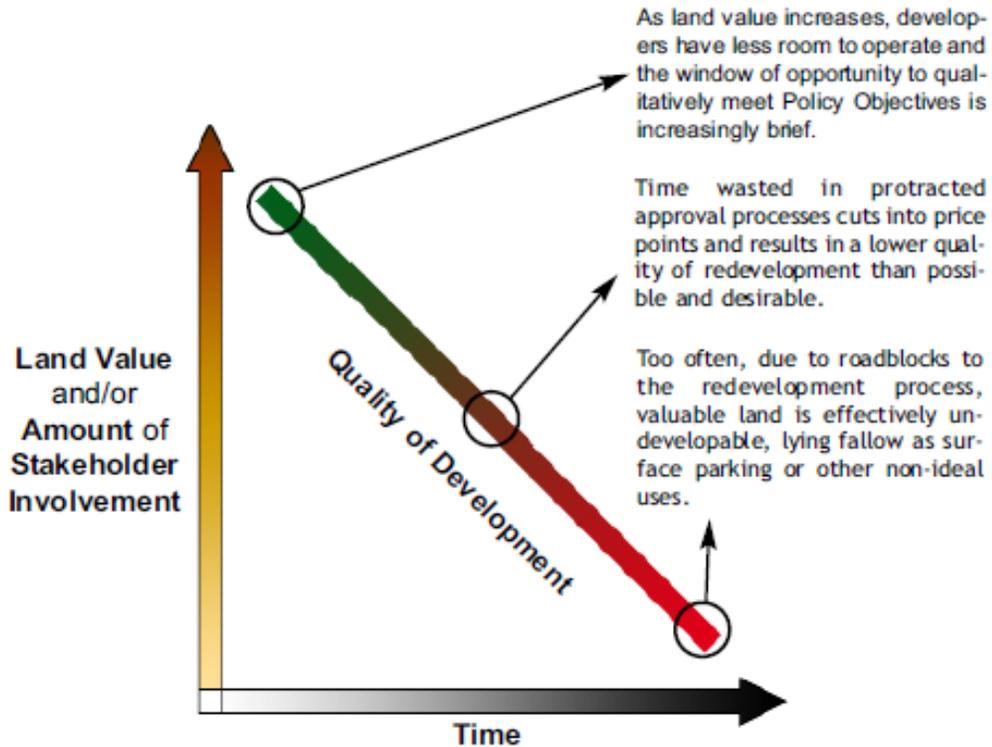


Figure 8.1. Constraints to Redevelopment
Source: IADI (2005)

The authors of IADI believe that City of Calgary’s land use bylaw must be altered to account for central Calgary development. They exclaim that present structures (bureaucracy, lobbying from the development industry, and conservative logic) make the alteration of the land use bylaw exceedingly difficult. As mentioned above, there is significant frustration amongst the developer industry with City of Calgary development processes, namely because it provides a check on exceeding profits. Thus, the City of Calgary structure must begin to differentiate suburban development from central-city development, which will then make altering the land use bylaw much simpler (IADI 2005). The authors of IADI (2005) then argue that the adjustment to the land use bylaw

include a framework that is inflexibly prescriptive and flexibly integrative (Figure 8.2).

As Figure 8.2 presents, the prescriptive bylaw would reduce the amount of risk for redevelopment due to the high price of land and stakeholder input, and the flexible integration bylaw will allow for increased adaptability to market condition changes (IADI 2005). The authors argue that this model is similar to the one adopted in the East Village, which is now being gentrified. This model also identifies what IADI defines as a “stakeholder,” who are individuals that gain to benefit financially from redevelopment. The method that IADI intends to use to eliminate red tape exemplifies their belief in the market for solving redevelopment issues.

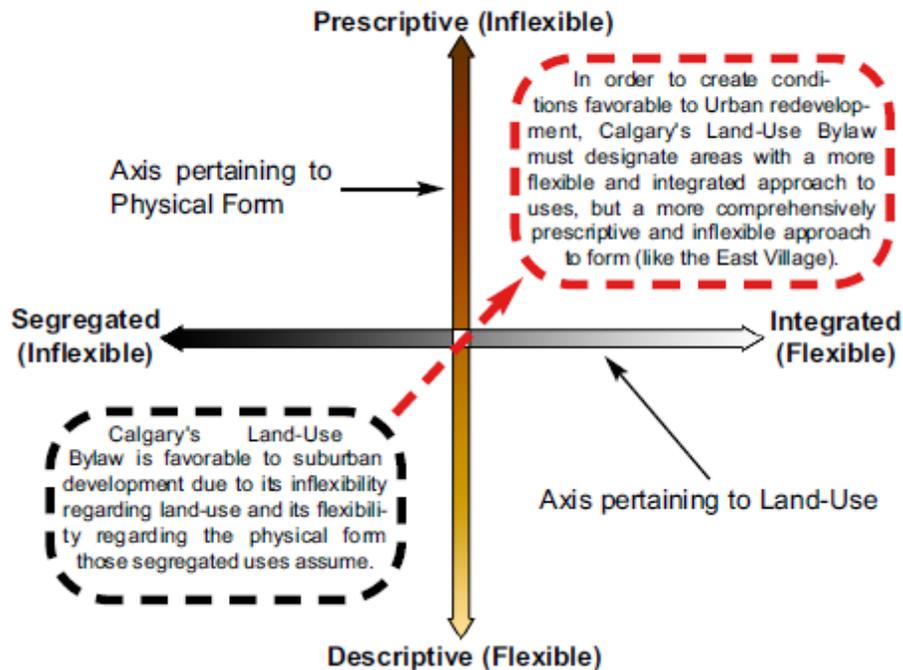


Figure 8.2. Accommodating Redevelopment
Source: IADI (2005)

The proponents of IADI would like to remove the public scrutiny around development approvals, and instead replace the process with an administratively

administered structure (IADI 2006).¹⁰¹ This approvals process would encourage the form based code aligned with an entirely design oriented perspective. This approvals process also removes any dissent of redevelopment from the public. Gian-Carlo Carra and Gary have pointed out that some red tape needs to be altered in regards to the siloed nature of City of Calgary departments, which would create a more understanding environment for central Calgary redevelopment. However, the removal of public scrutiny essentially quashes any checks and balances on market processes, which would then make the GFLA a free for all for development interests. In a city such as Calgary that is so exceedingly market friendly, public scrutiny over development should be enhanced rather than eliminated:

It's not in the public process of people being able to comment on applications, and having public meetings. That definitely needs a step up! (Gary, City of Calgary planner, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 15 July 2011)

The proponents of IADI also offer other market based incentives for the area, namely the waiving or reducing of approval review fees and tentatively minimized property taxes for owners (IADI 2006). When the proponents of IADI exclaim that stakeholder involvement would decrease risk for investment, they are referring to the individuals that would be supportive of any redevelopment venture. Any dissident voice would present a risk of investment, because their very presence would produce shaky ground for any developer or investor. Thus, it is clear that stakeholders in regards to IADI are property owners or other individuals that stand to benefit greatly from redevelopment, which are the minority population in the GFLA. The proponents of IADI are so blinded by their need to make the New Urbanist vision in the GFLA a reality that they are negligent of the

¹⁰¹ "The application [approvals] shall be processed administratively rather than through public hearing." (IADI 2006, 52)

disastrous side effects that their design-oriented perspective would emplace on the residents of the area (including the IADI resident participants).

Gian-Carlo Carra exclaims that the removal of the aforementioned protracted approvals process will speed up the redevelopment process, thus decreasing housing prices in central Calgary, namely with any redevelopment efforts in the GFLA:

So my little graph it says that the closer you get to the inner-city and the higher the land use gets the faster redevelopment decisions have to be made otherwise...and I mean the more complex it is the faster you have to make decisions otherwise by the time you have built something you either have something that is way too expensive, that is part of where gentrification comes from, is that it is simply too expensive to build in the inner-city and so that anything that does get built is generally more expensive than what it was intended to be and it is generally cheaper, it is generally crappier than it was intended to be. So, if you want to make something easy to build. If you want to make something, you want to have an inner city neighbourhood that can actually be sold; units can be sold to people of lesser means you have to do it fast. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary and IADI Project Manager, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 November 2011)

This explanation of the gentrification process is entirely based upon supply and demand:

There is also a supply and demand issue. You know, 85 percent of North America has been built since the end of the Second World War and it is automobile scaled suburbia, so if you aspire to live in the world in which cars live in, in car commercials, friends live in TV sitcoms, you are competing against huge numbers of people because only fifteen percent of the market's there. So, part of the challenge is to deliver it faster and you have to deliver more of it otherwise the inevitabilities of gentrification start to take hold. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary and IADI Project Manager, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 November 2011)

This view of gentrification, let alone any (re)development process, is incredibly simplistic. Adopting a strictly supply and demand argument removes all power relations from the development equation. Simply producing housing at a faster rate in the central city area is no guarantee that gentrification will be absent. Creating an environment in which developers are bound by no restraints, which is what the proponents of IADI hope

to create with the removal of the protracted approvals process, will allow for exorbitant housing prices rather than reduced rates in the GFLA. The redevelopment visions of IADI, and subsequently SE17, drastically increases the potential of the area and the removal of barriers means that developers can obtain substantial profit from their endeavours. The area will also become an area of investment for powerful capitalists willing to produce an environment that has the highest return rate of profit (Gotham 2005), thus only increasing housing prices in the area. The simplistic notion of reducing gentrification explanations is dangerous, particularly if they are a powerful voice:

You know, Garrison Woods is a classic example, where they built all kinds of different units and they expected different unit sizes would de facto relate to different income levels, and so they would have a mix of incomes moving in and what they found out was that people looked at Garrison Woods and thought that is very nice, I will actually pay more to live in a smaller place if I can live in that neighbourhood because that neighbourhood is great. And, so what they found was that they were selling units for way higher than anticipated and the economic mix that they were anticipating to have in the neighbourhood, just through different unit sizes, never materialized because people of higher economic means thought ‘nah I will live in a smaller place if I can live in that neighbourhood.’ That is the same thing that happens in Manhattan. That is the same thing that happens in inner-cities everywhere. I think that in a nutshell is the definition of gentrification. Simple supply and demand. (Gian-Carlo Carra, Ward 09 Alderman, City of Calgary and IADI Project Manager, in discussion with Kyle Peterson, 04 November 2011)

The exorbitant housing prices in Garrison Woods was not created by the preferences and desires of a population alone, but rather by “the alternatives offered by powerful capitalists who are primarily interested in producing the built environment from which they can extract the highest profit” (Gotham 2005, 1114). Unfortunately the aforementioned logic has been applied to the GFLA, which will contribute to the gentrification of the area.

The entire public participation process, which consensus building and collaboration were large contributors, was used as a ploy to retrieve buy in from neighbourhood residents and thus legitimizing the strong power relations that exist in the GFLA. These forces are hegemonic in nature. The authors of IADI do express some concern about the possibility of gentrification and displacement, but I argue that it is more about creating support for the project. Developers and proponents of redevelopment do not have to compromise their interests if they incorporate some wishes of disadvantaged groups:

As long as they can ensure that the development goes forward in the short term and that development in general can proceed in a timely manner, developers' essential needs are met, and their projects are legitimated by the buy-in of disadvantaged groups. Such a model, far more nakedly than a more traditional Habermasian one, both preserves and legitimates the status quo. (Purcell 2009, 157)

Although IADI is not a mandated redevelopment scheme, the consensus building and collaboration efforts legitimized the hegemony to the point where the City of Calgary initiated SE17. A very similar consensus building and collaboration effort was then undertaken by the City of Calgary plan, which incidentally garnered the same voices as IADI. The entire public engagement process tied to both redevelopment schemes just reinforced the power relations in regards to development in Calgary. The citizenry was led to believe that they were co-authors of redevelopment efforts in the GFLA, but they were incredibly manipulated.

Bowness: A Counter-Hegemonic Movement

Public participation in the GFLA was used to reinforce hegemony and causing potential gentrification, but in Bowness it has been used to counter such power relations.

Redevelopment efforts in Bowness have been largely conducted through the cooperation of developers and the City of Calgary. Gentrification in the neighbourhood is representative of those interests, rather than the strategic action of neighbourhood social groups. Gentrification in the GFLA has been conducted by the latter. Various social groups, namely the BCA, have created an evolving structure to counter hegemony. Public engagement projects, such as Vital Signs, are leading to greater social cohesion amongst these groups. Rallying around a force of action, retaining the small town atmosphere, has allowed the counter-hegemonic force to limit the reach of the gentrification process in Bowness. This has caused considerable strife between pro-development interests and their resistance (see Chapter 05). The counter-hegemonic movement sees the interests of developers that run counter to their vision as a force they must struggle against, rather than one that should be partnered. With the BCA heading the fight, residents of Bowness have taken strides to transform the power relations that dictate development in their neighbourhood.

There has been a history of resistance to City of Calgary development policies in Bowness from groups of concerned residents. During the time that the BCA was in trouble and through its receivership the SBR (now the PDC) have been a contentious voice over development decisions, largely countering the City of Calgary's relaxations on infill and replacement development. Although municipal legislation has been constructed to guide development in the neighbourhood, the City of Calgary often ignores what it stipulates and also suggests to developers to ignore the legislation as well. For example, a Bowness developer conveyed to me that when he first started redevelopment projects in Bowness the City of Calgary recommended that he use the neighbourhood's ARP as a

guide for their projects, and now it is not even in the dialogue. The PDC is a politically savvy group, and understand municipal legislation fully, and have demonstrated how as a group they can counter hegemony. The redevelopment of Greenbriar exemplifies an agonistic struggle, because the BCA concocted a political and creative strategy to significantly challenge the power relations between developers and the City of Calgary (see Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 2000). In an agonistic context, Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 2000) promote what they exclaim “chains of equivalence,” which are political movements comprised of allied groups pushing for a broad change in present power relations. Each group is distinct and their ties to hegemony are also distinct, but they are also able to forge an alliance and effectively challenge dominant power relations (Purcell 2009). The groups define themselves as equivalently disadvantaged by hegemony, but they are not identical in that disadvantaged nature is dissimilar across groups.¹⁰²

Although the resistance movement may not prescribe to an agonistic venture, in regards to using terminology, they view the dominant power relations as something to struggle against rather than forming a partnership in order to cooperate through communicative action:

In summary, as volunteers and residents we are putting in time and effort for the care and consideration of issues impacting our community and our city. We find the process flawed in terms of adequate information, communication and viable collaboration on solutions. We have great difficulty understanding why so much time and money is invested in creating planning policies like Area Structure Plans only to have them ignored. Our hope is to cooperate and participate to the best of our abilities as partners in planned growth, not to be placed in a confrontational situation where we are defending a City-generated policy document to the City. (BCA 2012, 9)

¹⁰² The group that challenged the COP/WinSport/Greenbriar redevelopment was comprised of the BCA, Sustainable Calgary, Paskapoo Slopes Preservation Society, and the Edworthy Park Heritage Society. Each group has their individual mandates, but pooled together individual views and resources to effectively challenge the redevelopment.

Agonistic struggle does not suggest that some collaborative efforts will be undertaken, which was suggested by the BCA above, but their big picture perspective is fundamentally different than the hegemonic force's vision (see Purcell 2009). This disadvantaged group was able to successfully supplant the hegemonic vision for the COP/WinSport/Greenbriar, which was devised by the City of Calgary and WinSport in isolation, with a counter-hegemonic vision that is more environmentally friendly and in line with non big-box development. With thorough knowledge of municipal legislation and successful political lobbying of city council members, the redevelopment efforts have been stalled by their agonistic struggle.

Bowness social groups are also at odds with the public engagement strategies the City of Calgary employs to include the public in planning implementation. The City of Calgary takes a very passive approach to community engagement, opting to use open houses and preconceived visions posted on boards as means of community outreach. These visions are created through the collaboration of the City of Calgary and the development industry, so there is rarely any public input prior to the open house. The environment is very controlled, and City of Calgary planners effectively control the conversation and eliminated dissent through comment questionnaires. These questionnaires are presented to open house participants upon their departure from the event, so if there are any disagreements with the preconceived visions the City of Calgary receives just a written response (at minimum). Planning jargon prevents the majority of the public from understanding any conceptual frameworks associated with redevelopment efforts. Challenging the power relations associated with redevelopment efforts, the BCA

constructed a new vision of how the participation process should proceed (Figure 8.3). Joe Leizerowicz is the primary author of the alternate vision, and presented the diagram during our discussion about the public participation process.¹⁰³ He was particularly adamant about a much needed change in the City of Calgary community engagement approach, and felt it best to present this call for action in a visual format. Joe mentioned that City of Calgary personnel were quite astounded with the presentation.

¹⁰³ Joe gave me verbal permission during our discussion to include his diagram in this document.

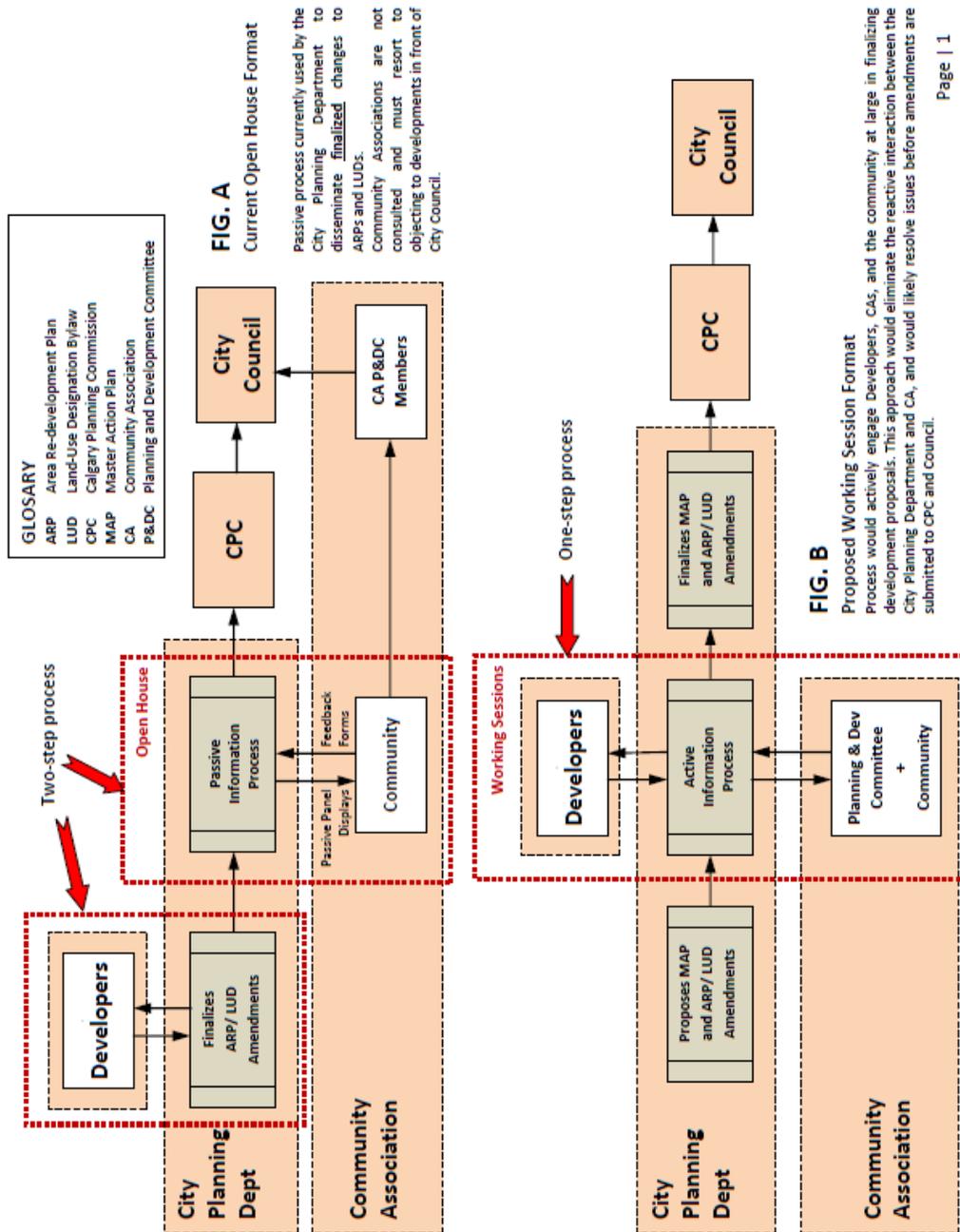


Figure 8.3: A New Public Engagement Vision

Source: BCA

Presently, the City of Calgary and developers work in concert to finalize any plans or redevelopment efforts, and then these are presented to the community in the form of passive open houses. The PDC provides the brunt of feedback on development yet are not consulted during the finalized portion of the process. They then only make objections once any plan comes in front of City Council, which by that point the plan is almost guaranteed to move forward despite resistance. Granted, the resistance efforts at City Council by the BCA and their allies were successful, and so far the redevelopment plan for Greenbriar has not moved forward. The renewed vision constructed by the BCA confronts the hegemonic force of the City of Calgary and developers by allowing the BCA and neighbourhood residents to directly engage developer interests. The information process is transformed from a passive approach, where the City of Calgary controls every aspect of the discussion, to an active approach. The neighbourhood of Bowness is thus allowed to confront market forces through an active approach, rather than just being a likeness of a noisy neighbour at City Council. They would have more direct control over development processes in their neighbourhood. The new active approach would not lead to consensus building that legitimizes hegemony largely because the BCA understand that conflict is irreducible, which is self evident in their continual struggle with the City of Calgary over legislation relaxations. These relaxations are at the crux of gentrification in Bowness, and if it were not for the actions of the SBR/PDC the process would be far more entrenched in the neighbourhood.

The PDC has been unable to completely prevent gentrification from occurring in the neighbourhood, but its resistance to capital and supportive City of Calgary structures have limited the process. In a similar vein that occurred with Greenbriar, politically

savvy and well read (municipal legislation) neighbourhood residents have caused developers a fair bit of grief regarding their projects. One advantage that the BCA has over other CAs is that they have paid employees who are also members of the PDC. So, their resistance movement is not run entirely by volunteers. Other CAs comment on development in their respective neighbourhoods, but given that they volunteer-based their actions are limited. The PDC is not a class-based group, and is instead comprised of renters, engineers, and other professionals. Age is not a defining feature either. The group's alliance is based on resisting what they perceive as a threat to their small-town atmosphere, namely the gentrification that has been occurring along Bow Crescent.

Both Bowness and the GFLA have been labeled as communities in need, but rather than aligning with hegemony to redevelop the neighbourhood, Bownesians challenged the assertion that they are desperate neighbourhood and embarked on a socially oriented action plan. Beginning with the publication of the first Vital Signs report in 2009, the BCA with partnership with other social groups in the neighbourhood have been actively engaging community residents do document the strengths and weaknesses of Bowness. Vital Sign was created to spark dialogue, raise awareness, and stimulation appropriate action to increase the social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood (BCA 2013). The goal of Vital Signs has not been to achieve profit from consensus building, but rather one of engagement to better the neighbourhood in the eyes of Bowness residents. The powerful interests of capital, developers, etc are not driving this project. In fact, Vital Signs reinforces the central theme that challenges hegemony in Bowness; the small town feel:

Bowness was described as ‘the most distinct community in Calgary with a ‘small town feel.’ Many expressed pride in Bowness’ strong history and commitment to maintaining the small town feel in 2020. (BCA 2013, 7)

During several of my discussions with real estate agents and developers, they argued that the neighbourhood needs revitalization. They stated that Bowness is stagnating because there has been no redevelopment, namely gentrification. They lamented the fact that Bowness residents have too much say into how they want their neighbourhood to evolve. They are frustrated because there is significant pushback to their economic expansion. The resurgence of the BCA now presents an even more significant challenge to the dominant power relations of Calgary, since their membership has grown leaps and bounds since their reforming. They have been able to attract other social groups to defend their holistic vision of Bowness, and the continuing Vital Signs project represents an anchor for agonistic struggle.

8.5 – Conclusion

The City of Calgary public participation process is a systematic exclusionary tactic. The community outreach strategies employed by the City of Calgary ensure that certain segments of the population are excluded systematically. This effect may or may not be intentional, but the model adopted prevents the City of Calgary from reaching certain, usually disadvantaged, groups. Geography matters in planning implementation, in particular the varying time-space routines of residents. However, following set models of public participation is far too convenient, thus preventing practitioners from stepping outside the box. Engagement strategies must be tailored to the specific places and routines of residents. Standard approaches may not be applicable to all neighbourhoods.

For example, creating a project for neighbourhood school children would be an effective way to get their parents involved in any neighbourhood redevelopment scheme, particularly in one so diverse as the GFLA. This cost-effective strategy was not even a consideration in IADI or SE17.

The engagement approach in the IADI was supposed to be a “better way forward” and a new expression of inclusionary democracy. The consensus building and collaboration amongst stakeholders was supposed to replace conflict with cooperation. In theory this venture appears to be a progressive step forward, but in practice it just reinforces the status quo. The IABRZ and its allies represent the hegemonic bloc in the GFLA, and only extend the reach of other such forces at higher scales (such as the development industry). Consensus building and collaboration amongst stakeholders only legitimized the role of hegemony. The residents that actually participated were co-opted into following a model that supposedly could alleviate neighbourhood problems. They were led to believe that they were co-authors on the redevelopment project, but rather they were just convinced to support the dominant actors. It is clear the IADI valued the voices of those who stand to benefit financially, and distrusted those who would stand against them.¹⁰⁴ Stakeholder collaboration, which is a key ingredient in the charrette public engagement strategy, meant creating a partnership amongst landowners to legitimize the efforts of the IABRZ. The public engagement approach, which was argued to be more democratic, in IADI and subsequently SE17, was a tool to initiate the

¹⁰⁴ Examining the rhetoric in IADI, it is largely obvious that people with “social problems” are to blame for the sinking potential of the GFLA. The community outreach strategy of IADI was incredibly limiting in gathering a wide demographic, Gian-Carlo Carra held no reservations that the engagement approach only attracted a certain segment of the population; one which reinforces the visions of the IABRZ. The Project Team’s only concern was the number participants, even if they presented a discriminatory viewpoint of the GFLA.

gentrification process.¹⁰⁵ Gentrification was legitimized through exclusionary democratic action.

The public participation strategies in Bowness have, instead, worked against hegemony. Politically savvy and well educated social groups have fostered agonistic struggle against hegemony. The power of the City of Calgary and developers has been significantly challenged. The BCA, along with support from other social groups, have successfully stalled a redevelopment project that would have threatened the community's vision of their neighbourhood. The SBR, and subsequently the PDC, have been able to limit the scope of gentrification in Bowness, although they have not been able to completely stop the process. The public engagement project, Vital Signs, is contributing to greater social cohesion around a central rallying point: the neighbourhood's small town feel. Public participation in Bowness has grown since the initial Vital Signs report, and the BCA membership has grown leaps and bounds. The BCA is starting to recognize its strengths and weaknesses, and is making efforts to create a stronger holistic voice. Historically, Bowness has been a locus of struggle, and rather than trying to eliminate struggle through consensus building, Bowness residents have embraced it in the form of a political movement to challenge hegemony.

¹⁰⁵ IADI (2005) states that gentrification will occur along the corridor.

List of Interviews

1. Gary, City of Calgary Planner, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 18 January 2011, 19 January 2011, 15 July 2011, 31 March 2012.
2. Jacki, East Side Victory Church, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 25 November 2011.
3. Martha, Social Worker, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 25 November 2010.
4. Walter, Bowness BRZ, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 8 August 2011.
5. Bohnsack, Melissa, Sunrise Community Link, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 2 February 2011.
6. Diedra, City of Calgary Planner, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 31 July 2012.
7. Brunthaler, Andreas, Bowness Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 8 February 2012.
8. Cala, Cesar, United Way of Calgary, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 26 October 2010.
9. Campbell-Cassidy, Kimberly, Forest Lawn Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 5 February 2011/
10. Carpenter, Carole, Bowness Historical Society, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 October 2010.
11. Carra, Gian-Carlo, City of Calgary Alderman, Ward 09, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 04 November 2011.
12. Ceci, Joe, City of Calgary Alderman (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 17 June 2011.
13. Chabot, Andrea, City of Calgary Alderman, Ward 10, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 11 January 2012

14. Chalal, George, Developer, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 25 May 2011.
15. Clayden, Sheila, Bowness Seniors, President, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 16 February 2011.
16. Collyer, Steacy, Calgary Reads, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 6 January 2011/
17. Tim, Bowness Resident (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 12 October 2011.
18. BN, City of Calgary Planner, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 23 November 2011.
19. Crick, Bob, Business Owner, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 10 October 2011.
20. Kathy, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 16 November 2010.
21. Cromwell, Roweena, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 3 August 2011.
22. Cruickshank, Dawn, Calgary Reads, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary AB, 6 January 2011.
23. Cunningham, Denise, Sunrise Community Link, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 January 2011.
24. Danielson, Diane, City of Calgary Alderman (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 17 June 2011.
25. Victoria, East Side Victory Church, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 9 February 2011.
26. Dice, Michelle, Bowness Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 2 May 2011.

27. Dutton, Nancy, United Way of Calgary, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 18 November 2010.
28. Bridget, City of Calgary Social Worker, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 21 January 2011.
29. Steve, Developer, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 May 2012.
30. Frulling, Irene, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 3 February 2011.
31. Garrow-Oliver, Susan, Calgary Family Services, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 1 February 2011.
32. Phyllis, Calgary Learning Village Collaborative, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 22 December 2010.
33. Danielle, Calgary Board of Education, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 7 January 2011.
34. Tiffany, Forest Lawn Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 28 June 2011.
35. Hartley, Nadine, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 14 February 2011.
36. Hawryluk, Fred, Forest Lawn Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 2 March 2011.
37. Tabitha, Catholic Family Services, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 23 November 2011.
38. Ho-You, Malcolm, City of Calgary Planner (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 12 February 2012.
39. Karen, Social Worker, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 9 October 2012.
40. Karim-McSwiney, Alison, IABRZ Executive Director, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 24 November 2011.

41. Kirby, Robert, EVDS Professor (retired), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 October 2011.
42. Louise, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 15 February 2011.
43. Laing, Bonnie, Bowness Historical Society, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 October 2010.
44. Kendra, City of Calgary Social Worker, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 9 November 2011.
45. Leizerowicz, Joe, Bowness Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 29 April 2011.
46. Livingston, Tracey, Sunrise Community Link, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 27 January 2011.
47. Maas, Paul, City of Calgary Planner (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 12 December 2011.
48. Whitney, Patch Project, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 6 May 2011.
49. Mora, Marilyn, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 14 June 2011.
50. Parai, Brenda, Royal LePage Realty, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 16 December 2011.
51. Anthony, IABRZ Board Member (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 4 August 2011.
52. Podlubny, Derek, Bowness Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 26 November 2010.
53. Pomper, Tammy, IABRZ Treasurer (former), interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 13 October 2011.
54. Racine, Marlene, Albert Park/Radisson Heights Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 15 January 2011.

55. Richter, Ken, ReMax Real Estate, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 11 October 2011.
56. Robertson, Dave, Mistri Consulting, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 8 November 2011.
57. Tyson, City of Calgary Planner, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 17 March 2011, 3 May 2011.
58. Sanders, Beth, Populus Community Planning, Inc., interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 6 December 2011.
59. Savard, Kim, Calgary Family Services, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 26 January 2011.
60. Alex, Calgary Public Schools, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 18 May 2011.
61. Smyth, Niki, Bowness Community Association, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 20 June 2011.
62. Spurrell, Iris, United Way of Calgary, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 22 October 2010.
63. Liza, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 12 January 2011.
64. Thompson, Mike, Bowness Resident, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 1 March 2011.
65. Tillman, Linda, Calgary Family Services, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 14 January 2011.
66. Turner, Alina, Calgary Homeless Foundation, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 23 August 2011.
67. van Fraassen, Kate, EVDS Graduate Student, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 17 November 2011.

68. Allan, Volunteer Calgary, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 28 January 2011.
69. Jodi, East Side Victory Church, interview by Kyle Peterson, Calgary, AB, 23 February 2011.

Bibliography

- Abram, S. 2000. Planning and Public. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 19:351-357.
- Alberta Real Estate Investment Network. 2012. <<http://www.albertarein.com>>. 30 April 2013.
- Austin, S. and L. Young. 2006. *Political Finance in City Elections: Toronto and Calgary Compared*. Calgary: University of Calgary, Institute for Advanced Policy Research.
- Atkinson, R. 2000. Measuring Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London. *Urban Studies* 37: 149-166.
- Atkinson, R. and J. Flint. 2001. Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. *Social Research Update*, 33. <<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU33.html>> 22, January, 2010.
- Bacher, J.C. 1993. *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Beauregard, R. 2002. New Urbanism: Ambiguous Certainties. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 19 181-194.
- Berg, B.L. 2007. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences, Sixth Edition*. Boston: Pearson.
- Berry, B. 1985. Islands of Renewal in Seas of Decay. In *The New Urban Reality*, edited by J. Peterson, 69-96. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute.
- Bhaskar, R. 1975. *A Realist Theory of Science*. Leeds: Leeds Books.
- Blaug, M. 1980. *The Methodology of Economics: Or How Economists Explain*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bond, S. and M. Thompson-Fawcett. 2007. Public Participation and New Urbanism: A Conflicting Agenda? *Planning Theory & Practice* 8:4 449-472.
- Bourne, L.S. 1993a. The Demise of Gentrification? A Commentary and Prospective View. *Urban Geography* 14:1 95-107.
- Bourne, L.S. 1993b. The Myth and Reality of Gentrification: A Commentary on Emerging Urban Forms. *Urban Studies* 30:1 183-189.

- Bowness Community Association. 2009. *Bowness Vital Signs: Voices of Bowness, Creating a Vibrant Neighbourhood*. Calgary: Bowness Community Association.
- Bowness Community Association. 2010. *Bowness Vital Signs: Bowness Vital Actions, Creating a Vibrant Neighbourhood*. Calgary: Bowness Community Association.
- Bowness Community Association. 2011. *BCA Statement Regarding Planning, Development and Assessment Report to Council E2011-03*. Unpublished public report given to Calgary City Council.
- Bowness Community Association. 2012. *RE: Canada Olympic Park – File LOC 2010-004: Policy Amendment, Road Closure, Land Use Amendment and Outline Plan – BCA Comments at Combined Hearing of Council, June 11, 2012*. Unpublished public report given to Calgary City Council.
- Bowness Community Association. 2013. *Bowness 2020 Vital Signs*. Calgary: Bowness Community Association.
- Bowness Historical Society. 2005. *Bowness: Our Village in the Valley*. Calgary: The Bowness Historical Society.
- Boyd, M. 2008. A Socioeconomic Scale for Canada: Measuring Occupational Status from the Census. *Canadian Review of Sociology* 45:1 51-91.
- Boyle, M. 1999. Growth Machines and Propaganda Projects: A Review of Readings of the Role of Civic Boosterism in the Politics of Local Economic Development. In *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*, edited by A. Jonas and D. Wilson, 55-70. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Brenner, N. and N. Theodore. 2002. Cities and the Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism.” In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by N. Brenner and N. Theodore, 2-32. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Brenner, N., J. Peck, and N. Theodore. 2005. *Neoliberal Urbanism: Cities and the Rule of Markets*. DEMOLOGOS Working Paper: University of Newcastle.
- Brenner, N, J. Peck, and N. Theodore. 2010. Variegated Neoliberalization: Geographies, Modalities, Pathways. *Global Networks* 10:2 1470-2266.
- Brownsey, K. 2005. Ralph Klein and the Hollowing of Alberta. In *The Return of the Trojan Horse: Alberta and the New World (Dis)Order*, edited by T.W. Harrison, 23-36. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

- Burgess, J. and C. Harrison. 1998. Environmental Communication and the Cultural Politics of Environmental Citizenship. *Environment and Planning A* 30: 1445-1460.
- Butler, T. 1997. *Gentrification and the Middle Classes*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Byrne, J.P. 2003. Two Cheers for Gentrification. *Howard Law Journal* 46:3 405-432.
- Calgary Herald. 2010. Forest Lawn May Get its Due, 100 Years Late, 04 July 2010.
- Calgary Herald. 2011. 130 Low Income Calgary Seniors Given Eviction Notices to Make Way For Renovations, 04 August 2011.
- Calgary Herald. 2012. Transitway Plan Near Reality, 17th Ave. S.E. Businesses Excited, 17 April 2012.
- Calgary Sun. 1993. Municipal Officials Brace for Grant Cuts, 05 October 1993.
- Calgary Chamber of Commerce. 2007. *Renaissance Calgary: Blueprint for a 21st Century World-Leading Capital*. Calgary: Chamber of Commerce.
- Calgary Chamber of Commerce. 2008. *Plan-It Calgary Consultation Response*. Calgary: Chamber of Commerce.
- Calgary Municipal Land Corporation. 2012a. < <http://www.calgarymlc.ca/>>. 21, August, 2012.
- Calgary Municipal Land Corporation. 2012b. East Village Experience. < <http://www.evexperience.com/>>. 12, August, 2012.
- Cameron, S. 2003. Gentrification, Housing Redifferentiation and Urban Regeneration: “Going for Growth” in Newcastle upon the Tyne. *Urban Studies* 40:12 2367-2382.
- Campbell, C. 1984. The Stampede: Cowtown’s Sacred Cow. In *Stampede City: Power and Politics in the West*, edited by C. Reasons,
- Campbell, D.T. 1975. Degrees of Freedom and the Case Study. *Comparative Political Studies* 81:1 178-191.
- Campbell, D.T. and J.C. Stanley. 1966. *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

- Canada Newswire. 2010. Woodbridge Acquires Direct Ownership of The Globe and Mail. < <http://www.newswire.ca/en/story/667019/woodbridge-acquires-direct-ownership-of-the-globe-and-mail>>. 26, September, 2012.
- Caulfield, J. 1994. *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cheshire, P and I. Gordon. 1996. Territorial Competition and the Predictability of Collective (In)action. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20:3 383-399.
- City of Calgary. 2004. Community Standards Bylaw 5M2004. <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Documents/Legislative-services/Bylaws/5M2004-CommunityStandards.pdf?noredirect=1>>. 08, March, 2013.
- City of Calgary. 2005a. *Scoping of Planning Options for 17th Avenue SE*. Calgary: Land Use and Planning Policy.
- City of Calgary. 2005b. The Revitalization of the Rivers District in Calgary. . <www.calgary.ca/docgallery/bu/corporateproperties/eastcoreproposal.pdf> 31, December, 2005.
- City of Calgary. 2007a. Rivers District Community Revitalization Plan. < <http://www.calgary.ca/CS/CPB/Pages/Projects-and-initiatives/The-Rivers-development/The-Rivers-District-Community-Revitalization-Plan.aspx>>. 17, August, 2012.
- City of Calgary. 2007b. Calgary Land Use Bylaw 1P2007. < <http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/DBA/Pages/Calgary-Land-Use-bylaw-1P2007/Calgary-Land-Use-Bylaw-1P2007.aspx>>. 21, August, 2012.
- City of Calgary. 2007c. Centre City Plan. < http://www.calgary.ca/_layouts/cocis/DirectDownload.aspx?target=http%3a%2f%2fwww.calgary.ca%2fPDA%2fLUPP%2fDocuments%2fPublications%2fcentre-city-plan-one.pdf&noredirect=1&sf=1>. 23, August, 2012.
- City of Calgary. 2008a. *Corporate Affordable Housing Strategy*. Calgary: Corporate Properties.
- City of Calgary. 2008b. Calgary SE17 Corridor Study: Results from the SE17 Visioning Workshops.
- City of Calgary. 2009a. *Millican-Ogden Community Revitalization Plan*. Calgary: City of Calgary.

- City of Calgary. 2009b. *Southeast 17 Corridor: Summary of Public Consultation*. Calgary: City of Calgary Land Use Planning and Policy.
- City of Calgary. 2010. *Southeast 17 Corridor Land Use and Urban Design Concept*. <<http://www.calgary.ca/southeast17corridor>>. 10 March 2011.
- City of Calgary. 2011a. *Bowness Area Redevelopment Plan*. Calgary: Land Use Planning and Policy.
- City of Calgary. 2011b. *The Calgary Snapshots*. <<http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/LUPP/Pages/Publications/Publications.aspx>>. 14, June, 2012.
- City of Calgary. 2012a. *Fast Facts 01: The City of Calgary's Definition of Affordable Housing*. Calgary: Community and Neighbourhood Services, Social Research Unit.
- City of Calgary. 2012b. *Fast Facts 04: Affordable Housing in Calgary*. Calgary: Community and Neighbourhood Services, Social Research Unit.
- City of Calgary. 2012c. *Forest Lawn-Forest Heights/Hubalta Area Redevelopment Plan*. <<https://www.calgary.ca/PDA/LUPP/Documents/Publications/forest-lawn-arp.pdf?noredirect=1>>. 26 March 2013.
- City of Calgary. 2012d. *Fair Calgary Policy*. Calgary: City of Calgary, Community and Neighbourhood Services.
- City of Calgary. 2012e. *City of Calgary: Municipal Development Plan*. Calgary: City of Calgary.
- City of Calgary. 2012f. *Community Social Statistics: Bowness*. Calgary: Community and Neighbourhood Services, Social Policy and Planning Division.
- City of Calgary. 2013a. *Business Revitalization Zone (BRZ), International Avenue*. <<http://bcconline.calgary.ca/publish/bcc.aspx?id=18>>. 07 March 2013.
- City of Calgary. 2013b. *Business Revitalization Zones*. <<http://www.calgary.ca/CSPS/ABS/Pages/Partnership-programs/BRZs.aspx>>. 13 March 2013
- City of Calgary. 2013c. *Establishing a Business Revitalization Zone*. <<http://www.calgary.ca/CSPS/ABS/Pages/Partnership-programs/Establishing-a-BRZ.aspx>>. 13 March 2013.

- City of Calgary. 2013d. Business Revitalization Zone Tax Rates. <http://www.calgary.ca/CA/fs/Pages/Business-Tax/Business-Revitalization-Zone-Tax-Rates.aspx>. 13 March 2013.
- Clark, E. 1995. The Rent Gap Re-Examined. *Urban Studies* 32 1489-1503.
- Climenhaga, D.J. 1997. *The Death and Life of Regional Planning in the Calgary Area*, Master's Thesis. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Cochrane, A. 1998. Illusions of Power: Interviewing Local Elites. *Environment and Planning A* 30: 2121-2132.
- Cohen, J. 1997. Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy. In *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, edited by J. Bohman and W. Rehg, 67-91. Cambridge: MAL MIT Press.
- Congress for the New Urbanism. 2001. Charter of the New Urbanism. <http://www.cnu.org/charter>. 06 December 2012.
- Corus Entertainment. 2012. <http://www.corusent.com>. 26, September, 2012.
- Couroux, D., N. Keough, B. Miller, and J. Row. 2006. *Toward Smart Growth in Calgary: Overcoming Barriers to Sustainable Urban Development*. Calgary: Sustainable Calgary Society.
- Cullingworth, J.B. 1987. *Urban and Regional Planning in Canada*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Cunningham, F. 2001. *Theories of Democracy*. New York: Routledge.
- Cunningham, L.E. 2001. Islands of Affordability in a Sea of Gentrification: Lessons learned from the DC Housing Authority's HOPE VI Projects. *Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Development Law* 10:4 353-371.
- Davidson, M. 2006. *New-Build Gentrification and London's Riverside Renaissance*, Ph.D. thesis. London: Department of Geography, King's College London.
- Davidson, M. and L. Lees. 2005. New-Build "Gentrification" and London's Riverside Renaissance. *Environment and Planning A* 37:7 1165-1190.
- Davies, Wayne K.D., and I.T. Townshend. 1994. *How Do Community Associations Vary? The Structure of Community Associations in Calgary*. *Urban Studies* 31:10 1739-1761.

- DeFilippis, J and P. North. 2004. The Emancipatory Community? Place, Politics, and Collective Action in Cities. In *The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities*, 72-88. London: Sage.
- Denis, C. 1995. 'Government can do whatever it wants': Moral Regulation in Ralph's Alberta. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 32:3 365-383.
- Dennis, M. and S. Fish. 1972. *Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada*. Toronto: Hakkert.
- Dietrick, S and C. Ellis. 2004. New Urbanism in the Inner City: A Case Study of Pittsburgh. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 20:4 426-442.
- Dragushan, G. 1979. *Regional Planning in Alberta: The Evolution of Alberta's System of Regional Planning Commissions*, Master's Thesis. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Duany, A. 2001. *Three Cheers for Gentrification*. The American Enterprise Institute. April/May: 36-39.
- Duany, A., E. Plater-Zyberk, and J. Speck. 2000. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*. New York: North Point Press.
- Edmonton Journal. 2004. What is the Public Affairs Bureau?" August 1: D3.
- Ehrmann, J. and B. Stinson. 1999. Joint Fact-Finding and the use of Technical Experts. In *The Consensus Building Handbook*, edited by L. Susskind, S. McKernan and J. Thomas Larmer, 375-399. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Elder, P.S. 1996. Alberta's 1995 Planning Legislation. *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 6 23-58.
- Engels, F. Year. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. City:Publisher.
- England, K. 1994. Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality and Feminist Research. *Professional Geographer* 46:1 80-89.
- Eppli, M, and C. Tu. 1999. *Valuing the New Urbanism: Impact of the New Urbanism on Prices of Single-Family Homes*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute.
- Fainstein, S. 2000. New Directions in Planning Theory. *Urban Affairs Review* 35 451-478.

- Faugier, J. and M. Sargeant. 1997. Sampling Hard To Reach Populations. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 26 790-797.
- FFWD. 2011. East Calgary's Future? Revitalization Plans Aim to Change Area's Rough Reputation, 15 December 2011.
- Financial Times. 2007. Around the World in 35 Blocks, 25 August 2007.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 1998a. Empowering Civil Society: Habermas, Foucault and the Question of Conflict. In *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, edited by M. Douglass and J. Friedmann, 185-211. New York: Wiley.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 1998b. *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 2001. *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry fails and How it can Succeed Again*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 2006. Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12:2 219-245.
- Foran, M. 2008. More Than Partners: The Calgary Stampede and the City of Calgary. In *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*, edited by M. Foran, A. Finkel, and S. Carter, 147-174. Edmonton: AU Press.
- Forester, J. 1998. Rationality, Dialogue and Learning: What Community and Environmental Mediators Can Teach Us About the Practice of Civil Society. In *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, edited by M. Douglass and J. Friedmann, 213-235. New York: Wiley.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. London: Allen Lane.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.
- Fraser, J. 2004. Beyond Gentrification: Mobilizing Communities and Claiming Space. *Urban Geography* 25:5 437-457.
- Fraser, N. 2001. Recognition without Ethics? *Theory, Culture & Society* 18:2-3 21-42.
- Free Alberta. 2013. Canadian Charter of Rights does not Protect the Right to Property. <http://www.freealberta.com/property_rights.html>. 04 June 2013.
- Freeman, L. 2005. Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods. *Urban Affairs Review* 40:4 463-491.

- Freeman, L. and F. Braconi. 2002a. Gentrification and Displacement. *The Urban Prospect* 8:1 1-4.
- Freeman, L. and F. Braconi. 2002b. *Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s*. Unpublished draft manuscript.
- Freeman, L. and F. Braconi. 2004. Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70:1 39-52.
- Geertz, C. 1995. *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ghitter, G. and A. Smart. 2009. Mad Cows, Regional Governance, and Urban Sprawl: Path Dependence and Unintended Consequences in the Calgary Region. *Urban Affairs Review* 44:5 617-644.
- Glass, R. 1964. *Introduction to London: Aspects of Change*. Centre for Urban Studies, London (reprinted in Glass, R. 1989. *Clichés of Urban Doom*, 132-158. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Global Fest. 2002. <<http://www.globalfest.ca/>>. 12 March 2013.
- Gotham, K.F. 2001. Redevelopment for Whom and for what Purpose? In *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, volume 6 of *Research in Urban Sociology*, edited by K.F. Gotham, 429-452. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Gotham, K.F. 2005. Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban Studies* 42:7 1099-1121.
- Government of Alberta. 1977. *The Planning Act*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Government of Alberta. 1994. *Alberta Planning Act Review '94 – Proposals*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Government of Alberta. 2003. *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy: A Guide*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Government of Alberta. 2010. *Municipal Government Act*. Edmonton: Alberta Queen's Printer.
- Government of Alberta. 2011. Minimum Wage. <<http://employment.alberta.ca/SFW/998.html>>. 24, June, 2012.

- Government of Alberta Public Works, Supply and Services. 1995-1996. *Annual Report 1995-1996*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Government of Alberta Public Works, Supply and Services. 2002-2003. *Annual Report 2002-2003*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Government of Canada. 1984. *A New Direction for Canada: An Agenda for Economic Renewal*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.
- Government of Canada. 1985a. *A National Direction for Housing Solutions*. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Government of Canada. 1985b. *Housing Programs in Search of Balance*. Ottawa: Task Force on Program Review.
- Government of Canada. 1991. *Core Housing Need in Canada*. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Government of Canada. 2006. *Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Government of Canada. 2010. *Broadcasting Decision CRTC 2010-782*. Ottawa: CRTC.
- Government of Canada. 2011a. *Fiscal Reference Tables*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.
- Government of Canada. 2011b. *Rental Market Report: Calgary CMA*. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Government of Canada. 2012. *Housing Market Outlook: Calgary CMA*. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Gramsci, A. 2005. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
- Grant, J. 2006. The Ironies of New Urbanism. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 15:2 158-174.
- Grant, J. 2006a. *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gray, J. 1985. *A Brand of Its Own: The 100 Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.
- Gregory, D. 1978. *Ideology, Science, and Human Geography*. London: Hutchinson & Company.

- Grier, G. and E. Grier. 1980. Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance. In *Back to the City: Issues in Neighbourhood Renovation*, edited by S. Laska and D. Spain, 252-268. Oxford Pergamon.
- Habermas, J. 1985. *Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 02: Lifeworld and System – A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. 1990. *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. 1993. *Justification and Application: Remarks on Discourse Ethics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. 2001. *On Pragmatics of Social Interaction*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.
- Hackworth, J. 2002. Postrecession Gentrification in New York City. *Urban Affairs Review* 37:6 815-843.
- Hackworth, J. 2007. *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Hackworth, J. and N. Smith. 2001. The Changing State of Gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92:4 464-477.
- Hamnett, C. 1991. The Blind Men and the Elephant: The Explanation of Gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 16:2 173-189.
- Hamnett, C. 1994. Social Polarisation in Global Cities: Theory and Evidence. *Urban Studies* 31:3 401-424.
- Hamnett, C. 1996. Social Polarisation, Economic Restructuring and Welfare State Regimes. *Urban Studies* 33:8 1407-1430
- Hamnett, C. 2003. *Unequal City: London in the Global Arena*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Harris, N. 2002. Collaborative Planning. In *Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory*, edited by P. Allmendinger and M. Tewdwr-Jones, 21-43. New York: Routledge.
- Harris, R. 2004. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960*. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press.

- Harrison, T.W. 2005. The Best Government Money Can Buy? Political Contributions in Alberta. In *The Return of the Trojan Horse: Alberta and the New World (Dis)Order*, edited by T.W. Harrison, 94-112. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Harvey, D. 1973. *Social Justice and the City*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Harvey, D. 1997. The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap: On Social Problems and the False Hope of Design. *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring 1
- Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford.
- Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. London and New York: Verso.
- Hay, I. 2000. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford and New York: Oxford.
- Healey, P. 1997. *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. London: Palgrave.
- Hiller, H. 1989. Impact and Image: The Convergence of Urban Factors in Preparing for the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. In *The Planning and Evaluation of Hallmark Events*, edited by G.Syme, et al. Brookfield, US: Avenbury.
- Hillier, H. 2002. Direct Action and Agonism in Democratic Planning Practice. In *Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory*, edited by P. Allmendinger and M. Tewdwr-Jones, 110-135. New York: Routledge.
- Hillier, J. 2003. 'Agon'izing Over Consensus: Why Habermasian Ideals cannot be 'Real.' *Planning Theory* 2:137-59.
- Hondagne-Sotelo, P. 1988. Gender and Fieldwork. *Women's Studies International Forum* 11:199-213.
- Honneth, A. 1995. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Mortal Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hoyt, H. 1933. *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hulchanski, J.D. 1988. The Evolution of Property Rights and Housing Tenure in Post-War Canada: Implications for Housing Policy. *Urban Law and Policy* 9:2 135-156.
- Hulchanski, J.D. 1993. New Forms of Owning and Renting. In *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986*, edited by J.R. Miron, 64-75. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Hulchanski, J.D. 2001. *A Tale of Two Canadas: Homeowners Getting Richer, Renters Getting Poorer, 1984 an 1999*. Research Bulletin no. 2. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto.
- Hulchanski, J.D. 2002. *Housing Policy for Tomorrow's Cities*, Discussion Paper F27. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN).
- Hulchanski, J.D. 2006. What Factors Shape Canadian Housing Policy? The Intergovernmental Role in Canada's Housing System. In *Canada: The State of the Federation 2004: Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada*, edited by R. Young and C. Leuprecht, 221-250. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Huxley, M. 2000. The Limits of Communicative Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19: 369-77
- Huxley, M. 2002. Governmentality, Gender, Planning: A Foucaudian Perspective. In *Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory*, edited by P. Almmendinger and M. Tewdwr-Jones, 136-154. New York: Routledge.
- Innes, J. 2004. Consensus Building: Clarifications for the Critics. *Planning Theory* 3:1 5-20.
- International Avenue Arts and Culture Centre. 2011. <<http://iaacc.ca/>>. 13, March, 2013.
- International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone. 1995. *International Avenue: Vision for Renewal*. Calgary: International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone.
- International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone. 2010. <<http://internationalavenue.ca/>>. 08, March, 2013.
- International Avenue Design Initiative. 2005. *Charrette 1: Envisioning International Avenue*. Calgary: Civic Design Group.
- International Avenue Design Initiative. 2006. *Charrette 2: 50th Street East Urban Centre, Development Study and Master Plan*. Calgary: Civic Design Group.

- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Jessop, B. 1997. A Neo-Gramscian Approach to the Regulation of Urban Regimes. In *Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulating Urban Politics in a Global Economy*, edited by M. Lauria, 51-73. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Johnston, R.J., D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts. 2000. *The Dictionary of Human Geography, 4th Edition*. Oxford, Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Katz, Peter. 1994. *The New Urbanism*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Keat, R. and J. Urry. 1975. *Social Theory as Science*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Klinkhammer, R. 1999. *Conflict or Collaboration? A Study of Press Coverage of the 1993 and 1997 Alberta Provincial Elections*. Dissertation. Calgary: University of Calgary.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe. 2000. Preface to the Second Edition. In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, edited by E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, vii-xix. New York: Verso.
- Lambert, C. and M. Boddy. 2002. *Transforming the City: Post-recession Gentrification and Re-urbanisation*. Paper presented at the Conference of Upward Neighbourhood Trajectories: Gentrification in the New Century, 26-27 September, University of Glasgow.
- Lauria, M. 1999. Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulation Theory and Institutional Arrangements. In *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*, edited by A. Jonas and D. Wilson, 125-139. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Laux, F. 1979. *The Planning Act, 1977*. Vancouver: Butterworth & Co.
- Laux, F. 1990. *Planning Law and Practice in Alberta*. Calgary: Carswell.
- Lees, L., T. Slater, and E. Wyly. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York and London: Routledge.

- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Leitner, H. and E. Sheppard. 1998. Economic Uncertainty, Interurban Competition and the Efficacy of Entrepreneurialism. In *The Entrepreneurial City*, edited by T. Hall and P. Hubbard, 285-308. Chichester: Wiley.
- Ley, D. 1986. Alternative Explanations for Inner-City Gentrification: A Canadian Assessment. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 76:4 521-535.
- Ley, D. 1994. Gentrification and the Politics of the New Middle Class. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12: 53-74
- Ley, D. 2003. Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies* 40:12 2527-2544.
- Ley, D. and C. Mills. 1993. Can there be a Postmodern of Resistance in the Urban Landscape? In *The Restless Urban Landscape*, edited by P. Knox, 255-278. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Lisac, M. 2004. *Alberta Politics Uncovered: Taking Back Our Province*. Edmonton: NeWest Press.
- Lorimer, J. 1978. *The Developers*. Toronto: James Lorimer.
- Lyons, M. 1996. Gentrification, Socio-economic Change and the Geography of Displacement. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 18: 39-62.
- Macleod, G. 2002. From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance. In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by N. Brenner and N. Theodore, 254-276. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Mason, B. 2001. Letter. *Edmonton Journal*, November 10: A14.
- Marcuse, P. 1985. Gentrification, Abandonment and Displacement: Connections, Causes and Policy Responses in New York City. *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law* 28 195-240.
- Marcuse, P. 1986. Abandonment, Gentrification, and Displacement: The Linkages in New York City. In *Gentrification of the City*, edited by N. Smith and P. Williams, 153-177. Boston, London, and Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Marcuse, P. 1998. Sustainability is not Enough. *Environment and Urbanization* 10:2 103-111.

- Marcuse, P. 2000. The New Urbanism: The Dangers so Far. *DISP* 140 4-6.
- Marcuse, P. 2005. *On the Presentation of Research about Gentrification*. Department of Urban Planning, Columbia University, New York.
- Markusen, A. 1987. *Regions: The Economics and Politics of Territory*. New York: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Martin, P and J. Fontana. 1990a. *The Government Has Given Up on Housing*. Liberal Task Force on Housing. Press Release, 14 May.
- Martin, P. and J. Fontana. 1990b. *Finding Room: Housing Solutions for the Future*. Ottawa: Liberal Task Force on Housing.
- McGlynn, S. and P. Murrain. 1994. The Politics of Urban Design. *Planning Practice and Research* 9 311-319.
- McGuirk, P. 2001. Situating Communicative Planning Theory: Context, Power and Knowledge. *Environment and Planning A* 33: 195-217.
- Metteo, L.D. and R.D. Matteo. 1998. Evidence on the Determinants of Canadian Provincial Government Health Expenditures: 1965-1991. *Journal of Health Economics* 17 211-228.
- Milgrom, R. 2002. Engaging New Urbanism. *Planning Network* 151:2 9.
- Miller, B. 1995. The Power of Place, The Significance of Scale. Dissertation, University of Minnesota - Minneapolis.
- Miller, B. 2007. Modes of Governance, Modes of Resistance: Contesting Neoliberalism in Calgary. In *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, edited by H. Leitner, J. Peck, and E.S. Sheppard, 223-249. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Miller, B and A. Smart. 2011. 'Heart of the New West'? Oil and Gas, Rapid Growth, and Consequences in Calgary. In *Canadian Urban Regions: Trajectories of Growth and Change*, edited by L.S. Bourne, T. Hutton, R.G. Shearmur, and J. Simmons, 269-290. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Mont Pelerin Society. < <http://www.montpelerin.org/>> 31 December 2005.
- Morris, W. and J. Kaufman. 1996. *The Charrette: An Alternative to Conventional Planning Process*. Melbourne: Ecologically Sustainable Design Pty Ltd.
- Mouffe, C. 1993. *The Return of the Political*. London: Verso.

- Mouffe, C. 2002. Which Public Sphere for Democratic Society. *Theoria*, June, 55-65.
- Mouffe, C. 2005. *On the Political*. New York:Routledge.
- New Urban News. 2003. New Urbanism Adds to Housing Value, Study Says. December 8:8 4.
- Neuman, W.L. 2007. *Basics of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, Second Edition*. Boston: Pearson.
- Newman, K. and E. Wyly. 2006. The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and the Resistance to Displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies* 43:1 23-57.
- Opie, A. 1992. Qualitative Research: Appropriation of the "Other" and Empowerment. *Feminist Review* 40: 52-69.
- Patterson, J. 1993. Housing and Community Development Policies. In *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986*, edited by J.R. Miron, 320-338. Ottawa: CMHC.
- Peck, J. and A. Tickell. 1994. Searching for a New Institutional Fix: The After-Fordist Crisis and the Global-Local Disorder. In *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, edited by A. Amin, 280-315. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Peck, J. and A. Tickell. 2002. Neoliberalizing Space. In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by N. Brenner and N. Theodore, 33-57. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Peck, J. and A. Tickell. 2007. Conceptualizing Neoliberalism, Thinking Thatcherism. In *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, edited by H. Leitner, J. Peck, and E.S. Sheppard, 26-50. New York and London: The Guilford Press.
- Peck, J., N. Theodore, and N. Brenner. 2009. Neoliberal Urbanism: Models, Moments, Mutations. *SAIS Review* 26:1 49-66.
- Plater-Zyberk, E. 1993. Five Qualities of Good Design. *ANY* 1 July/August.
- Poverty Reduction Coalition. 2008. *Cementing Our Relationship: Private Sector Involvement in Affordable Housing*. Calgary: Poverty Reduction Coalition.
- Purcell, M. 2009. Resisting Neoliberalism: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements? *Planning Theory* 8:2 140-165.

- Ragin, C.C. 1992. "Casing" and the Process of Social Inquiry. In *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, edited by C.C. Ragin and H.S. Becker, 217-226. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rapley, J. 2004. *Globalization and Inequality: Neoliberalism's Downward Spiral*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner.
- Robson, G and T. Butler. 2001. Coming to Terms with London: Middle-Class Communities in a Global City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25 70-86.
- Rose, A. 1980. *Canadian Housing Policies, 1935-1980*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Rusnell, C. 2004. Free Flow of Information is More Often a Trickle. *Edmonton Journal*, May 15: A19.
- Sampert, S. 2005. King Ralph, The Ministry of Truth, and the Media in Alberta. In *The Return of the Trojan Horse: Alberta and the New World (Dis)Order*, edited by T.W. Harrison, 37-51. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Sandercock, L. 1998. The Death of Modernist Planning: Radical Praxis for a Postmodern Age. In *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, edited by J. Friedmann and M. Douglass, 163-184. New York: Wiley.
- Sanders, L. 1997. Against Deliberation. *Political Theory* 25:3 347-376.
- Sancton, A. 2001. Canadian Cities and the New Regionalism. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23:5 543-555.
- Sarkissian, W., A. Cook, and K. Walsh. 1997. *Community Participation in Practice: A Practical Guide*. Murdoch: Western Australia Institute for Science and Technology Policy.
- Sassen, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sayer, A. 1992. *Method in Social Science, 2nd Edition*. New York: Routledge.
- Shaw, W. 2002. Culture, Economics and Evolution in Gentrification.. *Just Policy* 28: 42-50.
- Skully, V. 1994. Afterword. In *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community*, by P. Katz, 236. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Slater, T. 2004. Municipally Managed Gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto. *The Canadian Geographer* 48:3 303-325.
- Slater, T. 2006. The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30:4 737-757.
- Smith, J. 2001. *Mixing it Up: Public Housing Redevelopment in Chicago*. Paper Presented at Area-Based Initiatives in Contemporary Urban Policy Conference, Danish Building and Urban Research/European Urban Research Association, Copenhagen, 17-19 May.
- Smith, N. 1979a. Gentrification and Capital: Theory, Practice, and Ideology in Society Hill. *Antipode* 11:3 24-35.
- Smith, N. 1979b. Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45: 538-548.
- Smith, N. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Smith, N. 2002. New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by N. Brenner and N. Theodore, 80-103. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Smith, N., P. Caris, and E. Wyly. 2001. The “Camden Syndrome” and the Menace of Suburban Decline: Residential Disinvestment and its Discontents in Camden County, New Jersey. *Urban Affairs Review* 36:4 497-531.
- Smith, S.J. 1988. Constructing Local Knowledge: The Analysis of Self in Everyday Life. In *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*, edited by J. Eyles and D. Smith, 17-38. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Song, Y and G-J Knaap. 2003. New Urbanism and Housing Values: A Disaggregate Assessment. *Journal of Urban Economics* 54 218-238.
- Soron, D. 2005. The Politics of De-Politicization: Neo-liberalism and Popular Consent in Alberta. In *The Return of the Trojan Horse: Alberta and the New World (Dis)Order*, edited by T.W. Harrison, 65-81. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Snijders, T. 1992. Estimation on the Basics of Snowball Samples: How to Weight. *Bulletin Methodologie Sociologique* 36 59-70.
- Spurr, P. 1976. *Land and Urban Development: Preliminary Study*. Toronto: Lorimer.

- Stake, R.E. 2003. Case Studies. In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry, Second Edition*, edited by N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, 134-164. London: Sage.
- Stiglitz, J. 2003. *The Roaring Nineties*. New York: Norton.
- Stoker, G. 1995. Regime Theory and Urban Politics. In *Theories of Urban Politics*, edited by G. Stoker and H. Wolman, 54-71. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stroik, S. 2007. *Homelessness: What Do We Know?* Presentation to the Community Summit on Calgary's 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness, Calgary, 23 April. Calgary: City of Calgary.
- Susskind, L., S. McKernan and J. Tomas-Larner. 1999. *The Consensus Building Handbook*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Swyngedouw, E. 1997. Neither Global nor Local: "Glocalization" and the Politics of Scale. In *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, edited by K. Cox, 137-166. New York and London: The Guildford Press.
- Swyngedouw, E. 2005. Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the-State. *Urban Studies* 42:11 1991-2006.
- Taft, K. 1997. *Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and 25 Years of One-Party Government*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and the Parkland Institute.
- Tanasescu, A., E.C. Wing-tak, and A. Smart. 2010. Tops and Bottoms: State Tolerance of Illegal Housing in Hong Kong and Calgary. *Habitat International* 34 478-484.
- Taras, D. 2001. *Power and Betrayal in the Canadian Media*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Taylor, C. 1992. *Multiculturalism and 'the Politics of Recognition'*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M. and P. Allmendinger. 1998. Deconstructing Communicative Rationality: A Critique of Habermasian Collaborative Planning. *Environment and Planning A* 30:1975-1989.
- Thompson-Fawcett, M and S. Bond. 2003. Urbanist Intentions for the Built Landscape: Examples of Concept and Practice in England, Canada and New Zealand. *Progress in Planning* 60:2 147-234.

- T-Six Urbanists Inc. 2006. *Heritage Station Transit Oriented Development: Station Area Master Plan*. Calgary: T-Six Urbanists Inc./City of Calgary.
- Vigdor, J. 2002. Does Gentrification Harm the Poor? *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 134-173.
- Wacquant, C. 1999. How Penal Common Sense Comes to Europeans: Notes on the Transatlantic Diffusion of the Neoliberal *Doxa*. *European Societies* 1 319-352.
- Walton, J. 1992. Making the Theoretical Case. In *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, edited by C.C Ragin and H.S. Becker, 121-137. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, R. 2002. Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment. In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by N. Brenner and N. Theodore, 172-193. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Wieviorka, M. 1992. Case Studies: History or Sociology? In *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, edited by C.C. Ragin and H.S. Becker, 159-172. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, M. 1996. Asking Questions. In *Data Collection and Analysis*, edited by R. Sapsford and V. Jupp, 94-120. London: Sage.
- Wilson, W.J. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Knopf.
- Wilson, D, J. Wouters, and D. Grammenos. 2004. Successful Protect-Community Discourse: Spatiality and Politics in Chicago's Pilsen Neighbourhood. *Environment and Planning A* 36 1173-1190.
- Wyly, E. and D. Hammel. 1999. Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence of Gentrification. *Housing Policy Debate* 10:4 711-771.
- Wyly, E. and D. Hammel. 2001. Gentrification, Housing Policy, the New Context of Urban Redevelopment. In *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, volume 6 of *Research in Urban Sociology*, edited by K.F. Gotham, 211-276. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Wyly, E. and D. Hammel. 2005. Mapping Neoliberal American Urbanism. In *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, edited by R. Atkinson and G. Bridge, 18-38. London: Routledge.

Wyly, W. and D. Hammel. 2008. Commentary: Urban Policy Frontiers. *Urban Studies* 45:12 2643-2648.

Young, I.M. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

APPENDIX A: CONJOINT FACULTIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD REVIEW FORMS

A.1 – Consent Form



Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Kyle Peterson (Ph.D.) Candidate, Department of Geography, University of Calgary, 403-210-8770,
peterskd@ucalgary.ca

Supervisor:

Dr. Byron Miller, Department of Geography, University of Calgary, 403-220-7321, bavrmill@ucalgary.ca

Title of Project:

Outside the Box: Suburban Revitalization in Calgary, Alberta's Boom and Bust Economy

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of Study:

This researcher is investigating the process of suburban revitalization in Bowness and Forest Lawn. He is interested in the conditional causes of revitalization, and how the process is manifested in specific spaces.

What will I be Asked to Do?

The researcher will interview you and ask you questions about revitalization in Calgary and the neighbourhoods under study. The researcher will also ask you questions about the history of the neighbourhoods under study, as well as other neighbourhood related questions. With your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded and notes may be taken. You have the right to refuse to answer any question you do not wish to answer. You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any point in time. If you choose to withdraw from the interview all notes taken during the interview will be retained by the interviewer and may be used by the interviewer.

What Type of Personal Information will be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your gender, age, and occupation.

The interview will be digitally recorded so that it may be accurately transcribed following the meeting. The recording will only be available to the researcher and the researcher's supervisor. Once the interview has been accurately transcribed, the recording will be deleted. The transcribed interview will not be shown to anyone by the researcher (other than the researcher's supervisor), and it will be kept in a secured location for five years after the conclusion of this research.

Do you consent to a digital recording of the interview: ___ yes, ___ no (please indicate your choice).

Notes may be taken during the interview. The notes will not be shown to anyone by the researcher (other than the researcher's supervisor), and they will be kept in a secured location for five years after the conclusion of this research.

Do you consent to notes being taken during the interview: ___ yes, ___ no (please indicate your choice).

As a participant, you will have the option of being identified or remaining anonymous. If you remain anonymous, a pseudonym will be assigned for you. As a condition of being an identified participant, you may be fully cited and referenced by name in any presentation or publication of findings. If you wish to remain anonymous, the assigned pseudonym will be used for this purpose.

_____ Please check if you agree to be identified.

_____ Please check if you wish to remain anonymous and have a pseudonym assigned for you.

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

The researcher is not acting on behalf of any government or corporation, foreign or domestic. The information being collected will be used to inform a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Calgary.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You are free to discontinue participation at any time during the study. No one except the researcher and his supervisor will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers given by you. The data will be stored by the researcher in a secure university office indefinitely.

Signatures (written consent)

Your signature on this form indicates that you 1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) agree to participate as a research subject.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's
Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Kyle Peterson Department of Geography, Faculty of Social Science, 403-210-8770,
peterskd@ucalgary.ca

And/Or

Dr. Byron Miller, Department of Geography, Faculty of Social Science, 403-220-7321,
byron.miller@ucalgary.ca

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact Russell Burrows, Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at 403-220-3782; email rburrows@ucalgary.ca

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form

A.2 – Telephone Script

Hello, my name is Kyle Peterson. I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography at the University of Calgary doing research on neighbourhood change in Bowness and/or Forest Lawn.

I understand that you are involved in “neighbourhood,” and I was curious if I could interview you to talk about the way it has changed. The interview will be digitally recorded and you may elect to remain anonymous. I would only need about an hour of your time, and I would be happy to meet at any place of your choosing.

What would be the best time for you to meet? I can work around your schedule.

Thank you for taking time to meet with me. I will see you at “time,” “date,” and “place.” Do you mind giving me your email address so that I may send a confirmation letter?

A.3 – Follow-up Email – Bowness

Hello “name”

Thank you for speaking with me today and your interest in my project.

As mentioned in our conversation, I am a PhD student currently studying neighbourhood change in Bowness. Given the rich history associated with Bowness, I am interested in how it has changed over time and the unique situations that have brought this about.

I am interested in your experience in Bowness and in any knowledge you have regarding how it has changed over time. I would like to ask you a series of questions about Bowness' history and other neighbourhood related questions. With your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded so that it may be accurately transcribed once the interview is completed. If you feel uncomfortable about being identified in any related publications, you may elect to remain anonymous and a pseudonym will be chosen for you. Only my supervisor (Dr. Byron Miller) and myself will have access to the interview material. The interview will take approximately one hour.

If you would like to contact me, you can do so at the following numbers or email address: Department of Geography (Faculty of Arts) 403-210-8770, Cellular 403-993-1850, or peterskd@ucalgary.ca

I look forward to meeting with you on “Date” “Time” “Location”

Thank you,
Kyle Peterson

A.4 – Follow-up Email – GFLA

Hello “name”

Thank you for speaking with me today and your interest in my project.

As mentioned in our conversation, I am a PhD student currently studying neighbourhood change in the greater Forest Lawn area (GFLA). Given the rich history associated with the GFLA, I am interested in how it has changed over time and the unique situations that have brought this about.

I am interested in your experience in the GFLA and in any knowledge you have regarding how it has changed over time. I would like to ask you a series of questions about the GFLA's history and other neighbourhood related questions. With your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded so that it may be accurately transcribed once the interview is completed. If you feel uncomfortable about being identified in any related publications, you may elect to remain anonymous and a pseudonym will be chosen for you. Only my supervisor (Dr. Byron Miller) and myself will have access to the interview material. The interview will take approximately one hour.

、
If you would like to contact me, you can do so at the following numbers or email address:
Department of Geography (Faculty of Arts) 403-210-8770, Cellular 403-993-1850, or
peterskd@ucalgary.ca

I look forward to meeting with you on “Date” “Time” “Location”

Thank you,
Kyle Peterson

A.5 – Follow-up Email – GFLA (Telephone Interview)

Hello “name”

Thank you for speaking with me today and your interest in my project.

As mentioned in our conversation, I am a PhD student currently studying neighbourhood change in the greater Forest Lawn area (GFLA). Given the rich history associated with the GFLA, I am interested in how it has changed over time and the unique situations that have brought this about.

I am interested in your experience in the GFLA and in any knowledge you have regarding how it has changed over time. I would like to ask you a series of questions about the GFLA’s history and other neighbourhood related questions. With your permission, I would like to take notes and digitally record the interview so that it may be accurately transcribed once the interview is completed. If you feel uncomfortable about being identified in any related publications, you may elect to remain anonymous and a pseudonym will be chosen for you. Only my supervisor (Dr. Byron Miller) and myself will have access to the interview material. The interview will take approximately one hour.

If you would like to contact me, you can do so at the following numbers or email address:
Department of Geography (Faculty of Arts) 403-210-8770, Cellular 403-993-1850, or
peterskd@ucalgary.ca

I will be sending you the appropriate the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB) paperwork through Canada Post. I will also include a self-addressed stamped envelope so that you may return the document to me at no cost to you. Please read through the document, checkmark the permissions section, sign, and date both copies. Please keep one copy for yourself, and return the other to me.

Once I receive the CFREB documents, I will contact you to set up a time of your choosing so that we may speak. The telephone interview will take place in a secure location and I will be the only one present in the room. I look forward to speaking with you.

、
Thank you,
Kyle Peterson

APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

B.1 – Bowness BRZ

1. Do you live in Bowness? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in Bowness? What does your occupation entail?
2. Why are you interested in Bowness?
3. When was the BRZ founded? How and why was it founded?
4. What exactly is the responsibility of the BRZ? Who does it represent? What is your role with the BRZ? Is the institution well received in the neighbourhood (as a whole)?
5. How are board members elected? How long do they serve?
6. What is your vision of Bowness? What is your vision of the BRZ area? What is the vision of the Bowness BRZ? Are they separate?
7. You mentioned that the BRZ has direct influence over the three blocks between 62 Street and 65 Street on Bowness Road? Can you elaborate on that please?
8. What methods does the BRZ use to engage people in Bowness? I love Bowness stickers...
9. Has the BRZ or other neighbourhood entities received funding for improvements?
10. Is the BRZ influential in other parts of the neighbourhood?
11. Does the BRZ work closely with other groups or individuals?
12. How integral has the BCA been?
13. Do you think Bowness is underachieving in its potential? What is this potential? What should be changed, if anything?
14. What has instigated a renewed interest in Bowness? Have there been specific entities behind this? Was the BRZ integral? Developers, BRZ, Real Estate Agents, individuals?
15. Has the city been integral at all? Compare FL with Bowness...

16. What is it about Bowness that has attracted this change? Lower land values? Disinvestment from before? Are higher prices in neighbouring spaces an effect?
17. Has there been an increase of professional occupations in the neighbourhood? Higher class? Why have they been moving to Bowness? Where in the neighbourhood have they moved to? Have they been families?
18. Is this a good thing? Why?
19. Have the types of businesses changed? Are they catering to a different class of people? Did they arrive prior to the new population, or vice-versa?
20. Have housing prices increased? Is this a good thing?
21. Are housing prices still relatively cheap in parts of Bowness? What parts? Has this been a driver for people or developers to buy in the neighbourhood? Have adjacent spaces affected this?
22. Have certain parts of the neighbourhood been targeted? Why? Are new spaces opening up? Why?
23. What types of developers have been active in Bowness?
24. Has there been any speculation in Bowness? If so, where? What kind?
25. Has outside capital (national, world, etc) been interested in Bowness?
26. Is there anything in Bowness that you would like to see changed? What does Bowness need? This could be housing, population, etc? What would be the better version? How will this become a reality? How has the BRZ tried to make this a reality?
27. Does Bowness need more affordable housing? Why or why not?
28. Has there been any resistance to change? If so, in what form? Who has been responsible for the resistance? What are their arguments?
29. Has there been displacement? Who has been displaced? In what parts of Bowness did they live?
30. Have the changes put any strain on lower income households?

B.2 – Businesses (Forest Lawn)

1. Do you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA?
2. Do you own or your business or rent the property?
 - a. If you rent, who is the owner?
 - b. Do they own other properties?
3. How long has your business been in the area?
4. Are most business owners renters in the area?
5. Of what class are your patrons? Are they primarily residents of the GFLA?
6. Is the GFLA dangerous? Is it a myth?
7. Is there a renewed interest in the GFLA now? Who is interested in the neighbourhood now? What entities spawned this interest? Who do they represent (class wise)?
8. What do you think sparked this renewed interest?
9. Has there been a change in the demographic? How has the Radisson Heights/Alberta Park area changed? Have more professional occupations been moving into the neighbourhood? Do you see this happening in the future?
10. Have the housing prices increased? Have the rents increased for businesses? Are different types of businesses moving in? Do you see this happening in the future?
11. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
12. Were you aware of the International Avenue Design Initiative (IADI) that occurred a few years back? Were other businesses aware? How did you find out? Did you participate? How well did they make the public aware of it?
13. Do you remember the pamphlets they distributed? Do you remember the media advertisements?
14. Were you aware of the SE17 Redevelopment Plan, and its open houses? How did you find out? Did you participate? Were other businesses aware of them? Do you believe some people were excluded? Who?

15. What is the vision of the International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone (IABRZ)? Is it different than yours? Explain. Do you disagree with the entity?
16. How well received is the IABRZ? It is supposed to represent the businesses in the corridor, but is there a certain group that it represents more? Does it represent the residents of the GFLA?
17. Are there disagreements among the businesses with the IABRZ? What are these?
18. Who do you consider “stakeholders?”
19. Does the GFLA have an “unwanted” population? What is this population? Who wants it gone? Do you consider it “unwanted?” Why?
20. Do you think that the GFLA needs to be redeveloped? Is the redevelopment that the IABRZ has envisioned representative of the community? If not, whom does it represent? How would you redevelop the area, if it needs it?
21. Do you agree with the densification that the IABRZ is trying to initiate? Do you have any issues with density? What are these issues?
22. How would the densification of 17th Avenue affect your business?
23. How would the social change affect your business? Would it affect other businesses?
24. What is the aim of the IABRZ with this redevelopment? What do you think they are trying to do?
 - a. Are they changing the face of the neighbourhood? Do you agree with this?
 - b. Is there redevelopment actually for the neighbourhood, or the rest of the city?
 - c. Do they want to get rid of its stigma?
 - d. Do they want to make it trendy?
 - e. Is there a population they are trying to dislocate? Who are they trying to attract? Do you agree?
 - f. Is the corridor underachieving in its potential? What is this potential?
 - g. Is the corridor a vibrant space? How
 - h. What will make the redevelopment easier?
25. Do you agree with reducing the restrictions (red tape) on developers?
26. Would the redevelopment of the corridor lead to displacement?
 - a. Who will be displaced?

- b. Will the corridor lose its businesses? What kind of businesses will they be replaced by?
- c. Will the area lose its authenticity?

B.3 – Bowness Community Association (General)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness/Forest Lawn? Other than the community association, what else do you do?
2. How was the association founded? (Grassroots?) Who made it so? What general population is associated with the community association? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population? Do blue-collar populations participate? Why not?
3. What is the role of the Community Association?
4. How do you identify yourself in Bowness/Forest Lawn? Is the community association part of a larger group of “redevelopers?” If so, how does it identify itself? Has it changed over time? Explain. If not, is there a divide among interests? Explain.
5. In the most general sense, what class of population are the board members? Are non-board members allowed to attend community association meetings?
6. How integral is the community association in regards to redevelopment in Bowness/Forest Lawn?
7. Is the community association tied to any other related groups at other levels, such as Calgary Economic Development and the Chamber of Commerce?
 - a. What are the relationships?
8. Is Bowness/Forest Lawn recovering from its stigma? If so, how? What is attractive about the neighbourhood now? Why are you attracted to the neighbourhood?
9. Why is the neighbourhood worth investing in now as compared to past years?
 - a. Why wasn't the potential there before?
 - b. What helped initiate new investment?
10. How has the neighbourhood changed? Have there been waves of redevelopment over the years? Are there differences between former waves as compared to now? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Where has the redevelopment been focused? Has there been an influx of new populations? Who is moving there? Explain.

11. What is your vision of Bowness/Forest Lawn? What is the community association's vision? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? Explain.
 - a. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - b. How will the "new" improved the neighbourhood?
 - c. How is the "new" better?
 - d. Do you see Bowness/Forest Lawn as an ideal space for a social mixed neighbourhood? Why?

12. Do you find that Bowness/Forest Lawn lies in a unique location?
 - a. What are the ideal attributes of Bowness or Forest Lawn for redevelopment?
 - b. Are these used as selling points? How?

13. Generally, how strong is the community support in regards to redevelopment?

14. What methods do you incorporate to appeal to the public for your development practices? Explain. Has it been successful? Who provides the strongest support?

15. Has there been resistance to redevelopment in Bowness/Forest Lawn? Explain

16. Have there been barriers to development, such as social housing? Explain. Have these barriers been overcome?

17. Have there been any incentives produced by the "state" that have helped with new investment? Have opportunities opened up that have made Bowness/Forest Lawn a place of more lucrative investment? What is unique about Alberta law benefits development in Bowness/Forest Lawn? Canadian law?
 - a. Have there been opportunities to work with the state to push development?
 - b. What specific state policies have aided in development?
 - i. Tax credit?
 - c. Has state policy limited your attempts at development?

18. How has the role of the state changed in regards to redevelopment in Calgary's inner areas?

19. How has zoning regulations affected development?

20. Has the recession affected development in Bowness or Forest Lawn
 - d. If so, how
 - e. Do you think development will rebound?
 - f. Has the rebound occurred yet?

21. What type of development has been dominant in Bowness or Forest Lawn in the last ten years? Five years?

B.4 – Bowness Community Association (Planning and Development Committee)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? Other than the community association, what else do you do?
2. How was the association founded? (Grassroots?) Who made it so?
3. What general population is associated with the community association? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population? Do blue-collar populations participate? Why not?
4. Has this changed after the receivership?
5. What is the role of the Community Association? Is the association integral in any neighbourhood activities? Has its role changed since the receivership? How? Explain
6. Is the community association part of a larger group of community-minded entities? If so, how does it identify itself? Has it changed over time? Explain.
7. Were formally separate Bowness entities merged into the new community association? What made this so, and why did it occur?
8. Is the community association tied to any other related groups at other levels, such as Calgary Economic Development and the Chamber of Commerce?
 - a. What are the relationships?
9. What is your vision of Bowness? What is the community association's vision? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? Explain.
 - a. What does the neighbourhood need?
 - b. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - c. How will the "new" improve the neighbourhood?
 - d. How is the "new" better?
10. How has the neighbourhood changed? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Lot splits? Where has the redevelopment been focused? How long ago did this begin?

11. How has the population demographic changed in Bowness? Has Bowness always had a mix of incomes, or has it become more concentrated now? Is there a social divide now? Has there been an influx of new populations? Who is moving there?
12. Have people been pushed out? Have businesses been displaced? Explain.
13. What has caused the neighbourhood change? Alberta Children's hospital, expensive housing in neighbouring spaces, etc?
14. Are Bownesians tolerant of newcomers?
15. Why is the neighbourhood worth reinvesting in now?
 - a. Why wasn't the potential there before?
 - b. What helped initiate new investment?
 - c. Are banks involved? Mortgages, etc?
16. Is the community association a key figure in reinvestment? Is it more active than it was before? What other figures are key in Bowness' redevelopment? Is the community association part of a larger group of redevelopment proponents?
17. Has the city been involved? Have speculators been active in the neighbourhood?
18. Is the community association active in approving permits, etc? Are they a part of the approval process? Who does it report to? Are they affiliated with the city?
19. What types of redevelopment does the community association promote?
 - a. What types of development does the community association disagree with?
 - b. Is there a strategic plan for Bowness? If so, how community-minded has it been?
 - c. Do you think that the entire neighbourhood will redevelop, or will it be in pockets?
 - d. Are other Calgary neighbourhoods used as a model for Bowness, at least in regards to redevelopment? Marda Loop, etc?
20. How engaged has the community been in regards to redevelopment?
 - a. How are Bownesians encouraged to participate?
 - b. How do you engage the public?
 - c. Who participates?
 - d. Has only a specific population been involved? Why?
21. What will be the effects of redevelopment?
 - a. Who stands to benefit?
 - b. Could there be displacement of people, businesses, etc? Social service agencies? Has it been direct?

- c. Do you have a plan to stop displacement?
- d. Will the social divide increase?
- e. Will housing prices increase?
- f. Will “affordable” housing be affected?
- g. Are some residents feeling economic strain due to increased property tax, etc?
- h. Will redevelopment change the face of Bowness?

22. Has there been any resistance to redevelopment? Explain

B.5 – Ceci, Joe

1. Do you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA?
2. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
3. Why was the area neglected? Did mortgage lenders, etc actively disinvest? (redlined)
4. How have the demographic changes (concentration) affected the viability of the area, and the neighbourhood residents?
 - a. What would the solution be?
 - b. Increase the social mix – more upper income?
5. Is there a renewed interest in the GFLA now? Who is interested in the neighbourhood now?
6. What is it about the neighbourhood now that is inviting reinvestment? Is the high amount of rental a tipping point for redevelopment? Is the land affordable now that developers can invest?
7. How does a neighbourhood in Calgary receive focus from the city, or developers? What causes them to be highlighted?
8. Will government policy make it easier for redevelopment along the corridor? How does the Municipal Government Act help? How does the MDP help?
 - a. Land use redesignation?
9. What kind of incentives does the city provide in regards to developers, etc for redevelopment?
10. Does the GFLA have any saviors? Who are they? How will they help the area?

11. What fueled the start of IADI? Who was the coalition of individuals professionally and personally invested in East Calgary? What is meant by “professionally and personally invested?” Who did they represent?
12. How do you define stakeholders?
13. How was the community engaged? (IADI and SE17)
 - a. Was the steering committee set up before the neighbourhood was engaged?
 - b. Were some ideas and designs hashed out before the charrettes?
 - c. Were ideas formulated in the EVDS course?
 - d. Were these ideas and designs then brought into the charrettes?
 - e. Did you participate in the design studio? How many people, and what class of population, participated? How influential were their ideas and design suggestions?
 - f. How were the schools involved? What was the process?
 - g. Where did the team canvas?
 - h. Did the team use any community groups to try and reach the public? Which ones?
 - i. Were advocacy groups included?
 - j. How was the public informed of the SE17 open houses?
 - k. Did you participate in the open houses? Who showed up? What demographic? Was it representative of the neighbourhood?
14. Why should the corridor be redeveloped?
 - a. Is the corridor underachieving its potential? What is its potential? What could it be?
 - b. What is the corridor’s highest and best use?
 - c. Is the fundamental problem an issue of design? How will design make things better?
 - d. Are there amenities in the neighbourhood that should be retained or enhanced? Any cultural items that should be promoted? How will they be promoted? What would be the proper façade? Do some cultural aspects need to go?
 - e. What is the authentic GFLA? Could redevelopment disrupt this?
 - f. Is the present corridor a vibrant space? What do you define as vibrant? How will redevelopment make it vibrant?
 - g. Will it be similar to other trendy areas in Calgary, namely Kensington?
 - h. Can by-law enforcement aid in redevelopment? How?
 - i. Is redevelopment more for the rest of the city than the GFLA? Will the redevelopment of the corridor be a benefit to the rest of Calgary? How?
 - j. What demographic do you want to bring into the corridor?
 - k. Will redevelopment increase the housing prices?
 - l. How will it affect affordable housing?

- m. Would redevelopment improve infrastructure or other amenities for neighbourhood residents?
 - i. Who should access these?
 - ii. Will it be universal
 - iii. Would they lend to an increase in housing prices?
 - iv. Would it perhaps, over time, lead to a benefit for a homogeneous group?
- n. Are you concerned that redevelopment may cause displacement (residents, businesses, social advocates, etc)?
- o. Was displacement on the radar from the beginning?
- p. Is there plan set up to thwart displacement?

B.6 – Chabot, Andre

1. Do you live (or have lived) in the GFLA? Do you work (or have worked) in the GFLA? For how long? Other than Alderman, what other capacity did you serve in the GFLA?
2. Why has the area been stigmatized? Has it been ignored? In what capacity?
3. What is your reaction to people saying that the GFLA has “problems?” Is the GFLA really that dangerous?
4. Is the GFLA presently a vibrant and exciting space? What is your definition of vibrancy? Is the area ripe with community?
5. What is your vision of the GFLA? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? How do you imagine the corridor? Are they separate?
6. What is the vision of the IABRZ, in your best estimate? What is the vision of the CA’s? Are they similar? Are these visions different than the residents’ vision?
7. What instigated the focus on corridor redevelopment? Was this a community complaint? Which community? Were developers involved? Did a single person or entity start it?
8. What other groups have been involved? How was the city brought on board?
9. Who are the stakeholders in the redevelopment area? What does the IABRZ consider stakeholders?
10. What approaches were taken to engage the community for the IADI and SE17? What connections were used? Were these connections representative of the neighbourhood area? Who did they represent?

11. Were social service organizations or advocacy group's part of the planning process? What groups were included? At what stage were they included?
12. Who showed up to the SE17 open houses? What class were they? Were they largely tied to the IABRZ and the community associations?
13. Who wasn't there? Why weren't they there?
14. Do you feel that the corridor needs to be redeveloped? Why? What are your thoughts on the revitalization plan? How would you redevelop the area?
15. What are the BRZ and company trying to do the area?
16. Who will benefit from the revitalization, primarily? Will vulnerable populations benefit? Who is it trying to attract?
17. Were visions of the revitalization, or rather specific aims drawn up prior to the charrettes and SE17 open houses?
18. If Calgary is to intensify density, let alone the GFLA, how can it maintain or expand affordable housing? How does Plan-It affect this?
19. How can redevelopment supply the vulnerable with proper housing? What are the alternatives to market based affordable housing? Can it just lead to displacement?
20. Do you see the revitalization causing displacement? How so? Who will be displaced? What will happen to the business corridor? Will it lose all the small family run stores? Will it become a Disneyland of sorts?
21. Can the use of by-law (improper lawn usage for example) cause displacement? What other methods can be employed?
22. Let's say hypothetically, if everyone was brought to the table vis-à-vis engagement, could displacement still occur? How?
23. What other social implications can occur due to revitalization?
24. What happened with Noisette?
25. I was informed that the city approved funding for redevelopment for the corridor? Could you please elaborate on this? Will this kick start the revitalization? Will it be better than the Noisette option? How?

B.7 – City of Calgary Planners 01

1. Has there been a renewed interest in development in inner-city Calgary? If so, have governmental agencies been involved? Explain
2. What instigates the city's focus on a neighbourhood? What makes it change focus?
3. How are redevelopment plans instigated and planned? Are they neighbourhood or corridor focused? Are they neighbourhood specific, or generic?
4. Does the Municipal Government Act impede any forms of social planning? How so? Would you consider it a tool of the private market? Explain
5. Is state policy often used to lubricate the private market, especially regarding redevelopment?
6. Are there any state policies that hinder or aid in neighbourhood revitalization?
 - a. Discretionary land use bylaw?
 - b. Community revitalization levy?
 - c. Land use redesignation?
5. Are there state incentives available for redevelopment?
6. How are redevelopment plans funded? How is the revitalization paid for? Does the city cover any of the costs (neighbourhood policing, infrastructure, etc)?
7. Is Bowness and Forest Lawn making a comeback? What has made this possible? When did it start?
8. How involved has the city been in redevelopment of Bowness and Forest Lawn? Was the city initially involved, or was redevelopment spawned by the private sector?
9. Was the city influenced or co-opted into participating in any redevelopment plan? (17th Avenue). Was it treated as an enemy or barrier to redevelopment?
10. Are there differences between Bowness and Forest Lawn regarding revitalization? Are different types of actors involved?
11. What/who does revitalization represent? (17th Avenue and Bowness)
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?

- c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. How representative of the neighbourhood are the new icons along 17th Avenue?
 - e. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? What is successful?
 - f. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood? How? Or, will it just change the face of International Avenue?
 - g. Will it create an affluent ghetto?
 - h. How will it affect the businesses along 17th avenue?
12. What is the reasoning behind removing the trailer parks from 17th Avenue?
13. How does the city engage the public about redevelopment plans?
- a. How were the neighbourhoods approached?
 - b. What demographics were targeted?
 - c. Does state policy hinder community engagement?
 - d. Were some populations excluded?
 - e. Were there differences between how the BRZ engaged people and how the city engaged people? Separate projects?
14. Do the various departments/entities that are involved work together well? How did this play out in the redevelopment plans in Bowness and Forest Lawn?
15. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
- d. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - e. Was social/affordable housing considered? Was it more in theory than in practice?
 - f. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - g. Are there any state protections, such as one-to-one unit requirements?
 - h. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - i. Do you think the redevelopment plan will produce a barrier, whether it is physical or social?
 - j. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? It is argued that the redevelopment plan will cause no displacement. Is this true?
 - k. If they are displaced, what options are available? Are there any protections, such a state policy?

B.8 – City of Calgary Planners 02

1. Has there been a renewed interest in development in inner-city Calgary? If so, have governmental agencies been involved? Explain
2. What instigates the city's focus on a neighbourhood? What makes it change focus?
3. Does the Municipal Government Act impede any forms of social planning? How so? Would you consider it a tool of the private market? Explain
4. Is state policy often used to lubricate the private market, especially regarding redevelopment?
5. Are there any state policies that hinder or aid in neighbourhood revitalization?
 - a. Discretionary land use bylaw?
 - b. Community revitalization levy?
 - c. Land use redesignation?
6. How is corridor revitalization funded? Are there any incentives provided by the state? Does the state cover costs?
7. How key are PPP's?
8. Are Bowness and Forest Lawn making a "comeback?" What has made this possible? When did it start?
9. How involved has the city been in redevelopment of Bowness and Forest Lawn? Was the city initially involved, or did it come on board later on (private market influenced)?
10. Was the state co-opted in anyway and/or treated as a barrier to revitalization?
11. From speaking with community members, there seems to be a disconnect between what the MDP outlines and what actually gets planned. Why is this so? Is the MDP a smokescreen for "business as usual?"
12. Can developers artificially increase the land values in a neighbourhood? How is this done (state policy)? How does commercial development aid in increasing land values?
13. What does the city define as affordable housing? What group usually inhabits it?
14. What are the main differences between redevelopment in Bowness and in Forest Lawn?
15. How did the public engagement transpire?

- a. How were the neighbourhoods approached? Mailers? Email? Advertisement?
- b. Did the city and the BRZ complete two different studies?
- c. Who was invited? Were people excluded?
- d. What demographic turned up to the meetings?
 - i. Of the 46 (Visioning workshop) to 150 (open house) people that showed up
- e. Was it more top down, than bottom up?
 - i. Designs drawn, and then comments made
- f. How representative of the entire community was the Community Advisory Group?
- g. Were people given the chance to draw mental maps, or their vision of the neighbourhood?
- h. Was there any negative response from residents? Explain.
- i. What would have been a better approach to obtain a better representation of the GFLA?

16. Who/what does revitalization represent?

- a. Where is the first target for redevelopment? (Zone 1).
- b. Was there really a problem with land use? If not, why was it used to spearhead the revitalization?
- c. Who will benefit from it? Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood in the face of Calgary, rather than making it “better” for the community?
- d. Will everyone be able to access the space? Homeless? Poor? Will they feel uncomfortable?
- e. Are the visions of those who will benefit being pushed on others?
- f. Is International Avenue, as a name, really that widely accepted by the community, or just a specific group?
- g. Is it really formally International Avenue? People still call it 17th!
- h. How representative of the entire neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue (benches, clock, hanging pots, etc)? Most people don’t identify with them.
- i. Does the entire community really value art, or just a specific population?
- j. Did people really envision the new design of the neighbourhood, or was it drawn by urban designers first?
- k. It seems that there are contradictory ideals in regards to history in the plan. They recommend that history should be protected, but then advocate for complete revitalization. Why is this so? (Trailer park sign, but the trailer park is being demolished)
- l. Did they consider that the physical structures might have an emotional meaning, social networks (safeway), etc?
- m. Are small parks the view of the whole community? I have spoken to people who don’t even know where they are.

17. Do you think a strictly design oriented revitalization will answer the real needs of the neighbourhood?
 - a. Public/and quasi-public spaces are highlighted in the plan, but don't these already exist? Why weren't they focused on?
 - b. Can you see public space thriving out of spite of the designed public space?
 - c. What is wrong with a strictly design oriented objective?

18. Do the various departments/entities that are involved work together well? How did this play out in the redevelopment plans in Bowness and Forest Lawn?

19. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
 - a. How will housing prices and rental rates be affected?
 - b. Affordable housing is mentioned as important, but not focused on in the plan. Why?
 - c. What do you think of the statement "encourage gradual and sensitive redevelopment and infill development?" Rosy-tinted displacement/gentrification?
 - d. Do you think revitalization will put economic pressure on low-income residents in the neighbourhood? Seniors?
 - e. Will displacement be a likely effect of the revitalization?
 - f. How will the social networks/social cohesion be affected?
 - g. Are there any state protections for the vulnerable?
 - h. Do you think the revitalization will produce a barrier, both physical and social?

20. Has there been any resistance to the revitalization?

B.9 – City of Calgary Planners (Follow-Up)

1. Several people, including you if I am not mistaken, mentioned that Bowness would likely gentrify at a quicker pace due to the fact that it is located in the NW part of the city. However, I don't see much strategic action in regards to gentrification in Bowness. I am having a hard time even pinpointing gentrification. Either gentrification is hidden well, it has largely happened already, the neighbourhood structures are more conducive to community (not just class based) based development, etc. I have spoken to several community association members, and although they are largely middle to upper income professionals, they still think of Bowness as a small (inclusive) town. A contact mentioned to me that the city of Calgary is not largely interested in the neighbourhood (municipalities are often major players in the gentrification process now). I am curious as to why the city is not actively engaged, like it was with the SE17 plan, in Bowness even though most would agree that it would be the next logical choice for revitalization/gentrification?

- a. Could it be that Bowness is more community minded? A resistance to the city? Is it hidden? How is this different in Forest Lawn?
2. Also, according to documents that I have read and several interviews, there is actually no plan to deal with displacement. The IADI documents actually state that gentrification will occur in the corridor, but then they pass off the buck to the city and the people in the neighbourhood to devise a plan to thwart displacement. Was displacement a topic of discussion during the SE17 open houses and envisioning workshop? Does the city have a plan to deal with displacement? If not, then why?
3. Were there attempts to socialize the public to the IADI and SE17 plans? How was this conducted and what made it a success?
4. Do you have knowledge of the IADI process? How did it start? Was the IABRZ taken in?
5. What do you think of IADI's recommendation to speed up the development process, removing the public hearing and having applications being processed administratively? Waiving review fees? Tax incentives for new homeowners and businesses? What effects will this have? Are there other barriers that they are trying to remove?
6. You had commented before that the best thing for Forest Lawn was for it to remain as is. Could you clarify that for me please?
7. Do you see the group of actors that have made up the IADI and its present form as capitalist actors? How so?

B.10 – City of Calgary Planners (BN)

1. What are your opinions on New Urbanism? What are the plusses, and what are the faults?
2. Are there faults of seeing redevelopment as strictly an issue of design?
3. What are the main difficulties of redevelopment in Calgary?
4. How important is geography in charrette studies? Should there be prior research (race, demographics, advocacy groups, etc) into the neighbourhood before any plans are constructed?
5. What are your thoughts on the city's engagement process? What are its faults? What are its benefits?

6. Are there better ways to engage the citizenry? What are the faults of engagement through official entities (strictly), such as CNS, BRZs, Aldermen, and community associations?
7. What is wrong with holding open houses, or making the public come to you? What are the alternatives? Why are the alternatives better? Should the “design team” be set up in the neighbourhood for more than a week?
8. Tell me what you think of charrettes?
 - a. What is the problem with not including the city officially?
 - b. Does the city act as a watchdog on developers?
 - c. Does the city protect the citizenry?
 - d. Do you feel that some charrettes can manipulate the public?
 - e. They are regarded as true engagement, but is this true?
 - f. Can charrettes be exclusionary? Explain
9. What do you think of the expedited approvals process?
 - a. Is there an important component to a protracted approvals process?
 - b. Does it really increase the land values in the inner-city realm, or is there more to that?
 - c. Would an expedited process really decrease the land values?
 - d. Or would it just increase land values? Would it lead to more gentrification?
 - e. What else could happen?
 - f. What are your thoughts on administrative approvals rather than the public hearing format?

B.11 – City of Calgary Planners (Diedra)

1. What legislation governed how cities operated prior to the MGA?
2. Could you please comment on how planning was completed prior to the MGA?
3. Was social planning practiced prior to the MGA? How so?
4. Was there more careful consideration of geography in planning at the City of Calgary prior to the MGA?
5. Were there closer ties to other related professions or boards? Did they work better together? This could be across scales, or within a specific entity (such as the City of Calgary)

6. Was there greater state responsibility, especially in regards to planning, prior to the MGA? Explain. Where was the responsibility centred?
7. Can you comment on funding or access to funding prior to the MGA? Was there better funding for actual implementation prior to the MGA? Explain.
8. Were the regional planning commissions important? What were their pluses and minuses?
9. What was the reasoning for the implementation of the MGA?
10. What do you think the intent of the MGA was/is? Explain.
11. Has it led to contradictions in state policy or among it? Explain. Has it led to more conflicts among groups?
12. How well is the MGA implemented and interpreted?
13. Can you please comment on how the emergence of the Klein government changed state responsibility? Was there downloading of responsibility? How so?
14. Has the MGA led to a stronger reliance on the private market in Alberta? Has it bolstered the private market?
15. Has the MGA hampered planning? How so? Social planning?
16. What affect has it had on planners?
17. Have there been any unintended consequences from the MGA?
18. How has the MGA affected how Calgarians live their lives? Various classes and races?
19. How has the MGA reshaped Calgary, spatially speaking?
20. Has it increased the concentration of poverty?
21. Has it led to spatial exclusion? Do some neighbourhoods benefit more than others now?
22. How has it affected social/affordable housing?
23. How has it affected the rental market?
24. Who benefits from the MGA?

25. Who loses from the MGA?

B.12 – City of Calgary Planners (Malcolm Ho-You)

1. Do/did you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? Did you work in the GFLA, and for how long? What does your occupation entail, and whom did you work for in while in Calgary?
2. Why are you interested in the GFLA? What sparked this interest? Did you see signs of redevelopment in the greater Forest Lawn area, or was it more about anticipation?
3. What is the main purpose of the revitalization? Who and what are you trying to bring to the corridor/GFLA?
4. Is the revitalization a BRZ led initiative? Is an attempt to realize the BRZ's vision? Is this the only vision in the area? Is there a difference between the vision of the BRZ and the citizenry of the area?
5. What connections were used to bring people on board with the BRZ? Where these immediate contacts? If the connections were diverse, were they representative?
6. Charrette Document 1 states “the challenge that confronts IA is fundamentally an issue of design,” (11) but is that true? Why and how will design be the corridor's saving grace? Will design improve/solve the social issues in the neighbourhood? How?
7. Is the GFLA an exciting place? Is it vibrant? What is your definition of exciting/vibrancy?
8. Why will more expensive housing make it more exciting? Why wasn't it exciting before? What made it less exciting?
9. Was the U of C EVDS faculty the only one eager to participate? Why?
10. Did you participate in the EVDS course that focused on the GFLA? Who else participated in the course? Were any residents of the GFLA among them (other than BRZ, business owners, experts)?
11. How were the steering committees for the charrettes chosen? How was the project team chosen? Were neighbourhood residents part of these groups? Why or why not?

12. Who conducted the research and social histories on the GFLA? Do they live there? Were they experts? How did they go about with the research? Were interviews with residents conducted? Why or why not?
13. Prior to the actual charrettes, how was the neighbourhood contacted about them? Why were the locations chosen? Was canvassing completed? Were neighbourhood residents brought in on the engagement strategy? Why or why not? Which ones?
14. Why were the pamphlets only available in English? Do you believe that media was the best way to reach people in those neighbourhoods? Why?
15. Where neighbourhood specifics incorporated into the engagement approach?
16. Did you participate in the EVDS/T-Six/BRZ charrettes? Who ran the design studios? When were the designs for the corridor laid out? Were designs constructed prior to the charrettes? During? Were the designs designer led, at least initially? How did the public provide input, and were the ideas produced by them? *Are the designs somewhat out of touch and not representative of the people living there?*
17. Were neighbourhood residents part of the Team?
18. Who showed up to the charrettes? Were they representative of the neighbourhoods in general?
19. Is the charrette process, for example the BRZ approach, an improvement on the city process? How and why?
20. Do you foresee an increase of living costs in the area once revitalization takes hold? Housing prices?
21. How will the increasing costs affect the businesses already present? Particularly since many of the businesses don't actually own the land they inhabit?
22. If Calgary is to intensify density, let alone the GFLA, how can it maintain or expand affordable housing? How does Plan-It affect this?
23. Do you believe the redevelopment will incorporate affordable housing? Will there be a loss? Was it the plan all along? How can it supply the vulnerable with proper housing? What are the alternatives to market based affordable housing?
24. Was displacement ever a key issue? Displacement is mentioned in the charrette documents, but is stated as beyond the scope of the project. Shouldn't it be key?

25. Are you worried that the revitalization could cause displacement of the people that live there now? Displacement of the businesses that are located there? Displacement of the social networks? *A destruction of place?*
26. The charrette documents suggest that gentrification of neighbourhood spaces contributed to disinvestment in the GFLA. Would the revitalization of the GFLA just be a continuation?
27. Are you worried that if successful, the revitalized corridor would be an exclusionary playground for the middle to upper classes?

B.13 – City of Calgary Planners (Dr. Paul Maas)

1. Do/did you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? Did you work in the GFLA, and for how long? What does your occupation entail, and whom did you work for in while in Calgary?
2. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
3. Why are you interested in the GFLA? What sparked this interest? Did you see signs of redevelopment in the greater Forest Lawn area, or was it more about anticipation?
4. What is the main purpose of the revitalization? Who and what are you trying to bring to the corridor/GFLA?
5. Why is the challenge that confronts International Avenue an issue of design? Why and how will design be the corridor's saving grace? Will design improve/solve the social issues in the neighbourhood? How?
6. Is the GFLA an exciting place? Is it vibrant? What is your definition of exciting/vibrancy?
7. Why will more expensive housing make it more exciting? What would an increase in prices make it more exciting? Why wasn't it exciting before? What made it less exciting?
8. Why did you approach the U of C EVDS program about potential revitalization?
9. Did you participate in the EVDS course that focused on the GFLA? Who else participated in the course? Were any residents of the GFLA among them? Anyone else from the neighbourhood?

10. How were the steering committees for the charrettes chosen? How was the project team chosen? Were neighbourhood residents part of these groups? Why or why not?
11. Who conducted the research and social histories on the GFLA? Do they live there? Were they experts? How did they go about with the research? Were interviews with residents conducted? Why or why not?
12. Prior to the actual charrettes, how was the neighbourhood contacted about them? Why were the locations chosen? Was canvassing completed? By whom? Were neighbourhood residents brought in on the engagement strategy? Why or why not? Which ones?
13. Why were the pamphlets only available in English? Do you believe that media was the best way to reach people in those neighbourhoods? Why?
14. Did you participate in the EVDS/T-Six/BRZ charrettes? Who ran the design studios? When were the designs for the corridor laid out? Were designs constructed prior to the charrettes? During? Were the designs designer led, at least initially? How did the public provide input, and were the ideas produced by them?
15. Were neighbourhood residents part of the Team?
16. Who showed up to the charrettes? Were they representative of the neighbourhoods in general?
17. Is the charrette process, for example the BRZ approach, an improvement on the city process? How and why?
18. Do you foresee an increase of living costs in the area once revitalization takes hold? Housing prices?
19. How will the increasing costs affect the businesses already present? Particularly since many of the businesses don't actually own the land they inhabit?
20. If Calgary is to intensify density, let alone the GFLA, how can it maintain or expand affordable housing? How does Plan-It affect this?
21. Do you believe the redevelopment will incorporate affordable housing? Will there be a loss? Was it the plan all along? How can it supply the vulnerable with proper housing? What are the alternatives to market based affordable housing?

22. Was displacement ever a key issue? Displacement is mentioned in the charrette documents, but is stated as beyond the scope of the project. Shouldn't it be key?
23. Are you worried that the revitalization could cause displacement of the people that live there now? Displacement of the businesses that are located there? Displacement of the social networks? *A destruction of place?*
24. The charrette documents suggest that gentrification of neighbourhood spaces contributed to disinvestment in the GFLA. Would the revitalization of the GFLA just be a continuation?
25. Are you worried that if successful, the revitalized corridor would be an exclusionary playground for the middle to upper classes?

B.14 – Diane Danielson

1. Do you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA?
2. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
3. What is the vision of 12csi?
4. Is there a renewed interest in the GFLA now? Who is interested in the neighbourhood now?
5. How does a neighbourhood in Calgary receive focus from the city, or developers? What causes them to be highlighted?
6. What instigated the focus on corridor redevelopment? Was this a community complaint? Which community? Were developers involved?
7. What exactly is wrong with the corridor in regards to land use? Why should it be changed? Are you worried that “socially unwanted” businesses will just locate in other parts of the GFLA?
8. Will government policy make it easier for redevelopment along the corridor? How does the Municipal Government Act help? How does the MDP help?
 - a. Land use redesignation?
9. What kind of incentives does the city provide in regards to developers, etc for redevelopment?

10. Why was there been a push to change the name of 17th Avenue SE to International Avenue? Who was behind it? How representative is the name “International Avenue” of the GFLA? Who are you trying to attract? Are all the businesses on board?
11. How was the community engaged?
 - a. What approach was taken?
 - b. Did you approve of the workshops? If not, what would have been a better route?
 - c. Were there other options?
12. How influential are the city alderman in regards to the corridor redevelopment plan?
13. Why was the business revitalization zone started? Who was behind it?
14. Does the GFLA have any saviors? Who are they? How will they help the area?
15. I know that you were one of the key figures that speared renewed interest in the GFLA. Has the vision changed since then? If so, how is it different?
16. Why should the corridor be redeveloped?
 - a. Is the corridor underachieving it potential? What is its potential? What could it be? What is your idealized spatial construction?
 - b. Are there amenities in the neighbourhood that should be retained or enhanced? Any cultural items that should be promoted? How will they be promoted? What would be the proper façade? Do some cultural aspects need to go?
 - c. How should these amenities be celebrated? Supported by capital? Opened up to the rest of Calgary? How will they be opened up?
 - d. Who provided input on the construction of the physical improvements along 17th Avenue? Was the entire community consulted? Who identifies with them?
 - e. Who designed the murals along 17th avenue? What neighbourhood residents? Are they tied to the IABRZ?
 - f. How have the demographic changes affected the viability of the area, and the neighbourhood residents?
 - i. What would the solution be?
 - ii. Increase the social mix – more upper income?
 - g. What demographic do you want to bring into the corridor?
 - h. Is there a demographic that should move on?
 - i. How dangerous is Forest Lawn? Will redevelopment be the savior?
 - j. Would redevelopment improve infrastructure or other amenities for neighbourhood residents?

- i. Who should access these?
 - ii. Will it be universal
 - iii. Would they lend to an increase in housing prices?
 - iv. Would it perhaps, over time, lead to a benefit for a homogeneous group?
 - k. Is the present corridor a vibrant space? What do you define as vibrant? How will redevelopment make it vibrant?
 - l. What is the authentic GFLA?
 - m. Is redevelopment more for the rest of the city than the GFLA? Will the redevelopment of the corridor be a benefit to the rest of Calgary? How?
 - n. What will make redevelopment easier along the corridor? Explain
 - o. Are you concerned that redevelopment may cause displacement (residents, businesses, social advocates, etc)?
 - p. Are you worried that Forest Lawn may lose its authenticity once redevelopment occurs?
 - q. Has there been resistance to redevelopment? From who?
17. Are you worried that displacement might occur?
- a. What is your plan
 - b. What will happen in the future when the housing prices increase? How will your group try to curb displacement then?
18. Has there been a renewed interest among developers for inner city neighbourhoods? Why is this so? Affordability? When do neighbourhoods catch the eye of developers?
19. Where are the hotspots in regards to redevelopment in Calgary? What are the future hotspots? Why? How can you tell?
20. Does it usually take something to kick-start redevelopment? What is this? Explain.
21. If land values are initially low, how can you obtain a sizeable profit in the end?
22. What do you consider a property's highest and best use? How is a land's best potential realized?

B.15 – Developers

1. What is your vision of Calgary? What is your vision of inner city Calgary?
2. Primarily, who are your development projects for?

3. What is the make-up of developers in Calgary? Are they more or less bigger firms, or smaller builders? Is this dependent up on where in Calgary that they operate?
4. Is international capital involved in Calgary's development? Developers and mortgage institutions.
5. Is urban revitalization good? Why? Is there bad urban revitalization? Explain
6. Has there been a renewed interest among developers for inner city neighbourhoods? Why is this so? Affordability? The ever-expanding suburbs? High amount of rental property? Redevelopment in neighbouring space? When do neighbourhoods catch the eye of developers?
7. Where are the hotspots in regards to redevelopment in Calgary? What are the future hotspots? Why? How can you tell?
8. Does it usually take something to kick-start redevelopment? What is this? What are some notable examples in Calgary? Explain.
9. If land values are initially low, how can you obtain a sizeable profit in the end? What are the strategies for obtaining profit?
10. What do you consider a property's highest and best use? How is a land's best potential realized?
11. Why is infill development predominant in Calgary's redevelopment scheme? Is their potential higher than the previous structures?
12. Are developers key in redevelopment strategies? Are they instigators of redevelopment?
13. Can developers, by being involved in redevelopment strategies, increase the land value in neighbourhoods? How is this possible? Does property appreciate by other means? Explain.
14. There seems to be a refocus on human-scaled development in some parts of Calgary. Why has this been so? How profitable is it compared to Calgary's suburban expansion? Since development already exists, what must developers do to redevelop the land?
15. How exactly does the redevelopment process work? Is it individuals that buy up land then illicit the developers, or vice-versa. Explain

16. For the most part, do Calgary developers buy up swathes of inner city land, or is the process more piecemeal? Is there a strategic method to it?
17. How favourable is the city structure (politically, socially, etc) in regards to the development industry? Explain
 - a. How exactly does the development process work?
 - b. Who comes to the table (Developers and the City)?
 - c. When is the community brought into the process?
 - d. Zoning changes?
 - e. How are your costs increased/decreased?
 - f. How do increased costs contribute to increased land value down the road?
 - g. Is there anything that needs to be changed?
18. What incentives exist for developers? Reducing developers' costs? Are there any that are focused on the inner city? Explain.
 - a. What does the city provide in regards to development? Infrastructure?
 - b. Tax incentives?
19. Do developers work with any other institutions to promote development in Calgary, specifically the inner city?
20. What can impede redevelopment? Social, physical, etc? Have developers faced much resistance in Calgary? What kind?
21. How do developers in Calgary maneuver resistance? Explain. Examples?

B.16 – IABRZ (Alison Karim-McSwiney)

1. Do you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA? What does your occupation entail?
2. What exactly is the responsibility of the BRZ? Who does it represent? What is your role with the BRZ? Is the institution well received in the neighbourhood (as a whole)? Are some businesses not happy with the BRZ? Why?
3. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is the BRZ's vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
4. Why does the corridor need to be redeveloped? Who's interest?
5. Is the corridor lacking in vibrancy? Why? What is your definition of vibrancy?
6. Did you see signs of redevelopment in the greater Forest Lawn area, or was it more about anticipation?

7. What instigated the focus on corridor redevelopment? Was this a community complaint? Which community? Were developers involved? Did a single person or entity start it?
8. Why did this entity/person feel that the area needed redevelopment? Was this person working with the BRZ? Was the GFLA falling behind per se? Was it in danger? What was meant by that?
9. What other groups have been involved? How was the city brought on board?
10. Who are the stakeholders in the redevelopment area? Are stakeholders only confined to the corridor?
11. What approaches were taken to engage the community for the IADI and SE17? What connections were used?
12. Who participated in the open houses (class/race)? How were they invited?
 - a. Mailers? How many? In what language? Who received them?
 - b. Were there alternatives? Maybe a better way to get a more diverse voice?
13. Were social service organizations or advocacy groups part of the planning process? What groups were included? At what stage were they included?
14. How and why (particular members) was the steering committee chosen? Do you think the committee was representative of the neighbourhood? Were residents considered?
15. Were geographical studies conducted for the area? Were these specifics then used to recruit people?
16. When were the designs for the corridor developed? Were much of the designs constructed in the EVDS course? Who provided the most input?
17. Is the corridor underachieving in its potential? What is its potential?
18. Have the demographic changes over the years affected the viability of the area?
 - a. What is the solution?
19. What demographic are you aiming to bring to the corridor with this redevelopment?
 - a. Do you want to increase a social mix?
20. Is there a hope to increase the land values in the corridor? Why?

21. What will make the redevelopment a reality? Outside capital? What forms of incentives are you going to employ? How will an expedited approvals process help?
22. Who is the redevelopment for? Who will benefit? The city or the corridor?
23. Are you concerned about the high amount of absentee landlordism in the area? Is there a push to eliminate it? How is this being conducted? Given the high amount of rentals, would it be a tipping point for redevelopment?
24. Are you concerned that redevelopment might cause displacement?
 - a. Residents?
 - b. What about businesses that actually don't own land?
 - c. Social advocates?
25. Is there a plan for displacement? Explain
26. Are you worried that the GFLA will lose its diversity and authenticity if the redevelopment plan comes to fruition? Would it become a Disneyland of sorts?
27. Has there been resistance to redevelopment? In what form, and from who?

B.17 – IABRZ (Anthony)

1. Do you live in the Greater Forest Lawn Area? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA?
2. What is your vision of the GFLA? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate?
3. How has the GFLA changed?
4. Is there anything that should change in the GFLA? Is there anything lacking?
5. Is there a renewed interest in the GFLA now? Who is interested in the neighbourhood now?
6. What instigated the (re)focus on the redevelopment? Was it a community complaint? Which community? Who or what groups have been the most influential?
7. What exactly is wrong with the corridor in regards to landuse? Why should it be changed?

8. Do most businesses in the corridor actually own the land they sit on, or do they rent from larger landowners (for example, owners of a strip mall).
9. Are all businesses on board with the IABRZ, or are there any critiques?
10. Did you participate in the IADA Charrettes and the City of Calgary open houses?
 - a. Were you part of the planning committee?
 - b. What methods were used to engage the public, or to get them to attend?
 - c. Who attended? Was it representative of the GFLA?
 - d. Who were the major players?
 - e. Who was missing? Why were they missing?
 - f. How were the charrettes/open houses set up?
 - g. Were designs/visions already constructed prior to the charrettes/open houses?
 - h. Who constructed these designs/visions? Who do they represent?
 - i. Were these visions pushed onto people?
 - j. Was there anything about the charrettes/open houses that made you feel uneasy? Explain
 - k. If you have complaints, how would you have run them?
 - l. Were there any complaints from the participants?
 - m. Is there a better avenue of public participation?
11. Why should the corridor be redeveloped?
 - a. Is the corridor underachieving its potential? What is its potential? What could it be?
 - b. Are there amenities in the neighbourhood that should be retained or enhanced? Any cultural items that should be promoted? How will they be promoted? What would be the proper façade? Do some cultural aspects need to go?
 - c. Is International Avenue, as a name, really that widely accepted by the community, or just a specific group?
 - d. How representative of the entire neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue (benches, clock, hanging pots, etc)?
 - e. How have the demographic changes affected the viability of the area, and the neighbourhood residents?
 - i. What would the solution be?
 - ii. Increase the social mix – more upper income?
 - f. What demographic do you want to bring into the corridor?
 - g. Is there a demographic that should move on?
 - h. How dangerous is Forest Lawn? Will redevelopment be the saviour?
 - i. Would redevelopment improve infrastructure or other amenities for neighbourhood residents?
 - i. Who should access these?
 - ii. Will it be universal
 - iii. Would they lend to an increase in housing prices?

- iv. Would it perhaps, over time, lead to a benefit for a homogeneous group?
 - j. Is the present corridor a vibrant space? What do you define as vibrant? How will redevelopment make it vibrant?
 - k. What is the authentic GFLA?
 - l. Does the present infrastructure have a valued cultural and historical image?
 - m. Is redevelopment more for the rest of the city than the GFLA? Will the redevelopment of the corridor be a benefit to the rest of Calgary? How?
12. Who will benefit most from this redevelopment, if it were to occur?
 13. How will redevelopment affect the neighbourhood's vulnerable populations?
 14. Are you concerned that redevelopment may cause displacement (residents, businesses, social advocates, etc)?
 15. Could your business be affected? How so?
 16. Is there any plan to curb displacement? If so, what is the plan?
 17. Are you worried that Forest Lawn may lose its authenticity once redevelopment occurs? Could there be a loss of local businesses?
 18. Has there been resistance to redevelopment? From who?

B.18 – IABRZ (Tammy Pomper)

1. Do you live in the GFLA? If so, for how long? How long have you worked in the GFLA? What does your occupation entail?
2. What exactly is the responsibility of the BRZ? Who does it represent? What is your role with the BRZ? Is the institution well received in the neighbourhood (as a whole)?
3. Are some businesses in Forest Lawn not part of the BRZ? Why?
4. What is your vision of the Greater Forest Lawn Area (GFLA)? What is your vision of the corridor? Are they separate? What is the vision of the International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone (IABRZ)? Explain.
5. What has caused the renewed interest in the GFLA? Has the way Calgary expanded influenced a re-focus on the inner suburbs? Explain

6. What instigated the focus on corridor redevelopment? Was this a community complaint? Which community? Were developers involved?
7. Is the GFLA underachieving in its potential? What is its potential? What should be changed, if anything? Is there any blight?
8. What approaches were taken to engage the community for the IADI and SE17? Were only specific residents included (near or within the corridor)? Who participated in the open houses? How were they invited?
 - a. Mailers? How many? In what language? Who received them?
 - b. What location was used?
 - c. Who and how many people showed up?
 - d. Were designs already planned before the charrettes? Who provided the input?
9. Would you have changed anything?
10. What do you define as stakeholders (GFLA)? Who are the stakeholders in the redevelopment area? Are stakeholders only confined to the corridor?
11. Were social service organizations or advocacy groups part of the planning process? What groups were included? At what stage were they included?
12. There has been a stigma associated with the GFLA? Was the neighbourhood disinvested in? In what form? Why? Was it safer to invest in other spaces? Why
 - a. Was the GFLA redlined, or something similar?
 - b. Abandonment?
 - c. Why is landlordism so dominant in the GLFA? Absentee?
13. How have the demographic changes affected the viability of the area, and the neighbourhood residents?
 - a. What would the solution be?
 - b. Increase the social mix – more upper income?
14. Are housing prices still relatively cheap in the GFLA? Have the low costs been a driver for people to buy in the neighbourhood? Have increased housing prices in adjacent spaces made real estate in the GFLA more appealing? Explain.
15. Who are moving into the GFLA? What demographic? Why do you think they are locating there? Is it a good thing?
16. Are mortgages now easier to obtain in the area? Why? How involved have the local banks been?

17. Has there been any speculation? Any outside capital investment? From whom?
18. Is there a potential for increasing property values in the GFLA? Why? Has this started to occur yet? Do you think that if the redevelopment plan comes to fruition it will increase the property values in the area? Drastically?
19. Have absentee landlords been selling their properties? Why? In what areas of the GFLA has this been occurring? Is this the turning point for redevelopment?
20. Of the new households moving into the GFLA, what type of domiciles have they been locating in? Renovations? Replacements? Infills? Why are infills so popular?
21. Have developers been active recently in the GFLA? What kind – professional, occupier, landlord? Have they been local, national, or international? Do they buy more than one property?
22. Are you concerned that redevelopment might cause displacement?
 - a. Residents?
 - b. Renters in absentee landlord properties?
 - c. What about businesses that actually don't own land?
 - d. Social advocates?
 - e. Seniors?
23. Is there a plan for displacement? Explain
24. Are you worried that the GFLA will lose its diversity and authenticity if the redevelopment plan comes to fruition? Would it become a Disneyland of sorts?
25. Has there been any dissent towards the BRZ? If so, what form?
26. Has there been resistance to redevelopment? In what form, and from who?

B.19 – IADI (Gian-Carlo Carra)

1. Do you live (or have lived) in the GFLA? Do you work (or have worked) in the GFLA?
2. Did you see signs of redevelopment in the greater Forest Lawn area, or was it more about anticipation? Why does it need to be redeveloped? Who's interest?
3. Why is the challenge that confronts International Avenue an issue of design? Why and how will design be the corridor's saving grace? How will design improve/solve the social issues in the neighbourhood?

4. Is the corridor lacking in vibrancy? Why? What is your definition of vibrancy?
5. What is the difference between contemporary (new urbanist) design and the modernist movement before it?
6. Does design prevent capital disinvestment? How does it increase capital investment?
7. What is your definition of “Grassroots?” What is your definition of community? What community was the focus of IADI?
8. What fueled the start of IADI? Did a particular person or entity have the idea? What was occurring in Forest Lawn to allow for a new vision? Is the area now ripe for redevelopment? Why?
9. What do you mean by unlocking the redevelopment potential? How is the potential unlocked? How can communities, such as the GFLA, realize this?
10. Why would expediting the redevelopment process be a benefit? How does the protracted approvals process impede redevelopment? What is the real aim of this (policy objectives)? Who would benefit (residents, developers, etc)? What do consider Calgary’s “red tape?” Would this remove the check on developers?
11. Who was the coalition of individuals professionally and personally invested in East Calgary? What is meant by “professionally and personally invested?” Who did they represent?
12. What is meant by “steering committee?” When in the process was it devised/constructed? How was it chosen?
13. Was geography taken into consideration before any plans were constructed? Social advocacy groups, demographics, race, income, etc?
14. Was the interdisciplinary studio course (EVDS 743.03) the first place that ideas and designs for the corridor were constructed? Who participated in the interaction? What public and private entities participated?
15. Were these ideas and designs then incorporated into the charrettes? Were more design conceptions added during the charrettes? How much was changed?
16. How was the public engaged/invited to the charrettes? What avenues did you use? What local organizations did you liaise with? I read that the schools were involved, but how were they involved? When was this initiated?

17. How far prior to the actual charrettes was the public made aware of IADI?
18. Were the charrette pamphlet's only available in English? Why? Why were newspapers/media used?
19. Was the IADI charrette process similar to Heritage Station TOD charrette? Was the IADI the ideological/practical basis for the Heritage Station TOD charrette? The design team produced drawings that were then critiqued by the public during the evening.
20. Did the IADI charrette follow the guidelines of the congress for new urbanism (strictly)? Was there anything different?
21. What do you define as stakeholders? Who are the stakeholders in the redevelopment area? Are stakeholders only confined to the corridor?
22. Were there any neighbourhood residents that participating during the drawing stage (design studio)? Who were they? Who (class, race, etc) showed up in the evening?
23. Were any social advocacy groups invited? Who were they, and when were they brought into the process?
24. Is the concentration of low income and socially challenged in the GFLA a hindrance on the neighbourhood's potential? Is the community a hindrance? Why?
25. Was the IADI and the SE17 plan a method of creating community? What is this community? How will it improve the neighbourhood?
26. What is meant by "recognizing and accommodating expertise," "checking the tyranny of the majority?" How exactly does the charrette process confront these issues?
27. What do you consider "meaningful revitalization?"
28. Are you concerned that IADI and SE17 could lead to displacement? Has it always been a concern? Why was it beyond the scope of IADI? Is there a plan for displacement? Are there any protections?
 - a. What about the businesses that don't own the land?

B.20 – IADI (Robert Kirby)

1. Do you live in the GFLA? Do you work in the GFLA?

2. Did you see signs of redevelopment in the greater Forest Lawn area, or was it more about anticipation?
3. Why is the challenge that confronts International Avenue an issue of design? Why and how will design be the corridor's saving grace? How will design improve/solve the social issues in the neighbourhood?
4. Is the corridor lacking in vibrancy? Why? What is your definition of vibrancy?
5. What is the difference between contemporary (new urbanist) design and the modernist movement before it?
6. Does design prevent capital disinvestment? How? How does it increase capital investment?
7. What do you define as stakeholders? Who are the stakeholders in the redevelopment area? Are stakeholders only confined to the corridor?
8. What is your definition of "Grassroots?" What is your definition of community?
9. What was occurring in Forest Lawn to allow for a new vision? Is the area now ripe for redevelopment? Why?
10. What do you mean by unlocking the redevelopment potential? How is the potential unlocked? How can communities realize this?
11. Why would speeding up the development process be a benefit? Who would benefit? Would this remove the check on developers?
12. What fueled the start of IADI? Who was the coalition of individuals professionally and personally invested in East Calgary? What is meant by "professionally and personally invested?" Who did they represent?
13. When was EVDS (you) brought into the project? Were you approached to construct a design, or was the design conceived and then received attention of the IABRZ and Forest Lawn community associations?
14. When in the process was the steering committee devised? How was it chosen?
15. Was the interdisciplinary studio course (EVDS 743.03) the first place that ideas and designs for the corridor were constructed? Who participated in the interaction? What public and private entities participated?

16. Were these ideas and designs then incorporated into the charrettes? Were more design conceptions added during the charrettes? How much was changed?
17. How was the public engaged/invited to the charrettes? What avenues did you use? What local organizations did you liaise with? I read that the schools were involved, but how were they involved? When was this initiated?
18. Were the charrette pamphlet's only available in English? Why? Why were newspapers/media used?
19. Was the IADI charrette process similar to Heritage Station TOD charrette? Was the IADI the ideological/practical basis for the Heritage Station TOD charrette? The design team produced drawings that were then critiqued by the public during the evening.
20. Did the IADI charrette follow the guidelines of the congress for new urbanism (strictly)? Was there anything different?
21. Were there any neighbourhood residents that participating during the drawing stage (design studio)? Who were they? Who (class, race, etc) showed up in the evening?
22. Were any social advocacy groups invited? Who were they, and when were they brought into the process?
23. Is the concentration of low income and socially challenged in the GFLA a hindrance on the neighbourhood's potential? Is the community a hindrance? Why?
24. Were the IADI and the SE17 plan a method of creating community? What is this community? How will it improve the neighbourhood?
25. What is meant by "recognizing and accommodating expertise," "checking the tyranny of the majority?" How exactly does the charrette process confront these issues?
26. What do you consider "meaningful revitalization?"
27. Are you concerned that IADI and SE17 could lead to displacement? Has it always been a concern? Why was it beyond the scope of IADI? Is there a plan for displacement? Are there any protections?
 - a. What about the businesses that don't own the land?

B.21 – Principals

1. How long have you resided/worked in Forest Lawn?
2. What does the GFLA mean to you? What is your vision of the neighbourhood(s)?
3. How is the GFLA perceived outside the neighbourhood? From the rest of Calgary? Is this warranted?
4. Have you notice a socio-economic and/or divide among GFLA residents, or is there much integration among them? How are the vulnerable populations treated? (by residents and businesses)
5. Is there a pride among FL residents? Does this change based on class?
6. Are vulnerable populations civic-minded in GFLA? Do they have an active interest in the neighborhood? Are renters? If not, what impedes them?
7. Have you noticed any social networks in the GFLA? Do they look out for one another? Are there spaces in the neighbourhood where they go to congregate?
8. Are there forms of exclusion in the neighbourhood? These could be both social and physical?
9. How are the vulnerable populations taken advantage of? Are they threatened (business, other residents, police)? Are legal measures used against them, such as bylaws?
10. Has the neighbourhood changed? How so? Has there been an influx of new populations? Who are they?
11. Do you think that neighbouring spaces are influencing changes in the GFLA? Such as Inglewood and Bridgeland?
12. What do you think the neighbourhood needs? Are there things lacking? What? Are these being addressed?
13. The revitalization plan, or powers at be, argue that the corridor isn't very attractive or vibrant. Do you think the corridor is vibrant? Socially? What does vibrant mean to you? Do the neighbourhood residents find it vibrant?
14. What do you think of the redevelopment plan?
 - a. Who is behind it? Neighbourhood wide initiative? What are their aims?
 - b. Are they community minded (as in the entire GFLA), or class focused?

- c. Are you familiar with the Community Associations? What do you think of them? Who do they represent? Is it a specific demographic? All homeowners? How representative of the entire community are they?
- d. Do you think that the GFLA is falling behind in its potential? What is its potential?
- e. Did you participate in the open houses? What did you think of them? Engagement? What was lacking? Failure?
- f. Who participated in the open houses? Largely homeowners? What class? Why didn't renters participate, or the lower classes?
- g. Would you change the engagement process (to date)? How so?
- h. Are you familiar with the charrettes that occurred before? If so, how were they operated?
- i. Do you think there was a strategy behind the lack of engagement?
- j. Do you think they are trying to change the corridor demographically speaking? How so? How will it affect the entire GFLA?
- k. Do you think the powers at be are trying to make a cultural Disneyland of sorts? And idealized space (stereotypical ethnic/culture)? Cultural commodification?
- l. What is the sole purpose behind this cultural commodification?
- m. Will Forest Lawn then lose its authenticity?
- n. How will redevelopment affect the community surrounding 17th avenue? Would it be a destruction of place?
- o. Is the redevelopment more for Calgary than the community? Are they trying to legitimize the GFLA in the face of Calgary?
- p. How would redevelopment affect people that were not part of the planning process? Vulnerable populations?
- q. Would redevelopment displace populations that call 17th avenue home?
- r. Would it displace local business? Family run restaurants?
- s. Would it cause a social and physical barrier for the rest of GFLA?
- t. How would it affect the schools?

B.22 – Real Estate Agents (01)

1. Do you live in Bowness? If so, for how long and where specifically? Are you focused on real estate in Bowness? Where?
2. What is your vision of Bowness? How do other real-estate agents view Bowness? How do you imagine Bowness? What attracts you to the neighbourhood real estate wise?
3. Was the neighbourhood disinvested in? In what form? Why? Was it safer to invest in other spaces? Why? Redlined?
 - a. CMHC
 - b. Private Capital

- c. City of Calgary
 - d. Etc?
4. Did stigmatization contribute to this? Was it made worse by the disinvestment? How?
 5. Has there been any speculation? Any outside capital investment? From whom?
 6. Is it safer to invest in Bowness now? Why? Has previous disinvestment made the area ripe for the picking? Who is reinvesting in the neighbourhood?
 7. Are mortgages easier to obtain now? Are they different throughout the neighbourhood?
 8. Has government policy been key to the refocus on Bowness? If so, how? City, provincial, federal? Incentives?
 9. Have any other entities contributed to Bowness' reinvestment? Community Association? BRZ? Do developers have some sway? Are banks involved?
 10. How has the neighbourhood changed? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Lot splits? Where has the redevelopment been focused? How long ago did this begin?
 - a. What was redeveloped first? Housing/commercial?
 - b. Has it been piecemeal?
 - i. Where did it begin?
 - ii. Is it spreading to other parts of Bowness? Where?
 - c. Have homes been the predominant redevelopment form, or have condos been integral as well?
 11. Are new households moving into the neighbourhood? What demographic? Why are they locating in Bowness?
 - a. Why are they moving there?
 - i. Aesthetics
 - ii. Cost
 - iii. land value?
 - b. Where are they moving to in the neighbourhood?
 - c. Have they expanded to other parts of Bowness?
 - d. Is this a good thing? Explain
 12. Of the new households moving into the Bowness, what type of domiciles have they been locating in? Renovations? Infills?

13. Why is infill development the predominant form of residential redevelopment, at least in the Calgary context? Why are duplexes a benefit in regards to real estate pricing?
14. Have developers been active recently in the GFLA? What kind – professional, occupier, landlord? Have they been local, national, or international? Do they buy more than one property?
15. Have land values been relatively cheaper than neighbouring spaces? Have developers been able to take advantage? Has there been considerable mark up on this land? Where has this been occurring? Has it allowed for more wealthy households to move there? Is it affecting neighbouring properties?
16. Have housing prices increased in the neighbourhood?
 - a. Drastically?
 - b. What areas?
 - c. Is it affecting neighbouring spaces in Bowness?
 - i. How so?
17. Has there been a spillover affect from neighbouring spaces (Parkdale and Montgomery for example)? Have the Alberta Children’s Hospital and the U of C encouraged redevelopment and housing price increases?
18. Is the housing price increase a good thing for Bowness? Explain
 - a. Would this be completing property’s highest and best use?
 - b. How does it help with the tax base?
19. Did a lot of people sell their homes during the boom? Why did they sell their homes then? Was there a substantial increase to the properties once they were redeveloped?
20. Have there been forms of displacement in Bowness?
 - a. Who has been displaced?
 - b. Are people who formally could buy property in Bowness excluded now due to price increases?
 - c. Have people been able to remain in the neighbourhood despite being displaced?

B.23 – Real Estate Agents (02)

1. Do you live in Bowness? If so, for how long and where specifically? Are you focused on real estate in Bowness? Where?

2. What is your vision of Bowness? How do other real-estate agents view Bowness? How do you imagine Bowness? What attracts you to the neighbourhood real estate wise?
3. Is there anything in Bowness that you would like to see changed? What would this be better?
4. Was the neighbourhood disinvested in? In what form? Why? Was it safer to invest in other spaces? Why? Redlined?
5. Did stigmatization contribute to this? Was it made worse by the disinvestment? How?
6. By driving around the area, there seems to be a refocus on the neighbourhood. What has caused this?
7. Has there been any speculation? Any outside capital investment? From whom?
8. Is it safer to invest in Bowness now? Why? Has previous disinvestment made the area ripe for the picking? Who is reinvesting in the neighbourhood?
9. Has government policy been key to the refocus on Bowness? If so, how? City, provincial, federal? Incentives?
10. Have any other entities contributed to Bowness' reinvestment? Community Association? Do developers have some sway? Are banks involved? How integral has the BRZ been?
11. How has the neighbourhood changed? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Lot splits? Where has the redevelopment been focused? How long ago did this begin?
 - a. What was redeveloped first? Housing/commercial?
 - b. Has it been piecemeal?
 - i. Where did it begin?
 - ii. Is it spreading to other parts of Bowness? Where?
 - c. Have homes been the predominant redevelopment form, or have condos been integral as well?
12. Are new households moving into the neighbourhood? What demographic? Why are they locating in Bowness?
 - a. Why are they moving there?
 - i. Aesthetics
 - ii. Cost
 - iii. land value?

- b. Where are they moving to in the neighbourhood?
 - c. Have they expanded to other parts of Bowness?
 - d. Is this a good thing? Explain
13. Of the new households moving into the Bowness, what type of domiciles have they been locating in? Renovations? Infills? Replacements?
14. Why is infill/replacement development the predominant form of residential redevelopment, at least in the Calgary context? Why are duplexes a benefit in regards to real estate pricing?
15. Have developers been active recently in the GFLA? What kind – professional, occupier, landlord? Have they been local, national, or international? Do they buy more than one property?
16. Have land values been relatively cheaper than neighbouring spaces? Have developers been able to take advantage? Has there been considerable mark up on this land? Where has this been occurring? Has it allowed for more wealthy households to move there? Is it affecting neighbouring properties?
17. Have housing prices increased in the neighbourhood?
- a. Drastically?
 - b. What areas?
 - c. Is it affecting neighbouring spaces in Bowness?
 - i. How so?
18. Has there been a spillover affect from neighbouring spaces (Parkdale and Montgomery for example)? Have the Alberta Children’s Hospital and the U of C encouraged redevelopment and housing price increases?
19. Is the housing price increase a good thing for Bowness? Explain
- a. Would this be completing property’s highest and best use?
 - b. How does it help with the tax base?
20. Did a lot of people sell their homes during the boom? Why did they sell their homes then? Was there a substantial increase to the properties once they were redeveloped?
21. Have there been forms of displacement in Bowness?
- a. Who has been displaced?
 - b. Are people who formally could buy property in Bowness excluded now due to price increases?
 - c. Have people been able to remain in the neighbourhood despite being displaced?

B.24 – Residents (Displaced – Bowness)

1. What was your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter? Were you a previous homeowner?
3. How long have you, or did you, reside in Bowness? In what area of Bowness did you live? Why did you choose to live there?
4. Where in the neighbourhood did you live?
5. Has Bowness been stigmatized? Why?
6. Has there always been a social divide in Bowness? Such as the difference between Bow Crescent and other parts of the neighbourhood?
7. There has been a noticeable neighbourhood change in the area. What kind of shifts have occurred? How has the housing changed? How have the businesses changed? Where in the neighbourhood has this been occurring?
8. Has there been a new population moving into Bowness? What population is this, professionals? When did this begin?
9. What do you think has caused these changes?
10. Have housing prices increased? Drastically? Where in the neighbourhood has this occurred?
11. Do you think this will just continue to increase?
12. I was told that real estate has essentially stagnated in Bowness. Is this true?
13. Have residents been approached by developers and real estate agents to sell their property? What was their reasoning? Who has been doing this?
14. Have there been any negative outcomes of the increasing housing prices/taxes, particularly for seniors? Have they found themselves unable to pay for their properties?
15. Is there increasing pressure on vulnerable residents?
16. Have people been displaced due to these changes? Who have been displaced (low income, seniors, etc)? Where in the neighbourhood did they live?

17. Have these displaced people moved away from the neighbourhood? Have they stayed in the neighbourhood? How have they been able to stay?
18. Has there been replacement of residents, particularly seniors?
19. Have people had to move away for other reasons? Seniors for example. Why have they had to move?
20. How do people cope with the rising costs? Do they attempt to stay in the neighbourhood? Is redevelopment affecting affordable housing? How so?
21. Bowness is definitely changing. How would like to see it change?

B.25 – Residents (Displaced – Forest Lawn)

1. What is your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter?
3. How long have you resided in Forest Lawn? Do you still live there?
4. What forms of exclusion exist in the greater Forest Lawn area? What impediments exist? It could be social and physical.
5. Are some inhabitants in Forest Lawn, such as renters and/or seniors, viewed upon as negative? Is this warranted?
6. What does the neighbourhood need?
7. What does Forest Lawn mean to you? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? How does the neighbourhood define you? How is your vision contrary to outsiders or new residents? Upper and middle classes?
8. What is the vision of the International Avenue Business Revitalization Zone (IABRZ)? Who does it represent? Do you think they represent all of the businesses' interests?
9. What do you think they are trying to do in the neighbourhood? Are they trying to bring in a new population? New businesses?
10. How is the neighbourhood changing? Has there been an influx of a new population? Have housing prices increased? Is there a new type of housing

coming in? How have the businesses changed? Who is largely behind it? Who will benefit from the changes?

11. How do these changes make you feel? Do you agree with the changes, or the potential changes? Who are the changes for?
12. Were there attempts before to revitalize the neighbourhood, but on the residents' terms?
13. How have these changes affected residents, particularly vulnerable residents? Do you think people will begin to feel unwelcome in the neighbourhood?
14. Are you worried that these changes will cause displacement of businesses, and people? Who do you think will be displaced? How will it affect people in absentee landlord properties? What other pressures will it place on people? Explain.
15. Has displacement occurred yet? If so, where do the people go? How has the displacement occurred? Landlords increasing rents? Increasing property taxes?
16. Where in the neighbourhood would displacement most likely occur? Why?
17. Do landlords often harass people in these situations? How? Are there good landlords out there?
18. Do residents endure other forms of harassment? Explain
19. Does the enforcement of yard upkeep have a negative effect on residents (community association)? What is the real goal behind this?
20. Have social networks been disrupted? Will they be disrupted or displaced?
21. How would vulnerable residents deal with increasing prices and displacement in the GFLA?
22. How would this affect seniors?
23. Where people displaced to the GFLA in the past?
24. Have the changes affected affordable housing? Will it affect affordable housing? How so? Are the powers at be trying to remove affordable housing?
25. Will redevelopment address what is needed? Does the neighbourhood even need redevelopment?

26. Were/are you aware of the International Avenue Design Initiative? Were/are you aware of the SE17 corridor redevelopment plan? What do these plans represent?
27. What is the proper way to engage/inform citizens in the GFLA? Is there anything wrong with using official entities, such as community associations and the BRZ, as methods of engagement? Is there anything wrong with using the newspapers?
28. How do you feel about going to open houses? Is it an inconvenience?
29. How would residents react to U of C graduate students canvassing the corridor to get people to come to open houses/charrettes?

B.26 – Residents (Long-time – Bowness)

1. What is your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter?
3. How long have you resided in Bowness? Why did you choose Bowness?
4. Is there a spatial divide (based on class, race, etc) in Bowness? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Can you please describe them? Is there much integration? Are they treated as “others?”
5. Are some populations excluded in the neighbourhood?
6. Are some populations viewed up on as negative in the neighbourhood? Is this warranted?
7. It appears that Bowness has been unfairly stigmatized by the rest of Calgary? Why and how has this been so?
8. Do you feel safe in Bowness?
9. Can you please comment on Bowness’ sense of pride? Why are neighbourhood residents filled with pride about their neighbourhood?
10. What does Bowness need? Is there anything lacking in the neighbourhood. Do you believe these are being addressed?
11. Is Bowness recovering from the stigma? How so and why?

12. Since you have lived in the neighbourhood, how has it changed? Have there been waves of change? Is Bowness now being revitalized? How? Has there been a shift in housing, population, businesses, etc? Where in the area is this occurring?
13. Has there been much change on your block?
14. What has caused this neighbourhood change? What entities are behind it? Alberta' Children's Hospital? Has revitalization in Montgomery contributed to change in Bowness?
15. Are there new types of population moving into the neighbourhood? Are more middle and upper income people moving into Bowness? Where within the neighbourhood are they moving to?
16. What does Bowness mean to you? What is your vision of the neighbourhood? Does Bowness define you? How so? How would your vision be contrary to others in the neighbourhood?
17. Is the revitalization destroying your vision of Bowness, or do you approve of it? How and why?
 - a. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - b. How will the "new" improved the neighbourhood?
 - c. How is the "new" better?
18. Who is benefiting from any revitalization? Do you feel as if they are pushing their vision on others? Have they been able to recruit others to their cause? How representative of the neighbourhood are they?
19. How representative of Bowness are the neighbourhood associations, such as the BRZ and the Community Association?
20. Have there been attempts to use Bowness' "culture" to promote development? How so?
21. If Bowness has received an influx of new residents, namely middle to upper class, do you associate with them? Do you consider them Bownesians? What do you think of them?
22. What do you think of Bowness' commercial strip? Does it benefit your tastes and needs? (Blockbuster) If not, who benefits from it?
23. Have any real estate agents or developers approached you and suggested that you sell your property? If so, why do you think they did this? If not, has it happened to others? Are they from Bowness? Did it occur more in the boom?

24. Is redevelopment placing an economic/social pressure on Bowness residents and local businesses? What exactly (increased housing prices, property taxes, etc?) Have you felt any pressure?
25. Is redevelopment affecting affordable housing?
26. Has redevelopment influenced longtime residents to sell their homes? Why? Where do they go afterwards?
27. Have Bowness residents/businesses been displaced due to redevelopment? Where has this been concentrated? Who were displaced?
28. How do people cope with the rising costs? Do they attempt to stay in Bowness?
29. Is revitalization making Bowness feel less neighbourly? Is the social cohesiveness being disrupted? How participatory are the new residents?
30. Has there been any resistance to revitalization? Explain.

B.27 – Residents (Long-time – GFLA)

1. What is your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter?
3. How long have you resided in Forest Lawn? Why did you choose Forest Lawn?
4. Is there a spatial divide (based on class, race, etc) in Forest Lawn? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Can you please describe them? Is there much integration? Are they treated as “others?”
5. Are some populations excluded or viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? Is this warranted?
6. It appears that Forest Lawn has been unfairly stigmatized by the rest of Calgary? Why and how has this been so? Do you feel safe in Forest Lawn?
7. Can you please comment on Forest Lawn’ sense of pride? Why are neighbourhood residents filled with pride about their neighbourhood? What kind of social networks exist? Do you look out for each other?
8. What does Forest Lawn mean to you? What is your vision of the neighbourhood? Does Forest Lawn define you? How so? How would your vision be contrary to others in the neighbourhood?

9. What does Forest Lawn need? Is there anything lacking in the neighbourhood. Are there any barriers? Do you believe these are being addressed?
10. Since you have lived in the neighbourhood, how has it changed? Have there been waves of change? Is Forest Lawn now being revitalized? How? Has there been a shift in housing, population, businesses, etc? Where in the area is this occurring?
11. Has there been much change on your block?
12. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
13. Would the revitalization destroying your vision of Forest Lawn, or do you approve of it? How and why?
 - a. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - b. How will the “new” improved the neighbourhood?
 - c. How is the “new” better?
14. Do you see the redevelopment as a form of recovering from stigma? How and why?
15. Who will benefit the most from the redevelopment? Have they influenced others to come on board? Particularly ones who normally wouldn't? How so?
16. Do you approve of changing the name of 17th avenue to International Avenue? Why are they focusing on cultural aspects? (how cultural is forest lawn really?) Are the new murals, parks, clock tower representative of the neighbourhood? Do they define you? Are they pushing their vision on the rest of the neighbourhood? Will the plan ruin the diversity in businesses?
17. What/who do these entities represent? Do they represent the community as a whole, or a specific population? Do they represent you?
18. How representative of Forest Lawn are the neighbourhood associations, such as the BRZ and the Community Association?
19. Would they be trying to legitimize the neighbourhood? Make a profit off its culture?
20. How successful do you think the plan will be? Do you think it will change the face of Forest Lawn?

21. Have any real estate agents or developers approached you and suggested that you sell your property? If so, why do you think they did this? If not, has it happened to others? Are they from Forest Lawn? Did it occur more in the boom?
22. Will the redevelopment put economic/social pressure on current residents? On local business? What kind of pressure exactly? Particularly ones that are vulnerable? Will it influence long time residents to sell their homes? Do you think it will pressure you?
23. How do you think redevelopment will affect affordable housing?
24. Do you think redevelopment will cause displacement, whether it be residents or businesses?
25. Given that redevelopment could increase costs, how would people cope? How do people attempt to stay in the neighbourhood?
26. Would redevelopment make the neighbourhood seem less neighbourly? Would you feel uncomfortable visiting the corridor? How so?
27. Do you think Forest Lawn even needs redevelopment?
28. Has there been resistance to redevelopment?

B.28 – Residents (Non-vulnerable – Bowness)

15. What is your occupation? How long have you worked in Bowness, and in what capacity?
16. What is your income?
17. How long have you resided in Bowness? Why did you move there?
18. What kind of social networks exist? Are they different dependent upon class? Are they manifested in specific spaces?
19. Both neighbourhoods have a “sense of pride.” How engaged is the population, comparatively? Are they manifested differently in the two neighbourhoods? Are there similarities? Is it class-based? Why?
20. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among Bowness’ population? Is there a spatial divide? Is there much integration? Are they treated as “others?”

21. Are there residents that aren't community minded? Are there residents that are viewed upon as negative? Is it warranted?
22. Why has Bowness been stigmatized?
23. Is Bowness recovering from its stigma? If so, how? What is attractive about the neighbourhood now? Why are you attracted to the neighbourhood? What attracts others?
24. Why is the neighbourhood worth investing in now as compared to past years?
 - a. Why wasn't the potential there before?
 - b. What helped initiate new investment?
25. How has the neighbourhood changed? Have there been waves of redevelopment over the years? Are there differences between former waves as compared to now? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Where has the redevelopment been focused?
26. Has there been an influx of new populations? Who is moving there? Why? Explain. How long has this been occurring?
27. What entities are behind it? Alberta' Children's Hospital? How representative of the community are they? Have they influenced others to come on board? How?
28. Has the city shifted its focus onto Bowness?
29. What is your vision of Bowness? What is the community association's vision? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? Explain.
 - a. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - b. How will the "new" improved the neighbourhood?
 - c. How is the "new" better?
 - d. Do you see Bowness as an ideal space for a social mixed neighbourhood? Why?
30. Does Bowness even need redevelopment?
31. Do you find that Bowness lies in a unique location?
 - a. What are the ideal attributes of Bowness that aid in its redevelopment?
 - b. Are they used as selling points?
32. Generally, how strong is the community support in regards to redevelopment?
33. Do you agree with the redevelopment strategies in Bowness? Why or why not? What approach would be better?

34. Has there been any resistance to redevelopment in Bowness? Explain.
35. Will redevelopment place socio-economic pressure on people living in the neighbourhood? How? Will it put pressure on local businesses?
36. Will redevelopment have a negative impact on affordable and social housing?
37. Is redevelopment affecting the social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood? Does it make it feel less neighbourly?
38. Were there greater concentrations of working class in Bowness as compared to now? Greater concentrations of vulnerable populations? Where did they go?
39. How do people cope with the pressure of redevelopment? What options do they have?

B.29 – Residents (Roweena Cromwell)

1. What is your occupation? How long have you worked in Bowness, and in what capacity?
2. How long have you resided in Bowness?
3. What is your vision of Bowness? What does Bowness mean to you? What attracted you to the neighbourhood? Explain.
4. What does Bowness need, if anything? Is there anything lacking?
5. What kind of social networks exist? Are they different dependent upon class? Are they manifested in specific spaces? How do they look out for one another?
6. Both neighbourhoods have a “sense of pride.” Can you comment on this please?
7. Do perceptions of Bowness change based upon whom you speak with? New versus old residents?
8. Do new residents participate in the community? How does participation vary based upon length lived in Bowness?
9. How engaged is the population, comparatively? Are they manifested differently in the two neighbourhoods? Are there similarities? Is it class-based? Why?
10. Since you have lived in Bowness for quite some time, could you please comment on how it has changed?

- a. Has there been a change in businesses?
 - b. How has the housing changed?
 - i. Is there a change in aesthetic, such decoration, etc?
 - c. How has the demographic changed?
11. Has the change been in specific spots? Where?
 12. Do you think the neighbourhood is being revitalized? How so? Does it need to be revitalized?
 13. What do you think has caused the change or revitalization? Are there specific neighbourhood groups behind the change? Has change been carried out by outside participants?
 14. Are there groups benefiting from Bowness' change? Who are they? Are they pushing their vision on others, or have they been able to recruit others for their cause? How representative of the neighbourhood are they?
 15. Does their vision or perception of Bowness collide with yours? Explain.
 16. Is there perception collision in the neighbourhood now? How engaged is the population?
 17. Do you associate with any new residents, such as ones living in the expensive infills? Do you consider them as residents of the neighbourhood? If not, how do you perceive them? What do they think of you? How does the lower income perceive them, and vice versa?
 18. Ask about renters and homeowners!
 19. Have housing prices, or any other land-use costs (such as property taxes) increased a lot over the past few years? Have any people you know endured any economic pressure such as this? Explain. Who are they? How do they cope? How does this change depending on parts of the neighbourhood?
 20. Which version of increasing costs has affected the neighbourhood the most?
 21. Given that there may be a demographic change in Bowness, how is it affecting residents socially?
 22. Is a divide being created? Is there any resentment against the change? Is there social resentment? Is there aesthetic resentment? How does this change across the neighborhood? Explain?

23. Have residents been displaced from where they used to live due to the changes in the neighbourhood? How are they being displaced? Where has the displacement occurred? Who is being displaced?
24. How do residents deal with displacement? What methods do they employ to stay in the neighbourhood? If they are unable to stay in the neighbourhood, where do you think they have moved to?
25. Are some households now unable to locate in the neighbourhood due to increasing prices?
26. Have residents been taken advantage of by landlords, developers, real-estate agents, etc? Explain? Has harassment taken place? If so, in what form?
27. Have you, or any other residents been approached by developers or real-estate agents to sell your property? Was this heightened in the boom? Is it still occurring?
28. How are local businesses being affected?

B.30 – Residents (Seniors - Bowness)

1. What was your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter? Were you a previous homeowner?
3. How long have you, or did you, reside in Bowness? In what area of Bowness did you live? Why did you choose to live there?
4. Has Bowness been stigmatized? Why? (by the rest of Calgary)
5. What types of social networks exist? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places? (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
6. Has there always been a social divide in Bowness? Such as the difference between Bow Crescent and other parts of the neighbourhood? Has it been enhanced?
7. There has been a noticeable neighbourhood change in the area. What kind of shifts has occurred? How has the housing changed? How have the businesses changed? Where in the neighbourhood has this been occurring?

8. Has there been a new population moving into Bowness? What population is this, professionals? When did this begin?
9. When did the infill/replacement development begin? Where in the neighbourhood did it start?
10. What do you think has caused these changes?
11. Have housing prices increased? Drastically? Where in the neighbourhood has this occurred?
12. Do you think this will just continue to increase?
13. I was told that real estate has essentially stagnated in Bowness. Is this true?
14. Have residents been approached by developers and real estate agents to sell their property? What was their reasoning? Who has been doing this?
15. Have many sold their properties because the land was worth so much? Did this occur just during the boom, or at other times? When?
16. Have there been any negative outcomes of the increasing housing prices/taxes, particularly for seniors? Have they found themselves unable to pay for their properties? What other pressures?
17. Have people been displaced due to these changes? Who have been displaced (low income, seniors, etc)? Where in the neighbourhood did they live?
18. Have these displaced people moved away from the neighbourhood? Have they stayed in the neighbourhood? How have they been able to stay?
19. Have social networks been interrupted or destroyed?
20. Has there been replacement of residents, particularly seniors?
21. Have people had to move away for other reasons? Seniors for example. Why have they had to move?
22. How do people cope with the rising costs? Do they attempt to stay in the neighbourhood? Is redevelopment affecting affordable housing? How so?
23. Has there been resistance to change? Are Bowness residents opposed to density?
24. Have citizens been involved with this change? Have they been ignored? Who is controlling this change?

B.31 – Residents (Vulnerable – Bowness)

1. What is your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter?
3. How long have you resided in Bowness? Why did you choose Bowness?
4. What types of social networks exist? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places? (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
5. Do you look out for one another? How do you complete this?
6. How do perceptions vary in the greater Bowness area, specifically about the neighbourhood? Explain...
7. What forms of exclusion exist in the greater Bowness area? What impediments exist? It could be social and physical.
8. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among Bowness's population? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Can you please describe them? Is there much integration? Are they treated as "others?"
9. Is the neighbourhood spatially divided by class?
10. Are there residents that aren't community minded? What is community minded in your mind? Are there residents that are viewed upon as negative? Is it warranted?
11. Bowness has been unfairly stigmatized. Why has this been so? Can you comment on Bowness' sense of pride?
12. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
13. Is Bowness recovering from this stigma? How and why?
14. Has there been a noticeable neighbourhood change occurring in the greater Bowness area? What kind? Has there been a shift in housing, population, businesses, etc? Where in the area is this occurring?

15. What do you think has caused this neighbourhood change? What entities are behind it? Alberta' Children's Hospital? Why are people moving to Bowness? What kind of population is moving there?
16. What is your vision of Bowness? What does Bowness mean to you? What attracted you to the neighbourhood? Explain.
17. Is the revitalization destroying your vision of Bowness, or do you approve of it? How and why?
 - a. Are there old attributes that need to be changed?
 - b. How will the "new" improved the neighbourhood?
 - c. How is the "new" better?
18. How would you redevelop Bowness? How does it differ from present revitalization? Were there attempts in the past to redevelop Bowness for current and long-time residents?
19. Who will benefit most from the revitalization? Are they pushing their vision on others, or have they been able to recruit others for their cause? How have they done this (boosterism, cultural commodification, etc)?
20. Do you associate with any new residents, such as ones living in the infills? Do you consider them as residents of the neighbourhood? If not, how do you perceive them? What do they think of you?
21. What do you think of the commercial strip in your neighbourhood? Does it benefit your needs? If not, who benefits from it?
22. Do you think the revitalization is putting economic pressure on other residents, including yourself? How?

B.32 – Residents (Vulnerable – GFLA)

1. What is your occupation?
2. Are you a homeowner or renter?
3. How long have you resided in Forest Lawn?
4. What types of social networks exist? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class
5. Do you look out for one another? How do you complete this?

6. What forms of exclusion exist in the greater Forest Lawn area? What impediments exist? It could be social and physical.
7. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among Forest Lawn's population? Is there a spatial divide? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Can you please describe them? Is there much integration? Are they treated as "others?"
8. Are some inhabitants in Forest Lawn, such as renters and/or seniors, viewed upon as negative? Is this warranted?
9. Are these inhabitants threatened in the neighbourhood? How so? Social? Police?
10. Have you been threatened? How and by whom?
11. Forest Lawn has been unfairly stigmatized. Why has this been so? Can you comment on Forest Lawn's sense of pride?
12. What does Forest Lawn mean to you? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? How does the neighbourhood define you? How is your vision contrary to outsiders or new residents? Upper and middle classes?
13. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
14. Has there been a noticeable neighbourhood change occurring in the greater Forest Lawn area? Has there been a shift in housing, population, businesses, etc? Where in the area is this occurring? Why are people moving there now? Do you associate with the new residents? How do you perceive them? And them of you?
15. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
16. Do you see the redevelopment as a form of recovering from stigma? How and why?
17. What caused the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor Redevelopment plan? What entities are behind it?

18. Who will benefit the most from the redevelopment? Have they influenced others to come on board? Particularly ones who normally wouldn't? How so?
19. Why was the name of 17th Avenue changed to "International Avenue?" Why are they focusing on cultural aspects? Are the new murals, parks, clock tower representative of the neighbourhood? Do they define you? Are they pushing their vision on the rest of the neighbourhood? Will the plan ruin the diversity in businesses?
20. What/who do these entities represent? Do they represent the community as a whole, or a specific population? Do they represent you?
21. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood? Make a profit off its culture?
22. How "successful" do you think the plan will be? Will it change the face of the neighbourhood?
23. Will the redevelopment put economic/social pressure on current residents? On local business? What kind of pressure exactly? Particularly ones that are vulnerable? Will it influence long time residents to sell their homes?
24. Will you feel pressure from the redevelopment?
25. Have any populations been displaced due to redevelopment in Forest Lawn? Are they mostly renters or homeowners? Where have they moved to (other family, shelters, etc)?
26. How do people cope with the rising costs? Do they attempt to stay in the neighbourhood?
27. Is redevelopment affecting affordable housing? How so?
28. Is redevelopment making Forest Lawn seem less neighbourly? Is it disturbing the social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood? Is it destroying your vision?
29. Will redevelopment address what is needed?
30. Does Forest Lawn even need redevelopment? If so, how would you redevelop it?

B.33 – Sanders, Beth

1. First of all, can you explain what your job entails? What organization do you work for? What is the role of the organization that you work for? What does it do?

2. As planner, what are your opinions on New Urbanism? What are the plusses, and what are the faults?
3. What is the difference between contemporary (new urbanist) design and the modernist movement before it?
4. What is your definition of “Grassroots?” What is your definition of community?
5. How important is geography in charrette studies? Should there be prior research (race, demographics, advocacy groups, etc) into the neighbourhood before any plans are constructed?
6. How would you go about finding this information? How long prior to the actual charrette should this be completed?
7. Should ideas on redevelopment be conceived before the public is consulted? What is wrong with that approach? (Urban Designers constructing a plan prior to community input)
8. How should the public be informed? How much preparation should be completed? What should be investigated before the engagement process begins?
9. What exactly is a steering committee? The name implies something contrived, ie designs without public input.
10. Are steering committees the norm in the process? How should they be created? Should these be diverse (class wise)? What is the problem with having committees with like trajectories? Different trajectories?
11. How should the charrette process begin? Should the “public” be part of the process from the get go?
12. What are the faults of engagement through official entities (strictly), such as CNS, BRZs, Aldermen, and community associations? And their networks?
13. How should canvassing be completed? What is wrong with only using university students? How should this group be constructed?
14. What is wrong with holding open houses, or making the public come to you? What are the alternatives? Why are the alternatives better? Should the “design team” be set up in the neighbourhood for more than a week?
15. Can engagement processes be manipulative? How?

16. What are the problems of only focusing on design in charrettes? Should social reproduction be key? (passing off the buck)
17. Do you have any critiques of the design studio process? Designers whipping out designs, with some community input?
18. Would this be considered a manipulation? Do designers sometime steer questions in the direction that they want?
19. Any other critiques of the charrette process? Naming of “focus groups?” How do you get people more involved?
20. Can they be exclusionary? Can they be undemocratic? How?
21. Would it be erroneous to call charrettes “grassroots” if the end product only represents a specific class?
 - a. Similar outcomes from the SE17 and the IADI
22. What are the contributing factors leading to a shortened process, such as a week long charrette?
23. Are costs of charrette a hindrance on a more democratic and open process? Are there other interferences to a more open process?

B.34 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Bowness 01)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness/Forest Lawn?
2. How has the neighbourhood changed? Have there been waves of redevelopment over the years? Are there differences between former waves as compared to now?
3. What sparked redevelopment? What entities are behind it?
 - a. Do redevelopment interests work together?
 - b. How long have they been together?
 - c. What has made them successful?
4. Have there been any attempts to incorporate cultural/neighbourhood attributes to make money and promote development in Bowness/Forest Lawn? How is the new development marketed, and what population is targeted? Explain?
5. Are there any particular government policies that have promoted or facilitated redevelopment?

6. Have zoning regulations encouraged redevelopment in Bowness/Forest Lawn? How?
7. Where has the redevelopment been focused in the neighbourhood? Where did it originate, and how has it expanded?
8. How have the housing prices changed? Rental rates?
9. Has social housing or affordable housing been affected? If so, how?
 - a. Does the presence of social housing or affordable housing affect redevelopment? How? State policies?
10. Who has been affected by redevelopment? How? Who views development positively? Who views it negatively?
11. Have many of the former residents moved elsewhere due to increasing prices? If so, approximately how many? Do you know approximately where they moved to (in town or out of town, with family, shelters)? How long has this been occurring?
12. Are there measures in place that protect vulnerable residents from being evicted/excluded?
13. Has there been an influx of new populations? If so, who are they? How long has this taken place? How long have they lived in the neighbourhood approximately?
14. What does Bowness/Forest Lawn mean to you? How would you characterize Bowness/Forest Lawn? Do Bowness/Forest Lawn residents view the neighbourhood differently from “outsiders?”
15. How are developers marketing their developments in Bowness/Forest Lawn? Is it a different perspective than that of the current residents? How so?
16. Is the development affecting the social cohesion of current residents in Bowness/Forest Lawn (particularly ones that have resided in the neighbourhood for some time)?
17. Has there been resistance toward new development? If so, how has it come about? Success?
18. Were there attempts to redevelop Bowness/Forest Lawn in the past, but along the lines of “for the current residents?” Explain?

B.35 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Bowness 02)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. How has the neighbourhood changed? Have there been waves of redevelopment over the years? Are there differences between former waves as compared to now? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Has there been an influx of new populations? Explain.
3. How would you characterize Bowness? What is your vision of Bowness? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood?
4. Have there been any attempts to incorporate cultural/neighbourhood attributes to make money and promote development in Bowness? How is the new development marketed, and what population is targeted? Explain?
5. Are there, in the most general sense, two types of populations in Bowness? Vulnerable vrs. Non-vulnerable? Explain.
6. What is it about Bowness that attracts people, specifically vulnerable populations?
7. What types of social networks exist amongst the vulnerable population? How are these different from the middle-class?
8. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
9. How are vulnerable perceptions different than middle-class residents in Bowness?
10. Are there forms of exclusion existent in Bowness? By this I mean certain measures that impede vulnerable populations from participating in neighbourhood activities and contribution?
11. I have noticed there has been a good amount of redevelopment near and around the BRZ, along the escarpment, and on Bow Crescent. In your best estimation, what sparked this redevelopment?
12. Have there been entities behind Bowness' redevelopment?
 - a. Do they work well together?
 - b. How long have they been together?
 - c. What has made them so successful?

13. How involved have neighbourhood residents been in Bowness' redevelopment? Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed?
14. What/who does Bowness' redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, does it represent the vision of vulnerable populations?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Are those who benefit pushing their vision on others, attempting to change the vision of the potentially displaced?
15. Has the redevelopment affected the residents that were excluded?
 - a. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - b. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - c. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - d. Has there been displacement, or do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Bowness?
 - e. If they are displaced, what options are available? Have they moved elsewhere?
16. Are there measures in place that protect vulnerable residents from being evicted/excluded? Have there been attempts to threaten working class populations, in regards to making the move?
17. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
18. Has there been resistance toward new development? If so, how has it come about? Success?

B.36 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Bowness 03)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. How would you characterize Bowness? What is your vision of Bowness? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?

3. Why is/has Bowness stigmatized? Could you please comment on Bowness's sense of pride? How does it differ among classes?
4. How does Bowness differ class wise? Are there vulnerable populations that reside in the neighbourhood? Can you describe them please?
5. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among the populations living in the Bowness area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as "others?"
6. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
7. What types of social networks against amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Bowness (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
8. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
9. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
10. Does present state policy hinder community development workers from conducting any form of social planning? Geographically? Do the structures of city departments make it difficult? Explain. (Municipal Government Act)
11. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? What types of families are moving in? If so, why and where? Is gentrification occurring?
12. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices? Has there been any form of resistance?
13. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? Have they been included in any redevelopment strategies? Explain

14. What/who does the redevelopment in Bowness represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for redevelopment to occur? What sparked it? (children's hospital)
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. How representative of the neighbourhood is the BRZ?
 - e. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - f. Do you believe the redevelopment will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - g. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just certain areas?

15. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the redevelopment?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Which community participated? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?

16. How interested are they in keeping social and affordable housing available?

17. How does gentrification affect the social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood? Does it make the neighbourhood seem less neighbourly? (example from yesterday – lack of participation)

18. How do you see the redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded, particularly the vulnerable population?
 - a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Bowness? How will it affect seniors?
 - f. If they are displaced, what options are available?

19. What would be the more suitable approach to making the neighbourhood "better?"

B.37 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Bowness – Non-profit)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?

2. How would you characterize Bowness? What is your vision of Bowness? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?
3. Why is/has Bowness stigmatized? Could you please comment on Bowness' sense of pride? How does it differ among classes?
4. How does Bowness differ class wise? Are there vulnerable populations that reside in the neighbourhood? Are there vulnerable families? Can you describe them please?
5. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among the populations living in the Bowness area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as "others?"
6. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
7. What types of social networks against amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Bowness (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
8. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
9. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
10. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? What types of families are moving in? If so, why and where? Is gentrification occurring?
11. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices? Has there been any form of resistance?
12. What/who does the redevelopment in Bowness represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for redevelopment to occur? What sparked it? (children's hospital)

- b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. How representative of the neighbourhood is the BRZ?
 - e. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - f. Do you believe the redevelopment will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - g. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just certain areas?
13. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the redevelopment?
- a. How was the community engaged? Which community participated? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
14. How interested are they in keeping social and affordable housing available?
15. How does gentrification affect the social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood? Does it make the neighbourhood seem less neighbourly? (example from yesterday – lack of participation)
16. How do you see the redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded, particularly the vulnerable population?
- a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Bowness? How will it affect seniors?
 - f. If they are displaced, what options are available?
17. What would be the more suitable approach to making the neighbourhood “better?”

B.38 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (East Side Victory Church)

1. What is your occupation?
2. What is your income?
3. How long have you resided/worked in Forest Lawn? What exactly does the institution do? Are you well received in the neighbourhood?

4. What does Forest Lawn mean to you? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? How does the neighbourhood define you?
5. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among Forest Lawn's population? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Are they treated poorly or as "others?" Is there much integration among the classes?
6. What types of social networks exist? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places? (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
7. Do they look out for one another? How?
8. Are there forms of social and physical exclusion in Forest Lawn? How are vulnerable populations excluded in Forest Lawn?
9. Do vulnerable populations receive threats (harassed or pressured) from developers, business owners, landlords, etc? If so, in what form were they? Can you tell me a bit more about them? Was the city involved? How so? Do they powers at be invoke any bylaws to get their way?
10. Have you received threats? Explain
11. How do the powerful take advantage of the less fortunate in Forest Lawn?
12. What is the importance of basement suites?
13. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
14. Has there been a noticeable neighbourhood change that benefits the middle and upper classes in the greater Forest Lawn area? What kind? Has there been an influx of new types of housing and population? Where? Is gentrification occurring, or could occur?
15. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. Who did they reach out to?
 - b. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - c. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
16. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?

- a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it? Are they representative of the neighbourhood (Community Associations, BRZ, etc)?
 - c. What is the reasoning for focusing on Forest Lawn's cultural aspects, and concentrating their promotion along 17th Avenue?
 - d. Are the cultural aspects representative of you?
 - e. Are they representative of the neighbourhood?
 - f. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others? How do they get people on board with them?
 - g. Does the name "International Avenue" represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - h. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - i. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - j. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - k. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?
17. Do you associate with people that are pushing the redevelopment of 17th Avenue? What do you think of them? What do vulnerable residents think of them? What do they think of you?
18. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the neighbourhood?
- a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. Will it destroy your vision of Forest Lawn?
 - c. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - d. How will social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - e. How will it affect basement suites? What is the importance of basement suites?
 - f. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - g. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
 - h. If they are displaced, what options are available?
19. Other than displacement, what other forms of pressure would the vulnerable populations endure? Are they being approached by real estate agents or developers?
20. Do you approve of the redevelopment plan? Why or why not? What would you do it differently?

B.39 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (GFLA 01)

1. How long have you been living/working in Forest Lawn? What populations do you work with in the GFLA? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. How has the neighbourhood changed? Have there been waves of redevelopment over the years? Are there differences between former waves as compared to now? Has there been a switch in the types of housing in the neighbourhood – to infills? Explain.
3. How would you characterize Forest Lawn? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood?
4. Have there been any attempts to incorporate cultural/neighbourhood attributes to make money and promote development in Forest Lawn? How is the new development marketed, and what population is targeted? Explain?
5. Are there, in the most general sense, two types of populations in Forest Lawn? Vulnerable vs. Non-vulnerable? Explain.
6. What is it about Forest Lawn that attracts people, specifically vulnerable populations?
7. What types of social networks exist amongst the vulnerable population? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Forest Lawn (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness)?
8. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
9. How are vulnerable perceptions different than middle-class residents in Forest Lawn?
10. Are there forms of exclusion existent in Forest Lawn? By this I mean certain measures that impede vulnerable populations from participating in neighbourhood activities and contribution?
11. What sparked the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan? Have there been any other forms of redevelopment? If so, what sparked them?

12. What entities were behind the 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. Do they work well together?
 - b. How long have they been together?
 - c. What has made them so successful?

13. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan? Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed?

14. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent the vision of vulnerable populations?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Are those who benefit pushing their vision on others, attempting to change the vision of the potentially displaced?

15. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
 - a. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - b. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - c. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - d. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn?
 - e. If they are displaced, what options are available?

16. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.

B.40 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (GFLA 02)

1. How long have you been living/working in Forest Lawn? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?

2. How would you characterize Forest Lawn? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?

3. Is there a divide, class wise, among the populations living in the Forest Lawn area? Do they integrate well?
4. How are vulnerable perceptions different than middle-class residents in Forest Lawn?
5. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
6. What types of social networks exist amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Forest Lawn (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness)?
7. Are there forms of exclusion existent in Forest Lawn? By this I mean certain measures that impede vulnerable populations from participating in neighbourhood activities and contribution? Are there limits in accessing services in the community? Transit...
8. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
9. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? If so, why and where?
10. Has there been any displacement of lower income populations? Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices?
11. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? Explain
12. Have there been any attempts to incorporate cultural/neighbourhood attributes to make money and promote development in Forest Lawn? How is the new development marketed, and what population is targeted? Explain?
13. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?

- c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why?
 - e. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood? How?
14. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan? Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed?
15. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
- a. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - b. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - c. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - d. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn?
 - e. If they are displaced, what options are available?

B.41 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (GFLA 03)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. Are there vulnerable populations that reside in the neighbourhood? Can you describe them please?
3. How would you characterize Bowness? What is your vision of Bowness? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?
4. Why is/has Bowness stigmatized? Could you please comment on Bowness's sense of pride? Where is it based class wise?
5. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among the populations living in the Bowness area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as "others?"
6. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?

7. What types of social networks against amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Bowness (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
8. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
9. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
10. Does present state policy hinder community development workers from conducting any form of social planning? Geographically? Do the structures of city departments make it difficult? Explain. (Municipal Government Act)
11. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? If so, why and where?
12. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices?
13. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? How are they being included in the redevelopment plan? Explain
14. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. Does the name “International Avenue” represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - e. How representative of the neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue?
 - f. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - g. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - h. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - i. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?

15. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?

16. How interested are they in keeping social and affordable housing available?

17. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
 - a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Bowness? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
 - f. If they are displaced, what options are available?

18. What would be the more suitable approach to making the neighbourhood “better?”

B.42 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (GFLA 04)

1. How long have you been living/working in Bowness? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in Bowness? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. Are there vulnerable populations that reside in the neighbourhood? Can you describe them please?
3. How would you characterize Bowness? What is your vision of Bowness? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?
4. Why is/has Bowness stigmatized? Could you please comment on Bowness’ sense of pride? Where is it based class wise?
5. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among the populations living in the Bowness area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as “others?”

6. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
7. What types of social networks against amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Bowness (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
8. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
9. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
10. Is 17th Avenue, and other spaces, vibrant? How so? IS vibrancy defined by the physical environment?
11. Does present state policy hinder community development workers from conducting any form of social planning? Geographically? Do the structures of city departments make it difficult? Explain. (Municipal Government Act)
12. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? If so, why and where?
13. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices?
14. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? How are they being included in the redevelopment plan? Explain
15. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?

- d. Does the name “International Avenue” represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - e. How representative of the neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue?
 - f. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - g. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - h. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - i. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?
16. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
- a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
 - c. Was the lack of engagement an intentional strategy to bolster redevelopment?
17. How interested are they in keeping social and affordable housing available?
18. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
- a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Bowness? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
 - f. If they are displaced, what options are available?
19. What would be the more suitable approach to making the neighbourhood “better?”

B.43 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Patch Project)

- 1. How long have you been living/working in Forest Lawn? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in Forest Lawn? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population? Where are the locations of your entity’s homes? What are the steps in helping people with addictions, etc?

2. For the most part, who actually accesses affordable housing in Forest Lawn? What is affordable housing?
3. How would you characterize Forest Lawn? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood?
4. Why is/has Forest Lawn stigmatized?
5. What do your residents find attractive about Forest Lawn?
6. Is there a divide (class, racial, etc) among the populations living in the Forest Lawn area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as “others?”
7. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
8. What types of social networks against amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class?
9. Do they look out for one another?
10. How are vulnerable perceptions different than middle-class residents in Forest Lawn?
11. Are there forms of exclusion existent in Forest Lawn? By this I mean certain measures that impede vulnerable populations from participating in neighbourhood activities and contribution? Are there limits in accessing services in the community? Transit...
12. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
13. What other forms of threats do vulnerable populations receive? Police harassment? By-law enforcement? Etc?
14. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices?

15. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? Were they included in the redevelopment plan? If so, when were they approached? Explain
16. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
17. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? If so, why and where?
18. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. Does the name “International Avenue” represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - e. How representative of the neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue?
 - f. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - g. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - h. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - i. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?
19. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
 - c. Was your organization excluded?
20. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
 - a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected? Do you think they are interested in keeping it in the neighbourhood?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?

- e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
- f. If they are displaced, what options are available?
- g. Will social service entities be displaced, or will it be harder to access them?
- h. How “authentic” will the neighbourhood become? Will local businesses be displaced?
- i. Do you think that the redevelopment plan is a destruction of place?

B.44 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Sunrise Community Link 01)

1. How long have you been living/working in Forest Lawn? What kind of work does your institution do? What populations do you work with in the GFLA? Are they primarily homeowners, renters, etc? What class of population?
2. How would you characterize Forest Lawn? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? What attracts you to the neighbourhood? What do you believe attracts others to the neighbourhood, specifically the vulnerable population?
3. Why is/has Forest Lawn stigmatized?
4. Is there a divide (class, racial, etc) among the populations living in the Forest Lawn area? Do they integrate? Do they treat each other as “others?”
5. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
6. What types of social networks exist amongst the vulnerable population? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places in Forest Lawn (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness)? Grocery stores?
7. How are vulnerable perceptions different than middle-class residents in Forest Lawn?
8. Are there forms of exclusion existent in Forest Lawn? By this I mean certain measures that impede vulnerable populations from participating in neighbourhood activities and contribution? Are there limits in accessing services in the community? Transit...

9. In your best estimation, have vulnerable populations come under abuse by landlords? Abuse can come in the form of not fixing property, harassment, schemes to obtain higher rent, etc. Explain.
10. Have there been any forms of displacement in the neighbourhood? This could be the displacement of businesses and households. Have housing prices increased to the point that people are unable to afford to live in the neighbourhood? If not, do you see this happening? How have lower income populations dealt with increasing housing prices?
11. Have any social service entities been scrutinized or displaced due to neighbourhood change? Are they being excluded from the corridor redevelopment area? Explain
12. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
13. Has there been any noticeable neighbourhood change in the recent past? Has there been a noticeable shift in the types of housing, businesses, population? Are more middle to upper class populations moving in? If so, why and where?
14. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it?
 - c. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - d. Does the name “International Avenue” represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - e. How representative of the neighbourhood are the icons along 17th Avenue?
 - f. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?
 - g. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - h. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - i. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?
15. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
16. How interested are they in keeping social and affordable housing available?

17. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the residents that were excluded?
 - a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - c. How have social housing or affordable housing been affected?
 - d. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - e. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
 - f. If they are displaced, what options are available?

18. What would be the better approach to making the neighbourhood “better?”

B.45 – Social Advocates and Social Workers (Sunrise Community Link 02)

1. What is your occupation?
2. What is your income?
3. How long have you resided in Forest Lawn?
4. What does Forest Lawn mean to you? What is your vision of Forest Lawn? How do you imagine the neighbourhood? How does the neighbourhood define you? How is your vision contrary to outsiders or new residents? Upper and middle classes?
5. Why is/has Forest Lawn been stigmatized? Can you please comment on the neighbourhood’s sense of pride?
6. Is there a divide (class, racial, age, etc) among Forest Lawn’s population? Are there vulnerable populations in the neighbourhood? Can you please describe them? Is there much integration? Are they treated as “others?”
7. What types of social networks exist? How were they created? How are these different from the middle-class? Is it manifested in particular places? (use the The Dell and Cadence Coffee reference from Bowness? Grocery stores?)
8. Do you look out for one another? How do you complete this?
9. How do perceptions vary in the greater Forest Lawn area, specifically about the neighbourhood? Does it change per community, class, etc? Explain...

10. What forms of exclusion exist in the greater Forest Lawn area? What impediments exist? It could be social and physical.
11. Are renters, inhabitants of duplexes, transients, etc viewed as negative in the neighbourhood? If so, why and how? Is it due to fear, or based upon middle-class perspectives?
12. Do vulnerable populations receive threats (harassed or pressured) or notices from developers, landlords, etc to move? If so, in what form were they? Can you tell me a bit more about them? Was the city involved? How so? Why do you believe you were “forced” to leave?
13. Have you endured similar circumstances? Explain.
14. What does the community need? Are there any barriers in the neighbourhood (social and physical)? What is lacking? Are these being addressed?
15. Has there been a noticeable neighbourhood change occurring in the greater Forest Lawn area? Has there been a shift in housing, population, businesses, etc? Where in the area is this occurring?
16. Do you associate with any new residents, such as ones living in the infills? Do you consider them as residents of the neighbourhood? If not, how do you perceive them? What do they think of you?
17. How involved were neighbourhood residents in the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
 - a. How was the community engaged? Was it top-down?
 - b. Were people excluded? How were they excluded? What forms of exclusion existed? Were residents even informed?
18. What/who does the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment represent?
 - a. In your best estimation, who were the entities behind it? Who pushed for the plan to be adopted? What sparked it?
 - b. Who will benefit from it? Are they representative of the neighbourhood (Community Associations, BRZ, etc)?
 - c. What is the reasoning for focusing on Forest Lawn’s cultural aspects, and concentrating their promotion along 17th Avenue?
 - d. Are the cultural aspects representative of you?
 - e. Are they representative of the neighbourhood?
 - f. Do you believe that those who stand to benefit are pushing their vision on others?
 - g. Does the name “International Avenue” represent the neighbourhood, or specific interests?
 - h. Are they trying to legitimize the neighbourhood?

- i. Do you believe the redevelopment plan will be successful? Why? Successful how?
 - j. Will it change the face of the neighbourhood, or just 17th Avenue?
 - k. How do you think it will affect the businesses along 17th Avenue?
19. How do you see the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment affecting the neighbourhood?
- a. Will it address the needs of the neighbourhood? If not, explain.
 - b. Will it destroy your vision of Forest Lawn?
 - c. How will it affect housing prices and rental rates?
 - d. How will social housing or affordable housing be affected?
 - e. Will it break down the social cohesion/networks that have been forged?
 - i. Breakdown of the social networks?
 - ii. How so?
 - f. Do you see the potential for the displacement of vulnerable populations? Such as being priced out of Forest Lawn? Do you think removing absentee landlords near the corridor could exacerbate this?
 - g. If they are displaced, what options are available?
20. Would the recent development be destroying your vision of Forest Lawn? If so, why and how is it destroying your vision? How do you perceive those promoting the new development?
21. Does the new redevelopment plan address community concerns correctly/effectively?
22. Has there been a resistance movement to the newly adopted redevelopment plan?
23. If you approve of the recent redevelopment, how and why do you approve?
24. How would you redevelopment Forest Lawn? If so, in what way? How does it differ from present redevelopment? Where would it be focused?
25. Were there attempts in the past to redevelop Forest Lawn for the current and long-time residents? If so, can you please describe it?
26. What do you think of the commercial strip in your neighbourhood? Does it benefit your needs? If not, who benefits from it?
27. How have the housing prices changed? Rental rates?
28. If there have been increasing living costs due to new development, do you believe that you may have to move because you can no longer afford accommodation in Forest Lawn?

29. How has affordable housing been affected?
30. Can you please tell me a story about the hardships you have had to endure due to new development?
31. Have many of the former residents moved elsewhere due to increasing prices? If so, a lot? Do you know approximately they moved to (in town or out of town, with family, shelters)
32. If vulnerable residents have found ways to stay despite increasing costs, how did they accomplish this?
33. If you are renting, has your landlord intentionally not fixed things in your unit? Have they raised your rent by a lot since you first moved in? Explain. Do you perceive this as a motivation to make you move? Have you complained?
34. Are there landlords that treat their tenants well? Do all landlords try to reap as much profits as possible, or do some turn a blind eye in order to retain good tenants?
35. What do you believe sparked the Southeast 17 Avenue Corridor redevelopment plan?
36. Community Association? Who does it represent?

B.46 – Turner, Alina

1. Can you please give me a quick summary of what the Calgary Homeless Foundation is and does?
2. How do you define affordable housing?

The Canadian housing system overly favours the private market and ownership model, with a large amount of subsidies going to them.

Academic literature points to the Mulroney administration making serious cuts to the social housing system. In 1993, finance minister cuts funding for all new social housing

In 1996, the federal government completely cut of social housing administratively. Dumped responsibility to the provinces

3. How did Alberta initially respond? What did Ralph Klein do? How have they responded since?
4. How have condo conversions affected affordable housing?

5. How did this affect implementation at the city scale? (Ghettoized?)
6. Does the provincial or municipal government build “affordable housing,” or has it been left to other institutions?
7. What kind of conflicting policies exist in regards to affordable housing? How does this affect their implementation?
8. Affordable housing is mentioned in city planning documents, in the form of recommendations. How well is theory implemented in the City of Calgary?
9. Why doesn't the city mandate that affordable housing must be built or added to developments?
10. How do bonus policies work? How well do bonus policies work? Will a perpetual affordable housing agreement ever be implemented in Calgary? Why won't developers build affordable housing complexes?
11. How well does the private market house low-income populations?
12. How large is the waiting list for affordable housing? Who are the most in need of it? Do they get priority?
13. Comment on the EV mandate in the Rivers Redevelopment Plan. In complexes housing more than 50 units, 10% must be 65 metres or less. The theory is that since they are smaller they will be cheaper, thus allowing low-income populations. It seems that the city is only directing the private market rather than helping the low-income.
14. How do developers get out of providing affordable units?
15. How do low-income people cope in Calgary?