(RE)VISIONING WINNIPEG'S CHINATOWN

A critical analysis of settler-colonial revitalization

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

After decades of disinvestment, Winnipeg's Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown are the focus of recent revitalization initiatives led by non-governmental planning organizations. The intent of this Capstone project is not to provide an in-depth analysis, nor critique of the recent *Development Strategy*. By comparing organizational mandates, jurisdictional boundaries, and stakeholder perspectives, I argue the voices and interests of those experiencing homelessness, Indigenous People, and other non-Chinese BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Colour) are marginalized and missing from the planning process, placing them at risk of displacement.

Participants consisted of representatives from community organizations (COs), non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs), and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs). Data from emotional mapping and semi-structured interviews was analyzed through a perspective informed by gentrification literature and settler-colonial literature. All participants saw a need for reinvestment in Chinatown and the Northwest Exchange. However, most participants, especially COs and HNPOs, expressed concerns about changes that would displace their community, residents, and/or client base. Social issues, such as homelessness and poverty, are only worsening and similar urban renewal initiatives in the past have done little to improve circumstances for the city-centre's inhabitants. There was a desire for Chinatown to be an inclusive and multi-cultural space; but some participants discussed conflicts around how physical representations can exclude those who do not identify with its branding. Lastly, the current and historic Indigenous inhabitants of the area and Indigenous-led grassroots movements are concealed and erased by a lack of representation in the *Development Strategy's* key policies.

Based on these findings, a plan for the area's social development is needed, created through partnerships between COs, HNPOs, and NGPOs, but led by Winnipeg's official planning department. Indigenous people should be recognized as authentic inhabitants of the space and strategies should be incorporated to address aspects of Indigenous homelessness. These strategies should be led by Indigenous people, but with the full support of the City and other organizations.

KEYWORDS: Revitalization, gentrification, displacement, settler-colonial, Winnipeg, Chinatown

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Unless otherwise specified, all images and graphics were produced by the author of this Capstone, Angie Mojica.

FIGURE 1. Winnipeg's former Public Safety building and parkade being demolished.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, momentum has increased around revitalizing Winnipeg's Downtown. Narratives of the Downtown often describe it as an unsafe and decaying no mans' land in need of "cleaning up". While there is a need for more residents and people in the space beyond working hours to combat urban sprawl and mitigate decline (Bellamy, 2019; Lennon & Leo, 2001), the current wave of revitalization focuses on physical and economic improvements tailored towards middle- and upper-class populations. Developments like True North Square, Hargrave Market, and the newly renovated Forks Market create "consumption spaces" (see Zukin, 1998) to attract suburbanites to the Downtown (Toews, 2018). Urban social issues like poverty and homelessness are merely swept away and displaced to other neighbourhoods that border the Downtown.

The most recent wave of revitalization in Winnipeg is expanding into Downtown's northern limits. A design competition was held in 2018 to redevelop the former Public Safety Building and parkade (seen in FIGURE 1) into the Marketlands (CentreVenture, 2020). With construction for the Marketlands starting in 2020 and Red River College's Social Innovation Centre expansion (RRC, 2018), interest in the area was renewed and led to the creation of the *Development Strategy for Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown* (*Development Strategy*) (CentreVenture, 2019). The intent of this Capstone project is not to provide an in-depth analysis, nor critique of the *Development Strategy*. Rather, by comparing organizational mandates, jurisdictional boundaries, and stakeholder perspectives for change, I argue the voices and interests of those experiencing homelessness, Indigenous People, and other non-Chinese BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Colour) that inhabit the area have been marginalized and are missing from the planning process.

I present recommendations for going forward with the *Development Strategy* centreing on the inclusion of these missing and minority perspectives. Given Chinatown's proximity to various social services for those experiencing homelessness and several lower-income neighbourhoods, it is important for the Northwest Exchange to develop in a manner that meets the needs of its current and adjacent inhabitants. If these needs are not addressed, marginalized and minority populations may be displaced by symbolic, exclusionary, and/or physical means from the area.

RESEARCH DESIGN & QUESTIONS

Between November 2019 and January 2020, I conducted 11 interviews with three key-stakeholder categories who operate in and adjacent to Winnipeg's Chinatown: community organizations; non-governmental planning organizations including private firms and those who are fully or partly funded by the government; and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations. Through conducting semi-structure interviews and an emotional mapping exercise (Panek, 2018) with participants, I aim to address the following questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences in how community organizations, non-governmental planning organizations, and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations define, perceive, and experience Winnipeg's Exchange District and Chinatown?

2. What gaps exist in planning for the development of Chinatown and its vicinity? What perspectives have been marginalized or left out of the area's dominant planning processes?

3. How might Chinatown develop in a way that reflects the needs of its current inhabitants and those in its surrounding areas?

I use four key theorists to understand the power relationships between the identified stakeholders and their differing perspectives:

- Recent literature on state-led gentrification by official government and arms-length planning organizations (Stein, 2019; Toews, 2018);

- Rowland Atkinson's concept of symbolic displacement (Atkinson, 2015); and,

- Doreen Massey's three propositions for defining space as a "product of interrelations", the "sphere of coexisting heterogeneity", and as "always under construction" (Massey, 2005, p. 9).

I combine the gentrification literature with a settler-colonial reading to argue that community organizations, non-governmental planning organizations, and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations have differing visions for the development of Winnipeg's Chinatown because of the differences in how they define, perceive, and experience the neighbourhood.

POSITION AS A RESEARCHER

Before continuing, I will discuss the biases I hold as a researcher and critically reflect on the space I occupy in the broader Canadian context.

Part of my interest in studying Winnipeg's Chinatown comes from how I was born and raised in this city. Being a child of immigrants from the Philippines, I felt a strong connection to Chinatown growing up as it was one of the few, if not only, areas in the city with a concentration of Asian culture and businesses. I have many memories of going to Chinatown with my family to shop for groceries at Young's and Bueno Bros., to attend various special events at the many restaurants in the area like Marigold or Kum Koon, or just to eat dim sum when a craving for it strikes. I go to the Chinese Cultural and Community Centre almost every year during Folklorama to watch performances and learn more about Chinese culture.

My intimate knowledge of the study area is a strength of my research as I have experienced how Chinatown and Winnipeg as a whole have changed over the last 20 years. However, I also have a vested interest in how the area develops because I live close to the study area. To mitigate the effects of this bias, this Capstone has been reviewed by a research committee at all stages of the project, and findings have been shared publicly.

While I may refer to Indigenous people in a general sense in this Capstone project, there is a diversity of perspectives within and between different Indigenous groups (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 55). As a non-Indigenous person who is not well versed in these differences, I will speak to trends as presented in the literature and as brought up by the research participants. By no means do I claim to speak on behalf of Indigenous people or present Indigenous worldviews as homogeneous. Like Natalie Baloy and Owen Toews (2018), I aim to "complement Indigenous voices and stories, rather than substitute or displace them (Baloy, 2016, p. 211). As a non-Indigenous person, it is crucial to address issues related to settler-colonialism in research and planning practice to make progress towards reconciliation in Canada, and more specifically in Winnipeg.

By centreing my research in the gentrification literature and settler-colonial literature, I aim to highlight the reinforcing cycle between the historic (and ongoing) physical displacement and dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their Lands, and their symbolic and exclusionary displacement from urbanized areas. Any findings, conclusions, and recommendations I make may be unique to this particular context (Toews, 2018; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015; Massey, 2005), as my research focuses primarily on Winnipeg's Chinatown and adjacent areas. Lessons learned should be applied critically if doing so in a different city or context.

DOCUMENT STRUCTURE

This capstone is divided into the following sections:

Chapter One has introduced the research topic, methods, research questions, and key argument. I have also identified my position as a researcher and provided an outline of the document structure.

Chapter Two: Literature Review reviews the academic literature to define the terms space, place, and land from both a Western perspective and an Indigenous perspective. Next I define the process of gentrification and its effects, with a particular focus on symbolic and exclusionary displacement. Chapter Two concludes with a review of the literature on Canadian Chinatowns in a contemporary context.

Chapter Three: Context summarizes the regulatory, historical, and social context of the study area. I discuss histories of revitalization and displacement in Winnipeg's Downtown, Exchange District, and Chinatown. I also discuss contemporary issues particular to Winnipeg's Chinatown related to immigration trends and homelessness.

Chapter Four: Methodology goes over the methods I used in conducting this Capstone. The Chapter also provides a description of the research participants and describes some of the study's limitations.

Chapter Five: Findings summarizes key results from the semi-structured interviews and emotional mapping exercise. While there will be some overlap with Chapter Three: Context with respect to Chinatown's historical and contemporary context, Chapter Five will focus on specific stakeholders' views and experiences of the study area.

Chapter Six: Discussions & Analysis uses the findings in Chapter Five to address my research questions. I critically analyze the data to see who participants view to be the authentic inhabitants of the space and in whose interests they would like the space to be developed. I place an emphasis on perspectives that were left out or minimized in the *Development Strategy*'s planning process.

Chapter Seven: Recommendations & Conclusion summarizes my findings and implications of my research. I make recommendations for how the Development Strategy can progress more inclusively and limit displacement. I also provide implications for planning practice and public engagement more generally. I conclude by discussing recommendations for future research based on this study's limitations and findings.

FIGURE 2. King Street and James Avenue, facing towards William Avenue.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Different ways of understanding space and place have very tangible effects (Massey, 2015, pp. 1-8). With regards to how an area develops, how space and place are defined has implications for who becomes involved in the process, whose culture is represented and legitimized in the public realm, and thus, who belongs and feels a sense of belonging to an area. If an area and the concepts of space and place are understood in strictly physical, singular, and historicized terms (in contrast to social, multiple, and ever-changing), then placemaking, or the process of (re)creating meanings in a space, can become an exclusionary process.

In much of the Western or "traditional" literature, space and place are often defined as two separate concepts. Space often refers to more of an abstract understanding or visualization of how an area is defined (including but not limited to its boundaries and general location), whereas place primarily refers to the meanings, experiences and feelings associated with an area (e.g., its character, identity, and memory). However, that is not to say space is completely devoid of meaning itself and that place has nothing to do with an area's locational attributes. It can be confusing to separate the two terms since they are very similar, highly interconnected, and refer to different (and often overlapping) aspects of the same area. However some, like Relph (Liu & Freestone, 2016) and Tuan (1977), would argue that not all spaces can also be considered as places.

In the following section, I analyze understandings of space and place. I also review the literature on gentrification, displacement, placemaking and branding as ways in which neighbourhoods change and understandings of a space are redefined. I conclude with a discussion of Indigenous perspectives on space, place, and placemaking. Indigenous perspectives on these topics are based in a different worldview than "Western" or colonial perspectives and thus, have different implications for how spaces and places are shaped.

WHAT IS *SPACE*? WHAT IS *PLACE*?

Colloquial understandings of space focus on an area bounded by something: the sides of a container, the walls in a room, or boundaries on a map. Space by itself is abstract – it is understood as the nothingness between the somethings, or places (Tuan, 1977). While we cannot physically grasp space, we understand it to be there, since we can move through space to get to places.

Yi-Fu Tuan separates space and place by saying "undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (1977, p. 6). There is no set geographic size for place, but Tuan argues (1977) that there are differences in the "awareness of place at different scales" (Tuan, 1977, p. 168). The smaller the scale, the more emotion is associated with the place (e.g., one's home). The larger the scale and less tangible the boundaries, the more there is needed to identify it as a place (e.g., a neighbourhood). While Tuan discusses some relational aspects to the creation of places, this primarily occurs when a neighbourhood is threatened in some way (e.g., urban renewal) and residents rally together to protect it (Tuan, 1977, p. 178). The focus is more on physical attributes such as a distinct "local flavour, visual character, and clear boundaries" (Tuan, 1977, p. 171).

While Relph makes a similar distinction between space and place as Tuan (1977), Relph argues a "sense of place" is not only generated through the physical setting, but also through an interrelation between activities, meanings, and people's extended association (i.e., identification) with a space (Nejad & Walker, 2018, p. 225; Liu & Freestone, 2016, p. 5). When an area loses its sense of place, or becomes "placeless," its identity is weakened so that it becomes indistinguishable from other places, which "offer the same bland possibilities for experience" (as cited in Liu & Freestone, 2016, p. 2). In turn, people search for places and experiences that are "authentic," gritty, and therefore full of meaning. This can also explain the historic preservation of character buildings and neighbourhoods often at the expense of the existing population (Zukin, 2011; Brown-Sarancino, 2009; Pottie-Sherman, 2013).

Tuck and McKenzie differentiate space and place in similar terms to Tuan and Relph, pointing to how space is often conflated with "global, modern, and progressive" and place with "local, traditional, and nostalgic" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 20). Citing Smith, Tuck and McKenzie describe that the separation of space and place as concepts can be understood through Western cartography and colonialism. "The line," "the centre," and "the outside" were marked on maps to represent the limits of colonial power, orientation to the system of power, and territory respectively (Smith 1999/2012, p. 55, as cited in Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, pp. 10-11). When looking at a map, one does not immediately see the people or landmarks that define the place's identity. The focus is often on how far places are from each other (the space between) and where places are (the space they occupy). However, Kevin Lynch states that the

"actual design form" can "reinforce meaning" within a space (1960, p. 41). Lynch describes this creation of meaning as a "two-way process between observer and observed", between people and a space, and that "it is possible to strengthen the image either by symbolic devices, by the retraining of the perceiver, or by reshaping one's surroundings" (1960, p. 11).

While at first glance Tuan and Tuck and McKenzie differentiate space and place along similar lines, their intent and purpose differ. Tuan (1977) is more concerned with people's experience of and attachment to place, rather than being critical of or interested in the processes behind the (re)production of space and place. Tuck and McKenzie call for a "critical place inquiry", to bridge gaps between critical approaches and Indigenous approaches, and for a focus on the particularities of places, rather than generalizable concepts (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, pp. 19-21). This critical approach and focus on understanding specific spaces and places align Tuck and McKenzie's approach more with Lefebvre's (Schmid, 2008) and Massey's (2005) understandings of space than with Tuan's (1977) and Relph's approaches.

The (re)production of spaces

Rather than looking at space as being without meaning, Lefebvre (Schmid, 2008) and Massey (2005) draw attention to the processes in which space is (re)produced and understood. While Massey addresses space and place separately, she also points to how "ordinary space" is where the "social is constructed" (Massey, 2005, p. 13). Unlike Relph's concept of placelessness (Liu & Freestone, 2016), even a highway or suburban neighbourhood can be full of meaning, even if they are not perceived to be places. Like Tuck and McKenzie (2015), Lefebvre and Massey are interested in the particularities of a space in a given time and are primarily concerned with defining what a space is and how it came to be understood as that space. They both understand space in an active sense, "as an intricate web of relationships that is continuously produced and reproduced" (Schmid, 2008, p. 41).

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space follows a "three-dimensional dialectic" approach influenced by the works of Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche (Schmid, 2008, p. 33). Each dimension is necessary and contributes to the production of space simultaneously (Schmid, 2008, p. 34). According to Lefebvre, individual and social meanings of space can be produced and analyzed through a *spatial production dialectic*:

1. **Spatial practice:** social activity and interaction, meanings derived from being in and interacting with the space;

2. **The representation of space:** meanings produced through images (e.g., verbal descriptions, maps, pictures); and,

3. **Spaces of representation:** meanings derived through symbols in the space (e.g., the natural landscape, man-made landmarks, architecture, etc.) (Schmid, 2008, pp. 36-37).

Lefebvre further breaks down a *phenomenological dialectic of space* consisting of:

1. **Perceived space:** everything in a space "that can be grasped by the senses";

2. **Conceived space:** how the space is thought of (e.g., understanding of its boundaries); and,

3. **Lived space:** the experience of being in the space "in the practice of everyday life" (Schmid, 2008, pp. 39-40).

The phenomenological dialectic ties space to the human experience and their interpretation of space. Like Relph (Liu & Freestone, 2015), space exists in both a physical sense and in the perceptions and feelings of people. While the culture of a specific time period can mediate this experience and interpretation of space, aspects such as overlapping meanings and differential experiences of space are not explicitly discussed. Tuck and McKenzie (2015) might also argue that Lefebvre does not consider people's influence on space and vice versa. To Lefebvre, people exist outside of space and s pace is a "surface upon which human life happens" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 13). By applying Lefebvre's model as a method in combination with other theories, issues of power and conflict between different groups' experience and between humans, land, and non-humans can become apparent.

Doreen Massey (2005) places more of an emphasis on the relations and politics of space ranging from one-on-one interactions to global in scale. Massey's propositions for space put people as being within and a part of the space, as opposed to merely acting on its surface. She defines space as:

1. A product of interrelations;

2. Contemporaneous plurality, multiplicity, and co-existing heterogeneity; and,

3. An open system and always in the process of being made (Massey, 2005, p. 9).

Space as a product of interrelations refers to both the relations and negotiation of identities between groups, and between people and space (Massey, 2005, p. 10). She discusses how space may form the basis for how identities are constructed (e.g., Canadian), but also how "space does not exist prior to identities/entities and their relations" (e.g., Canada as a country) (Massey, 2005, p. 10). Relating the concept to identity politics (arguing for the rights of, or claiming equality for a particular identity group), Massey refers to the "potential geographies of our social responsibility" (Massey, 2005, p. 10). Looking at spatial identities and their relations at the city-scale could relate to the significant reinvestment in one area, leading to the relocation of a marginalized group to another area, leading to the "ghettoization" or concentration of poverty within that area.

Like other conceptions of space, Massey argues space is not universal or general. **Contemporaneous plurality** refers to the "simultaneous coexistence of others, with their own trajectories and their own stories to tell" (Massey, 2005, p. 11). Massey discusses how there is a multiplicity of distinct (but not unconnected) experiences and meanings within a space,

although the dominant perspective is that of "the West" and of white, heterosexual males (Massey, 2005, pp. 10-11). This multiplicity not only exists in the present, but also throughout history, and thus in the future. Every country does not have to follow the Western trajectory of globalization. Every part of downtown does not have to be redeveloped into a space of consumption for the middle- and upper-classes. There are alternate, potential futures. By understanding space and its future as open, and by recognizing the relational and heterogeneous characteristics of space, Massey argues that there can be a politics that can respond to these identified characteristics (Massey, 2005, p. 15).

Space is an open system where not every connection has been made — it is a collection of "stories-so-far" (Massey, 2005, p. 9). Relations and identities are constantly being juxtaposed and negotiated. The introduction of a new population could change the identity and relations of a space. Relations in a space could also be changed as a population becomes displaced. Despite discussing issues of politics and dominant perspectives, Massey does not address the asymmetries of power to shape space. Massey also does not discuss how these trajectories manage to persist and are proliferated by spaces and places.

Keenan's (2010) concept of subversive property begins to address some of the power imbalances in shaping spaces. Keenan's (2010) definition of property refers to a possession of certain characteristics (e.g., whiteness) which affect one's level of belonging to a particular space or group (e.g., a university). Similar to other understandings of space (Massey, 2005; Schmid, 2008; Tuck & McKenzie 2015), Keenan argues space and property have both a spatial, temporal, and relational aspect, and is able to be reshaped and transformed over time. While certain shapes or properties can fit or belong in space more easily if they are "properly oriented", out-of-placeness can subvert dominant meanings over time (Keenan, 2010, pp. 431-438). Concerted efforts to shape or challenge these meanings can be achieved through processes of placemaking, branding, and counterbranding.

PLACEMAKING & BRANDING

Placemaking can be defined as the process in which meanings about a space are produced or recreated. Placemaking requires the identification of a place's attributes and its intended users and inhabitants. In discussing brandscaping, a specific form of placemaking centered around creating a unified vision for a neighbourhood, Masuda and Bookman (2018) point to how "branding activity selectively draws on and nurtures historical and existing cultural qualities" (p. 171). It is challenging to encompass all perspectives in a neighbourhood, all its cultural markers and identities, under a single brand (Masuda & Bookman, 2018). Thus, this selective process often legitimizes the presence of certain populations, while delegitimizing and excluding others (Masuda & Bookman, 2018). As such, placemaking can become a tool for promoting gentrification.

Preservation and exclusion do not have to occur consciously or maliciously. Brown-Sarancino (2009) identifies social preservationists (SP) as an ideal type (in the Durkheimian sense) of gentrifier. In contrast to the pioneer widely discussed in other gentrification literature (see Smith & Williams, 1986, pp. 1-12), the SP prioritizes living in an "authentic social space [with] affordable housing for the middle class" over economic gain (Brown-Sarancino, 2009, p. 13). They define the identity and authenticity of the social space through the old-timer, or "original inhabitant" of the gentrifying neighbourhood.

SP draw from local history and knowledge, demographics, and markers in the landscape to determine who this old-timer is (Brown-Sarancino, 2009, p. 177). Populations that are most visibly marked in the public space are deemed to be the place's real inhabitants. SP believe the displacement of the old-timer will bring community dissolution, and a loss of the neighbourhood's sense of place. While SP want to preserve the culture of the area through a specific definition of the "old-timer," they unintentionally and unknowingly displace other old-timers who do not fit within their definition of the neighbourhood's authenticity (Brown-Sarancino, 2009, p. 146). SP may also exclude newcomers, or newer residents of the area, from being able to identify with the landscape as they advocate to preserve the neighbourhood's physical landscape. Their perception of space is singular, essentialized, and frozen-in-time, as opposed to Massey's (2005) propositions of multiplicity and openness.

Zukin (2011) and Pottie-Sherman (2013) provide further examples of how newcomers change or influence a place through economic measures despite efforts to preserve some of its aspects. Zukin discusses the "entrepreneurial role of newcomers" (2011, p. 163). By opening businesses in the area that reflect the entrepreneurs' lifestyle and tastes, newcomers shift the place's identity through "social and cultural networks of new producers and consumers" (Zukin, 2011, p. 164). Pottie-Sherman describes changes in Vancouver's Chinatown night market. In its previous iteration, the night market had activities that allowed it to be a shared space with a "distinct set of overlapping social worlds, including Chinese elders, young hipsters, tourists, suburban families and recent immigrants from Mainland China" (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 185).

With the city's new revitalization goals came a rebranding of the night market targeted towards a younger and trendier crowd (e.g., from ping pong tournaments and counterfeit goods, to 'Hip-Hop Karaoke', vintage clothing, and artisanal soaps) (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 184). While the market has always had a goal of attracting tourists, the night market is no longer reflective of the businesses or people in the area and its vicinity (being moments away from the Downtown Eastside). Pottie-Sherman (2013) concludes that Vancouver's Chinatown merely serves as a backdrop for middle-class urbanite consumption; what was once a hub and place of residence for Chinese immigrants and lower-income populations in the past has been gentrified into a themed attraction for visitors and tourists.

GENTRIFICATION

A space can become gentrified when new meanings result in significant changes (economic and otherwise) to the neighbourhood that displaces or marginalizes its current inhabitants. Ruth Glass first used the term in 1964 to describe an intensifying "competition for space" in London (p. xix). This change was brought about by a *laissez-faire* economy that deregulated property development, liberated real estate speculation, and relaxed rent controls (Glass, 1964, p. xx). Glass describes how the "gentry" (1964, p. xviii), or upper-class populations, "invaded" and transformed working-class neighbourhoods (1964, pp. xviii-xix). Property values increased substantially and only those who could afford to pay the price were able to keep living in the neighbourhood (Glass, 1964, p. xx). Those who could no longer afford to live or work in the transforming area had no choice but to relocate.

Earlier explanations of gentrification usually centre around one of two sides:

1. The production-side, or political economy approach: Financial mechanisms that can create opportunities for gentrification to occur; or,
2. The consumption-side, or social construction approach: Cultural mechanisms which make a space attractive for resettlement.

While contemporary literature often blends both sides of the "debate," it can be helpful to consider them separately to understand how gentrification can begin, what a gentrifying neighbourhood looks like, and who stimulates the process.

On the one hand, the production-side stresses the role of structures. This approach is most associated with Neil Smith and is focused on cycles of disinvestment and reinvestment, or the movement of capital into and out of lower-income neighbourhoods. Central to Smith's perspective is the *rent gap* theory: "the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use" (1979, p. 545).

Smith describes how this rent gap was created as new land uses were created by the "growth of a white-collar economy", or the managerial class of workers (1979, pp. 24-25). Economy and geography became linked through processes of capital expansion and by the 20th century, economics and geography were linked through "the internal differentiation of geographical space", or the uneven development of land (Smith & Williams, 1986, pp. 17-18). Pockets of land rose in property value, while other parcels decreased in value and became derelict. Developers take advantage of this rent gap by purchasing land when it is cheap, such as in derelict, downtown areas. Developers are able to make a profit through investing and redeveloping the site to make it more attractive .

Smith likens gentrification to how capitalists explored the "frontier" of the New World and treated Indigenous people

as part of the "savage wilderness" (Smith & Williams, 1986, p. 16-20). Smith describes "urban pioneers" who enter the frontiers of decaying neighbourhoods. In this urban frontier, inner-city populations are regarded as a "natural element to their physical surroundings" and displaced as "pioneers" restructure and capitalize the area (Smith & Williams, 1986, p. 16-20). While the production-side explains how land becomes devalued and reinvested in, it does not explain the cultural side of why consumers are attracted to certain neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, the consumption-side places more emphasis on the agency of individual actors and households. David Ley is associated with this approach and his research highlights the culture of gentrification and social characteristics of gentrifiers. Rather than a movement of capital, this approach prioritizes a movement of people, of middle- or higher income populations, to the inner-city and the socio-cultural changes that occur as a result.

David Ley (2010) describes a "growing minority" of a "new middle-class" that rejected the homogeneity of the suburbs (p. 109). This new middle-class was attracted to a more cosmopolitan and "urbane lifestyle" of the inner-city (Ley, 2010, p. 109). Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus and the field of cultural production, Ley describes gentrification as an "aestheticisation of space" (2003, p. 2534): "junk" (e.g., a depreciated area of land) is transformed into art and then commodified. Ley differentiates between economic capital (i.e., money and financial assets) and cultural capital,

a more symbolic form of value, such as prestige. Artists in North America tend to have very high levels of education, despite not having high annual incomes. So, Ley classifies artists as part of the middle class due to the high amount of cultural capital they possess (Ley, 2003, p. 2533).

In contrast to placeless areas, such as the suburbs, the new middle class pursues "authentic landscapes" (Ley, 2003). These authentic landscapes are often low in economic capital (e.g., deteriorated buildings) but high in cultural capital (e.g., architectural significant building styles). Gentrifiers modify the aesthetics of the neighbourhood through their habitus – transforming junk into art and making the area more "consumable" for the upper middle classes. Afterwards the "art" is interpreted by "cultural intermediaries", or professionals in fields like real estate, travel, and cuisine (Ley, 2003, p. 2538), translating the aesthetics into economic capital.

These previous explanations of gentrification focus on actors, such as developers and individual households, leveraging private capital. Beginning in the 2000s with the rise of neoliberalism, governments have increasingly become agents of gentrification (Lees, 2000; Davidson, 2008; Stein, 2019, pp. 41-78). Stein (2019) points to how cities have started to use gentrification as a "spatial fix" for fiscal crises brought about by deindustrialization and the privatization and disinvestment of social services. Compared to "underutilized" and disinvested areas, gentrifying neighbourhoods provide an increased source of revenue generated through higher rents and property values,

and through businesses catering to higher income brackets.

Public funds are utilized to stimulate neighbourhood changes. Gentrification is promoted in urban planning policies under terms like "revitalization" and "renewal", "creating liveable cities", or "environmental sustainability" (Lees, 2000; Davidson, 2008). According to Stein, planners can facilitate the process of gentrification by "luring gentrification's producers, [or developers and landowners,] with land use and tax incentives, while inviting its consumers through race- and class-inflected neighbourhood initiatives" (2019, p. 43). These incentives and initiatives can include mechanisms such as tax-increment financing, rezoning, festivals and public open spaces as these can make a space more attractive for producers and consumers, thus impacting property values. For example, Stein (2019) describes how offering density bonuses for including "affordable units" raises both the property value of the development, but also the potential and actual values of the surrounding properties. Without government subsidies, lower rents are often offset by premium suites or above market-rate housing. When employed in a lower-income neighbourhood, this can stimulate gentrification through cultural (i.e., middle- and upper-class populations moving in) and economic (i.e., increased property values) means.

Furthermore, social mixing strategies are also being used to increase diversity (mainly of incomes) and "dilute concentrations of poverty in the inner city" (Lees, 2008, p. 2453). Social mixing strategies are employed with the intention that benefits will "trickle-down" to lower-income and marginalized populations. However, there is little evidence that this trickle-down effect occurs in practice. As stated by Davidson, "the success of such policies should not be measured by a lack of displacement, but rather by the improved circumstances of those that most desperately need help" (2008, p. 2401). Scholars such as Davidson (2010) and Lees (2008) have found that little mixing actually occurs between the middle- and working-classes with induced social mixing policies. Instead, it can result in social segregation, polarization, and eventually displacement as residents develop an "us" against "them" attitude. Lees (2008) discusses how the quality of life for lower-income residents may actually be decreased as social services may be displaced by gentrification.

As such, gentrification, or physical improvements to a space, is not an antidote to urban poverty. Gentrification becomes a 'band-aid solution' that treats the symptoms of poverty without getting to its underlying causes, displacing issues in one area to another area.

DISPLACEMENT

Displacement is not always viewed to be an inevitable consequence of gentrification. Gentrification in this sense is typically referred to as a substantial increase in property values and a change in the character of the neighbourhood. One reason for this debate lies in the way displacement is

defined and measured. In Atkinson's (2002) systematic review of the literature, he found displacement generally means physical dislocation from the neighbourhood. Most research on gentrification considers the physical displacement of individuals or populations through direct (e.g., eviction, relocation) and indirect economical means (e.g., exclusionary displacement) (Atkinson, 2002; Davidson, 2008).

Exclusionary displacement is considered an indirect form of displacement since the affected individuals or populations were not already inhabiting the area. Instead, exclusionary displacement occurs when an individual or group no longer has the *option* or choice to live in a neighbourhood when they were able to formerly due to reasons out of their control (Marcuse, 1985, p. 207). For example, lower-income artists often cannot afford to purchase studio spaces in Winnipeg's Exchange District despite the neighbourhood being known as a hub for creativity (Bookman, 2014, p. 330). As such, the artists are excluded from formerly inhabiting the Exchange District and drawing on the neighbourhood's cultural resources.

The experiences of existing populations are hidden by limiting the scope of displacement to physical dislocation and exclusion. By limiting the definition of displacement to economic causes, displacement is treated,

> as a singular outcome, not as a complex set of (place-based) processes that are spatially and temporally variable [...] displacement is too often reduced to the brief moment in time where a particular resident is forced/coerced out of their home/neighbourhood (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 400).

Using changes in population size and other census statistics to determine whether or not displacement has occurred does not capture the full picture. Resistances to gentrification (both passive and active) are not documented in this manner. As well, there are populations who are not captured by census statistics, such as those who are experiencing homelessness or those without a physical address.

Instead, contemporary research has called for a more nuanced understanding of displacement, (Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Atkinson, 2015). Referring back to the concepts of space and place, classical definitions of physical displacement can be described more as a dis-*space*-ment as individuals, households, businesses, and organizations are removed from the neighbourhood. More recent literature points to "structures of feeling" and losing one's "sense of place" (Atkinson, 2015). In this sense, dis-*place*-ment encompasses a much broader, and gradual process, in contrast to the sudden moment of forced eviction (Davidson & Lees, 2010).

Some understandings, presented by Davidson (2008), refer to "community displacement" and "neighbourhood resource displacement". Both notions are tied to an overall loss of a sense of place resulting from the changes in community governance, culture and local service provision (Davidson, 2008). Atkinson (2015) has distinguished these understandings

from classical accounts of physical displacement, instead referring to them as 'symbolic displacement':

> the sense of subordination, discomfort and unease with trying to stay-put while the visible and sensed changes of the physical and social fabric of the neighbourhood and its symbolic order [shift] dramatically as gentrification [takes place] (p. 382).

With this definition, displacement occurs even before a population becomes physically removed from a neighbourhood. However, within a post-colonial context, this symbolic displacement could also occur as a result of the historic and continual dispossession of Indigenous people from their land.

COMPARING SETTLER-COLONIAL AND INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES ON *SPACE* & *PLACE*

According to the literature, the Indigenous experience and understanding of space and place has been heavily influenced by colonial intervention and more specifically, the ongoing process of settler colonialism in Canada (Ashcroft et al, 2000; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). Settler colonialism differs from other forms of colonialism in that early settlers were searching for land and resources, and not necessarily labour (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 59). As such, the primary project of settlers was to "disappear Indigenous peoples from the land to make it available for settlement" all while using "institutional apparatuses to 'cover [their] tracks'" (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 60). Owen Toews (2019) argues this accumulation through dispossession persists today, using Winnipeg's downtown as an example.

Ashcroft et al generally refer to settlers as "Europeans who moved from their countries of origin to European colonies [such as Canada] with the intention of remaining" (2000, p. 193). Early settlers primarily used two narratives to "justify" the colonization of Canada: 1.) *terra nullius*; and, 2.) victimization of settlers in their homeland (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 60-61). *Terra nullius* translates into "no one's land" and was a term and philosophy held by colonizers to justify their conquest over land. The area we now know as Canada (as well as other colonized countries) was viewed to be uninhabited or unclaimed. Indigenous people were seen to be a part of nature or "savage", and were therefore deemed "unfit" and "uncivilized" enough to rule over the land.

Lowman and Barker (2015) highlight narratives focusing on early settlers' struggle with this wilderness and their "good intentions" proliferates "racist tropes of civilization and development that cast Indigenous peoples and lands in need of saving from their own savagery" (p. 60). Early settlers were often displaced from their home countries to Canada as economic refugees, or to escape religious persecution or pollution from a rapidly industrializing Europe. However, focusing on settlers' stories of opportunity and redemption "displaces Indigenous

peoples' histories, and even stories of interaction between settlers and Indigenous communities" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 59). This reinforces the myth of terra nullius as the ways of Indigenous life and experiences on the land become overshadowed by stories of how early settlers took root in and cultivated the New World.

While its definition is debated in the settler-colonial literature, settlers can also refer to the descendants of European colonizers and any non-European groups who have come to Canada and benefit(ted) in some way from past and present acts of colonization, and the displacement and dispossession of Indigenous Peoples. Lowman and Barker describe how settlers have "actual or remembered roots of some sort in other countries" but "do not have another homeland to which they expect to return, and identify primarily with the settler colonial society they belong" (2015, p. 53).

Lowman and Barker also highlight nuances in power relationships between different settler groups (2015, p. 59). Their concept of settlers includes populations who have forcibly been removed from their homelands (e.g., refugees) and groups that were enslaved or coerced labourers (e.g., Chinese immigrants who worked on the Canadian Pacific Railroad). While other groups may be marginalized and oppressed by systems that privilege whiteness and upper-classes, settlers ability to make a home in Canada is "premised on the displacement and destruction of Indigenous peoples' pre-existing relationships to place" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 58). As such, oppressed

settlers must still engage in a dialogue with Indigenous Peoples and accept and practice "a dynamic set of responsibilities [...] specific to a given treaty, on the territory of a given nation" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 66-67).

Another key difference between settlers and Indigenous people are their relations to/with the land (Lowman & Barker, 2015). Settlers imposed and continue to impose their colonial language, practices, and culture onto Indigenous people as part of their project to dispossess the land (Ashcroft et al, 2000, p. 161; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015; Nejad & Walker, 2018). Many Indigenous languages do not differentiate between space and place (and time) as concepts (Ashcroft et al, 2000; Massey, 2005; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). Instead of space or place, *Land* better encompasses Indigenous worldviews and perspectives (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015; Little Bear, 2004; Ashcroft et al, 2000). Like Massey's (2005), Schmid's (2008), and Relph's (Liu & Freestone, 2015) understandings of space and place, Land consists not only of the physical aspects, but also interrelational, emotional, and intellectual aspects. The Indigenous understanding of Land differs from these views in that it also includes a spiritual aspect (Little Bear, 2004; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015) — Land is sacred, being the provider of life, and not something to be possessed.

The key difference between colonial and Indigenous perspectives of space and place relates to their relationship with Land. To colonialists, land is something to be controlled (i.e., ownership and private property), demarcated (i.e., cartography),

and exploited (i.e., profit, resource extraction). Central to colonialists' relationship with land is "the displacement and destruction of Indigenous peoples' pre-existing relationships to place" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 58). To Indigenous people,

> the relationship to and use of the land manifests itself through a complex interrelational network with all of creation: one that sees humans as simply part of creation, not above it, and has balance and harmony as its goal (Little Bear, 2004, p. 32).

Land is not something that can be owned, or commodified or sold. Instead, Land has its own agency and people must interact with Land in a mutually beneficial and respectful way (Thistle, 2017).

Differences in Western and Indigenous worldviews significantly impacted how way treaties were interpreted by settlers and Indigenous people. To settlers, treaties were a transferral of rights and ownership of the land to the Crown. To Indigenous people, treaties were, and are, the basis for their relationship with settlers and a guarantee that their relational network with Land and others would not be disturbed (Little Bear, 2004, p. 37). However, many of these treaty promises have been left unfulfilled.

In describing Indigenous relationships with Land and Canadian colonial acts, many scholars also use the term dispossession together with displacement (Toews, 2018; Thistle, 2017; Baloy, 2015). If space relates to physical displacement, and place to symbolic displacement, then dispossession relates to Land and its interrelations. Not only was land physically taken away from Indigenous people by the Canadian government and settlers; their social relationships to and through Land (Toews, 2018, p. 21), ability to economically profit from Land (Toews, 2018, p. 53), and ability to self-determine (Toews, 2018, pp. 40-47) were also taken away. Furthermore, Toews highlights how the opposite of dispossession is not possession (2018, pp. 21-22), relating back to how Land is not something that can be owned. Instead, terms like "connection" (Toews, 2018, pp. 21-22) and "emplacement" (Thistle, 2017, p. 15) more accurately reflect the changes needed to move towards reconciliation. Redistributing lots, parcels, and land back to Indigenous people is only one aspect — a more holistic approach is needed, which relates to re-establishing these severed connections and reindigenizing settler spaces and places.

Unfulfilled treaty promises, dispossession, and concerted efforts to eradicate Indigenous people and their cultures, languages, and spirituality, have inflicted Indigenous people with an intergenerational trauma (Toews, 2018; Thistle, 2017). Intergenerational trauma has greatly affected living outcomes for Indigenous people, including homelessness.

Indigenous homelessness

As Western and settlers understandings of space and place differ from Indigenous understandings, so too do their

understandings of homes and homelessness. The Canadian definition of home and homelessness is strongly tied to market conditions a being with/without a physical brick-and-mortar structure (Thistle, 2017). Homelessness is defined along a spectrum ranging from more visible to less visible forms:

1. Unsheltered or absolute homelessness (i.e., living on the streets);

2. Emergency sheltered (i.e., overnight shelters, and shelters for youth or those escaping domestic violence);

3. Provisionally accommodated (temporarily housed or lacking secure tenure; and,

4. At risk of homelessness (i.e., in core housing need: precarious housing conditions due to economic reasons or public health and safety standards) (Gaetz et al, 2012).

According to this definition, homelessness is primarily caused by economic means (e.g., eviction, discontinued housing supports, unemployment) and shortcomings of the market to provide affordable housing. Social issues are also attributed to making someone more likely to experience homelessness, such as mental illnesses, addiction and substance use, ageing out of care, and abuse and violence (Gaetz et al, 2012, p. 4).

In contrast, Thistle emphasizes the role of the state in creating conditions of poverty and marginalization faced by Indigenous Peoples (2017, p. 25). Thistle describes Indigenous homelessness as:

the outcome of historically constructed and ongoing settler colonization and racism that have displaced and dispossessed First Nations, Métis and Inuit Peoples from their traditional governance systems and laws, territories, histories, worldviews, ancestors and stories (2017, p. 6).

Aspects such as unemployment and mental health concerns are symptoms of covert government actions and ongoing institutional structures, as opposed to being causes of homelessness or being innate to Indigenous people.

Thistle outlines 12 dimensions of Indigenous homelessness, which include physical displacement (pre-colonial and current), cultural (e.g., being disconnected from Indigenous culture and relationships), spiritual (e.g., separation from Indigenous religion), and environmental related aspects (e.g., caused by natural disasters) (2017, pp. 10-12). An individual can experience multiple dimensions of homelessness at a time; the more dimensions they experience, the greater their severity of homelessness (Thistle, 2017, p. 29). According to this definition, even if someone is housed and has a permanent place of residence, they can still be homeless. Being "home" in an Indigenous perspective extends outside physical boundaries and relates more to a "feeling of rootedness" and being part of a "web of relationships and responsibilities involving connections" with other people, one's culture, history, nature, and Land (Thistle, 2017, p. 14). Any solutions or interventions related to Indigenous homelessness must be holistic and incorporate Indigenous worldviews on home and

Land. Placemaking as a tool for redefining meanings can be a start in re-establishing Indigenous relationships to land and dismantling settler-colonial structures.

Indigenous placemaking

Nejad and Walker (2018, p. 230) argue placemaking through public art can "help to reterritorialize urban space as an Indigenous place" by creating more of an Indigenous presence in the settler-dominated urban landscape. The aim for Indigenous placemaking would be to utilize "symbolic capital" to generate new positive meanings of urban Indigenous people while resisting hegemonic Western architecture and planning (Nejad & Walker, 2018, p. 229). Nejad and Walker's perspective on Indigenous placemaking aligns with Keenan's (2010) concept of subversive property. The more of a presence Indigenous people have in non-Indigenous places, the more they can undermine the dominant understandings of a space. That being said, it is often Indigenous people who try to fix themselves into a space, rather than settler structures reshaping to fit Indigenous people (Toews, 2018).

As illustrated by Mawani (2004) Indigenous placemaking should be led by Indigenous people. Indigenous cultural markers, such as totem poles in public spaces, have been used by Canada as a tokenistic political tool (Mawani, 2004). Masuda and Bookman (2018) suggest counter-branding as a form of resistance and another way to subvert dominant meanings. *Additive approaches* can be directed internally

to "promote solidarity among allied groups" by "promoting, protecting, and prioritizing the lived-in and material values of place over its exchange value" (Masuda & Bookman, 2018, p. 177). For example, Indigenous placemakers may create a positive counter-brand for a neighbourhood, highlighting its history, as well as social and cultural strengths. This positive counter-brand may be used to build solidarity within a community, while also challenging negative perceptions of the neighbourhood and making claims of belonging to the city as a whole, as residents of El Centro de Oro have in Philadelphia (as cited by Masuda & Bookman, 2018, p. 177). *Subtractive approaches* are directed externally to would-be-consumers by "intentionally tarnishing the marketable value of commemorative and/or commodified brands" (Masuda & Bookman, 2018, p. 177). Masuda and Bookman draw attention to how the theming of Japantown by Vancouver's Downtown Eastside is superficial and contributes to the "erasure of the Indigenous histories and ongoing presence on the land" (2018, p. 178). A counter-brand could promote an alternate name and vision for the area, while highlighting the injustices of the Canadian government and superficial branding of the area as Japantown (given the forced displacement of Japanese people from the area due to internment camps). Similarly, Indigenous placemakers in Winnipeg can use subtractive approaches to resist dominant branding practices in an area through educational strategies that "provoke audiences to realize their own relationship to such histories" of dispossession (Masuda & Bookman, 2018, p. 177). Masuda and Bookman (2018)

state how counter-branding can only do so much to prevent gentrification, displacement, and "violations of rights-in-place (p. 178). Broader urban planning policies around housing and anti-homelessness are needed to drive social change and support counter-branding approaches.

On the other hand, Baloy (2016) argues Indigenous placemaking interventions to the urban landscape is not enough. Spectacle shapes non-Indigenous perspectives on Indigeneity through cultural, visual and passively observed displays (as opposed to political, sensorial, and participatory displays) (Baloy, 2016 pp. 209-212). Baloy uses Stanley Parks' totem poles and Indigenous public art to illustrate spectacular monuments (2016, pp. 214-220). While they are nice to look at, they do not inform or educate the public on the spectres of Indigenous displacement and settler-colonialism in Canada. Baloy then uses the Downtown Eastside to illustrate how a spectacle of poverty obscures the "structural legacies of colonial injustice" (2016, p. 223). Addiction, sex work, crime and violence are perceived by outsiders as part of the area's culture of poverty, instead of the structural and institutional causes of the politics of poverty and race (Baloy, 2016, p. 223).

Since space and place have a socio-relational aspect, a physical material aspect, and a temporal aspect, a holistic understanding is required. Physical attributes of space and place reflect the heterogeneity of space and the histories-thus-far (Massey, 2005), but also enable the proliferation of settler colonial myths. Relational identities are formed in part through connections with space, but also impact how space is perceived, experienced, and lived (Schmid, 2008). A combination of physical interventions (e.g., representation in the urban landscape through placemaking) and social interventions (e.g., supports for affordable housing and mental health) are needed to exorcise the spectres of colonization. Furthermore, Land is tied to Indigenous identity, so an Indigenous perspective on space and place, and on homelessness and displacement is incomplete without decolonization and indigenization. Lowman and Barker argue,

> Either Indigenous relationships to land are centralized and Settler social structures must be developed respective of these place-relationships, or settler colonial structures of invasion, such as constitutions and state boundaries are prioritized and treated as a problem to be managed (2015, p. 68).

Ultimately, the decolonization of space and place requires a dismantling of settler-colonial structures, and a turn towards a collective perspective of Land and its network of interrelations.

FIGURE 3. Waterfront Drive and Stephen Juba Park.

3 CONTEXT

In this chapter, I describe Chinatown and the Exchange District's location and regulatory, historical, and current social contexts. Massey (2005), Tuck and McKenzie (2015), and Toews (2018) highlight the importance of rooting research in its place specificities — beyond discussing it in locational terms or making generalized conclusions. By understanding the multiple layers and heterogeneity of experiences, histories, and relationships that exist in a given space, one can have "a politics, which can make a difference" (Massey, 2005, p. 11), a future that's open and inclusive. Together with concepts defined in **Chapter 2: Literature Review**, my analysis, recommendations and conclusions are grounded in the context of Winnipeg's Chinatown, the Exchange District, and their relationships with adjacent neighbourhoods.

LOCATIONAL CONTEXT

Winnipeg's Chinatown and Exchange District are located downtown, bounded by Notre Dame Avenue and Lombard Avenue to the south, the Red River to the east, Logan Avenue and Galt Avenue to the North, and Princess Street and Adelaide Street to the west. FIGURE 4 shows Chinatown, the Exchange District, and neighbourhoods immediately adjacent to the two areas. Boundaries and names shown on the map are according to Neighbourhood Characterization Areas used by Winnipeg's Planning, Property and Development department (City of Winnipeg, 2020b). For the purposes of this study, I have included the Civic Centre neighbourhood as part of the Exchange District, as all the participants considered most of Civic Centre to be part of the Exchange District.

CITY OF
WINNIPEG
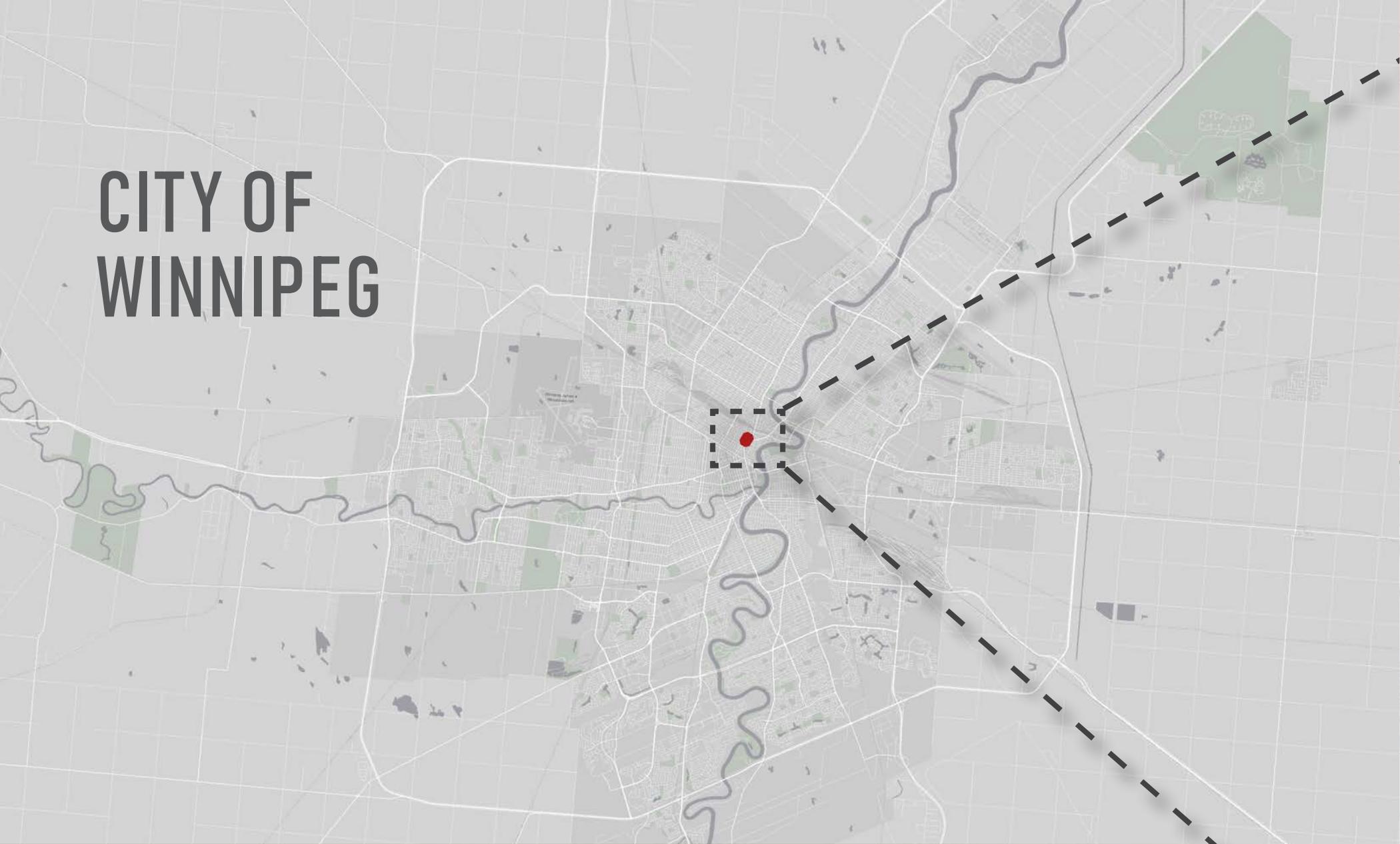
FIGURE 4. Study area and surrounding neighbourhoods.
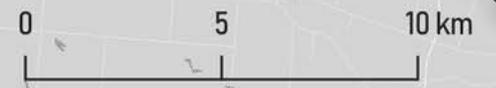
N

0   5   10 km

Neighbourhood Boundaries

☐ Chinatown
☐ Exchange District
☐ Adjacent Neighbourhoods

LOGAN–C.P.R.

CENTENNIAL

WEST ALEXANDER

CHINA TOWN

CIVIC CENTRE

SOUTH POINT DOUGLAS

CENTRAL PARK

EXCHANGE DISTRICT

RED RIVER

PORTAGE-ELLICE

PORTAGE & MAIN

N

0   250   500 m

25
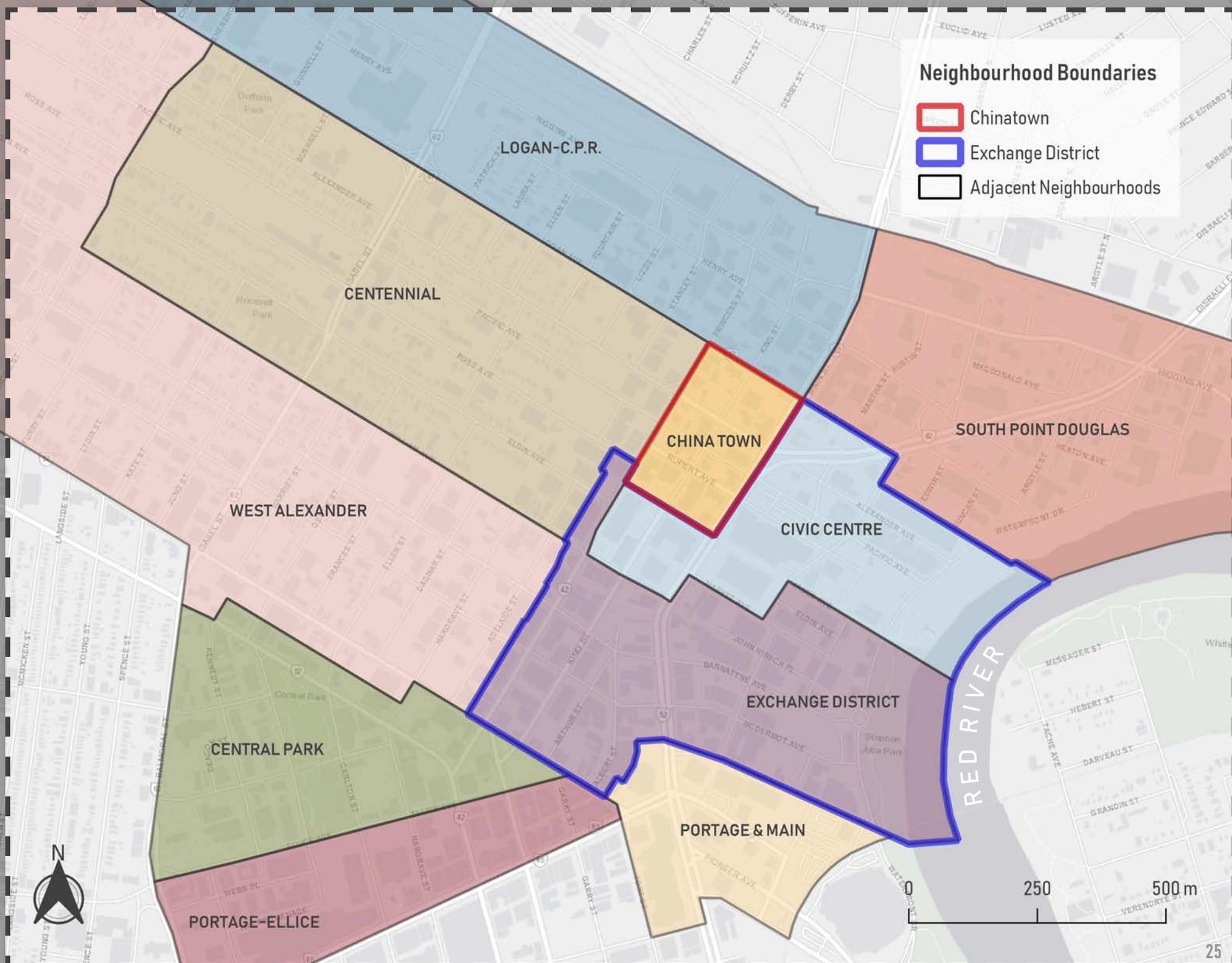
REGULATORY CONTEXT

A number of policies guide development in Chinatown and the Exchange District. These policies include the *OurWinnipeg Development Plan* (City of Winnipeg, 2011b) and *Complete Communities* (City of Winnipeg, 2011a), *Downtown Zoning By-law*, the Downtown BIZ and Exchange District BIZ boundaries, and the *Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown Development Strategy* (*Development Strategy*) (CentreVenture, 2019). While the *Development Strategy* is not an official City by-law or secondary plan, I have included it as part of the area's regulatory context.

OurWinnipeg Development Plan

A development plan is a high-level planning document that outlines a long-term vision for the city's development. In the case of Winnipeg, *OurWinnipeg* was implemented in 2011 to guide in the city for the next 25 years (City of Winnipeg, 2011b). *OurWinnipeg* includes four direction strategies, or supplemental documents, to realize this growth vision. *Complete Communities* (City of Winnipeg, 2011a) is one of the four direction strategies and focuses on Winnipeg's land use and development.

Under *OurWinnipeg* and *Complete Communities*, the Downtown is designated as a "Transformative Area" surrounded by "Mature Communities" (City of Winnipeg, 2011a; City of Winnipeg, 2011b). To combat the negative impacts of urban sprawl (Bellamy, 2019; Lennon & Leo, 2001), the City includes directions to "promote a compact urban form" (City of Winnipeg, 2011b, p. 30) and to concentrate infill and development into areas like the Downtown and mature communities (City of Winnipeg, 2011a, p. 10). Specific *Complete Communities* (City of Winnipeg, 2011a) policies for Downtown include identifying specific districts and enhancing their distinct character (i.e., placemaking and branding) (p. 17), and adopting a mixed-use strategy so that there are places to live (pp. 20-21), "work and learn" (pp. 22-23), and to "relax and enjoy" (pp. 24-26) within downtown. Ensuring these places are of a high-quality (pp. 27-29) and well-connected (pp. 30-33) is also a focus of strategies for the Downtown. The strategies mainly operate as goals or visions for what Downtown could be.

LEGEND

Downtown

Major Redevelopment Sites

New Communities

Regional Mixed Use Centre

Regional Mixed Use Corridor

Mature Communities

Recent Communities

Rural and Agricultural

Airport Area
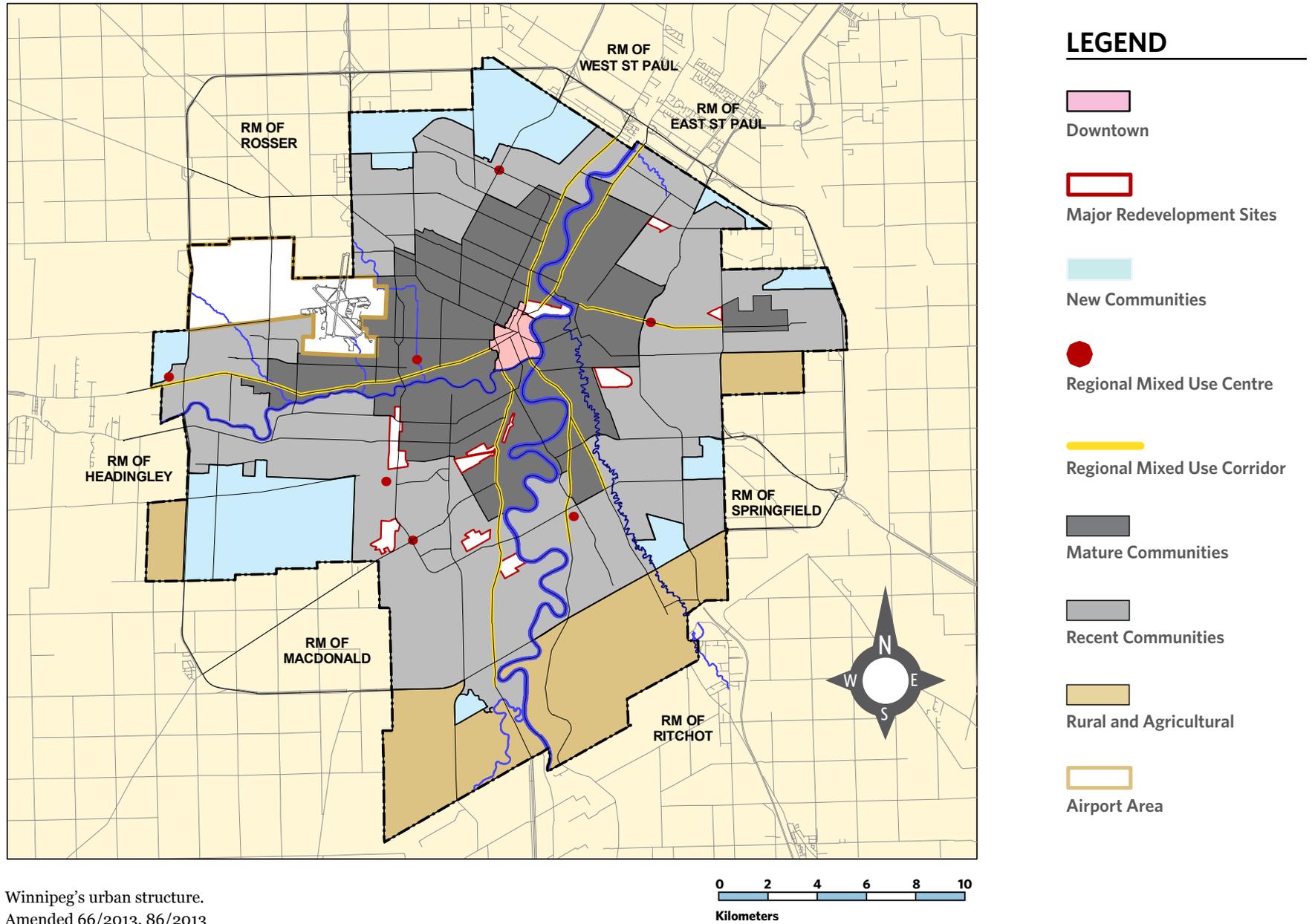
Winnipeg's urban structure.
Amended 66/2013, 86/2013

FIGURE 5. *OurWinnipeg Development Plan* urban structure map. (City of Winnipeg, 2011a, p. 11)

Zoning By-Laws & Land Uses

Zoning by-laws are a planning tool used to implement these Development Plan strategies. Zoning by-laws must conform to policies in a development plan and have regulations such as what uses are permitted and/or not permitted in an area. As such, zoning has an impact on the built-form and manner in which a neighbourhood develops.

Winnipeg has two zoning by-laws: the *Winnipeg Downtown Zoning By-law 100/2004*, which applies to only the downtown; and, the *Winnipeg Zoning By-law 200/2006*, which applies to all other areas outside downtown (City of Winnipeg, 2018). FIGURE 6 shows the zoning for assessment parcels in the study area. Chinatown and the Exchange fall under the *Downtown Zoning By-law* and is primarily zoned as a **Character Sector**. The intent of the Character Sector is to maintain and enhance a specific aesthetic character and experience of a district through encouraging a "compatible, fine-grained mix of uses" and tight built-form controls (City of Winnipeg, 2018, p. 49). The area encompassing Chinatown and the Exchange District are referred to as the "Warehouse District" in the *Downtown Zoning By-law*. The focus of the area is to create a pedestrian-oriented attraction. In the Exchange District in particular, there are a mix of residential apartments and condos, restaurants, small-scale boutiques and artist spaces, as well as offices, primarily related to the tech and design professions (including planning and architecture). This area also encompasses much of Winnipeg's

nightlife, performing arts theatres, the Centennial Concert Hall, as well as institutions like City Hall, the Manitoba Museum, and Red River College.

The area north of the Exchange District and Chinatown (i.e., parts of Logan-C.P.R. and South Point Douglas), and a portion of the Exchange District, directly to the east of Chinatown, is zoned as a **Multiple-Use Sector** (City of Winnipeg, 2018). The intent of this area is not as focused on maintaining a specific aesthetic and experiential character. It can be described as a "free for all" sector with a range of different land uses. This area of downtown has a concentration of housing- and homelessness-focused organizations such as Siloam Mission, Main Street Project, and Red Road Lodge, and social service providers like Access Winnipeg. There are several spiritual and ethno-cultural developments in this area, particularly around the intersection of Main Street and Higgins; these include Youth for Christ, a Christian-based youth facility, as well as many Indigenous organizations, such as Thunderbird House and Neeginan Centre, located in a former CPR station. There are also some commercial properties in the area, as well as a concentration of industrial development, especially towards the rail-yards to the north and on the west side of Main Street.

Waterfront Drive, an area in the East Exchange along the Red River, is primarily zoned as a **Downtown Living Sector** (City of Winnipeg, 2018). Waterfront Drive was formerly an abandoned rail-yard and was one of the first areas of the

WINNIPEG & DOWNTOWN ZONING BY-LAWS

LAND USE ZONING

- M - Multiple-Use Sector
- C - Character Sector
- D - Downtown Living Sector
- R - Riverbank Sector
- C1 - Commercial (Neighbourhood)
- C2 - Commercial (Community)
- CMU - Commercial Mixed-Use
- EI - Educational & Institution
- M1 - Manufacturing (Light)
- M2 - Manufacturing (General)
- M3 - Manufacturing (Heavy)
- PR1 - Parks & Recreation (Passive)
- PR2 - Parks & Recreation (Active)
- R2 - Residential Two Family
- RMFL - Residential Multi-Family (Large)
- RMFM - Residential Multi-Family (Medium)
- RMFS - Residential Multi-Family (Small)
- RMU - Residential Mixed-Use

NEIGHBOURHOOD BOUNDARIES

- Chinatown
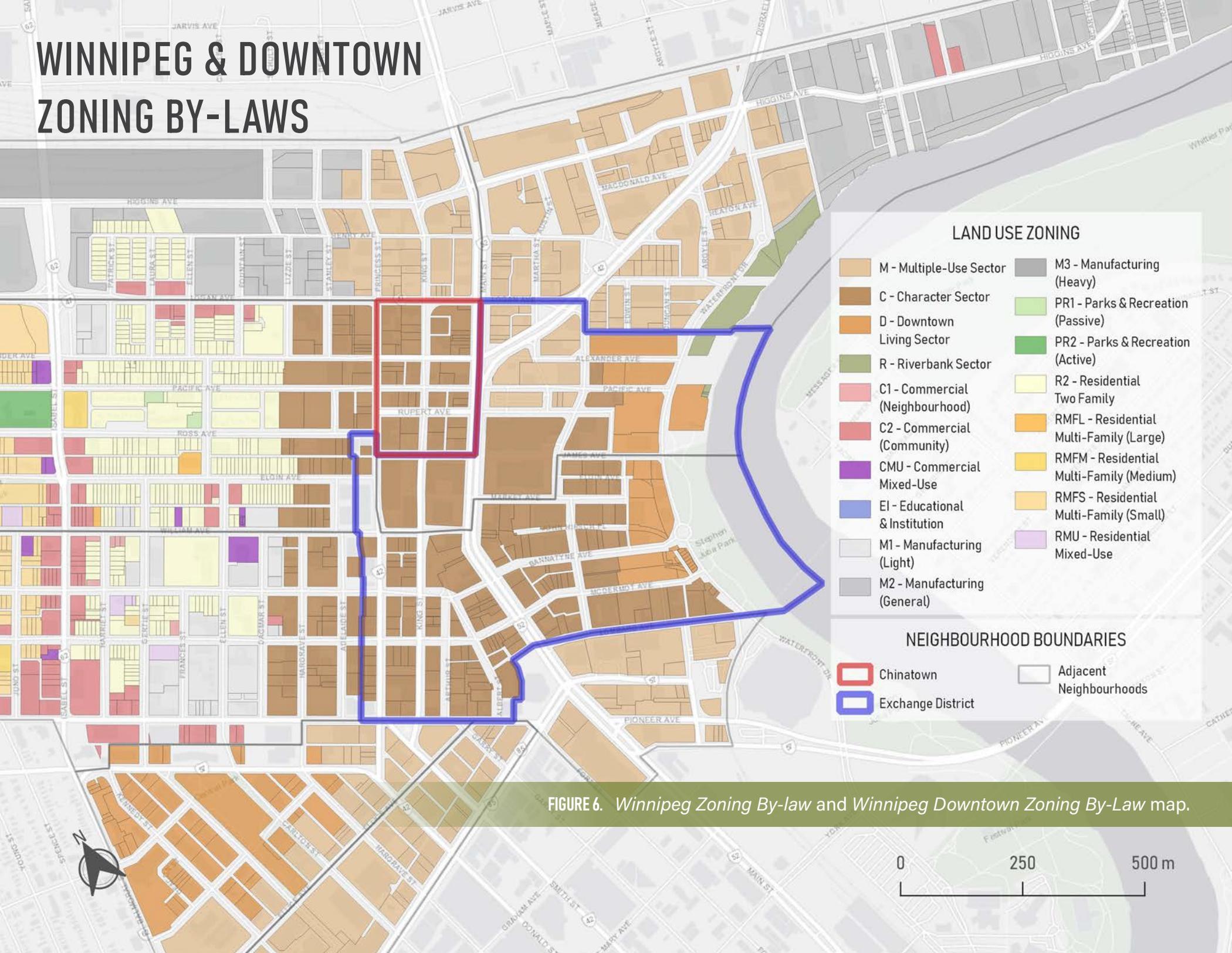- Exchange District
- Adjacent Neighbourhoods

FIGURE 6. *Winnipeg Zoning By-law* and *Winnipeg Downtown Zoning By-Law* map.

Exchange District to see directed revitalization attempts. As such, the character of the area, especially along the waterfront, marks a stark contrast to heritage buildings in the Exchange though there are references to its history (see FIGURE 3). The neighbourhood has a concentration of residential condos and offices, as well as some restaurants and other businesses. Stephen Juba Park allows public access to and views of the Red River while also functioning as an active transportation corridor from the Exchange District to the Forks National Historic Site.

CentreVenture, Downtown BIZ & Exchange BIZ

The *Downtown Zoning By-law* also governs jurisdictional boundaries of arms-length government organizations, namely CentreVenture, Downtown BIZ, and Exchange BIZ. CentreVenture was established in 1999 and is an arms-length development corporation that has played a significant role in revitalizing the Winnipeg's downtown through public-private partnerships. CentreVenture utilizes public assets and funds (e.g., the City's surplus properties in the downtown) to leverage private investment within targeted areas. Their projects have included Waterfront Drive, the Exchange District, the SHED (Sports, Hospitality, Entertainment, and Dining) District, and redeveloping the Bell Hotel. More recently, CentreVenture is leading plans for developing Marketlands, and the Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown (CentreVenture, 2019).

Business Improvement Zones, or BIZs, are established by the City of Winnipeg through a by-law to create "distinct shopping destinations, promote business attraction, provide street-level beautification, and improve marketing opportunities for BIZ members" (City of Winnipeg, 2020a). The BIZs are funded by and represent local businesses within their jurisdictional boundaries. The Downtown BIZ and Exchange BIZ have both been operating in their respective areas since the early 1990s. These BIZs have coordinated special events in the area, such as Nuit Blanche and ManyFest, and oversee programming, such as placemaking initiatives and security (i.e., Downtown Watch; Community Homelessness Assistance Team, or CHAT; and the Exchange Patrol). In addition to these initiatives, the Exchange District BIZ sees itself as an advocate and representative for residents and creatives in the area. Before being incorporated as a BIZ and named as such, the Exchange District BIZ was comprised of historic preservationists and creatives who lobbied for the preservation of the neighbourhoods' historic, character buildings.

FIGURE 7 shows all areas under Exchange District BIZ's jurisdiction in light orange, and the Downtown BIZ's jurisdiction in all other colours (i.e., white, grey, green, and red; excluding areas east and south of the Red River). CentreVenture's jurisdiction covers all parts in the *Downtown Zoning By-law* (i.e., all areas in the map). Part of Civic Centre and all of Chinatown are under the jurisdiction of the Exchange District BIZ and not the Downtown BIZ. In Chapter 6: Discussions & Analysis and Chapter 7: Recommendations & Conclusion, I discuss possible implications of this difference in jurisdictional boundaries as related to planning, development, and the overall experience of the study area.

FIGURE 7. Downtown BIZ boundaries.
(Downtown BIZ, 2013)

Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown Development Strategy

Currently, there is no official secondary plan for Chinatown nor the Exchange District, at least not in the form of a by-law that was commissioned and/or created by the City's Planning, Property, and Development Department. According to the Development Strategy, the Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown have many opportunities for development but has "struggled in recent years with underutilized buildings and vacant lots" (CentreVenture, 2019, p. 4). The *Development Strategy* (CentreVenture, 2019) will function like a secondary plan in that it will direct and manage long-term[1] development in Chinatown and the Northwest Exchange.

The *Development Strategy* aims to target development in three identified "catalyst zones", each with their own distinctive purposes and defining features (see **FIGURE 8**). Six guiding principles summarize the *Development Strategy*:

1. **Close the gaps:** focused infill development on vacant lots and buildings to create a continuous street frontage;

2. **Authenticity drives development:** future development should "build on" and "celebrate" the area's existing "cultural identity, rich histories, and unpolished nature of the place";

3. **Neighbourhood first:** recognized as connecting Centennial Neighbourhood, Exchange District, and Chinatown;

4. **A community for all:** promote a mix of market and affordability, spaces for small businesses and artists, and strategically locate community services;

5. **Spaces that are flexible and adaptable:** allow for a variety of uses while remaining contextually sensitive; and,

6. **Focus on local:** development should not only attract outsiders, but provide for the area's current residents and workers (CentreVenture, 2019, p. 8).

While the strategies outlined here cannot be enforced like a secondary plan through by-laws, land in the area is largely owned by CentreVenture, the City of Winnipeg, and members of the Chinese community, all of which are represented as stakeholders in the *Development Strategy* (CentreVenture, 2019). Stakeholders like Red River College and Siloam Mission also own properties covered under the *Development Strategy*'s jurisdiction. CentreVenture can also strategically lever public funds or assets to purchase desirable, privately-owned land parcels held by any of the aforementioned stakeholders

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[1] The document includes development projections for 10-, 25-, and 50-years into the future. (CentreVenture, 2019, p. 9). No definitive timelines are listed.
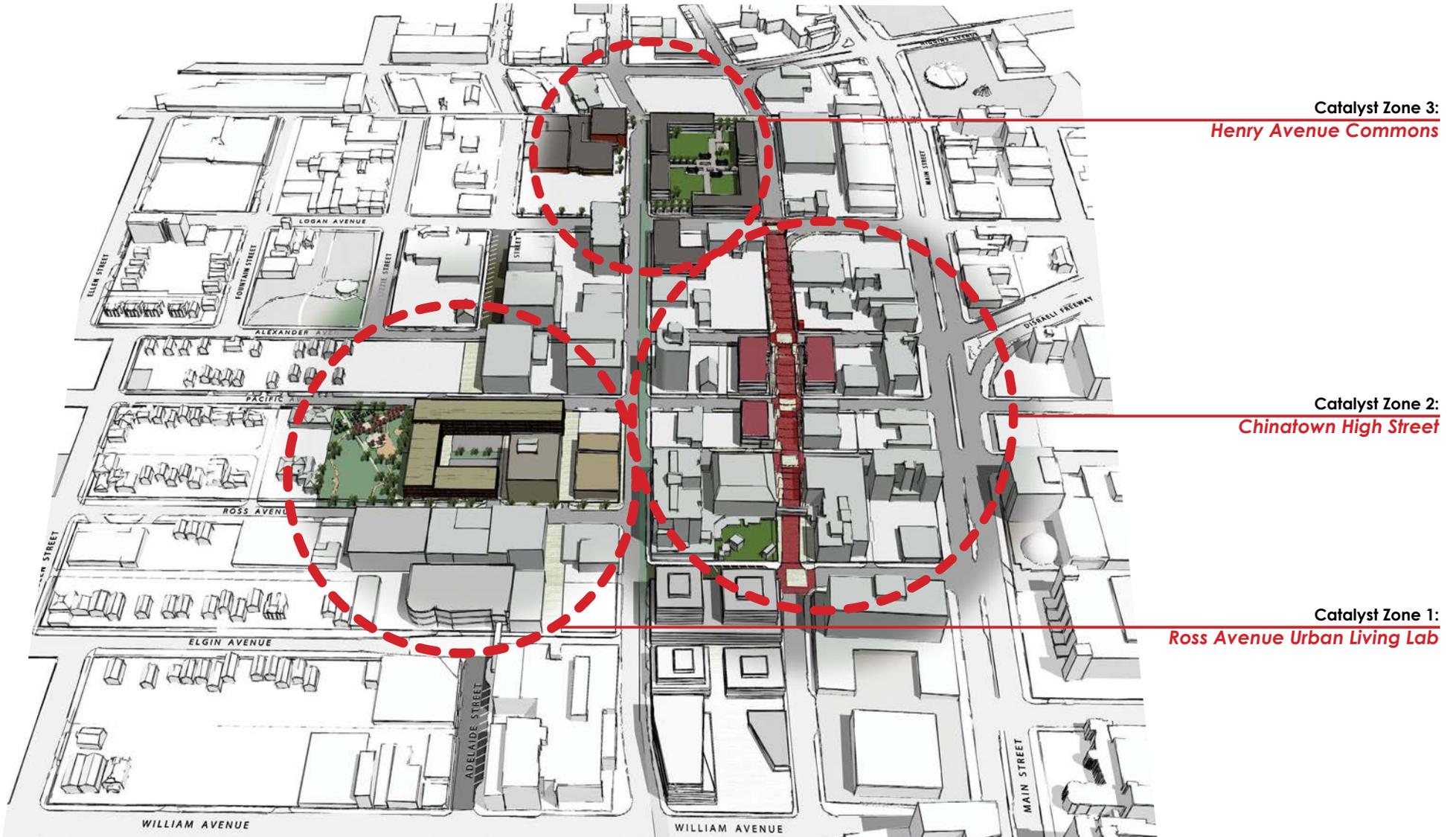
Catalyst Zone 3:
Henry Avenue Commons

Catalyst Zone 2:
Chinatown High Street

Catalyst Zone 1:
Ross Avenue Urban Living Lab

FIGURE 8. *Development Strategy* catalyst zones. (CentreVenture, 2019, p. 10)

HISTORICAL & SOCIAL CONTEXT

The regulatory context above describes "official" definitions of and visions for Chinatown and the Exchange. Gaining an understanding of the area's historical and social context will draw out alternate visions not encompassed or directly visible through these official documents. In this section, I discuss histories of revitalization and development together with histories of movement (voluntary and involuntary) of people in and out of the study area. These two histories are inextricably linked and continue to impact and influence each other. There are narratives of revitalization that run parallel to each other in Winnipeg's Downtown, the Exchange and Chinatown:

1. Indigenous displacement, dispossession, and grassroots organizing;

2. Patterns of Chinese (im)migration and Chinatown; and,

3. Artists and state actors in the Exchange District.

In his book, *Stolen City: Racial Capitalism and the Making of Winnipeg* (2018), Owen Toews extensively details the history of state-led gentrification and racism against Indigenous people in Winnipeg that has contributed to their reduced standard of living. The history of Chinese-Canadians and Indigenous people are interwoven in Winnipeg. Initial migrants to Winnipeg from these populations (from China, reserves, and traditional Métis settlements) faced discrimination by the Canadian government and faced restrictions as to where they could live. Both Main Street and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) yards are important areas for the first generations of Chinese-Canadians and for Indigenous people in Winnipeg.

Toews completed his book before the recent *Development Strategy* and the renewed revitalization focus in the Northwest Exchange and Chinatown. While Toews discusses revitalization and resistance in adjacent neighbourhoods, such as Centennial and by Higgins, he does not directly address Chinatown and the relationships within in. My understanding of Chinatown's history was informed by the initial plans to redevelop Chinatown (as shown in *A Feasibility Study for the Redevelopment of Chinatown Winnipeg*, Gustavo da Roza, 1974) and through discussions with participants who self-identified as being Chinese-Canadian. However, the Chinese diaspora is broad, largely shaped by many years of varying levels of discrimination and immigration policies. Chinese participants I interviewed all had long-standing connections to Chinatown, both the area itself and the people played a part in its initial wave of revitalization in the 1970s. Due to limitations of my study, I did not interview anyone who self-identified as Chinese and immigrated to or was born in Canada in the last 20 years. Therefore, my understanding of Chinatown and the Chinese-Canadian diaspora and thus, the following summary, is limited to the perspectives I have interacted with.

Furthermore, the summary below does not include all points in Winnipeg's colonial history and context, as discussed by Toews (2018). Instead, I focus on the layered experiences of

Indigenous and Chinese populations in downtown, Chinatown, and the Exchange District, with a focus on discrimination, migration, and visions of revitalization.

Indigenous displacement, dispossession, & grassroots organizing

For thousands of years prior to European contact, the place we now know as Winnipeg was a major trading and meeting site for Indigenous Nations (Nejad & Walker, 2018, p. 241). These Indigenous Nations would gather at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, by an area now known as The Forks, and by what is now known as Portage and Main when the Forks was flooded (personal communication, March 7, 2020).The first European settlement in Western Canada became situated at the Forks around 1734 (Nejad & Walker, 2018, p. 242); however, the Red River area largely remained as an "Indigenous city" up until the mid-1800s; out of the 12,400 residents, 9,900 were Métis, 1,000 were First Nations, and only 1,500 were Europeans (Toews, 2018, p. 32).

While there was a history of collaboration and negotiation between these groups, dynamics in the area changed in the mid-1800s after the global economic mode of production shifted. Industrial capitalism triggered Canada's expansionist plans and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) (Toews, 2018, pp. 31-40). Toews (2018) describes how Canada has been actively dispossessing and displacing Indigenous People since then: from unfulfilled treaty promises,

the conquest over, and genocide of First Nations and Métis (pp. 33-67); to apartheid and the displacement of urban, self-built settlements, such as Rooster Town, for the benefit of malls and suburbia (pp. 101-118); and contemporary actions of state actors to remove Indigenous people from the Downtown by means of "dispossession through accumulation" (pp. 207-303).

Indigenous people faced restrictions in where they could live when they were first able to move to the city from their reserves in the 1940s and 1950s. Landlords maintained urban apartheid by using tactics like "refusal to sell or rent to [Indigenous people], anonymous threats, [and] acts of extreme nuisance" (Toews, 2018, p. 212), while exclusionary zoning prevented working classes (including early Chinese immigrants and other ethnic, working-class minorities) from living in the wealthy enclaves of the South End (2018, p. 81). As such, Indigenous people were forced to inhabit unfavourable settlement areas, typically ones that were hardest hit by deindustrialization and had deteriorating infrastructure (Toew, 2018, p. 129). These areas included specific blocks in the West End north of Portage Avenue and in neighbourhoods such as Centennial, North Logan and the North End, which are located by industrial sites and the CPR yards. While Centennial and North Logan are located south of the CPR yards and are adjacent to the Exchange and Chinatown, the North End is separated from Downtown by the CPR yards.

The North End has become known as Winnipeg's "Indigenous-town," given its concentration of Indigenous-

serving organizations, such as Thunderbird House, Children of the Earth High School, and Neeginan Centre. Many of these organizations had their roots in *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows*, a visionary document produced in 1971 by Indigenous grassroots organizing (Toews, 2018, pp. 137-145). *Wahbung* made use of both "additive approaches" and "subtractive approaches" (see Masuda & Bookman, 2018, p. 177). *Wahbung* served as a counter-brand for Indigenous Manitobans to rally behind and advocate for the creation of services designed to meet the specific needs of Indigenous populations in Winnipeg. At the same time, the document drew attention to structural racism and Canada's failure to provide Indigenous people with basic human needs and a minimum standard of living.

Beginning in 1974, organizers of *Wahbung*, also drafted a plan through consultations with Indigenous Winnipeggers for developing their own social, cultural, and political hub or "Native Village" called *Neeginan* (the Cree word for "Our Place") along Main Street (Toews, 2018, p. 216-218). Main Street at this time was already known as a welcoming space and represented a diversity of Indigenous identities, beyond common portrayals of the "drunken derelict" (Toews, 2018, p. 223); Indigenous musicians, writers, university students, workers, and Red Power activists all gathered along this strip. At the same time, Chinese-Canadians also had a strong connection the Main Street as the historic Chinatown expanded more onto the strip during this period. The portion of Main Street north of Portage was one of the few areas of Winnipeg at the time where whiteness was out-of-place (Toews, 2018, p. 212).

While Indigenous peoples were segregated to areas of Winnipeg like the North End and Main Street, Neeginan would work as a counter-brand to reclaim Main Street as an Indigenous, urban district. However, the city councillors rejected this proposal as a "plan for a ghetto" and over racist ideologies of not wanting a "reserve in the middle of Winnipeg" (Toews, 2018, p. 220). With urban renewal plans in the 1980s, establishments on Main Street were demolished and the strip was effectively dismantled as an important gathering spot for a diversity of Indigenous people. Many of the hotels, bars, theatres, and cafes frequented by Indigenous people were replaced with emergency shelters, food banks and the city's "drunk tank" (Toews, 2018, p. 223). In 1997, a reworked Neeginan plan was accepted by the Winnipeg Development Agreement and all three levels of government, but did not provide any land or money aside from the construction of Thunderbird House.

Grassroots organizing, such as *Wahbung*, stands in contrast with government-led urban renewal initiatives, such as Unicity, the construction of the Perimeter Highway (Toews, 2018, pp. 102-110), and those in the 1950s and 1960s (Toews, 2018, p. 146), that have had a long history of demolishing neighbourhoods and forcibly displacing residents with less political power than those in the suburbs. Residents of Centennial, West Alexander, and Logan organized together in the late 1980s as the Inner City Committee for Rail Relocation (ICCRR) (Toews, 2018, pp. 148-154). The ICCRR resisted plans to bulldoze their neighbourhood for the construction of an overpass and one of the Core Area

Initiative's (CAI) first proposed projects to replace the Logan neighbourhood with a modern industrial park (Toews, 2018, p. 154).

The CAI began in 1981 and consists of 5-year investments plans for projects aiming to "improve" Winnipeg's city-centre (i.e., the inner-city and Downtown). The CAI was funded through matching contributions from the provincial and municipal governments and decisions were made by a committee composed of one representative from each level of government (Toews, 2018, p. 154). While an MLA at the time claimed the CAI to be a direct result of ICCRR's grassroots organizing, the CAI did not go towards city-centre residents' basic needs and social services. Instead, the CAI has largely funded commercially-oriented projects, such as Portage Place, Winnipeg Square and the Forks, directed at attracting suburban consumers to the city-centre (Toews, 2018, p. 158). Such patterns are reflected in the revitalization of Chinatown and the Exchange District.

Chinese (Im)migration: Chinatown and Chinatown South?

While the first documented Chinese immigrant in Winnipeg was in 1877, it was not until the late 1880s when there was an influx of immigration from China due to recruiters who sought cheap labour for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) (da Roza, 1974, pp. 61-62). Most of these earlier immigrants can trace their ancestry back to one village in the province of Kwangtung, and were primarily men. Some Chinese immigrants from Tai Shan and Kai Ping had brought their wives and children with them, and arrived primarily to Canada through the United States.

These early immigrants faced racism and discrimination from other settlers and were segregated to the area now known as Chinatown, located by the CPR yards. Limited in their employment opportunities, many Chinese-Canadians formed the foundations for today's Chinatown by opening establishments such as laundromats and restaurants; many of whom lived in residences above their businesses. Immigration policies charged a head tax of $500 for Chinese to enter Canada. In 1923, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed and banned the immigration of all Chinese into Canada. This effectively separated families for a few decades, as the Act also prohibited men from bringing their wives and children to Canada. In 1941, the federal census showed 94 per cent of those who were ethnically Chinese were male (da Roza, 1974, p. 64). The act was repealed in 1947, allowing families to be reunited and other Chinese immigrants to escape the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution and war back home.

The quality of life for Canadian-Chinese took a positive turn after the Second World War; racial ordering (see Toews, 2018) was shifted Canadian settlers began to see Chinese-Canadians in a positive light since China was an ally in the war. Second- and third-generation Chinese-Canadians experienced upward social-mobility as they were able to attend public school and their parents financed them through higher education.

Younger generations began moving out of Chinatown "to be like other people," since they were no longer as constrained economically or as discriminated against socially.

At the same time, Chinatown began to experience some decline as initial business owners started to retire and closed down their business, since younger generations did not want to take on the business. As these businesses began to close down, Chinatown's footprint decreased in size; there was less of a presence from Main Street and gaps in the street frontage began to form. There was also not a new stream of Chinese residents coming in to replace the generations that left. While older generations of immigrants all passed through Chinatown, newer generations after the 1970s were professionals who had the economic capital to live elsewhere. 90 per cent of Canadian-Chinese lived outside of Chinatown by the 1970s.

In 1974, during the same year Indigenous grassroots organizers were leading consultations for *Neeginan*, the Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation (WCDC) commissioned their own *Feasibility Study for the Redevelopment of Chinatown in Winnipeg* (da Roza, 1974). The newly constructed modern buildings by Civic Centre, as well as Manitoba and Winnipeg's centennial anniversaries (1970 and 1974 respectively), were cited as reasons for why redeveloping Chinatown would be a prime opportunity. Initial plans for Chinatown outlined in the *Feasibility Study* envisioned it as a fully mixed-use project, including housing, a public market, other commercial spaces, various institutional uses, parking,

a cultural centre and roof garden (da Roza, 1974, pp. 30-55). The *Feasibility Study* placed priority in community ownership of the plan and listed that "the objective of the [housing] development [was] to encourage the existing population to remain in the area," while also allowing for moderate increases population and greater market sustainability (da Roza, 1974, p. 34). Housing for older adults and low-income families, and prioritizing low-budget stores were listed as ways to ensure existing populations could stay in the area.

The *Feasibility Study* gives reference to Neeginan as "The Native Community Development" and identifies it as a development to work in tangent with (da Roza, 1974, p. 169). Revitalization plans for Chinatown sought to bridge new and proposed developments in Centennial and Civic Centre, with Neeginan and developments in North Point Douglas; the plan proposes a network of skywalks and underground pedestrian corridors similar to the rest of downtown today (da Roza, 1974, pp. 169-171). The plan had hoped these developments would form a "continuum network of activities" that contributed to an overall experience for pedestrians (da Roza, 1974, p. 171).

While community-led plans for relocating the CPR yards (Toews, 2018, pp. 148-154) and *Neeginan* (Toews, 2018, pp. 207-245) were not accepted by the city, the redevelopment of Chinatown was supported by funding from all three levels of government through the Core Area Initiative in 1981. The plan for revitalizing Chinatown in the 1970s and 1980s was spearheaded by a group businessmen in the Chinese-

Canadian community who were primarily led by Dr. Joseph Du and Phillip Lee. Du and Lee played an integral part in building relationships with decision makers and lobbying for the funding of the Chinatown revitalization project. Buildings constructed through this funding are what most Winnipegers have come to associate with Chinatown: the Peace Bridge (otherwise known as the gate), Mandarin Building, Dynasty Building and Chinese garden, and Harmony Mansion. In 1983, the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre (WCCCC), was established as a social arm of the WCDC. Together with the WCCCC, these buildings solidified the presence of Chinese-Canadians in the downtown, and help to preserve the social memory of their history in Winnipeg.

The hope for the 1974 Chinatown plan to revitalize the area (together with urban renewal schemes in the Civic Centre) was unfulfilled. Today, Winnipeg's Chinatown has entered another cycle of decline; only two other buildings were constructed by the WCDC following Chinatown's initial revitalization plans. Patterns of Chinese immigration that were transpiring in the 1970s have continued. Professional Chinese immigrants and international students typically settle in Winnipeg's South End, and seldom know anything about Winnipeg's Chinatown or the history of older generations of Chinese-Canadians. Furthermore, newer Chinese-businesses have been establishing in the South End closer to capitalize on where newer immigrants have settled. Despite this, Chinatown still holds importance to older generations of Chinese-Canadians and their descendants as their historic place of settlement, and as a political and social

hub for all those who have immigrated from China.

Chinatown is also close to Winnipeg's key housing- and homelessness-focused agencies (e.g., Siloam Mission and Main Street Project), and other social services frequented by lower-income and marginalized populations (e.g., Access Winnipeg). While Indigenous populations disproportionately experience homelessness compared to non-Indigenous populations (Thistle, 2017), this does not represent the experiences of all Indigenous people. In 2016, about three-quarters of Chinatown's population of 420 people identified as Chinese, while none identified as being of Aboriginal ancestry (City of Winnipeg, 2019). However, those who are experiencing homelessness are not tracked by the official government census.

While making up only 12 per cent of Winnipeg's total population in 2016 (City of Winnipeg, 2019), Indigenous people accounted for two-thirds of those experiencing homelessness, roughly half of the population in emergency shelters, and about 80 per cent of those who were unsheltered according to the Winnipeg Street Census (2018). These numbers are according to Canadian definitions of homelessness, and may not reflect hidden forms of homelessness (Winnipeg Street Census, 2018) or Indigenous forms of homelessness (Thistle, 2017). These numbers vary by neighbourhood, but homelessness-focused organizations in the area estimate between 70 to 90 per cent of the individuals they service are of Indigenous ancestry (personal communication). Therefore, while they are not captured as official residents of Chinatown,

Indigenous people are one of the area's main inhabitants.

Artists and the State: The Exchange District

Histories of disinvestment and revitalization are also visible in Winnipeg's Exchange District and its collection of buildings. In the early 1900s, Winnipeg was a prosperous and growing city due to the city's role in the grain exchange and being a strategic location for immigration. The Exchange District became Winnipeg's "hub for commerce, communications and trade," since it was located close to the Forks and by the CPR station (Bookman & Woolford, 2013, p. 305). However, in the 1950s, the Exchange underwent a decline and disinvestment, and eventually gained a "skid row" reputation (Bookman & Woolford, 2013, p. 305).

Subsequent waves of reinvestment and revitalization in the area was supported through both public- and private-led initiatives (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). In the 1960s, post-war ideologies and a desire for a new Winnipeg identity led to the demolition of several older style buildings in the Exchange (Turner, 2014). These buildings were replaced by the modernist architectural style of City Hall, the Manitoba Museum and Planetarium, Centennial Concert Hall, Manitoba Theatre Centre, and the former Public Safety Building. Following this, a study and design-proposal commissioned by the City, the *City of Winnipeg-Cultural Centre-Renewal Scheme*, called for the demolition of buildings in the Exchange surrounding the newly constructed modern district (Turner, 2014). The philosophy behind this plan was to "use architecture to change the (city's)

fortunes" and to remedy the "blighted" conditions surrounding these, at the time, newer buildings (as cited by Turner, 2014, pp. 69-70). However, a combination of slow economic growth (Turner, 2014) and active resistance from artists and historical preservation activists prevented the *Renewal Scheme* and plans for demolition in the Exchange from happening (personal communication, January 14, 2020).

In the 1970s, artists began to move to the Exchange District, attracted by low-rents and distinct character buildings. The artist-run "Plug-in Gallery created an 'arts scene' and spurred the establishment of 'underground' restaurants, secondhand shops and art suppliers" (Bookman, 2014, p. 330). While it was Winnipeg's financial hub in the past, this movement of artists laid the foundations for the Exchange to be known as a "cultural hub", one that is "home to a range of creative industries and workers, heritage lofts and affluent residents, as well as boutique retail and a burgeoning street culture driven by the arts scene" (Bookman & Woolford, 2013, p. 305).

Much of the revitalization initiatives in the early 1990s was initiated by the Exchange District BIZ. Prior to being incorporated as a BIZ, the organization had its roots as the Old Market Square Association, a group of business owners who worked with art groups and heritage activists to advocate for the preservation and improvement of the area. The Exchange District BIZ has a mandate to act in the interest of businesses in the area and to create a "safe" environment, particularly for

those who are of middle- and upper-incomes and can expend their capital in the area. This means that lower-income groups and other marginalized groups, notably those who are visibly homeless and identifiably Indigenous, can be "deemed 'out of place' in the Exchange" (Bookman & Woolford, 2013, p. 7), and are thus patrolled out of or made to feel uncomfortable in the area. This is an example of the contemporary displacement, exclusion and dispossession of Indigenous people in urban contexts as described by Toews (2018) and Thistle (2017).

Beginning in the 2000s with Waterfront Drive, CentreVenture became the leading force for managing revitalization in the Exchange District. Their focus was on increasing residential density, improving streetscaping, and collaborating with Public Works and Planning, Property, and Development on infrastructure upgrades necessary to support increased density. The most recent initiative was the *Live Downtown — Rental Development Grant Program* in 2014, which essentially provided tax breaks for developers that included some affordable housing units[2] in their downtown development (City of Winnipeg, 2014).

CentreVenture has taken a step back from the Exchange District since market interests have started investing in the area. As a direct result of initiatives led by CentreVenture, rents and average incomes in the Exchange District and Waterfront Drive are significantly higher than in surrounding areas, including Chinatown, Centennial, Central Park, and West Alexander (City of Winnipeg, 2019). The development corporation's focus has shifted North of the Exchange to the Marketlands site, as well as the Northwest Exchange and Chinatown.

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2   The by-law defined affordable rents as "equal to or less than the median market monthly rent for that year as published annually in advance by the Department of Housing and Community Development of the Province of Manitoba" (City of Winnipeg, 2014, p. 1). Only 10 per cent of the units had to meet this requirement for a period of five years after an occupancy permit was been issued to remain eligible (City of Winnipeg, 2014, p. 6).

1. Identify stakeholders

Based on Chinatown's regulatory, historical, and social context. Includes stakeholders listed in the *Development Strategy* and ones that were not listed but operate in or near the study area.

3. Analyze Perspectives

Analyze the data to see where perspectives overlap and/or conflict. Compare the data with the literature to identify which perspectives are missing and/or marginalized from the official planning and development processes.

2. Separate stakeholder perspectives

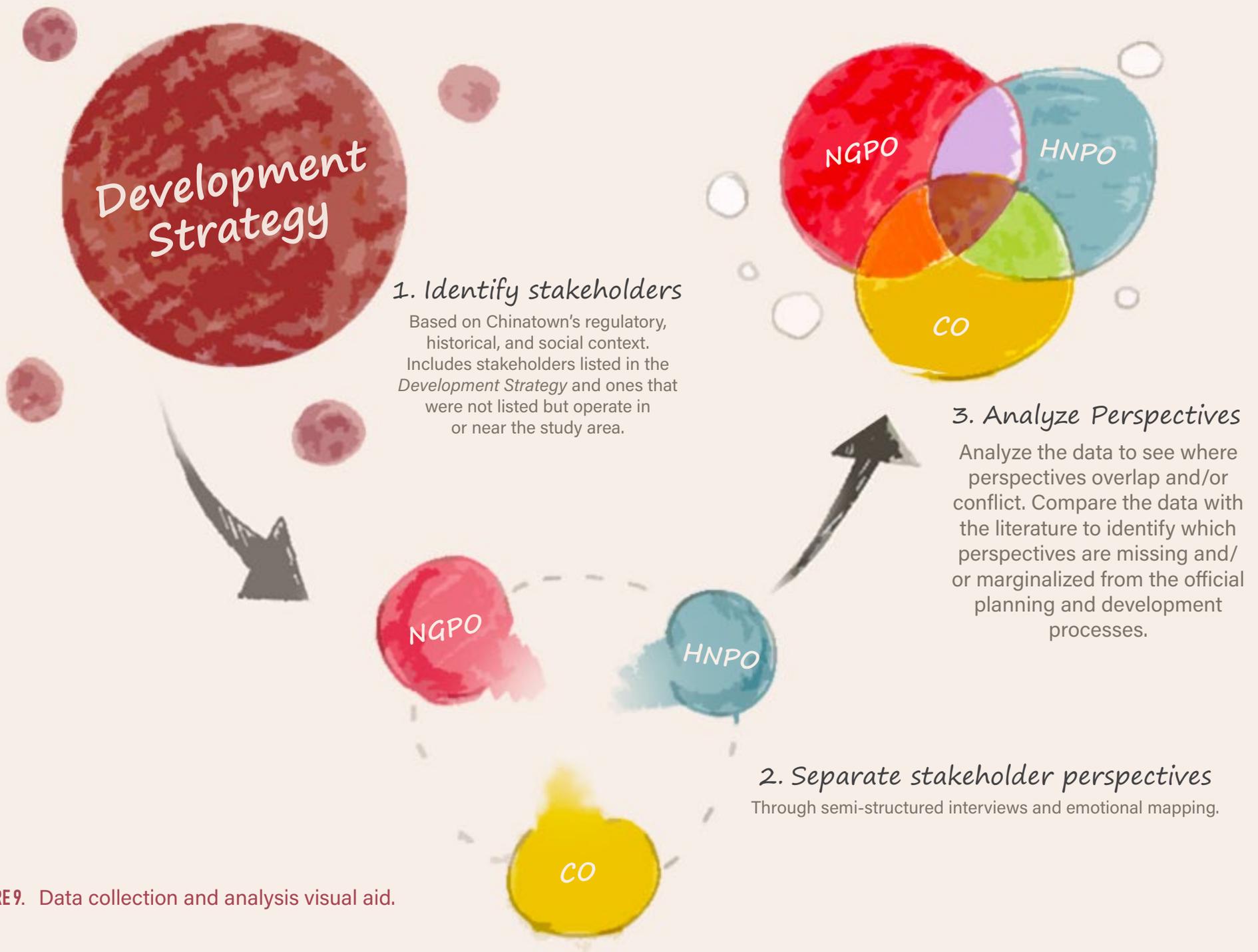Through semi-structured interviews and emotional mapping.

FIGURE 9. Data collection and analysis visual aid.

4 METHODOLOGY

Winnipeg's Exchange District and Chinatown were chosen for this case study due to the prevalence of state actors in the processes of gentrification, the neighbourhoods' geographic proximity to lower-income neighbourhoods (e.g., Centennial and Central Park), and the concentration of social service providers within the study area. Previous revitalization initiatives led by the government and arms-length actors have focused on the Exchange District have since halted due to the market taking over. The current wave of revitalization is shifting its focus north towards Chinatown. While my capstone primarily focuses on Chinatown and implications for revitalization and development in that area, understanding the history of revitalization initiatives in the Exchange may provide insights into how Chinatown may redevelop. Furthermore, both neighbourhoods are branded by the government in some way (i.e., the Exchange as a creative hub and Chinatown as a centre for Chinese culture), and illustrate different placemaking implications around inclusion and exclusion. Since Chinatown is in the beginning phases of revitalization, the findings from this Capstone may be used to modify the current narrative for change in the neighbourhood and to mitigate displacement.

Data collection took place over three months from November 2019 to January 2020. I identified and categorized stakeholders who operate, interact, or are located in Chinatown. The 11 research participants include those involved in the development of the *Northwest Exchange and Chinatown Development Strategy* (CentreVenture, 2019), and those who were not involved. By using emotional mapping and semi-structured interviews, I separated out the stakeholder perspectives. I then analyzed and compared the data according to concepts described in **Chapter 2: Literature Review** with the goal of identifying perspectives that are missing and/or marginalized from the official planning and development process. The literature shows places are shaped by the meanings, actors, and power relationships in it, but the urban form can also reinforce and preserve these meanings and power relationships (Keenan, 2010; Massey, 2005; Lynch, 1960). By looking at which perspectives have been excluded and marginalized from the planning decision-making process, we can infer which populations are also being excluded and marginalized from the neighbourhood, and are at risk from, are currently being, or have been displaced. **FIGURE 9** summarizes the goals and processes of my research methodology, while the following sections detail the research participants, methods (emotional mapping and semi-structured interviews), and the study's limitations.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Research participants consisted of representatives and employees from community organizations, non-governmental planning organizations, and housing and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations who work in the study area or in neighbourhoods immediately adjacent to it. I use the following definitions for the purposes of this capstone:

- **Community organizations (COs):** Community in this sense relates to geographically bound neighbourhoods (e.g., the Exchange) and broader ethno-cultural groups. These organizations are located or have jurisdiction in Chinatown and/or its adjacent neighbourhoods.

- **Non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs):** This stakeholder category includes private firms and organizations who receive all or some of their funding through government revenue. This category does not include the City's official Planning, and Property Development Department.

- **Housing and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs):** While the previous stakeholder categories may be involved in housing-related issues, organizations in this category have housing and homelessness as their core focus from a service or advocacy standpoint. This category includes but is not limited to organizations who provide social services to those experiencing homelessness.

Given the different mandates of these organizations (e.g., to represent their respective communities, to increase an area's economic capital, or to advocate for those who experiencing homelessness), I assume their solutions for effecting positive change in the neighbourhood and views on who belongs in the area will differ. While the recent Development Strategy presents an amalgamation of these perspectives, it is interesting to separate these visions to see if there are any contradicting views for how the neighbourhood should develop.

Participants were selected from organizations listed in and those consulted as part of the Development Strategy consultations (CentreVenture, 2019) and through researching organizations within and adjacent to the study area. Additional participants were identified as other participants mentioned key organizations during their interviews.

All participants' contact information was acquired through their respective organization's websites. Participants were recruited and contacted by e-mail or phone call using a script. The script was modified slightly according to the type of organization the participant works for. Out of 13 requests that were sent out, 12 stakeholders responded and 11 agreed to be interviewed. These interviews were conducted in the months of November 2019, December 2019, and January 2020. FIGURE 10 below breaks down the number of participants per stakeholder category.

Stakeholder category	# of participants
COs	5
NGPOs	3
HNPOs	3
Total	**11**

FIGURE 10. Number of participants per stakeholder category.

While I did not ask any demographic-related questions, three participants self-identified as being Chinese-Canadian, and three other participants self-identified as being Indigenous or as working for an Indigenous-led organization. Other participants did not self-identify.

I have kept responses from participants confidential, since the *Development Strategy* was completed recently, revitalization in the area is ongoing, and this Capstone has a small sample size. When reporting responses, the names of individual participants, their organization, and role within their organization will not be included in their response. To reduce the risk of responses being attributed to individuals, responses will be reported using the participant's stakeholder category (e.g., a representative from a CO, NGPO, or HNPO).

EMOTIONAL MAPPING

In looking at how Chinatown and the Exchange are defined, an analysis of not only their social meanings and history, but also of the built-form must be included (Lynch, 1960, p. 41; Tuck & McKenzie). To capture responses that address both the social environment and spatial meanings of Chinatown and the Exchange, I used the method of emotional mapping in combination with semi-structured interviews.

Jirí Pánek (2018) defines emotional mapping in the field of participatory planning as "a method that allows citizens and municipalities to initiate a map-based dialogue concerning the current and future state of public space, drawing upon their experiences of that place" (p. 18). The method of emotional mapping combines mental mapping, as in Ryan Segal's Master's Thesis on Playfinding (2015), and sketch mapping (Pánek, 2018, p. 19). Participants drew on a map to respond to questions about the study area. The method differs from mental mapping since a base map was provided to participants. Emotional mapping can be used as preliminary work for a SWOT analysis or a strategic planning analysis (Pánek, 2018, p. 19).

While emotional mapping is typically used with a larger group, I completed the mapping exercise with participants individually to protect their confidentiality. I had three objectives in using this method:

1. To gain a frame of reference for when participants

answered questions about the study area (i.e., What exactly is the extent of the space they are referring to? Where is it located?);

2. To understand how participants spatially defined a space (i.e., What features did they use to define the Exchange and Chinatown? What makes these neighbourhoods distinct from each other?); and,

3. To understand of how participants viewed Chinatown in relation to adjacent neighbourhoods (e.g., movement between neighbourhoods).

I combined Pánek's method (2018) with Kevin Lynch's framework on the city image and its elements (1960, pp. 46-90). I asked participants to draw what they perceived to be the boundaries of the Exchange District and of Chinatown. Participants were not told ahead of time or provided images of any of the official boundaries of the study area (e.g., Downtown Zoning By-law, BIZ boundaries, etc.). After drawing

these boundaries, I asked probe questions to see whether participants identified smaller districts within the boundaries they drew. I also asked participants whether or not they felt these boundaries were clearly defined, and whether or not they felt there was room for interpretation.

For ease of comparison and analysis, I later compiled responses digitally into a total of 8 maps, sorted by area and by stakeholder category (see **FIGURE 11**). Maps that combined responses from all stakeholder categories allowed me to see overall trends and to compare participants' perceived boundaries with officially defined boundaries of the study area, as described in **Chapter 3: Context**. The separate maps per stakeholder category made it easier to compare and contrast meanings held by these different stakeholder categories (e.g., how community organizations define Chinatown versus how non-governmental planning organizations do).

	Separate Stakeholder Categories	All Stakeholder Categories	Total
Exchange District	3	1	4
Chinatown	3	1	4
Total	**6**	**2**	**8**

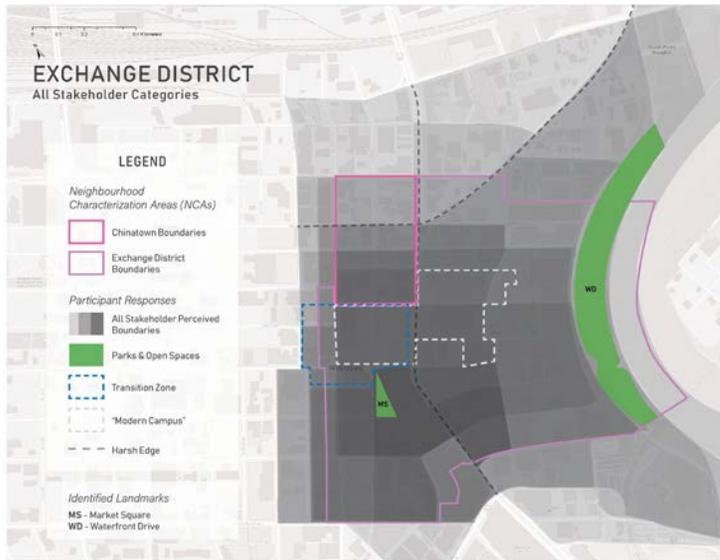**FIGURE 11.** Perceived boundary map breakdown.

FIGURE 12. Example map with compiled participant responses.

I mapped edges, landmarks, and districts as defined by the participants. For the boundaries or edges, I mapped each response on a separate layer and set the transparency to 15%. This way, the overlapping polygons create somewhat of a heat map — the darker a colour is on the map, the more participants share an understanding of that area as being part of the Exchange or Chinatown. I mapped green or open spaces participants identified as key landmarks as green polygons. I used orange polygons to symbolize other landmarks participants used to define the space (e.g., architectural distinct buildings, businesses, residential buildings). Dashed lines were used to outline internal districts (white or blue lines) or harsh edges (black lines). Solid lines official definitions of Chinatown's (pink) and the Exchange's (purple) boundaries as per the City's

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (City of Winnipeg, 2020b). For the purposes of this capstone, I have combined Civic Centre into the Exchange District as all participants viewed these neighbourhoods to be one. See **FIGURE 12** for an example of one of these compiled participant maps and **Appendix B: Perceived Boundary Maps** for the full-sized maps.

Participants were also given the option to draw on the maps when answering questions in the second and third sections of the interviews. Due to the nature of the interview questions and time constraints, participants felt more comfortable responding to the questions verbally than marking them on a map.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data on how an organization perceives, experiences, and envisions change in the study area. While the interviews generally followed the guide, the order of the questions might have changed or might not have been asked based on the direction of the conversation (Gray, 2018, p. 381). Potential probing questions were included in the guide in anticipation of new issues that could have arisen in the interviews.

The interviews follow a similar line of questioning as Bridgman Collaborative's William Whyte and Dufferin Housing Plans (2012, pp. 24-32). I modified the questions in this

capstone to include a temporal reflection on the organization's current and historical involvement within the Exchange and Chinatown. Since I talked to representatives from organizations and not necessarily residents of Chinatown directly, I modified some of the questions in an attempt to separate out the organizations' view from their clients' or residents' experiences. While I acknowledge that the full perspective of those who are marginalized will not be captured by social service or community organization employees, these representatives still have some understanding of the challenges faced by their client-base or residents.

The interview guide was sorted into three sections:

1. **Organizational mandate, history, and involvement in the study area:** Related to Massey's second proposition on "space as a sphere of coexisting heterogeneity" (2005, p. 9). The questions were designed to understand the goals and objectives of an organization and how these have changed over the last decade.

2. **Preserve, Add, Remove, and Keep Out (PARK) Analysis** (CIER, 2006, p. 11) **and Vision for the Future:** Intended to gain insight into what an organization saw as the root cause of issues within the neighbourhood and who the organization wishes to develop Chinatown for.

3. **Experiences of Chinatown and the Exchange's inhabitants:** Participants were asked to reflect on the

experiences of their community, residents, and/or client-base. These questions were only asked to COs and HNPOs, and not to NGPOs. I use the word "inhabitants" to include people who live in the space, both housed and on the spectrum of homelessness. The intent of this question is to look for evidence of symbolic and/or exclusionary displacement.

The full interview guide and questions can be viewed in **Appendix A: Interview Guides**.

LIMITATIONS

There are a few limitations to this study due to time constraints and the constraints of the Capstone course. While the interviews with participants covered a lot of ground, 11 participants is a small sample size. I did not interview any other ethnic-based stakeholders other than those representing Indigenous or Chinese populations. As I progressed with my interviews and research, recent refugees and immigrants came to be another important stakeholder As such, the perspectives gathered in the interview may not provide a full picture of the perspectives in Chinatown. However, valuable insights may still be gained from the participants that I spoke with.

Furthermore, by speaking with representatives of organizations and not speaking with actual residents and inhabitants of the area, the data I collected may not speak to

the actual perceived needs and experiences of marginalized populations and minority perspectives (as in section 3 of the interview guide). This experience varied from organization to organization, as some representatives were more connected with their residents and/or client-base than other representatives. As I will discuss in **Chapter 6: Discussions & Analysis**, despite this limitation, my research still has implications for planning and the implementation of the Development Strategy, especially with regards to public engagement.

Responses in this Capstone may also have been influenced by certain media articles during the time frame of the study. Many news articles related to the research topic and study area were published around the time interviews were being conducted. These included topics such as bike lanes and store closures in the Exchange (MacIntosh, 2019), increased security measures at the Millennium Library (Kavanagh, 2019), and proposed cuts to the City's operating budget (Saizen, 2019). This Capstone also does not account for the social, political, and economic impacts of COVID-19, as the pandemic and responses to it began after most of my data collection and analysis was completed.

Lastly, boundaries of the Exchange District and Chinatown mapped by participants may not be an accurate reflection of how they perceive edges and/or experience the study area. The combination of mapping from memory and the different levels of ability when reading and interpreting maps could influence this inaccuracy. I guided participants through the mapping exercise by asking them about the streets or specific landmarks they were looking for, in an attempt to capture their experiences more accurately. With more time, emotional mapping could be conducted with participants while doing a walking tour of the study area. However, I was still able to gain interesting insights into spatial meanings and experiences of the places with the data I compiled, which I discuss in the following chapters.

FIGURE 13. Chinatown's gate and the Mandarin Building.

5 FINDINGS

This chapter summarizes the key findings from both research methods — emotional mapping and semi-structured interviews. The chapter is divided into two sections, one for each method. Since the primary objective of the emotional mapping exercise was for participants to map where they perceived the boundaries of the Exchange and Chinatown were, I have named the section for this method, "Perceived Boundary Maps."

The first section on "Perceived Boundary Maps" is further divided into sub-sections on the Exchange District and on Chinatown. I discuss both the findings from maps with the compiled responses of all stakeholder categories, as well as differences in responses between the categories. These three stakeholder categories are community organizations (COs), non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs), and housing and homelessness focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs). While the stakeholder maps are combined in this section on one page for ease of comparison (**FIGURE 14** and **FIGURE 16**), full-sized versions of the maps can be viewed in **Appendix B: Perceived Boundary Maps**.

The next sections in this chapter relate to the interview guide:

2. Organizational Mandate, History, and Involvement in the Study Area

3. Preserve, Add, Remove, and Keep Out (PARK) Analysis and Vision for the Future

4. Experiences of Chinatown's Inhabitants

All participants were asked questions about their organizational mandate, history, and involvement in the study area, and about their vision for Chinatown's future. Only COs and HNPOs were asked questions about the experiences of their community, residents, and/or client-base in Chinatown and the Exchange District. I summarize key findings according to each stakeholder category in sections two to four of this chapter.
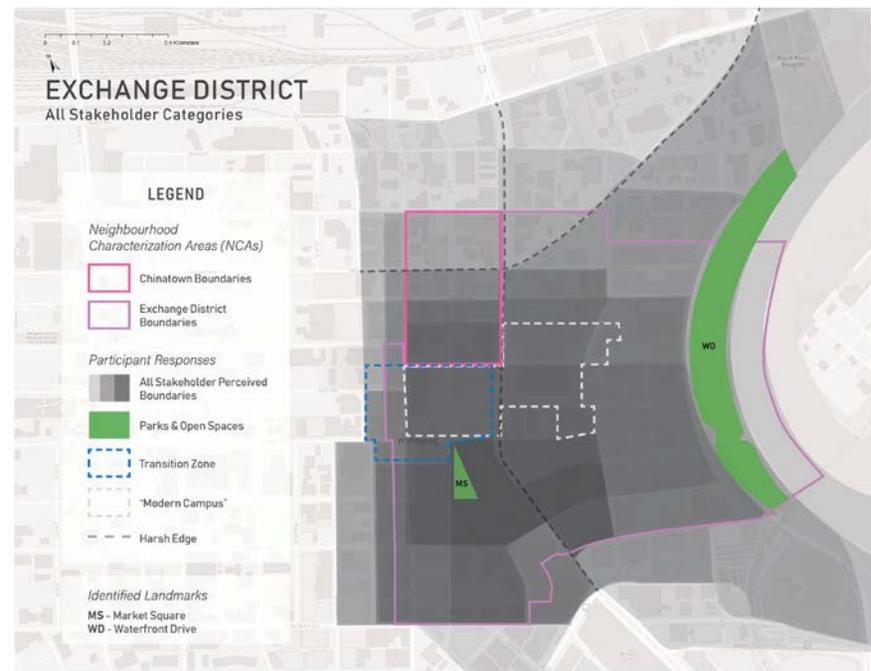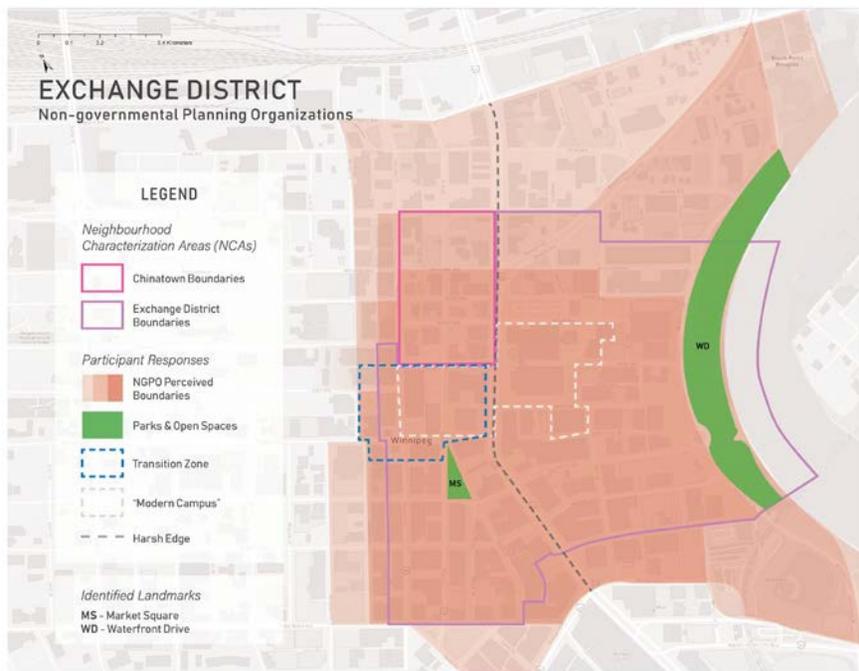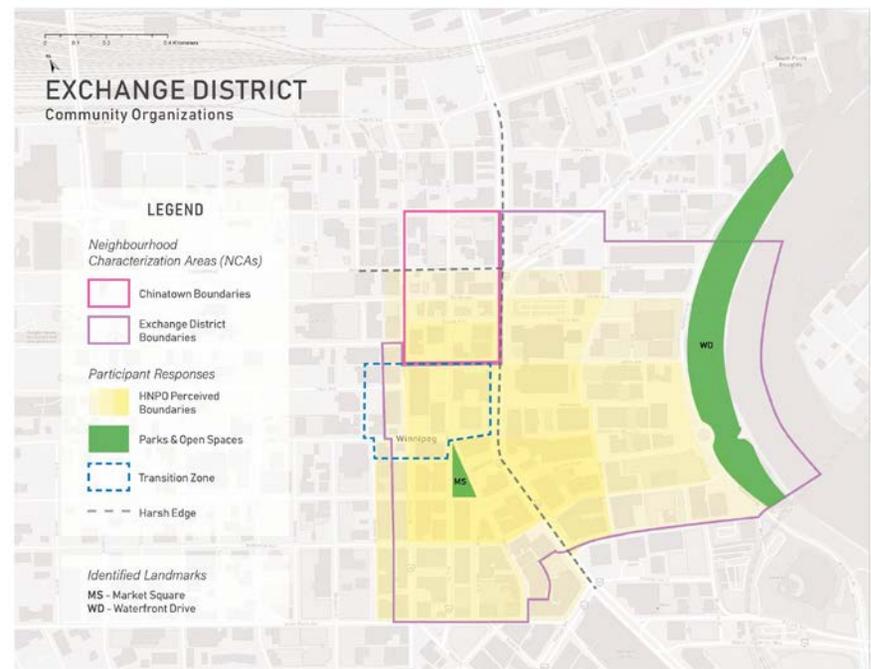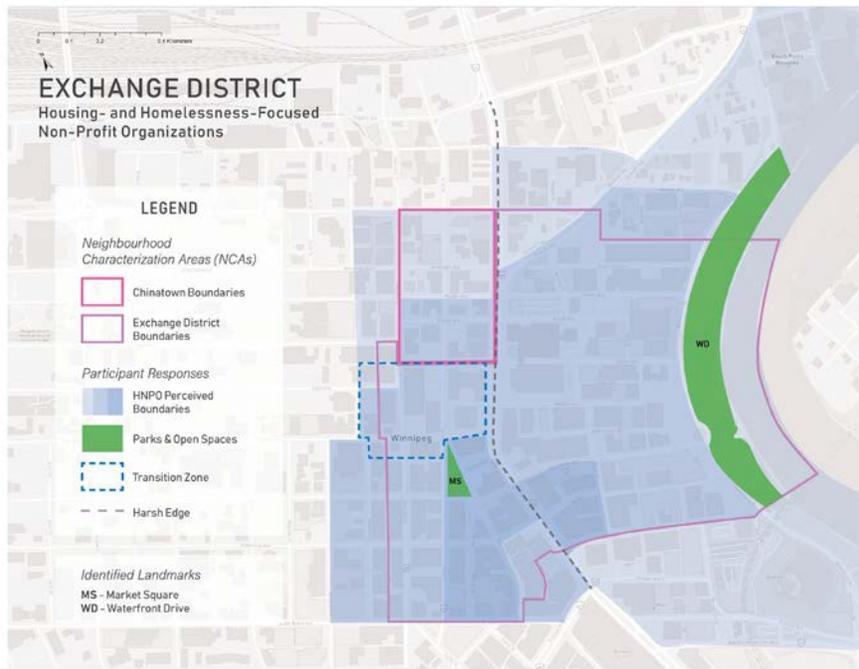
FIGURE 14. Exchange District perceived boundaries by stakeholder category. Full-sized maps can be viewed in Appendix B.

Exchange District

FIGURE 14 displays how each stakeholder category perceived the Exchange District's boundaries. Participants appeared fairly confident when defining the Exchange District's boundaries. COs generally defined a smaller area than most HNPOs and all NGPOs. Portage and Main, Market Square, and Waterfront Drive were mentioned by all participants as landmarks they used to identify the Exchange. Aside from that, participants tended to describe general features related to the character of the area. All participants identified the Exchange District by its collection of mid-rise heritage buildings and distinct architectural style but they did not mention specific buildings.

All participants also characterized the Exchange as a commercial hub for restaurants and office space. A representative from a community organization stated:

> When I think of the Exchange, I think of the BIZ, and so, I think of the businesses. So, if I go down William, for example, as soon as there aren't places for people to go, to hang out or buy things, that doesn't feel like it anymore... As soon as you feel like the experience of that area finishes, then that's the end of it.

A HNPO participant did not include offices in their definition of the Exchange and defined it by more of its public experiences:

> There was a time when I considered [the east portion of] Bannatyne was part of [the Exchange], but I'm not as sure anymore. It seems to that there's more [offices] than there are restaurants now.

Participants also described the Exchange and its features in relation to other areas, such as Centennial Neighbourhood. A representative from a HNPO and a NGPO described how they defined the West boundary of the Exchange in contrast to the single-family homes, duplexes, and fourplexes in the Centennial Neighbourhood. All participants had a clear idea of where the south and east boundaries of the Exchange were. South of Portage Ave. and Main St., and east of Waterfront Drive were described as definitive edges. The north boundary was not as clear, but most participants agreed that the Disraeli was another edge. Three participants felt that the north boundary extended past Alexander Avenue and included South Point Douglas.

Participants described sub-districts inside the Exchange boundary. Despite describing these sub-districts as having distinct and identifiable characteristics, participants still viewed the Exchange District as one, cohesive area. The most commonly referred to sub-districts were the East and West Exchange. Most participants also considered all or part of Chinatown to be within the Exchange. While the external boundaries of the Exchange were described to be clear, divisions between sub-districts were not as clear or agreed upon. One participant who represented an NGPO further

divided the East and West Exchange into North and South portions due to differences in uses and experiences within these sectors. A HNPO and NGPO considered the area around City Hall, the theatres and the museum to be a sort of "modern campus" or collection of modern style buildings. Another NGPO participant stated how they did not feel there were distinctive districts in the Exchange:

> It's more so a proximity. Most people know Market Square as being central, and then there's rings going out from it. There's clusters in the area but it's still identifiable as a whole as the Exchange.

All participants saw Main Street as a barrier to varying degrees and described how it split the Exchange into the East and West side. Two NGPO representatives mentioned how they acknowledge how others might refer to the and identify with the East and the West Exchange separately, but they did not distinguish between the two themselves. One NGPO said the differences between the two sides is not as prominent today as it was in the past. The intersections on Main Street at McDermot (see FIGURE 15) and Bannatyne were stated to be paths that go through Main Street as a barrier. They said it was generally those who have been in the Exchange longer who make the distinction (long-standing residents and businesses) as opposed to younger people and more recent businesses.

All participants described a transition zone (shown in blue dashed lines) as they moved from Market Square towards Chinatown. A CO participant said:

> The moment that you leave that intersection [by Red River College and the Marketlands site on Princess St.], it feels different already. So, I don't know that the boundaries are super clear.

Another CO participant said:

> I always think of that as sort of an intermediary zone between them. So, whatever King's Head Pub and [other businesses in that area] are still part of the Exchange District but then it begins to phase out a little. It's really City Hall and where Marketlands is slotted for that seems like the transition zone. I think because the Exchange has branded itself as being both restaurant-y and business-y, with all the old warehouses, [City Hall and Marketlands] doesn't really fit in with that criteria. It's kind of no man's land.

All NGPO participants highlighted the distinction between the various official boundaries of the Exchange and the experienced and perceived boundaries of the general public. While the Exchange District and Chinatown both fall in under the Character District Zone in the *Downtown Zoning By-Law* (City of Winnipeg, 2018), all of Chinatown is under the jurisdiction of the Downtown BIZ's boundaries for programming and not the Exchange District BIZ's. Despite this, most participants across all stakeholder categories included at least part of Chinatown's official boundaries (shown in pink lines) within their perception of the Exchange. One NGPO described how Chinatown is a distinct sub-district inside their perceived boundaries of the Exchange District, but is not fully located inside the Exchange.

FIGURE 15. Intersection at Main Street and McDermot Avenue.

One CO participant pointed to the perceived distances between the Exchange and Chinatown despite their proximity:

> In people's conceptual world, the Exchange and Chinatown are far apart. Like it's a block! You leave Market Square, and you just walk past City Hall [on King Street], and you're in Chinatown. But it seems so conceptually different to people. How do you move people between those spaces?

Some CO participants were hopeful that with the plans to develop Marketlands and the new *Development Strategy*, this would increase Chinatown's physical visibility from the Exchange and drive more traffic to the area.

Some CO participants identified more cultural- and social-oriented ways of decreasing this perceived disconnect between the Exchange and Chinatown. One CO mentioned events in the past where they would screen a Chinese film at Cinematheque in the Exchange and then have the "after party" or post-viewing discussions at one of Chinatown's restaurants. The CO also mentioned coordinating special events in Chinatown with the Exchange (e.g., Nuit Blanche and other festivals), so that pedestrians had something to do in both neighbourhoods. Without these special events and existing knowledge about the programming and businesses within Chinatown, visitors of the Exchange seldom go past the transition zone or across Main Street to visit Chinatown.

Chinatown

Participants expressed how they were less confident in defining the boundaries for Chinatown. Despite this, most responses for Chinatown's boundaries had less variation than responses for the Exchange's boundaries. HNPOs' and NGPOs' perceived boundaries for Chinatown stayed relatively close to the official boundary definitions. One HNPO and one NGPO stayed fully inside the official Chinatown boundaries, while other participants in those stakeholder categories went a bit outside them, mainly to the north and west. COs perceived boundaries that were more variable than other stakeholders, with one participants' boundaries extending far beyond all other responses. Across all stakeholder categories, the more familiar someone was with the area, the larger the boundary they drew.

Most participants described how their perceived boundaries for Chinatown were blurrier and resembled more of a gradient all around its edges. One CO participant said:

> If someone didn't live here and you would tell them to go and see Chinatown without giving them a map, they would find their way in from Centennial Hall looking around. Then they would be like, 'Which way should I go and what's there about it that I should go and see?' [...] At one point you know you're in it, but then if you were to say, 'Okay, I'm definitely out right now, this street ends.' That's not it. It feels a little blurry to me.

Only one participant who represented a HNPO said they felt that Chinatown had clearer boundaries and more of a cultural
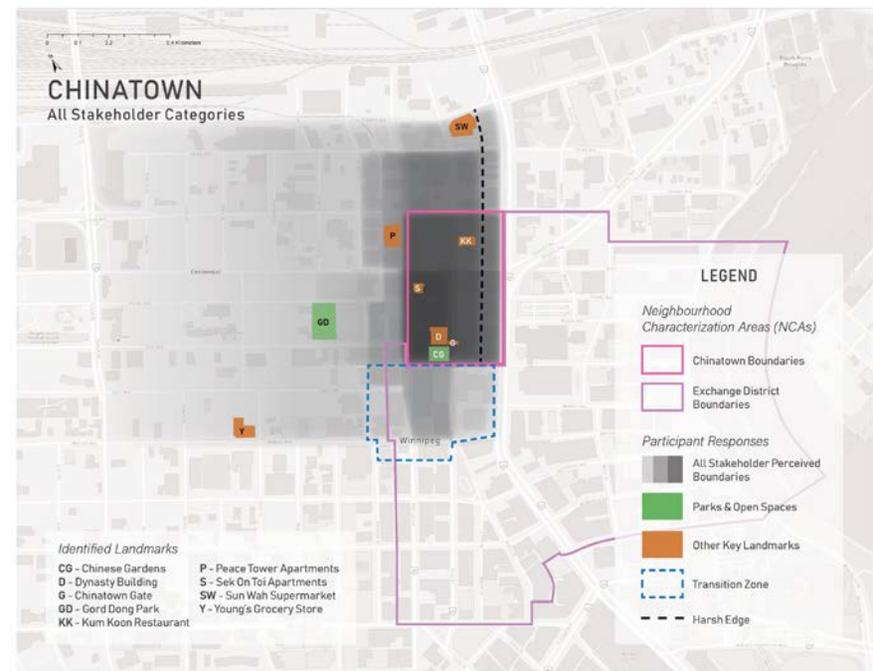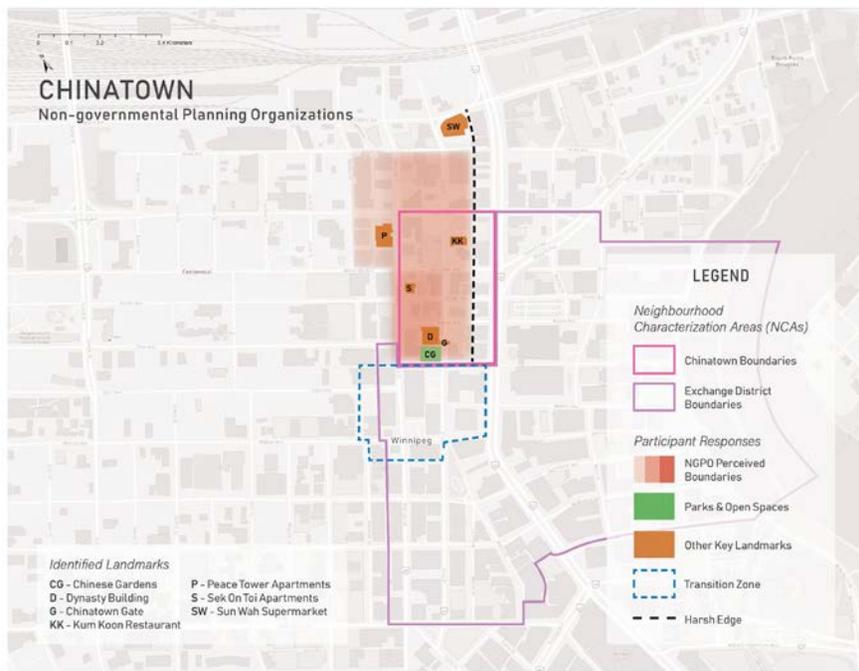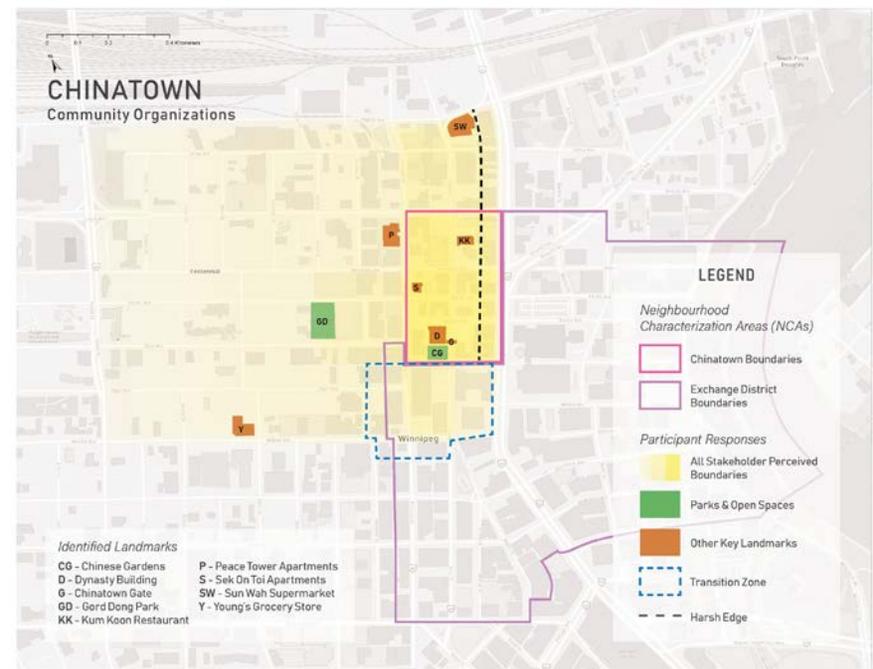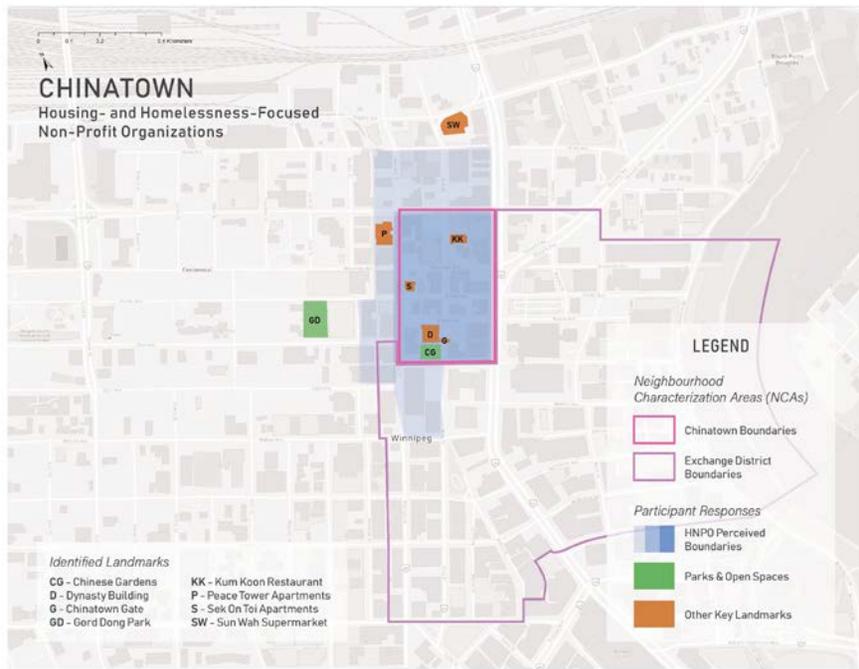
FIGURE 16. Chinatown perceived boundaries by stakeholder category. Full-sized maps can be viewed in Appendix B.

definition than the Exchange. They described Chinatown as being rooted in the culture of the people living there and its Chinese businesses.

In contrast to the Exchange, all participants described specific landmarks when identifying Chinatown as opposed to general features. All participants greatly associated a cluster of buildings by the intersection of King Street and James Avenue with Chinatown: the gate and Mandarin Building (see FIGURE 13), and Harmony Mansion, the Dynasty Building and Chinese Gardens (see FIGURE 17). These landmarks feature the most identifiably Chinese characteristics in the area. The Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre (WCCCC) was also referenced by participants. The WCCCC is located inside the Dynasty Building Chinese and houses cultural programming and events, such as Folklorama and the annual Chinese Street Fest.

Other notable landmarks were more spread out and consisted of two ethnic grocery stores (Sun Wah and Young's), two housing developments with Chinese writing (Sek On Toi and Peace Tower) and a newly renovated park (Gord Dong Park). One NGPO participant described Chinatown to be like a droplet of water:

> There's more spillover too, over by William there's some stuff that has an affinity to Chinatown. It's almost like a drop of water where we think of Chinatown [by the Chinese Gardens and the Dynasty Building] and a few little droplets outwards.

These more spread out landmarks with identifiably Chinese features caused participants some confusion when drawing their perceived boundaries. Participants often were not sure whether to draw the boundaries much farther than the cluster of buildings by the Dynasty Building despite knowing of other Chinese businesses in the area. One NGPO said:

> On Princess, there's an identity of Chinatown and a bit on King. I think there's some businesses or organizations that are affiliated and identify themselves with Chinatown that is different than where Chinatown is identified within the Exchange District. Some are a just a bit more spread out [such as Sun Wah Supermarket].

A CO participant said:

> With the new Gord Dong Park, in some ways it's really broadened the perspective for us. I don't think most people were thinking that far West before, or at least they only loosely did.

Participants did not associate or name any landmarks, businesses, or organizations without identifiably Chinese features as being part of Chinatown. One NGPO stated:

> Passed this boundary, I would say that there's some major institutions like United Way and others. They're great neighbours but they're not really seen as part of a Chinatown initiative.

All COs and NGPOs described Chinatown to not have a presence on or connection to Main Street. One CO said:

> When we think of both what it is now and what it might be, I think it's quite different from what it is historically. Historically, Main St. was more

central to it and also a bit further up North, just in the way the laundries and some of the older businesses were distributed. Chinatown now is really shaped by suburbanization in the 1970s. People moved out and there's more poverty in the area, the kind of ways that Main St. became separated off. It's like Kum Koon's there and then there's a wall.

One HNPO explained this edge by referring to programming boundaries and a lack of a greater vision or plan for the area by Main Street and Higgins Avenue:

… it's boundaries and city's are organic. And I would say that there was no inclusion or discussion about including the population on the [north-east side of Main Street] or [around Chinatown]. […] From a City Planning perspective, a great example is that fence across the street there. It was never supposed to be a parking lot. It was never supposed to be a fence — it was temporary. And it's a wall. Where's the city planning and thinking as to how to relate things? How things connect?

While HNPO participants would make references to the East and West Exchange, they did not view Main Street to be as great as a barrier. Logan Avenue was identified as a major path taken by those experiencing homelessness to get from resource to resource. One HNPO participant stressed how those experiencing homelessness typically did not distinguish between boundaries:

Peoples lives are often characterized by navigating through available and open resources.

The have no interest or care about something like [the boundaries of] the Exchange or Chinatown.

This points to how boundaries on maps are arbitrary, socially constructed, and may not be reflective of how things are "on the ground." That being said, boundaries still have implications for the built-form and people's experiences of the built-form, since boundaries control matters such as planning regulations and organizational mandates.

FIGURE 17. Chinese gardens located by the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre.

ORGANIZATIONAL MANDATE, HISTORY, & INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY AREA

Organizations' history and involvement in the study area was largely determined by their mandate. Organizational mandates and therefore, their degrees of involvement in the study area, varied across stakeholder category. Many participants were constricted by jurisdictional boundaries that lead to them to not have any official control over what goes on in Chinatown and/or the Exchange. Other participants' organizational mandates were not bound by geographic areas and related to broader communities and/or social issues (e.g., ethno-cultural communities or homelessness). Participants acknowledged a need for more communication and partnerships between groups, sectors, and across borders, but also cited being tight on resources and capacity.

In the following, I discuss differences between and within stakeholder categories as related to their mandate and involvement in the Exchange and Chinatown. I discuss broad trends as opposed to specific mandates in order to reduce the risk of participants and their organizations being identified.

Community Organizations

The mandate, goals, and objectives of the interviewed CO participants was broad. The main objective of each CO was to advocate for and represent their communities, whether that was tied to a geographic area (i.e., their neighbourhood) or broader

ethno-cultural group (i.e., Chinese or Indigenous). Of the COs interviewed, most had a stronger relation with Chinatown than the Exchange, though the strength of this relation varied depending on the organization. COs would occasionally play an advisory role on projects in the Exchange, though direct involvement was generally limited.

The largest impact on their role and involvement in the study areas had to do with mandated organizational boundaries, either of their own organization or others'. All COs expressed a need for more communication across these boundaries, even just to be informed. Highlighting concerns and potential benefits, one CO participant said:

> It would be beneficial for us […] to have more informal and formal conversations in terms of impacts into the surrounding residential areas. […] Who are those residents? What are their needs? They might seek supports in our area. Or maybe they have needs that are completely opposite from what our current residents have. If incomes were very different, population makeup, no families, no children — that's very different from this block. […] Will that change the way that properties in and around the community look like? Will that impact rentals in our area? Where will the families that are currently here go? Knowing what's currently in the work can prepare us for our work.

At minimum, being informed about developments across boundaries allows COs to prepare responses to their community may be affected by the development.

All COs discussed the importance in building relationships and expressed a desire to do so with other organizations. A CO participant said:

> You see the value in coming together, building a relationship, planning together, and then acting together. And you're slowly breaking down all those barriers that prevented you from working together in the past. There has to be a willingness on both sides — it just can't be one way. Once the relationship is established, it has to be built on a relationship of trust, of truth and honesty. A good relationship from any perspective. That's what you want but you don't always get it.

While building relationships is a goal of all the COs interviewed, one CO acknowledged how it can be challenging do so because of limited time and resources:

> Everything's getting harder to do. We're also trying to do more with less now. I think that's the reality of any non-profit now. When it comes to research, and finding grants, and information, if you don't have enough staff […] it's a lot to handle.

Most COs also acknowledged the power a strong leader can have in building relationships and in spearheading community goals and objectives. Particularly with smaller organizations, one CO said how easily their organization's mandate can change during periods of turn over. Referring to previous leaders, one CO stated:

> It remains to be seen if any of us have the kind of vision and power of those who did it in the first place. Because it's a huge amount of work and its constantly asking people for money and support and other things.

Given their intimate knowledge of their neighbourhoods and communities, COs have some of the best ideas for how to resolve issues affecting their population. As such, COs often bear the responsibility to advocate and drive change for their respective neighbourhoods and communities. However, COs are often competing with each other for the same sources of funding. Without the support of other types of organizations and capacity (i.e., administrative and financial), it is difficult for COs to put their own plans into action, or to even create their own plans in the first place.

Housing- and Homelessness-Focused Non-Profit Organizations

In contrast to the local focus of many of the COs interviewed, none of the HNPOs said they had a direct role, involvement, and/or mandate in the Exchange or Chinatown. Two of the participants were located outside of the official neighbourhood boundaries for Chinatown and the Exchange. However, since homelessness and other housing-related issues affect all of Winnipeg, the scope and mandate of HNPOs often extended throughout Winnipeg as well. Participants described being asked occasionally to act as an advisory role on projects and

developments in the study area or to act as a connector or convener between groups. HNPOs connected with each other and other organizations across sectors in the area but said that their mandate and objectives were not directly shaped or constrained by the study area.

While the Exchange and Chinatown do not influence their mandate, goals and objectives, another HNPO participant described the differences in how their community impacts the respective areas:

> The Exchange has been impacted by us and our community. [...] it's been sort of a congregation of those who are homeless and chronically homeless. And it's had more of an impact on them than us directly trying to impact them. [...] People who are coming to restaurants and stuff in Chinatown were used to seeing our community members. People who were driving in through the burbs to the Exchange. It was kind of a shock, 'Oh, there's homeless people in Winnipeg.'

HNPO participants said since they represented the broader homeless population, their mandate extends beyond the boundaries of the Exchange and Chinatown. One HNPO said as development occurs not only in the Exchange, but Winnipeg overall, this has an indirect effect on their involvement:

> As Winnipeg redevelops and grows sometimes that growth is unequal. And there's been no policies to ensure that people aren't evicted from their neighbourhood or building. We're not getting in front of the homelessness crisis. Things are getting worse, not getting better. So,

> as neighbourhoods like the Exchange grow and change, and many neighbourhoods in Winnipeg grow and change, there's no policies in place to get ahead of that [demand for affordable housing].

With increasing demands for affordable housing, there is an increasing demand for resources and services related to those experiencing homelessness. Due to the geographic proximity of many of these homeless-serving organizations, this can result in an increase in involvement in the Exchange and Chinatown. An increase in homelessness as a result of unaffordable housing could mean an increase in those who are visibly homeless walking through the Exchange District and Chinatown. Two HNPOs cited that they are often contacted by businesses or NGPOs to advise on issues around homelessness since social-issues are typically outside of the scope of NGPOs.

Non-governmental Planning Organizations

The mandate, goals and objectives of the NGPOs interviewed focused on planning, leadership, and guiding development. In terms of having an involvement or role in the Exchange and Chinatown, most NGPOs talked about this was opportunity based, or determined by clients or other stakeholders. One NGPO said, "We focus on things when entities who commission our kinds of studies put out studies to do that." This notion was also reflected in what another NGPO said, "Opportunities we've had at different points in time reflect where our involvement has been." One of the NGPOs said in relation to Chinatown and the renewed interest in the area:

[…] the NW Exchange didn't get a lot of attention for a very long time in that way. The Winnipeg Chinese Cultural Centre[1] was sort of on their own to get things done. And they were very good at brokering little pieces like upgrading the park or fixing the gate, and even in cobbling together money for the developments like the residential tower. But most groups like that don't think, 'Oh, we need a big plan.' Usually it takes a civic entity to say let's look at a bigger picture.

While these organizations did not explicitly have a social-mandate like HNPOs and COs, all NGPOs have had a social influence in the study area to varying degrees. One NGPO discussed the importance and benefits of building partnerships with other sectors and organizations to co-ordinate resources and fill gaps in each others mandates:

We all could get on the same page, talk about what we're doing. This is something [this organization] wants to do but it's beyond our mandate. But here's how we can help you within our mandate. And vice versa with other organizations. […] The momentum is just building with the partnerships in the area.

Another NGPO talked about the influence of developing partnerships on their understanding of the area:

Volunteering and helping [the social services and arts-based organizations] in the Exchange helps us realize it is the presence of those groups on top of more traditional sort of corporate or lease-hold development. Knowing those people and understanding their commitment, makes us even more committed to doing that. And also gives us a really good understanding of what their needs are, what their challenges are, but also what their potential relationships could be like.

The *Development Strategy* consultations have allowed other organizations to be aware of each others' mandates, skills, and other resources. Through being knowledgeable about the needs and challenges of different organizations, NGPOs could play a co-ordinating role or partner with COs and HNPOs to ensure the social needs of the study area are being met.

Conclusion

To summarize, mandates were either constrained by jurisdictional boundaries, advocating for the views and needs of their communities, and/or by the work they are commissioned by clients to do. COs and HNPOs had more of a social-mandate than NGPOs; however, COs and HNPOs often cited not having enough financial resources, time, or administrative capacity to do the programming they wanted to do or to make large changes to the study area. In the next section, I describe more about what participants wanted to preserve, add, remove, and keep (PARK) in Chinatown, and their overall vision for the neighbourhood's future.

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1   This is not the organization that was interviewed and that provided this quote. The WCCCC's name was left in to make a distinction between community-organizing and state-organizing. The WCCC was a significant driver in the development of Chinatown as we know it in the 1970s, despite not having official, organizational ties to the government.

PARK ANALYSIS & VISION FOR THE FUTURE

Across all stakeholder categories, when asked questions related to the PARK analysis and their vision for the future, participants discussed more of their personal opinion as opposed to having an organizational view. Unless they had a direct mandate with working in the area, organizations were unlikely to provide comments from an organizational perspective or comments that directly reflected their mandate. Some participants who were not Chinese would answer the questions in the PARK Analysis but would also say how ultimately, it should be up for the Chinese community to decide what happens within the space since the space is seen to belong to the Chinese community.

In the following section, I highlight key insights each stakeholder category had for future development in Chinatown and the Northwest Exchange. The section on community organizations' (COs) perspectives is considerably longer than the sections on non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs) and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs). While this may partly be due to how COs have more participants than the other stakeholder categories, COs generally had more to say about their vision for Chinatown's future. This may possibly be due to how many of these participants have a more intimate experience with the neighbourhood compared to being there strictly during their working hours.

Community Organizations

When asked about their favourite thing about Chinatown, what they like about the area and what they would like to preserve, all COs said they wanted to preserve the character in the area. This was regardless of whether or not the participant was self-identified as being ethnically Chinese. COs largely focused on preserving and enhancing the character buildings and Chinese garden by the intersection of King Street and James Avenue. Responses from COs touched on varying aspects of why they liked these buildings. Three participants related it to the larger history of Chinese-Canadians settling in the area. One participant pointed to how "there is no Chinatown without restaurants," referring to the historic origins of the neighbourhood. Another participant stated:

> When I see the [Dynasty Building] in this larger context, it's not necessarily about thinking that it's a historical building, but understanding that it's the history of the community, and it's the way that it's come to be built and have meaning, and then it physically stands for that it's going to continue into the future."

In this sense, the buildings were strongly tied to preserving not only the memory of Chinese-Canadians in the past, but also of establishing a presence and opportunity for future generations to connect with their culture. Similarly, another CO participant also spoke to why people place importance in having their

culture physically represented:

> Physical is important to people, all citizens need to see something that represents their history, and their cultures, their languages and their architecture. I drive by some of the Chinatown buildings and they clearly represent Chinese design, and they add value to our city. It's absolutely essential to our diversity.

Another participant made a distinction between the experience of being Chinese and of being Chinese-Canadian,

> Honouring traditions and past, but honour unique aspects of being Chinese-Canadian. We do respect those traditions, but we really honour our Canadian values, which include multi-culturalism.

This distinction between Chinese and Chinese-Canadian relates to how broad the Chinese diaspora is, and the different waves of immigration to Canada. Participants referred to how many Chinese international students, from post-secondary institutions like University of Manitoba and Red River College, are largely unaware of Chinese-Canadian history. Despite the newer Chinese business community establishing their presence in the south end of Winnipeg, one CO participant, who self-identified as Chinese, stressed the importance of the downtown Chinatown as the historic home, cultural and political centre for Chinese-Canadians in Winnipeg. Partnerships with Chinese student organizations and the Chinese-Canadian community allows these students to come to Chinatown and connect with this history.

Chinatown presents opportunities for cultural exchange and community pride beyond just between new Chinese immigrants and established Chinese-Canadians. A CO participant touched on the Chinese Garden's social utility as a place to gather for people regardless of their race or economic standing:

> Lots of different people use it, both residents nearby and people outside of the area. People take pictures, it's a place to gather, people practice martial arts. It's used every day but also during special events and is an extension of the community centre.

Related to this, another CO participant spoke to the landmarks' social utility in building community pride and cultural exchange between Chinese and non-Chinese residents:

> It's not only architecture, it becomes beautification and pride in the community. Learning about others. Cohesion of residents and others. Those visible and recognizable landmarks should be kept, maintained, and even improved.

CO participants also mentioned other things they liked about Chinatown included the Chinese businesses, restaurants and cultural performances including the Street Festival and Folklorama. CO participants who participated in the special events held by the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre or who were more intimately familiar with Chinatown valued the diversity of people who come to the area. Commenting on the Street Festival, one CO participant said:

> This is how we want to imagine this space. Usually at the Street Festival it's diverse; there's families, there are a significant amount of people who live on the margins who come because it's free music.

Responses were mixed in terms of aspects CO participants felt were missing from Chinatown or could be added or enhanced. Most CO participants mentioned that there needed to be more markers of Chinese culture, or a clear indication of where the neighbourhood's boundaries were. One CO participant said:

> More banners, signs, statues. Letting people know they've arrived into Chinatown. As opposed to driving through it and not knowing that was actually Chinatown.

At the same time, members of Chinese COs also expressed how they did not want their culture to be or frozen in time. One CO participant commented:

> These are the sort of things that need to be there because there's a historical meaning to it but also are experienced by people as modern living now. […] The physical space is creating the community, but also the way that it invokes a history in a dynamic sense. It's never just fixed. […] Please don't just give us generic what you think of Chinese. There's nothing worse than presuming it's a static culture. That you can't have anything modern about it, and the only colour option is red.

Chinese COs stressed that placemaking should occur in a way that was not tokenistic or essentializing, and that reflected contemporary Chinese culture. The same CO continued on:

> For me, I think it's the historical legacy of the area. And if you want to be historic, it's not just about the buildings but it's also thinking about how you want to be a living embodiment of the best parts of the history of it. Or in recognition of the failures and to try and do something different.

This statement echoes the perspective some participants expressed regarding challenges in balancing the preservation of culture as represented by the existing character buildings and the history of Chinese-Canadians in the neighbourhood. Historical preservation through branding allows communities to reshape social meanings and memories through space. Not only can the histories of discrimination be remembered Chinese-Canadians, but also the memory of how their community was able to put a plan in motion of the revitalization of Chinatown in the 1970s.

There was a strong desire for multi-culturalism and inclusivity in programming and amenities from all CO participants. A CO participant agreed with enhancing Chinatown's character but also pointed to how the area feels very inward and could feel exclusive for people not familiar with the programming. Commenting on how they see a need for places that are identifiable for everyone, the participant said:

> It's like the Youth for Christ Centre on Higgins. If that's not a name that attracts me, where I feel like I could belong, maybe if I don't feel welcome. Even if they would welcome me, I probably wouldn't go.

Aside from the annual Street Festival, most activities and programming happen indoors, typically inside the WCCCC or inside restaurants. Without knowing about the types of programming that occur inside the Cultural Centre, non-Chinese people typically do not feel like they are included in the space because of the Chinese writing on and the strong Chinese character of the buildings.

In terms of ideas for providing more inclusive amenities in an ethno-cultural sense, one participant suggested the inclusion of things like Halal products at the local grocery stores could make newcomers feel a bit more part of the space. One participant stressed the importance of not only intercultural, but also intergenerational amenities:

> Is there a way to see how those in the Chinese community, the Indigenous community, and of the newcomer cultures overlap? Can it be both intergenerational and intercultural at the same time?

Two other CO participants spoke about actively challenging racism and discrimination, and managing diversity. One of these CO participants raises the question of,

> What does it actually mean to live anti-racism? What does it mean to actually create living spaces where you are aware of and addressing the way that racism operates in not just Winnipeg, but Winnipeg's inner-city areas? Not just anti-Indigenous racism in the city. But how do you deal with different community groups living beside each other without essentializing race?

> But, also recognizing that racialized experiences are very much a part of it.

These participants recognized the layered experiences and histories of Chinese, Indigenous, and newcomer populations. However, they still believed it was possible to maintain a multicultural experience while having a Chinese-branded streetscape and character buildings.

Some CO participants suggested including more outward-facing spaces where people could spend time leisurely, such as more parks and open spaces. Opportunities to participate in inclusive, barrier-free, or affordable programming was stressed by most COs as something important to the neighbourhood's inhabitants and something that there needs to be more of. One of these CO participants said:

> I would like to see significant green space, multipurpose living spaces, lots of community services, so it's not based on gentrification moving people out but that it's inviting more people in and supporting people who are already here with the types of service they need.

That being said, these open spaces and green spaces need to be purposefully designed; not just a patch of grass on a vacant lot. All CO participants commented on the vacant lots, underutilized, or abandoned buildings, pointing to a need for more development in the area. One CO participant said,

> We would rather see a viable building whether it be restored or brand new that brings people, and brings in businesses, than abandoned old buildings.

Another CO participant pointed to challenges in maintaining old character buildings and securing enough funding to develop high-quality, architecturally pleasing buildings like the Red River College Princess campus that pays homage to the past,

> My desire is that no more buildings will be knocked down for bad, ugly ones. But it's a financial [constraint]. Generally there's a real perception that there's no interest in the history of the area and that people just want to knock down buildings and put up ugly new ones. […] The reality is that a government grant only gets you to functional. […] It would mean a choice between one project or many project.

Organizations who are already tightly strapped for resources (time, finances, and administrative capacity) are put in a difficult spot of either contributing to the character of the neighbourhood, or just having development. Some participants are hopeful that the *Development Strategy* will help alleviate this challenge.

All COs agreed that the priority was in bringing more people to the area including residents, foot traffic, and commuters. One participant commented on how, aside from restaurants and grocery stores, it can be hard to sustain businesses in the area because there is not a critical mass of residents. The CO also expressed concerns a lack of parking spaces, pointing to competition from suburban malls and how people will leave and go somewhere else if there is not a convenient place to park.

Gaps in development (i.e., vacant lots and abandoned buildings) were attributed to maintaining a car-centric environment and not one that pedestrians felt comfortable walking around in. This relates back to people's relative perceptions of distance, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Places in Chinatown feel far from each other due to gaps between these places and between other neighbourhoods. All the COs spoke to how they want to have greater connections between all neighbourhoods that surround Chinatown, particularly Centennial and the Exchange. One participant stated:

> There's a need for greater integration so that there's a sense that the boundaries of one area bleed more directly into the others […] So that people move and walk across between the neighbourhood in ways that I don't think happen now. Some of it is [Winnipeg's] car culture.

While COs identified that the development of more housing and more reasons for people to come to the area was a great priority, COs also stressed how new developments should accommodate a diversity of groups, especially the area's current population. Two of the five COs spoke of the adjacent social services during this portion of the PARK Analysis. One CO expressed concern about how the recent *Development Strategy* might be implemented:

> We can't think about improving the area without thinking about the people currently in the area because we're just pushing them away. If a plan for development doesn't include people and its a plan for things or buildings, then I don't think it's

meant for success. So, the social aspect of that conversation is important. And the question is: does that match the vision of whoever's putting the dollars in?

The other CO spoke towards bringing in other people of diverse income backgrounds as residents to the area:

It is difficult to have social services so close, but it's part of our reality. Edmonton has the same issue. People look at it differently because of the proximity. Let's make something positive out of this. Have a better understanding. These community groups are needed, it doesn't matter where they are. It's about bringing more people, not just that population, and creat[ing] a vibrant community.

Maintaining the affordability and the "grittiness" of Chinatown was something CO participants prioritized. At the same time, CO participants did not want to see momentum in the area to fade or for the area to become further disinvested. One CO said:

I don't want to see gentrification in a certain way that blends it out, but I also don't want to see a space that isn't moving in directions that will allow for a new generation of energy behind it. I've been there more than enough times that it can feel incredibly abandoned and that there's not a lot going on.

Similarly, another CO commented:

Not exclusionary but also not ghettoizing either. Just because it's in very close proximity to the shelters, like it's all here. That doesn't need to

become the only place where people can go. [...] That, 'Oh, all the homeless people can go there. Then they cannot be at Portage Place, at the Old Market Square, and at the True North Square.' Because that's kind of what it's looking like.

Generally, CO participants were looking forward to Chinatown being reinvested in but expressed caution around how the neighbourhood will develop. Community, diversity, and the preservation of memories, history, and culture were common themes in COs responses. COs primary concerns were around enhancing the area's Chinese character in an authentic way, maintaining the area's diversity, creating inclusive, barrier-free spaces and programming for all (age, ethnicity, income, and ability), and bringing more people and development to the area in an integrated manner that does not result in the displacement of the Chinatowns' current inhabitants. Other stakeholder categories expressed similar visions for change in Chinatown.

Non-governmental Planning Organizations

All NGPOs stated that Chinatown's Chinese cultural characteristics, architecture, and other elements need to be preserved and amplified. Most NGPOs wanted to preserve the "gritty buildings" in the area. One participant stated,

I would not want massive glass condos that have nothing to do with Chinatown. I would not want stuff that buries it or obscures it, or turns it into something it's not.

Like COs, the character NGPOs described primarily referred to the cluster of buildings by King Street and James Avenue, while also mentioning Chinese restaurants and local businesses a bit more spread out from this hub. Compared to COs, NGPOs did not explicitly connect the buildings as representing a specific Chinese-Canadian identity. NGPOs described enhancing the area to be a "landmark" or "destination." One NGPO participant described preserving an overall "classic 1960s or 1970s Chinatown vibe." However, the same participant also cautioned against forcing a specific character and discussed leaving room for contemporary Chinese culture:

> Anything that's overly contrived or really phony. You're always walking that fine line. For example in the Exchange, there is a give and take between preserving the National Historic Site and all the buildings in it. [...] There has to be room for contemporary Chinese architecture and art.

This statement relates to the view two NGPOs have about Chinatown's "authentic old-timers" (Brown-Sarancino, 2009). One participant referred to public displays of Chinese culture by residents in the neighbourhood,

> I know theres a lot of seniors who live in the area doing Tai Chi in public spaces. I think that that's just another reason to enhance and continue to preserve the public space in the cultural centre there. For the use of the cultural community, but also for the people who live there, and then to broaden it for people to understand that space more.

The second participant stated,

> A Chinatown in Vancouver or Toronto is filled with Chinese people. That's the only way it works. You can't just have it look like a Chinese area. You have to have people there.

Like Brown-Sarancino's concept of social preservationists (2009), these participants viewed people who are visibly Chinese to be an integral part in communicating to others that the space is Chinatown.

While over half of Chinatown's residents self-identified as being of Chinese ancestry (City of Winnipeg, 2019), most of these are older adults who have retired in one of the area's Chinese-focused senior living complexes. Younger generations of Chinese-Canadian households, and newer immigrants from China do not typically chose to settle in Chinatown. Younger Chinese-Canadians may see living outside of Chinatown as a "status symbol," as their parents and older generations worked hard for their children to be able to afford a "better life" in the suburbs. With newer immigrants, this could be due to simply not knowing about Winnipeg's Chinatown and its significance to previous generations of Chinese-Canadians. Taking into account the changing demographics of Winnipeg's Chinese diaspora and without a way of attracting younger Chinese-Canadians, the neighbourhood may not have any Chinese residents in the future. There is validity to questioning the authenticity of branding the area as Chinatown in this instance, since the branding would not reflect the area's inhabitants. However, this perspective can also be problematic in that those

who are Chinese are treated as props or "spectacles" (Baloy, 2016). This perspective also neglects the historic importance and contemporary value of the area as a political and cultural hub for Chinese-Canadians.

All NGPOs mentioned the space would "benefit from more diversity." The diversity NGPOs describe mainly related to a diversity of incomes, housing tenure, and types of businesses, with the goal of economic sustainability for the area. Reflective of changes in immigration and settlement patterns, all NGPOs talked about the concentration of newer Chinese businesses in Southern Winnipeg and how this creates some challenges with the types of businesses that can open in Chinatown due to competition. One participant discussed having a destination retailer in Chinatown to attract people to the area,

> Having that solid anchor retailer made a difference and created a destination [in another neighbourhood]. [...] Somebody opening a destination retail experience that fits in with the character of Chinatown together with a concerted effort of the business community and community organizations.

Another participant highlighted how retail in the area should not just rely on attracting visitors, but should also respond to the interests of people living downtown:

> Anything that relies on only attracting people from outside the Downtown, I don't think works in the Downtown. I think we need to focus on unique aspects, for sure, like unique retailing. Destination shops and services works and that's something

we should have. But also to pay attention to the folks that are living Downtown and what kind of services and amenities they need; that is walkable and that sort of thing.

Two participants mentioned multi-culturalism as a way to adapt to this challenge. One participant said,

> Just because you have diverse ownership, doesn't mean you can't brand it as Chinatown. You can use the public realm to make it feel like a cultural district. I don't think anyone living here would care because it's the authentic [historic settlement] of Chinatown.

Another participant said,

> We call it Chinatown but it doesn't need to be Asian businesses at all. The more and more people you bring to the area, the better it is for all the businesses. To cluster them and make sure they're successful. I would say, Chinatown is missing more business but I can't pinpoint what they might be. Sort of anything would be complementary to restaurants and grocery store.

These comments refer to maintaining the Chinese character of the streetscape, while responding to realities around market conditions.

Like COs, gaps in development, vacant lots, and abandoned buildings were also mentioned by NGPOs as a concern. One participant stated,

> The biggest sort of thing that could intensify the district would be filling in the street. So that you

could have a continuous street frontage with shops and built-form to define those edges. It's like a gap toothed smile right now, especially as you move north.

Another participant specified that development needed to interact with the street more and how this is a problem with Chinatown's existing urban form:

I even think some of the negatives about the existing buildings, however lovely they are, they aren't really street-facing. Even the entrance to the cultural centre is off of that beautiful garden, but it doesn't always seem like that's public. And the Mandarin Building on King is primarily offices. Something that could have more of a street presence so that it's more comfortable for pedestrians, or cyclists, or cars. So nothing with hard walls or that's mall like.

One participant suggested developing "well-grained green spaces" in the area like the Chinese gardens but more street-facing to provide opportunities for people to be in Chinatown without having to spend money.

Participants also described a need for more of a presence, especially down Main Street (see FIGURE 18), to communicate to visitors where Chinatown is and to turn the neighbourhood into more of a landmark. One participant said,

It would be great if you could tell Chinatown is there from Main Street because it actually doesn't make it to Main Street. Imagine you're a tourist, even if you're coming off of the Disraeli, if that intersection and that corner had a major

indication that if you kept going straight, you would end up right in the middle of Chinatown, it would be very helpful. Because [Main Street] is a very different edge.

Another participant said,

But once you go to any of the four sides, really, you're not certain whether you're still in Chinatown. If [placemaking and increasing the Chinese character of the neighbourhood is] a desire of the Chinese community in general, [...] really simple things like a unique sort of lighting fixture, or paving pattern on the sidewalks, or building signage. Maybe it's just on one block, or one square block but to enhance the cultural centre and gate that's already there. Maybe to create even a fresher identity, [...] something a bit fresh that catches people's attention.

These statements are similar to desires expressed by some COs related to increasing the physical presence of Chinatown through placemaking.

All NGPO participants strongly related vacant lots and a lack of active street frontages to perceptions of safety in the area. According to one participant,

One of the biggest street killers is if you're driving by a barbed-wire, chain-link fence, and the lighting gets way less comfortable, and there's way less people, and you just don't feel like you want to walk down that.

Another participant responded similarly,

For some people, just seeing [vacant lots and

derelict properties] could have negative views of the area. And could associate that with either economic challenges and social aspects.

NGPOs placed a priority on residential infill not only as a means of increasing potential consumers, but also as a means of diversifying the area economically and improving perceptions of safety. One participant said,

> With the whole perceptions of safe/unsafe, the fastest way to make things safe is to have a bunch of different kinds of people living there together.

NGPO participants described accommodating a wide variety of populations, such as students, families, and retired folks, in different tenures and affordability levels. Creating a mix of incomes was emphasized by NGPOs. One NGPO suggested being able to attract younger generations and newer, skilled immigrants with experience in fields like the tech sector to the neighbourhood and the Exchange. The participant said,

> I think the critical mass for the broader area,... right now we're at about 3,0000 or just under. I think hitting 5,000 would tip us over, then we'd rapidly grow to 10,000. I think 10,000 is when we'd really have the conditions for some real vibrancy on the street.

NGPO participants strongly put the focus on the private sector and market to revitalize Chinatown; none of the NGPO participants mentioned partnerships or investments by the government. One participant said Chinatown "needs private sector investment to show the city [that the private sector is] serious and shows other people they're serious" about revitalizing Chinatown. The participant also described how coalitions of businesses and community groups can drive change in the neighbourhood. Another participant described how costs to purchase land are not as big of an issue as it is to raise capital to cover construction,

> The economics is a hard thing because property values in Downtown are more difficult than say, in southwest suburban strip mall development. Having said that the WCCCC owns a lot of the land or at least it's Chinese community members who hold title to even empty lots in this particular neighbourhood. The difficulty is in raising the capital to develop new built infrastructure.

This statement echoes challenges identified by COs in terms of limited resources and needing to make difficult choices.

Only one NGPO participant described more social-oriented programming. The participant pointed to arguments about Waterfront Drive's revitalization related to the neighbourhoods expensive condos and unaffordability. They afford suggestions such as mixed-market housing, social-enterprises, and an educational facility of sorts where the Chinese community could "engage with youth for continuity into the next generation." The participant said,

> There's a great need for affordable housing in this neighbourhood. This idea of not isolating those in our society who are most in need of help and marginalizing them like the other, into a corner by themselves.

Beyond mentioning mixed-market housing models, the

participant did not specify who they felt should be responsible for providing the affordable housing, and what type of affordable housing should be in the neighbourhood. The participant also pointed to the expansion of Red River College in the form of a tech and social innovation centre. They described how there would be opportunities for students at the college to work with Indigenous communities in the North End and migrate through reconciliation together.

Housing- and Homelessness-Focused Non-Profit Organizations

Similar to COs and NGPOs, HNPOs also agreed Chinatown's character should be preserved and enhanced. One participant said that there was nothing they liked about Chinatown. The same participant said that a lot more could be done to develop the neighbourhood's character and streetscaping such as adding more parks and public art. Two participants referred to the Chinese architecture and public art in the area as things they liked about the neighbourhood. Referring to the newly named Gord Dong Park, one participant talked about the importance of incorporating Chinese heritage in naming and some of the areas built form,

> As neighbourhoods change, it's nice to preserve it's history. So, if Chinatown isn't still Chinatown, we can keep some aspects that pay homage to that.

HNPOs participants described how Chinatown feels very inward facing. Reasons for this were divided between the physical urban-form, cultural character of Chinatown, and types of development in the area. In terms of specifically Chinese businesses and architecture, one participant said,

> A lot of people don't know [Sun Wah Supermarket] is down there. I think part of it is that, because part of it is ethno-centric, there's not a lot of businesses that are recognizable to someone who's not culturally tuned in to what's going on there. Just a little more outreach [is needed] from the community to some of the other organizations and businesses.

In terms of the urban form and disconnect between neighbourhoods, another participant said,

> Rather than being insular, connecting — if Chinatown is a hub and it's feeding people from the Exchange District, from Main Street, and from Centennial Neighbourhoods. Things where people feel welcome to come in [are needed]. Why would you stop at Chinatown? Why wouldn't you start Waterfront Drive, and have people feel like they were flowing so Main Street's less than a barrier. [...] More of a smooth transition.

One participant described only going to Chinatown to grab lunch. Similarly, another participant described while they go to the Chinese gardens during their breaks, they also do not know "a ton of what happens [in Chinatown] after work hours." Like NGPOs, another HNPO wanted there to be more street-facing development. The HNPO participant described needing more of a pedestrian-presence in Chinatown beyond just lunch

hours. Another HNPO said they did not want Chinatown to keep having "busy restaurants but empty streets."

Like other stakeholder categories, HNPOs saw a need for redeveloping abandoned, old buildings before they deteriorated further, and for filling in vacant lots to create a more cohesive neighbourhood and better experience for pedestrians. One participant suggested repurposing old buildings for affordable housing,

> If housing people is your plan,[…] there has to be a bigger plan of how two things work together. In old neighbourhoods like this, why would you bulldoze old buildings when they've got a purpose they can be affordable. Artists can move into them and live in there.

Another participant suggested developing affordable housing before costs in the neighbourhood rise,

> As the market starts to tune in to this neighbourhood, things will be getting more expensive. There's an opportunity to capitalize on that while some of the buildings and properties might be more affordable. There's a crisis in our city right now and we need to see new affordable and social housing. It'd be great if this neighbourhood could be a part of that. Not necessarily because it's close to services, but because I think it should happen in every neighbourhood.

Another participant said,

> Gentrification changes [a neighbourhood]. How do you sort of soften that so that, people that are part of that [marginalized] community, their

economic opportunities are advanced? I'm not sure. Just don't create ghettos and leave them there to fester. But don't displace people either.

These last two statements relate to viewing Chinatown within the larger context of Winnipeg. Participants wanted affordability to be maintained in the area, but like COs, HNPOs did not want Chinatown to remain disinvested and neglected.

HNPOs described a desire for more businesses to open up, and for more people live in the neighbourhood, be out in the streets, and contribute to a lively neighbourhood feel. They described needing more residents in the area, but emphasized housing affordability and mitigating displacement. When asked about the type of development they did not want to happen, one participant said,

> I would not like to see them be less welcoming. The businesses and the people who walk the streets in Chinatown, don't seem to be adverse to our population.

Another participant juxtaposed Chinatown's history in Winnipeg with the history and dispossession of Indigenous Peoples,

> Chinatown was developed when Winnipeg was developed as a city. So, it's also important that Indigenous people have a right to this land. And so, that includes everything from people being allowed to camp and live outside, which is their right, but also ensuring that Indigenous people have equal access to housing and opportunity. Which in our city, they do not.

One participant pointed to how most of the development

happening by Chinatown is related to the expansion of three drop-in shelters. The shelters help to establish and solidify the presence of those experiencing homelessness in the area. While the risk of physical displacement is low, increased development in Chinatown and the Northwest Exchange may result in their exclusionary displacement and continued and dispossession from the neighbourhood and the Downtown.

Conclusion

Participants across all stakeholder categories wanted more connectivity between Chinatown, the Exchange, Main Street, and adjacent neighbourhoods. Connectivity referred to physical transitions between neighbourhoods, as well as social connections between organizations. Proposed solutions included increasing wayfinding and placemaking interventions, and strengthening connections, communication, and partnerships between organizations.

All participants agreed that more development and investment was needed in Chinatown. Vacant lots and abandoned buildings were cited as taking away from the neighbourhood and experience of pedestrians, making the area appear neglected, and thus affecting perceptions of safety.[1] Therefore, some amount of gentrification is inevitable, since a significant increase in development and population

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1 In the next section, negative perceptions around safety were described by COs to be primarily held by people unfamiliar with the area and/or suburbanites coming to Downtown.

(especially of groups not formerly inhabiting Chinatown) will change the existing area (Zukin, 2011; Massey, 2005). Most COs and HNPOs pointed to the area needing investment to avoid becoming ghettoized, but also expressed concerns about displacement.

The displacement participants were concerned about was related more closely to direct physical displacement. There was some mention of indirect physical displacement (i.e., exclusionary displacement) when participants discussed the need for affordable and barrier-free amenities and programs; however, they did not consider exclusion as a form of displacement. Most participants viewed the physical representations of one's culture to be important and related it to a culture's collective memory and legacy when asked about their vision for Chinatown's future. Two-thirds of participants mentioned working with or being inclusive of Indigenous people within Chinatown in some way, but only two participants explicitly mentioned the dispossession of Indigenous people and their right to inhabit the neighbourhood. About a third of participants across all stakeholder categories did not mention Indigenous people at all in their responses to the first (neighbourhood boundaries and organizational mandate) and second (PARK analysis) portions of the interview guide. Compared to their responses in first portions of the interview, COs and HNPOs spoke more about issues facing Indigenous people, and particularly those experiencing homelessness, when asked to reflect on the experiences of their residents and client-base in the final section of the interview guide.

FIGURE 18. Disraeli Freeway by Main Street, facing the United Way building and Sek On Toi apartments. (Image source: Google Maps Streetview; Edited by: Angie Mojica)

EXPERIENCES OF CHINATOWN & THE EXCHANGE'S INHABITANTS

Due to time-constraints of the Capstone course, I was unable to talk to residents and those experiencing homelessness directly. So, I asked community organizations (COs) and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs) additional questions related to the experiences of their residents and/or client-base in the Exchange and Chinatown. Questions were structured similarly to the PARK Analysis/Vision for the Future section in that participants were asked to reflect on what they thought their residents' and or client-base viewed to be positive aspects or challenging aspects about Chinatown and the Exchange. Non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs) were not asked these questions since NGPOs do not represent or deal with one particular group on a regular basis.

Compared to responses in the previous section where I asked participants aspects they or their organization wanted to preserve, add, remove, and keep in Chinatown, COs and HNPOs generally had less to say in this portion of the interview. This could partially be attributed to interview fatigue, but participants also described not being able to speak on behalf of the populations they were representing on certain aspects. While participants had some challenges thinking from the perspective of groups they were representing, I was still able to gain some insight on the needs and experiences of these marginalized populations, and evidence of exclusionary and symbolic displacement.

In the following sections, I separate responses from COs and HNPOs. There were similar themes between both stakeholder categories around connectivity between neighbourhoods, affordability and access to resources, and broader social-issues experienced by their residents and/or client-base that span across neighbourhood boundaries. COs had greater variation in their responses while HNPOs cited intergenerational trauma faced by Indigenous People as a major issue that needed to be addressed.

Community Organizations

COs responses were mixed in terms of where their residents liked to spend time in the Exchange District and Chinatown. Participants responded by saying their residents either visit one neighbourhood or the other, or neither of them. An Indigenous CO discussed how income-levels and class influence the experience of Indigenous people in these neighbourhoods,

> We have Indigenous citizens who have jobs and who are middle class going into the Exchange. And then we also have our homeless persons who are in the Exchange because they're struggling with life. They're addicted, they may have mental health issues, they've got no place to live, there's help organizations close by.

One CO mentioned issues around being identified as being

both homeless and Indigenous in Chinatown,

> If someone could be perceived as being homeless, there's a lot of stigma. I don't know if the culture-based communities are as informed in harm-reduction methods or knowledge about Indigenous inter-generational and historical trauma. I don't know if it would be a safe space for them.

Chinese COs talked about how the Chinese community is located throughout Winnipeg, and often live in suburban, commuter neighbourhoods. As such, most Chinese people in Winnipeg drive to specific places in Chinatown and do not spend a lot of time walking between locations. They also do not typically go to the Exchange due to perceived safety concerns. One participant said,

> There's concerns about safety. I think these are more about their perceptions. It's suburbanites who don't come Downtown in any way. So, I don't think it's necessarily about Chinatown but their sense of anything that's marked about Downtown... It's just not the suburbs.

Other COs shared this perspective about safety concerns not being specific or intrinsic to Chinatown and its adjacent neighbourhoods. In regards to safety, another CO tied perceptions of safety to messages proliferated in the media:

> It is more visible because safety is one of the things the media is obsessed with right now, so more people are hyper vigilant about it. And that goes both for people in the Downtown and people going to the Downtown. I don't think it's

an inherently unsafe place at all. But that's kind of the perceived feeling about it. [...] I don't think that there's a Downtown issue. I think theres a spread out safety and health and poverty issue.

Two COs cited affordability of activities as a concern. One of these participants said their residents were more likely to go to Chinatown for the restaurants or during events like Folklorama and the Street Festival. Another CO described how the businesses in the Exchange were expensive, but the neighbourhood also had things to do that were free of costs, such as sitting in Market Square or attending festivals. Residents of adjacent neighbourhoods do not typically go to the Exchange District or Chinatown on a daily basis, since other options are located closer to where they live.

One CO raised concerns about whether their residents are welcomed by residents in the Exchange and in newer developments in Chinatown. Regarding the newer developments, the participant said,

> There's a general openness from people in the community. Though, it's a little bit early to say whether developments will impact them in the long run. It's more about the opposite, whether [this population] feels welcome there all the time.

COs also pointed to challenges around poverty that their residents faced such as needing more affordable housing and low-income housing, and meth and violence. One CO said, "Goods and services will always be a challenge until the community is empowered by their means." Another CO said solutions need to be in partnership with higher levels of

government. A CO described "playing a game of catch up" when it came to programming for their residents,

> It's always a game of catch up. And playing that 'game' doesn't feel like progress. For one person you help, how many more are waiting? It's hard. And then you look at the budgetary process for the city that looks like we're going to close libraries and swimming pools, and cut grants to community programs and community centres… Okay, then when is it going to look better? If all the things we say are necessary for us to have a baseline of decency for people's lives are getting cut, then what's going on? We have great resiliency though, so we should rely on those gifts and talents.

While COs want to do more to help social issues their residents face, they lack the resources to do so.

Housing- and Homelessness-Focused Non-Profit Organizations

HNPO representatives had varying levels of interaction with those experiencing homelessness. Thus, their level of detail in responding to questions also varied.

In terms of where their client-base spent time in the Exchange or Chinatown, one HNPO described how those experiencing homelessness do not tend to differentiate between the two neighbourhoods since,

> Peoples lives are often characterized by navigating through available and open resources. The number 3 bus is a very important lifeline and resource for people to be able to get a little further out of this neighbourhood. […] People are here to access services, not necessarily for another reason.

Another participant said their client-base treats the Exchange as a transition zone between the Millennium Library and resources by Main Street. They said their client-base was more likely to be in Chinatown due to its proximity to resources, and that their client-base would buy groceries or eat at restaurants in the area if they had the money to. The participant also described how their client-base faces less discrimination in Chinatown than the Exchange,

> I don't know if it's just an idea that our community members have more respect for Chinatown because they're not harassed in it. They tend to congregate in certain areas. Like there's a corner of a parking lot that our team will find needles every morning. But they're not finding them scattered down the street. […] they're not being harassed in Chinatown, but they are in the Exchange.

Similar to a CO, another HNPO said their population spends more time in the Exchange than Chinatown due to the free events and festivals in Market Square, or to sell their art. The participant discussed how Chinatown was too expensive to be in since everywhere requires you to pay. Chinatown was more of a transition zone for their population. They also said their population was more likely to go to Waterfront Drive or the Forks since there are more open spaces to spend time in. The

participant described challenges just outside of Chinatown by Main Street,

> Logan Avenue is a very important connector, and this is a pretty healthy part. If you go further by the Bell Hotel and the [Winnipeg Regional Health Authority]. That's a badly designed part. That whole area needs a lot of attention to design, detail, and lights, public washrooms, and friendliness. Rather than encouraging people to move and get out of the way. That's a public space and they shouldn't be treated any differently than the people on Broadway or the people on Portage.

One challenge is when someone experiencing homelessness is profiled and identified as being homeless. One participant spoke about the reputation some areas have,

> The only challenges are if people identify them as being homeless. In a line up, you wouldn't recognize them as being homeless. [...] People who are homeless, when you're on Main Street, you stand out and people pre-judge you as a, whatever, not politically correct, but a 'Drunken Indian.' If you go to those kind of events [in the Exchange District] you just blend in, you're just a person. Whether you're some millennial or high-tech guy but you're dressed in ripped blue jeans and a scraggy beard. Could be a homeless person! You can't tell. So they fit in and they blend.

The HNPO described how their client base liked attending special events like Nuit Blanche (see FIGURE 19), since it gave them the opportunity to blend in with other people.

All HNPOs described problems facing their population that extend beyond particular neighbourhood boundaries. These challenges included being unable to access public washrooms, constantly being on their feet, substance use and addictions, and being stuck in a cycle with employment income assistance (EIA). HNPOs described that challenges are worsening due to the lack of investment by all levels of government,

> Even though people are saying we are having a meth crisis, no one has really done anything to address anything about people who are using meth or why they're using meth. So it's only going to get worse until we put any investment or programming in place — which is not happening.

An HNPO described how responses to issues those who are homeless face are improving due to better co-ordination between groups,

> Getting a lot better at co-ordinating across groups. Which is better for people experiencing homelessness, but it's also better for the City as a whole. Because the coordination of it is what is actually going to address some of these issues as opposed to working in silos.

With limited resources and government funding, partnerships between organizations are crucial to helping them address social issues, such as homelessness. However, this is often not enough to effectively resolve these problems faced by marginalized populations.

Racism, Discrimination, & Intergenerational Trauma

Racism and discrimination were concerns expressed by most CO and HNPO participants. One CO spoke to discrimination often faced by newcomers, both in the past and present,

> Many can think back on their own experiences of being immigrant populations, living in poverty, having to work through difficult life situations, and also just the history of racism. And so, I think there's a potential for empathy and understanding about why you would support, in this space, diverse living. And not just socio-economic diversity, but also racial diversity, and diversity of understanding of how and why people are in that space.

Diversity and partnerships, both historic and contemporary, were valued by participants across all stakeholder categories. This relates to a broader neighbourhood solidarity a desire to not displace the area's current inhabitants, and also a desire to connect with other groups. Three COs spoke to histories of cooperation and interaction between different cultural groups in Chinatown and its adjacent neighbourhoods. One of the participants also spoke to changing demographics in the area,

> There's not a lot of Chinese families living in Chinatown. Others are living there and lived there at the time. There is actually long-standing cooperation. Families that are Ukrainian and Chinese, or Indigenous and Chinese, coming out of those moments in history of persecution and just living and making lives in that space. For me, that's what we have to remember because that's

what makes it more interesting.

While other socio-cultural groups have faced hardships related to the space and broader settler-colonial institutions, Indigenous Peoples were described as having poorer social outcomes than non-Indigenous people. Structural causes were highlighted by participants. An HNPO described issues around jurisdictional boundaries and the failure to acknowledge Indigenous people as authentic inhabitants of the space,

> We fell out of [the boundaries of] every program. This was just a festering sore that no one knew what to do with. There was some kind of tokenism that maybe it'll be an Indigenous space, maybe it will be a reserve, maybe, maybe, maybe. So the issue ends up being, without a vision for Main Street and where it fits in, we have this hodge podge of architecture. But no thought as to how the community connects. And they didn't see this as home for anybody. Well this is a home - it's been a home for people since the early 1800's. People who live here don't want to move out of this area. If there were places for people to live here, they'd live here.

A CO spoke to the lack of Indigenous representation in Winnipeg's built-form,

> I think that's where planning has failed us historically. I don't think any community knows that better than the Indigenous community because we were left out for so many years. Even today, there's still very few buildings that were designed by an Indigenous architect and built by our community.

One HNPO talked about how planning has failed Indigenous Peoples particularly by Main Street and Higgins Avenue,

> The strongest focus and the strongest need is the Indigenous population. It's 85 to 90 per cent of [the people we help], it's what's on Higgins and Main. And that is probably part of the problem of how they planned all this. [...] It's got to be incorporated much more into all this planning. [...] how does Chinatown relate to this huge Indigenous population? Not only the population that was displaced, but the population that's still here. So, I think that they have to really look at ways of connecting that. Not in a tokenism kind of way, but in those connecting points [between neighbourhoods] rather than this after thought.

Another HNPO linked colonization to homelessness, and meth as a form of escaping that trauma:

> Related to colonization and trauma which is not being addressed as a society. So, things are getting worse, circumstances turning dire, and they turn to meth.

As stressed by the HNPOs and some of the COs interviewed, without a coordinated effort to address intergenerational trauma, other social issues, such as homelessness and meth, will go unsolved and will only worsen. As shown by urban renewal initiatives in the past (as described in **Chapter 3: Context**), a plan focused on the physical and economic revitalization of the area is not enough to address social issues in the area around racism, discrimination, trauma, and homelessness.

Conclusion

Social services, particularly those dealing with housing- and homelessness-related issues, are well-established in the area and are expanding their footprint in the Northwest Exchange. As such, these social services are unlikely to be displaced and so, those experiencing homelessness also face no immediate risks of being physically displaced from the area. However, other forms of displacement may occur with an increased focus on revitalization and the (re)branding of Chinatown. Without a commitment and plan to address the broader social issues in the area and critically thinking about how to integrate existing and potential inhabitants of the space, marginalized populations may be socially and economically excluded from the area.

Issues facing residents and those experiencing homelessness by Chinatown and the Exchange are complex and multi-layered. Although it remains to be seen how effective the *Development Strategy* will be in attracting market interests, COs and HNPOs both cited that they lacked enough resources to help their residents and client-base out of situations like poverty and homelessness. There is little evidence to suggest that benefits of physical revitalization will trickle down to these marginalized populations (Davidson, 2010; Lees, 2008). Greater support is needed from other organizations, including NGPOS and all levels of government, to address these broader social issues.

FIGURE 19. People enjoying an interactive art piece in Market Square during Nuit Blanche.

FIGURE 20. Demolition site on Princess Street by Red River College facing Chinatown.

6 DISCUSSIONS & ANALYSIS

This chapter connects the theoretical framework and concepts in Chapter 2: Literature Review and findings from the emotional mapping exercise and semi-structured interviews summarized in Chapter 5: Findings. Using a framework grounded in the settler-colonial literature and an anti-displacement perspective, I analyzed the responses of community organizations (COs), non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs), and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs). By comparing and contrasting these perspectives, I seek to address the following research questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences in how COs, NGPOs, and HNPOs define, perceive, and experience Winnipeg's Exchange District and Chinatown?

2. What gaps exist in planning for the development of Chinatown and its vicinity? What perspectives have been marginalized or left out of the area's dominant planning processes?

3. How might Chinatown develop in a way that reflects the needs of its current inhabitants and in its surrounding areas?

In addressing the questions, I focus on the implications of differences in stakeholder responses around their perceived neighbourhood boundaries; aspects they would like to preserve, add, remove, and keep in Chinatown; and of the class- and race-mediated experiences of their residents and/or client base. I discuss the following core themes:

- (Re)production of spatial meanings: an analysis of findings from the emotional mapping activity using Lefebvre's (Schmid, 2008) and Massey's (2005) frameworks. I focus on how dominant meanings are shaped and reinforced.

- Overlapping histories and experiences: an analysis of participants' vision for Chinatown, and the experiences of their residents and/or client base. I focus on the interrelations in the space (Massey, 2005): whose viewed as the areas' authentic inhabitants (Brown-Sarancino, 2009), and who is symbolically displaced (Atkinson, 2015) as a result.

- Gaps in planning Chinatown: organizational mandates and planners' social responsibility (Stein, 2019; Toews, 2018).

(RE)PRODUCTION OF SPATIAL MEANINGS

Differences in participants perceived boundaries can be understood by combining Lefebvre's (Schmid, 2008) and Massey's (2005) frameworks on the social production of space. In the following, I analyze the emotional maps through differences in stakeholders' spatial practice, representations of space through maps and boundaries, and spaces of representation through identified cultural markers in the Exchange and Chinatown. In doing so, I discuss how dominant meanings of the Exchange and Chinatown are produced and reinforced, and thus affect the experiences of the areas' inhabitants (i.e., their lived space).

Spatial practice

The size and location of boundaries drawn by participants was influenced by their spatial practice (i.e., meanings derived from being in and interacting with the space) in the Exchange and Chinatown.

Generally speaking, COs drew smaller boundaries for the Exchange District than HNPOs and NGPOs, since all COs did not have a direct mandate in the Exchange. COs boundaries were primarily concentrated around Market Square and other spaces of entertainment in the Exchange. In contrast, the boundaries COs drew for Chinatown tended to be a bit larger

than other stakeholder categories. Some COs were also able to identify more landmarks in Chinatown than other participants since they interacted with the space more.

Some COs also spoke to their memories of Chinatown's boundaries being significantly larger in the past. One CO described boundaries significantly larger than other participants to reflect this history. Other participants identified landmarks before drawing the extents of their boundaries.

Across stakeholder categories, maps of Chinatown also had more landmarks identified in them than maps of the Exchange. While this may seem like participants had more knowledge about specific landmarks within Chinatown, this was more reflective of having specific places to go to. Compared to the Exchange, which has more complete and active street frontages especially around Market Square, Chinatown's landmarks were more spread out. Some participants described traveling by car between landmarks in Chinatown as opposed to walking to them.

NGPOs generally drew larger maps than all participants in regards to the Exchange. Main Street and the Disraeli Freeway were viewed to be harsh edges by most participants. This area does not fall under Chinatown's official boundaries or the Exchange's official boundaries, but is still considered to be part of the Downtown. Zoning to the north of Chinatown's boundaries on the west side of Main Street, and north of James Avenue to the east side of Main Street changes from

being a character sector, to a mixed-use sector. There is also a concentration of housing- and homelessness-focused organizations, as well as Indigenous-serving organizations. In this instance representations of space (zoning by-laws) have had a direct experience on participants spatial practice and lived space of this area.

Despite being seen as harsh edges, a third of participants (two NGPOs and one HNPO) extended their maps of the Exchange District past the Disraeli Freeway. One one NGPO` participant drew boundaries up until Higgins Avenue. It is worth noting that this area was the focus of the historic plan for Neeginan (Toews, 2018).

Representation of space

Boundaries drawn by participants were influenced by their memories of official maps (e.g., zoning by-law boundaries) or by comparing the neighbourhoods with what they understood to be the limits of other neighbourhoods (e.g., Centennial and Portage and Main). Maps NGPOS drew of Chinatown largely followed the study area defined in the *Development Strategy*. Two COs and one HNPO drew boundaries slightly passed Chinatown's official neighbourhood boundaries, while other participants in these categories drew the exact neighbourhood boundaries.

Some participants had difficulties in reading and interpreting the maps. I asked these participants to describe street names or landmarks, so that I could assist them in drawing the maps. As such, data I gathered was more reflective of their described spatial practices and identified landmarks and cultural markers (i.e., spaces of representation).

Spaces of representation

Participants defined the Exchange District generally by its historic buildings and spaces of entertainment. Participants defined Chinatown more narrowly by buildings and placemaking interventions with a distinct Chinese-character. When comparing maps of the Exchange and Chinatown with combined stakeholder category responses, these differences are very apparent.

Many participants across all stakeholder categories included all or parts of Chinatown within their boundaries for the Exchange District. This is because Chinatown and areas to the north and west of its official neighbourhood boundaries also have historic character buildings without a specific Chinese character, and that were of a similar aesthetic to those in the Exchange. In contrast, few participants drew boundaries for Chinatown past its official boundary to the south. This is because no buildings with a specific Chinese character are located south of James Avenue (aside from Young's Grocery which only a few COs identified, and one CO included in their boundaries).

Conclusion

Official neighbourhood boundaries have had a significant impact on the built-form, and therefore, spaces of representation of Chinatown, the Exchange and areas directly to the north of these neighbourhoods. Zoning by-laws and urban renewal initiatives have mediated the cultural markers visible in these neighbourhoods.

Meanings around Chinatown as a Chinese-space and the Exchange as a creative space are reinforced by a combination of these cultural markers, and through zoning by-laws and other regulations which dictate permitted uses and aesthetics. These in turn affect how participants experience and interact with the spaces, further reinforcing meanings around the areas' authentic old-timers and branding. Even if younger generations of Chinese-Canadians and immigrants do not reside in Chinatown, they can still be viewed to be authentic old-timers of the area due to the physical representation of their culture and history in the space.

Zoning by-laws have also impacted the Main Street Strip by allowing for the concentration of services integral to marginalized and lower-income populations. Almost all participants did not consider this area to be part of the Exchange or Chinatown. In other words, they did not believe it fit in with Chinatown's distinct ethnic-branding, or the Exchanges historic buildings and spaces of entertainment. In contrast to areas south of it, middle- and upper-income populations are seen as being out-of-place, while lower-income populations, particularly those who are Indigenous, are seen as belonging to the image of the Main Street Strip as it is now. This benefits a settler-colonial agenda of controlling narratives, conceptions, and therefore, meanings around Indigenous Peoples (Mawani, 2004; Baloy, 2016; Thistle, 2017; Toews, 2018).

OVERLAPPING HISTORIES & EXPERIENCES

In the mid-1970s, three plans for revitalization and placemaking were initiated and occurring almost simultaneously by the Exchange and Chinatown:

1. Artist-led revitalization in the Exchange District (Bookman & Woolford, 2013);

2. Chinese-led revitalization plans for Chinatown (da Roza, 1974).

3. Indigenous-led, grassroots organizing for *Neeginan* along Main Street (Toews, 2018); and,

These plans were partly initiated in some way by depreciated property values in the downtown resulting from the aftermath of deindustrialization and suburbanization, as well as urban renewal strategies in Civic Centre which sought to remedy "urban blight" (Tucker, 2014). Each of these plans were also met with varying degrees of success and support from levels of government.

In the following, I compare participants responses about their vision for Chinatown and experiences of their residents and/or client base in the study area with the above histories of revitalization. From there, I discuss perspectives on the areas' authentic inhabitants (Brown-Sarancino, 2009), and who is symbolically displaced (Atkinson, 2015) as a result.

Artist-led revitalization: the Exchange

Similar to social construction explanations of gentrification (Ley, 2010), artists moved to the Exchange, attracted by its aesthetic, and contributed redefining the area as a creative hub. This process had several iterations between the 1970s to 2000s, eventually being supported by the City through non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs). Most NGPOs have decreased their involvement in the area after market interests in the Exchange were stabilized. While at first this may appear to be a separation between the state and the market, planners in this instance were still operating as agents of the real estate state (Stein, 2019).

The Exchange is still known for its artistic sensibilities; however, this creativity has also morphed into higher-end local boutiques and restaurants, as well as offices for tech and design professions. Free events and public spaces still provide opportunities for inhabitants who are experiencing homelessness and are lower-income to participate in the space. While the branding of the area is relatively open and inclusive, some COs and HNPOs described how communities they represent may face discrimination and exclusion from upper-class visitors of the Exchange. While I did not gain much insight into who participants viewed to be the Exchange's authentic old-timers (PARK Analysis questions applied only to Chinatown), I was able to gain insight into who others may perceive to be out-of-place in the Exchange. Levels of discrimination were described by participants to vary depending on whether or not someone could be identified as being homeless, particularly if they perceived to be both homeless and Indigenous.

Chinatown revitalization (1974)

Chinese-led revitalization plans for Chinatown from 1974 to 1987 were initially successful in garnering the support of politicians and funding through the Core Area Initiative. While the established buildings and the Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre contribute to solidifying Chinese-Canadians as authentic old-timers, the initiative was not successful in driving broader social changes in Chinatown and its adjacent neighbourhoods. Younger generations of Chinese-Canadians and more recent immigrants from China have continued to settle outside of Chinatown. Despite this, Chinatown is still considered a hub for Chinese-Canadians by all participants interviewed. All participants agreed that the Chinese-character of the neighbourhood should be preserved and enhanced.

Some participants described how physical spaces of representation were important in preserving a collective,

social memory. Chinatown provides Chinese-Canadians with a space to connect with their culture, ancestors, and history in Winnipeg. Chinatown provides the opportunities for education and cultural exchanges among newer Chinese immigrants, Chinese-Canadians, and non-Chinese populations. Similar to Brown-Sarancino's findings (2009), Chinese-Canadians claim to the space is justified through the historic buildings with Chinese-character and other, highly-visible cultural markers in the neighbourhood.

While stakeholders in Chinatown hope for the area to be multi-cultural and inclusive, its' name and character can present a different message. Participants described the current buildings and activity in Chinatown to be inward facing — if someone does not know about the types of programming that exist in the space, they do not feel welcome going inside the buildings. Without conscious efforts of communicating and inviting other people in, newcomers and Indigenous people may not feel welcome in the space.

Indigenous-led revitalization: Neeginan

Consultations for the Indigenous-led revitalization plan for the Main Street Strip south of the Canadian Pacific Railway yards, Neeginan, took place in the same year as the Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation (WCDC) was beginning plans for revitalizing Chinatown in the mid-1970s (Toews, 2018). Chinese-Canadians and Indigenous Peoples both had a strong presence on Main Street during this time. However, plans for

Neeginan were dismissed by the City and many establishments along the Main Street Strip were demolished.

Dominant meanings of Indigenous people in relation to urban spaces have been shaped intentionally by colonialists and settlers over the last century (Toews, 2018; Nejad and Walker, 2018; Thistle, 2017; Baloy, 2016). This continues today in Winnipeg's Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown. Similar to the spectacle of Indigenous poverty Baloy (2016) described in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Indigenous people are treated as a spectacle in Winnipeg's Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown. Aside from Thunderbird House, the absence Indigenous architecture and placemaking along Main Street, and in the Northwest Exchange and Chinatown, erases the legacy of Indigenous community organizing and activism from public memory.

Myths around a "culture of poverty" (Toews, 2018; Thistle, 2017; Baloy, 2016) are allowed to exist since suburbanites visiting downtown are only exposed to the image of the homeless, Indigenous person. Cultural markers, which preserve memories of past inhabitants and diversified representations of Indigenous people, are missing from the area. However, as scholars, such as Massey (2005), Keenan (2010), and Masuda and Bookman (2018) discuss, these dominant meanings are not permanent, and can be challenged and subverted. NGPOs and public planners can assist with this task.

GAPS IN PLANNING CHINATOWN

The inhabitants of Chinatown and its adjacent neighbourhoods face complex problems that are not able to be solved by a plan focusing primarily on the physical and economic revitalization of the area. Past urban renewal initiatives in the Downtown have tried to remedy "blight" through physical revitalization interventions. These past interventions include investments through the Core Area Initiative (CAI) that have focused on creating attractions for suburbanites, such as Portage Place, Civic Centre, and Winnipeg Square (Toews, 2018; Tucker, 2014).

Plans to revitalize Chinatown in the 1970s included a bit more of a social focus by including low-income housing and incorporating a cultural centre (da Roza, 1974); however, this plan was still ineffective in addressing the area's broader social issues. As evidenced by expansions to emergency-shelters in the area, issues around homelessness and poverty are not getting better, but are only worsening. By employing an Indigenous perspective on homelessness (Thistle, 2017), while providing spaces for those experiencing homelessness to live in is a major priority, this is not enough to address structural causes of homelessness and intergenerational trauma. HNPOs stressed that these issues extend beyond neighbourhood boundaries and as such, a broader, coordinated effort is needed that includes partnerships between multiple organizations and the support of all levels of government.

Without government funding, there is a hope that the private-sector can provide social goods, such as affordable housing. As the mandate of private investors is to maximize profits, it is difficult to rely on them to provide enough of a supply to effectively respond to social issues, or for the units to be at a low enough cost that those most can afford it. Stein (2019) describes how mixed-income housing models (with premium priced suites off-setting the costs of affordable units) are often employed in lower-income areas, but seldom employed in wealthier-enclaves. Mixed-income developments in lower-income neighbourhoods raises, rents and the potential and actual values of the surrounding properties (Stein, 2019). As discussed by Davidson (2008) and Lees (2008), this social mixing and rise in property values does not benefit the area's lower-income and marginalized populations.

Mandates: So, whose responsible?

The mandates of stakeholders in the area are constrained by both jurisdictional boundaries[1] but also by the scope of work that they do. COs have a socially-oriented mandate to represent and advocate for their communities' desires. HNPOs also have a socially-oriented mandate of addressing issues around homelessness. One NGPO praised the work of Chinese-organizations in the past in rallying together and acquiring

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1   Either by their own jurisdictional boundaries or others'. These boundaries can be mandated by planning regulations and/or organizational policies.

funding to revitalize their neighbourhood. The NGPO stated that normally, it takes a civic entity to put forth a plan of that scale.

Community organizing can beneficial, particularly when employed as a counter-branding strategy by groups traditionally left out of dominant planning processes (Masuda & Bookman, 2018). However, responsibility for community organizing and development planning should be left to COs alone. COs and HNPOs expressed how they are lacking resources (i.e., financial, administrative, and time) and are constantly trying to catch up with existing demands of their population (e.g., to provide affordable programming for their community; and to provide immediate, emergency services and shelter to those experiencing homelessness). One HNPO described how,

> a plan is really only as powerful as its implementation. While there might be a plan for Chinatown, [without] resources and/or market interests to move on what the vision is on that plan, it's not going to go anymore. [...] The plan is also driven by stakeholders so it's also going to represent what they're interests are. I know that the Chinatown plan had a lot of representation from homeless-serving agencies [...] so, there's definitely a recognition that they're a critical part of this neighbourhood.

Support from other organizations and levels of government is critical for the successful implementation of the plan. As described in earlier section of this Capstone, differences in how Neeginan (Toews, 2018) and how the 1970s Chinatown revitalization plan (da Roza, 1974) were implemented and received by City officials are illustrative of power differences and stakeholder interests.

NGPOs stated their mandate was limited with respect social issues, and had more of a focus on planning and development. As such, their extent of social involvement in the Chinatown and the Exchange, was to serve as a convener between organizations and offer support within the constraints of their planning and development mandate. Implementing Indigenous placemaking strategies in areas around the Northwest Exchange together with plans for Chinatown fall within this mandate. The Main Street Strip where Indigenous grassroots organizers planned Neeginan to be does not fall within the Warehouse District with Chinatown and the Exchange, but is still located in the downtown. The Strip would be an ideal locations for Indigenous placemaking initiatives since it was historically an important centre for Indigenous organizing and activism. Such initiatives should not replace initiatives of Chinese-Canadians to preserve and enhance Chinatown. Rather, these areas can co-exist and tackle "what it means to live racism" together.

Rebranding the Main Street Strip as an updated version of Neeginan would allow for dominant meanings around that portion of the downtown to be subverted. Indigenous have been facing displacement and dispossession from this area. Having a physical representation of Chinese-culture downtown solidifies and normalizes Chinatown as a political-, cultural-, and social-

centre for Chinese-Canadians. Neeginan would mean the same for Indigenous people and would also be a step towards addressing Indigenous homelessness (Thistle, 2017); services and amenities located in Neeginan could address aspects such as spiritual disconnection and cultural disintegration and loss. Being located on Winnipeg's main transportation corridor could greatly disrupt dominant meanings. Indigenous people facing homelessness have become what suburbanites conflate the Main Street Strip with, similar to populations described by Baloy in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. As such, seeing a diversified representations of Indigenous people in this area would initial seem "out-of-place" to suburbanites; but, would be normalized after continually occupying the space (Keenan, 2010).

As in the initial attempt to implement Neeginan, there may be push back from groups and individuals with preconceived, racist, and discriminatory perspectives about the project (Toews, 2018). Various organizations and actors, but especially NGPOs and public planners can support Indigenous Peoples in addressing this push back. However, subverting dominant perspectives around the "culture of poverty" surrounding urban Indigenous peoples also goes against the state's settler-colonial project of Indigenous dispossession (Thistle, 2017; Toews, 2018). Stein refers to conflicts faced by planners operating in a "real estate state,"

> They are simultaneously far-seeing visionaries and day-to-day pragmatists. They are asked to imagine new systems, but tasked with operating old ones. They must simultaneously represent the interests of those who they plan for and those who hire them. They are perceived both as individuals with agency and instruments of their governments. Their work is situated in the future, but must address the public in the present while taking heed of history. [...] most profoundly, they conduct public planning in a private land market (2019, p. 191).

Though Stein was writing about planners in the public sector, these internal dilemmas are also faced by planners in the private- and non-profit sector. The scope of work done by NGPOs is regulated not only by jurisdictional boundaries but also by the groups who hire them. These could be private- interests but also state actors who benefit from the continual dispossession of Indigenous Peoples.

Planners have a responsibility to act in the best interests of the public. What is best for the public, may not always be what is most favourable to them. Stein (2019) stresses that planning is always political and contentious. The focus of consultation should not always be consensus, rather,

> capitalist urban planning [is] an inherently conflict-based [...] process, in which the only way to productively participate is to forcefully assert collective demands while refusing to cooperate in projects based in dispossession and displacement (Stein, 2019, p. 190).

Planners should actively provide this platform to those who are traditionally marginalized and left out of planning processes.

7 RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

In this Capstone, I discussed the current wave of revitalization heading to Winnipeg's Chinatown. I compared the perspectives of selected stakeholders (i.e., community organizations, non-governmental planning organizations, and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations) in and adjacent to the study area using an anti-displacement (physical, exclusionary and symbolic) perspective and understanding of the settler-colonial literature. As revitalization initiatives are just starting up in Chinatown, I included the Exchange District in my study to gain insight into how revitalization may affect Chinatown and its surrounding neighbourhoods. I aimed to address the following questions:

1. What are the similarities and differences in how community organizations (COs), non-governmental planning organizations (NGPOs), and housing- and homelessness-focused non-profit organizations (HNPOs) define, perceive, and experience Winnipeg's Exchange District and Chinatown?

2. What gaps exist in planning for the development of Chinatown and its vicinity? What perspectives have been marginalized or left out of the area's dominant planning processes?

3. How might Chinatown develop in a way that reflects the needs of its current inhabitants and in its surrounding areas?

I addressed question one in **Chapter 5: Findings** by summarizing stakeholders' perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries, organizational mandates, visions for change, and the experiences of their residents and/or client-base in the Exchange District and Chinatown. I addressed question two in **Chapter 6: Discussions & Analysis**, concluding that those experiencing homelessness (as defined from an Indigenous perspective), Indigenous people, and other non-Chinese BIPOC are not represented in the *Northwest Exchange District and Chinatown Development Strategy*. In the following section, I summarize key takeaways from this Capstone as related to questions 1 and 2. I conclude this Capstone by addressing question 3 through providing recommendations for the *Development Strategy* going forward, discussing implications for planning practice and public engagement in Winnipeg, and offering suggestions for future research.

Definitions, perceptions, and experiences of the Exchange District and Chinatown

Participants' definitions and perceptions of the boundaries of the Exchange District and Chinatown were influenced by their spatial practice (i.e., meanings derived from being in and interacting with the space) in the neighbourhoods. COs described smaller boundaries for the Exchange District when compared to HNPOs and NGPOs. Boundaries described by COs were focused around where they spent time in the Exchange, as they did not have a professional mandate in the area. On the other hand, NGPOs defined Chinatown's boundaries similar to the extents shown in the *Development Strategy*, while COs had a broader definition. Few participants considered the Main Street Strip to the north of James Avenue to be part of either the Exchange District or Chinatown.

Cultural markers in the Exchange District, Chinatown, and the Main Street Strip were influenced by the *Downtown Zoning By-law*. Due to their zoning as character sectors, the Exchange and Chinatown were identified by their branding as a creative hub and a hub for Chinese-culture, respectively. Myths around a "culture of poverty" (Toews, 2018; Thistle, 2017; Baloy, 2016) are permeated since suburbanites visiting downtown are only exposed to limited representations of Indigeneity on the Main Street Strip. Cultural markers that preserve memories and diversified representations of Indigenous people do not exist.

Gaps in planning for Chinatown and its vicinity

The portion of Main Street the north of James Avenue and the Disraeli Freeway, and south of the CPR yards has been left out of many initiatives, including the recent *Development Strategy*. This area is also where many housing- and homelessness-focused organizations and Indigenous-serving organizations are located, and was the focus of the historic *Neeginan* plan (Toews, 2018). Main Street holds importance to both Indigenous Winnipegers and Chinese-Canadian. However, only Chinese-Canadians are viewed to be "authentic old-timers" (Brown-Sarancino, 2009) in the area south of Logan Avenue.

Without visible representations of space (Lefebvre, as cited by Schmid, 2008), the historic and current presence of Indigenous Winnipegers on Main Street and Chinatown is obscured and erased; thus, contributing to the ongoing dispossession and symbolic displacement of Indigenous Peoples from Winnipeg's downtown. Indigenous placemaking (Baloy, 2016) and counter-branding (Masuda & Bookman, 2018) can be combined with a broader strategy for social development in Chinatown, the Northwest Exchange, and the northern limits of downtown to address aspects of Indigenous homelessness (Thistle, 2017). This placemaking and branding should be led by Indigenous people with the support of NGPOs and public planners, and can be done alongside plans to preserve and enhance Chinatown's distinct character.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE *DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY*

Connecting neighbourhoods and communities

Revitalization as a result of the *Development Strategy* and Marketlands will bring an influx of people to the neighbourhood with varying levels of income, education levels, and other factors affecting social class. Similar to what has been described in the literature (Atkinson, 2015; Zukin 2011; Ley, 2003), this incoming population will inevitably change the character of the Northwest Exchange and Chinatown, and potentially of the surrounding neighbourhoods. To mitigate the impacts of all forms of displacement, the *Development Strategy* should be implemented in a way that critically considers how it affects other neighbourhoods and how it can better connect with other neighbourhoods.

The next round of consultations should include organizations outside of the *Development Strategy*'s boundaries to come up with ideas for better integration. Individuals who inhabit[1] Chinatown and its surrounding neighbourhoods should also be consulted, since representatives may not fully represent the or capture the unique, individual perspectives of its residents and clients. The perspectives of non-Chinese BIPOC and newcomers should also be actively sought out to achieve goals of being multi-cultural and mitigate exclusionary displacement from the area.

Incorporate strategies for Indigenous placemaking and emplacement

This recommendation is not meant to compete or replace strategies for Chinese placemaking. Rather, this recommendation is a call to acknowledge Indigenous people as also being "authentic old timers" (Brown-Sarancino, 2009) of this neighbourhood. Given Chinatown's proximity to Indigenous-serving and homeless-serving organizations, as well as lower-income neighbourhoods like Centennial and South Point Douglas, the Northwest Exchange District could serve as a bridge or connector (both in a physical and metaphorical sense) between not only the Chinese-Canadian community and Indigenous people, but also newcomers from other countries, and settlers[2] overall. This would be similar to a strategy outlined in initial plans for Chinatown's revitalization (da Roza, 1974).

As explained in the literature and echoed by participants' statements on the value of their memories and cultures being physically represented in place, strategies for Indigenous placemaking would be a move towards connecting and

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1   Residents, workers, and those experiencing homeless.

2   Settlers in this sense generally refers to any non-Indigenous person of Canada and/or their descendants who have come to Canada and benefit(s) from the historic and ongoing dispossession of Indigenous Peoples from their lands and traditional territories. See _ for a full discussion of settlers in a post-colonial context.

emplacing[3] urban Indigenous people in Winnipeg. Some Indigenous aspects of homelessness (Thistle, 2017) would also be addressed, while staying within a mandate of planning and development. Any strategies for Indigenous placemaking and emplacement should be led by Indigenous Peoples. NGPOs and public planners can play a supporting role.

Include the "Main Street Strip"

The *Development Strategy* should be expanded to include the strip of Main Street north of James Avenue, towards the northern limits of the Downtown, as a hub for Indigenous Peoples in Winnipeg. This strip of Main Street holds historic significance for Indigenous people in Winnipeg and was actively dismantled by state-led urban renewal initiatives (Toews, 2018, pp. 206-249). Plans for this segment should be informed by *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows* and plans for *Neeginan* (as cited in Toews, 2018) to recognize previous Indigenous-led, grassroots development plans for the area. This could also extend to the West along Higgins Avenue to include existing Indigenous-serving organizations, such as Thunderbird House and Neeginan Centre.

Like the previous strategy, NGPOs and the City's Planning, Property, and Development department should act as a supporting role, while Indigenous Peoples lead decisions in how what this development vision looks like. NGPOs and public planners can provide their support through educating other settlers who may have racist or discriminatory sentiments towards an Indigenous-led plan like this. As described by Stein, planners should not shy away from making political decisions (2019, p. 199) such as this. Challenging dominant settler-colonial systems through "contentious planning is the way we fight to 'secure the future' we desire" (Stein, 2019, p. 199); one that moves towards reconciliation and the emplacement of Indigenous people in Winnipeg's urban areas.

Beyond just being a plan for physical improvements to the Main Street Strip, NGPOs should partner with COs and HNPOs to address other, more chronic aspects of Canadian and Indigenous definitions of homelessness that are not addressed through Indigenous placemaking and emplacement strategies.

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3   Connection and emplacement used in this sense as the opposite of dispossession and displacement.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING PRACTICE & PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT IN WINNIPEG

Many of the recommendations for the *Development Strategy* can be expanded on a broader scale for implications for planning and public engagement in Winnipeg. While these may be applied more generally elsewhere, these recommendations should be applied critically in other contexts since my research focused on place-specific conditions (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015; Massey, 2005) that may be unique to Winnipeg.

Fluidity of boundaries and scope

This Capstone has shown the influence borders and boundaries (e.g., created through zoning by-laws or organizational mandates) have on neighbourhood connections. Plans should consider how these neighbourhoods connect beyond just considerations of infrastructure. Plans for downtown should incorporate and consult neighbourhoods directly adjacent to it, even if these neighbourhoods are excluded from the *Downtown Zoning By-law*. By addressing the needs and interests of residents in Chinatown in addition to Centennial, West Alexander, Central Park, and South Point Douglas, for example, Winnipeg's downtown would not have to rely on capital from suburban, commuter populations as much.

Soften harsh edges and increase connections

The Disraeli Freeway, CPR yards, and Main Street were all described as harsh edges by participants. These edges contributed to the separation of the North End and North Point Douglas from the downtown, and the segregation of their lower-income residents. The portion of Main Street the north

of James Avenue and the Disraeli Freeway, and south of the CPR yards (where many housing- and homelessness-focused organizations and Indigenous-serving organizations are located) have also been left of many initiatives.

The City (including Council and the Planning, Property, and Development Department), should look investigate ways of softening these edges. The City should also acknowledge their contributions in further dispossessing Indigenous Peoples by dismantling Main Street as a political and cultural hub for Indigenous people. The City should work with Indigenous Peoples towards reindigenizing spaces in Downtown and throughout Winnipeg, beyond just the North End.

Perspectives of individuals versus organizations

Individual perspectives within organizations can vary greatly and may not be reflective of the populations they represent. Planners and public consultation professionals should critically consider whether interviewing organizational representatives will accurately capture the perspectives needed to inform their intended purposes.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Walking tours with participants

Walking tours could help to increase the validity of recording participants' perception of the neighbourhoods' boundaries. Being in the space can allow participants to reflect on their experiences within it and visions for change more accurately.

Interview official planning organizations

Representatives from official planning organizations were not interviewed for this Capstone, since there were no official secondary plans for the Exchange and Chinatown. Furthermore, revitalization led by state-actors has been well documented in the gentrification literature (Stein, 2019; Davidson 2008; Lees, 2008). Upon further investigation, interviewing official planning organizations would be useful to understand specific perspectives and circumstances around Winnipeg's Chinatown and Downtown. Insights can be gained around the possibility of implementing the above recommendations in Winnipeg.

Interview individual inhabitants

As discussed in other sections of this Capstone, I was unable to interview those experiencing homelessness and other inhabitants of the study area directly. Individual perspectives within organizations vary greatly. Furthermore, participants expressed difficulties in separating their individual perspectives from that of their organization and/or populations that they represent.

Focus groups may be conducted to connect individuals of different ethnic groups, particularly those who are Chinese, Indigenous, newcomers (to Canada), and other BIPOC. Newer, higher-income residents may also be included in these focus groups. More research can be done to explore the current and future class- and racial-relationships within the area. Possibilities for effective social-mixing can also be explored.

Repeat the study after further developments

My research takes place before the completion of the Marketlands development and before enough time has past to make any decisive conclusions on the *Development Strategy's* effectiveness. While this research has made recommendations on *Development Strategy* and advocated for the perspectives left out of its planning processes, more research can be done to monitor how it is implemented.

Furthermore, much of my research was completed before the COVID-19 global pandemic. It remains to be seen what the lasting impacts of the pandemic will be, not only from an economic and policy perspective, but also towards racial ordering and hierarchies (Toews, 2018).

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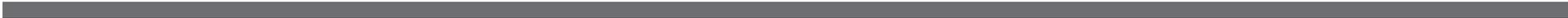
APPENDIX A:

Interview Guides

SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Preamble

Some of the following questions will require you to reflect on the experiences of your residents and/or client base. Please answer the questions generally without mentioning specific instances or individuals' names.

Some of the questions will require you to think about specific areas or amenities within the Exchange District and Chinatown. Please use these maps to help you answer the questions and to record your responses. You may draw/write on the map, outline areas of interest, etc. to supplement your responses. I will remake the maps digitally and combine your responses with the responses of other participants to maintain confidentiality.

Common questions

Organizational background and neighbourhood history

1. Broadly speaking, what does your organization do? What are your goals and objectives?

2. Do you represent any particular communities within Winnipeg or the Downtown?

3. Using the map and markers provided, please draw your organization's understanding of the Exchange District's boundaries. Please draw the boundaries for Chinatown.

4. Can you describe what your organization's current involvement/role is within the Exchange District? Chinatown?

5. What is the history of your organization's involvement or role within the Exchange District (i.e., physical, social, and/or economic aspects)? Within Chinatown?

6. How does this history shape your organization's mission or mandate with respect to the Exchange? Chinatown?

7. Has your organization's involvement or role within the Exchange District changed over the last 10 years (e.g., increase/decrease in involvement, change in priorities)? Within Chinatown? If so, how?

PARK Analysis & Vision for the Future

8. What is your favourite thing about Chinatown? / What aspects would you like to preserve in Chinatown? Please draw on this map help you answer the questions.

    - Physical aspects (e.g., design, open spaces, character)?
    - Social aspects (e.g., demographics, culture)?
    - Economic aspects (e.g., businesses, services, events)?

9. What would you like to add to Chinatown? What do you think Chinatown is missing? What aspects of Chinatown would you like to enhance? Please draw on this map to help you answer the questions.

    - Physical? Social? Economic?

10. How would you want the area to change? What kind of development would you like to happen in Chinatown? What kind of development would you not want to happen in Chinatown? Please draw on this map to help you answer the questions.

    - Physical? Social? Economic?

Additional questions for community organizations and housing non-profits

You may draw on this map to assist you with answering the following questions.

11. Does your client base frequent the Exchange? Chinatown? How does your client base use the Exchange and Chinatown? Where in the Exchange and Chinatown does your client base spend their time?

12. Based on interactions with your client base, do they currently face challenges that are related to the neighbourhood? If so, what (physical, social, economic)?

   - Safety? Harassment by residents, business owners, visitors, police, and/or BIZ volunteers? Distance from other neighbourhoods and resources?
   - Businesses and other amenities?
   - Seasonal challenges (e.g., during special events, winter, or summer)?

13. Have these challenges changed over time? If so, how (e.g., have they increased or decreased)?

14. Based on your interactions with your client base, are there positive aspects of the neighbourhood that they enjoy (social, physical, economic)?

   - Safety?
   - Location (e.g., proximity to downtown and other social services, access to transit)?
   - Character of the area?
   - Business and amenities?

15. Have these positive aspects changed over time? If so, how (e.g., have they improved or disappeared)?

16. Have you noticed any changes to your client base (e.g., demographic) and/or their needs (physical, social, economic)? What do you think influenced this change?

17. Has your level of service/people utilizing your services increased over the last 10 years? If so, how and to what extent?

APPENDIX B:
Perceived Boundary Maps

EXCHANGE DISTRICT

Housing- and Homelessness-Focused Non-Profit Organizations

LEGEND

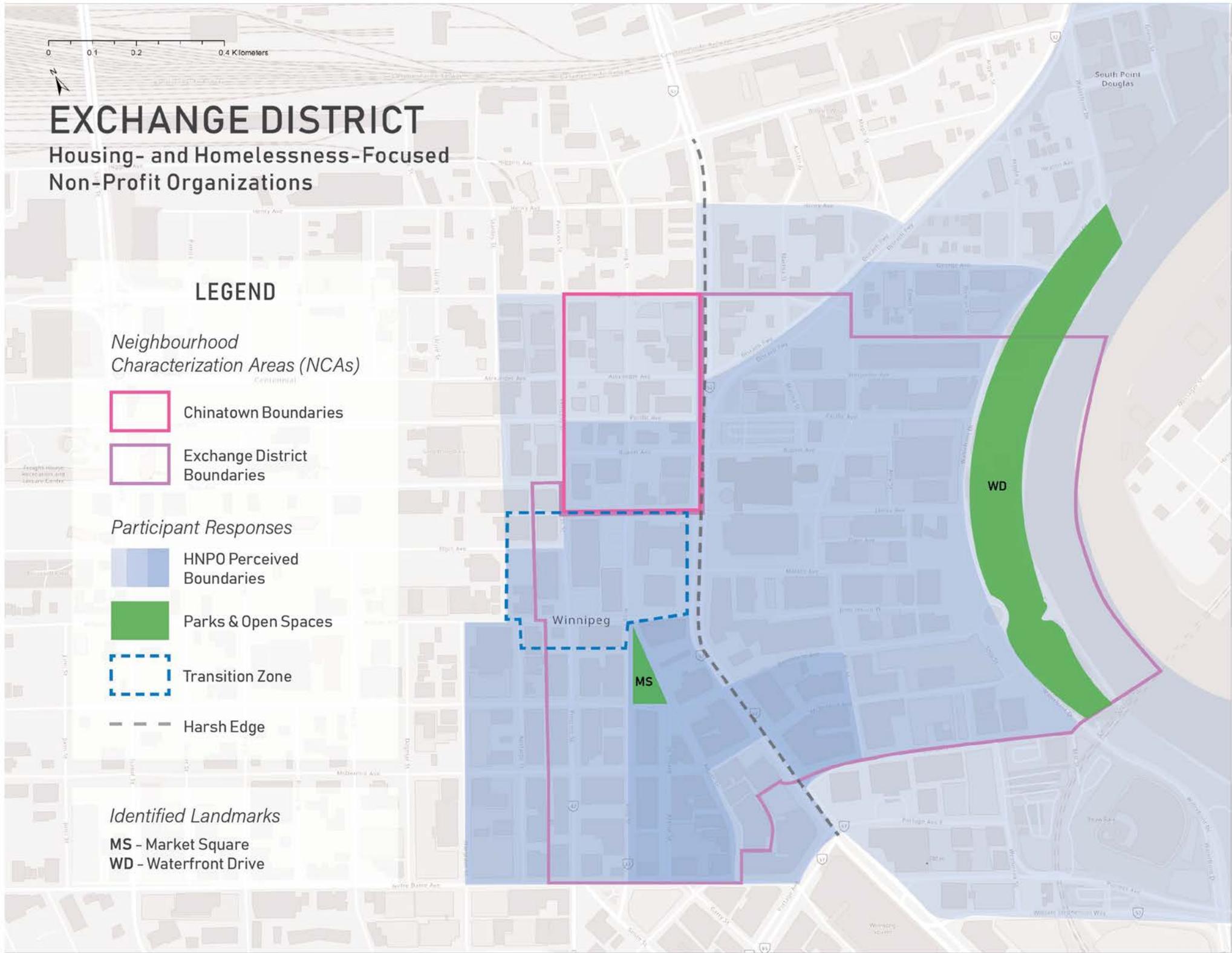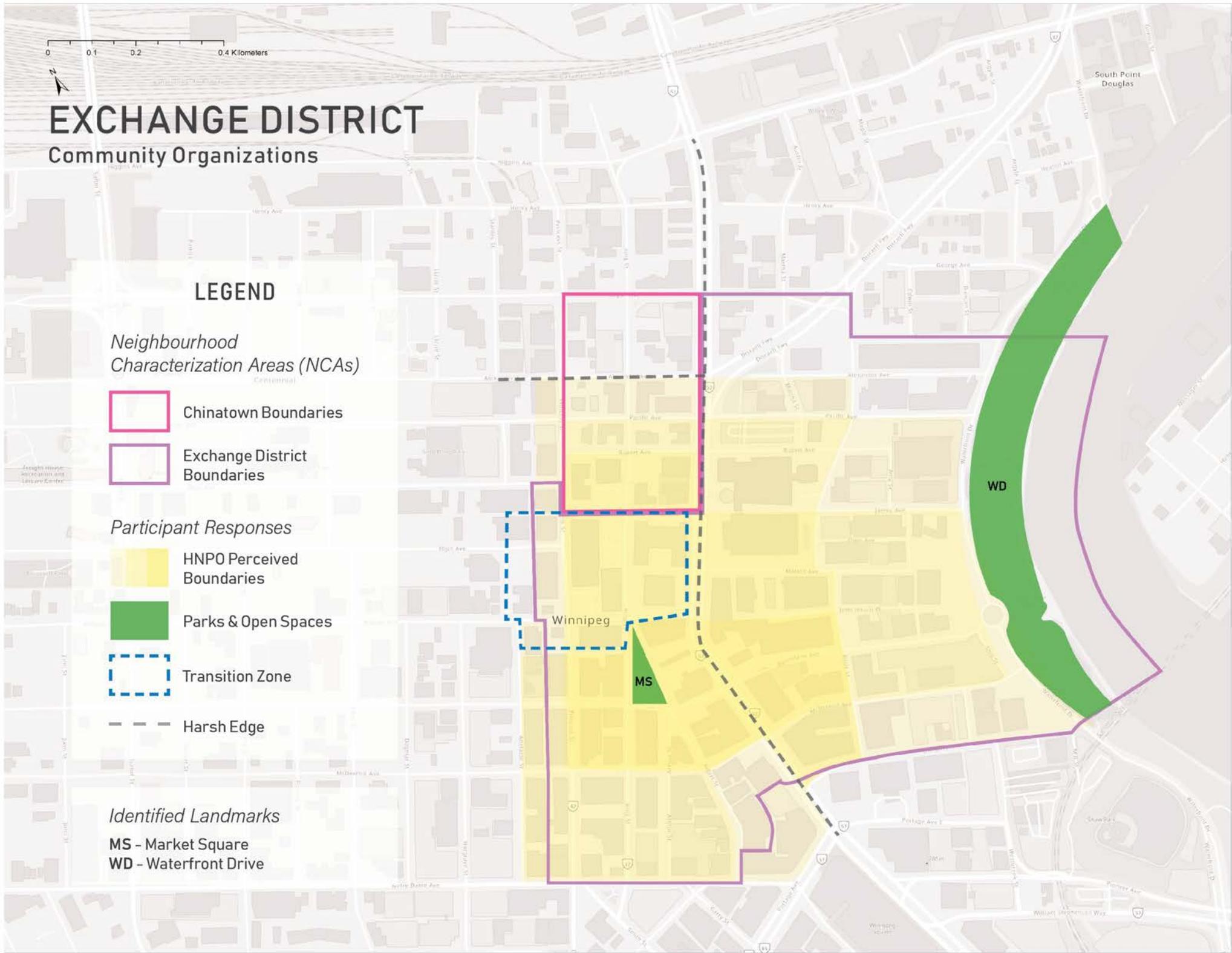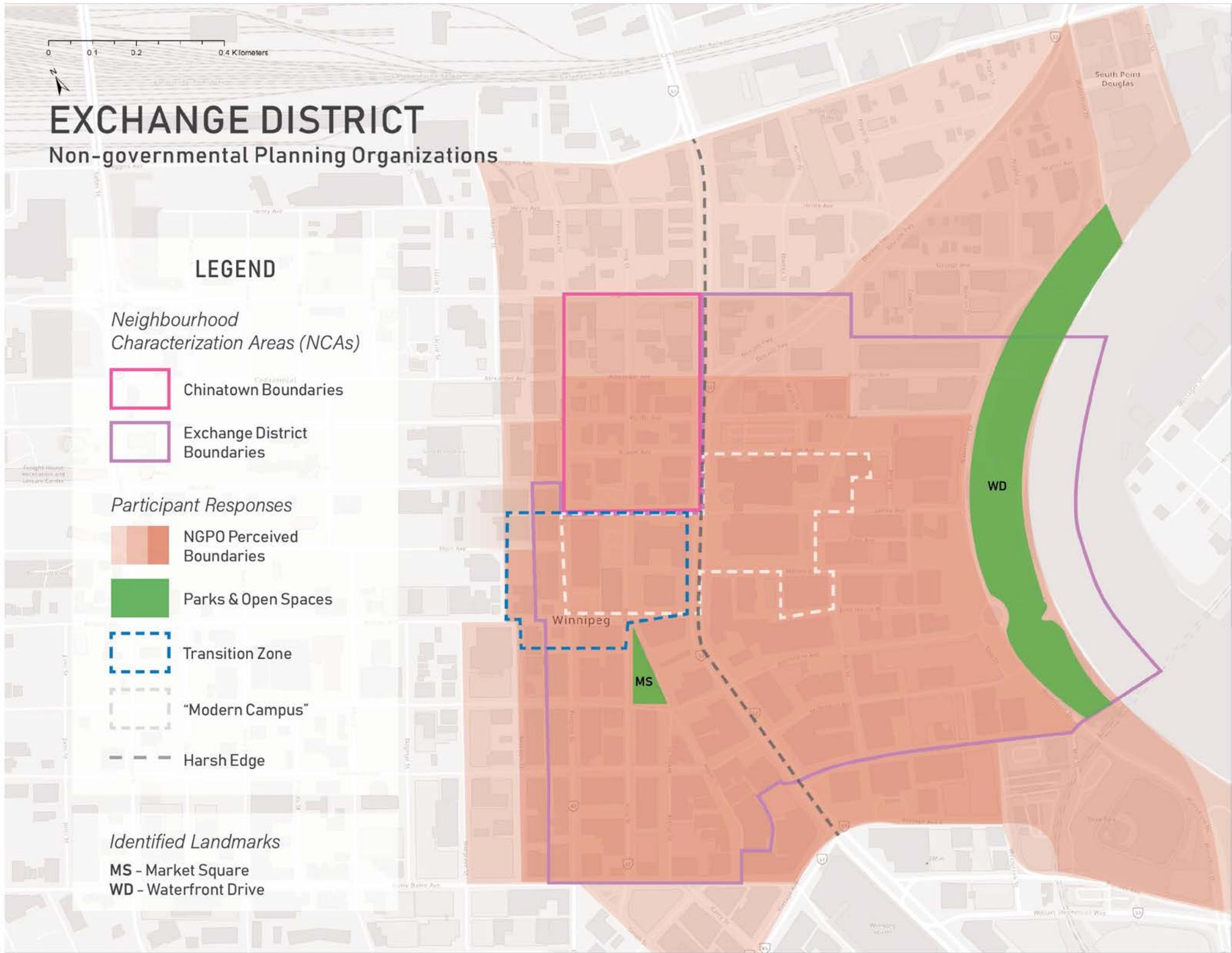### Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

- Chinatown Boundaries
- Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

- HNPO Perceived Boundaries
- Parks & Open Spaces
- Transition Zone
- Harsh Edge

Identified Landmarks

MS – Market Square
WD – Waterfront Drive

WD

MS

Winnipeg

EXCHANGE DISTRICT
Community Organizations

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)
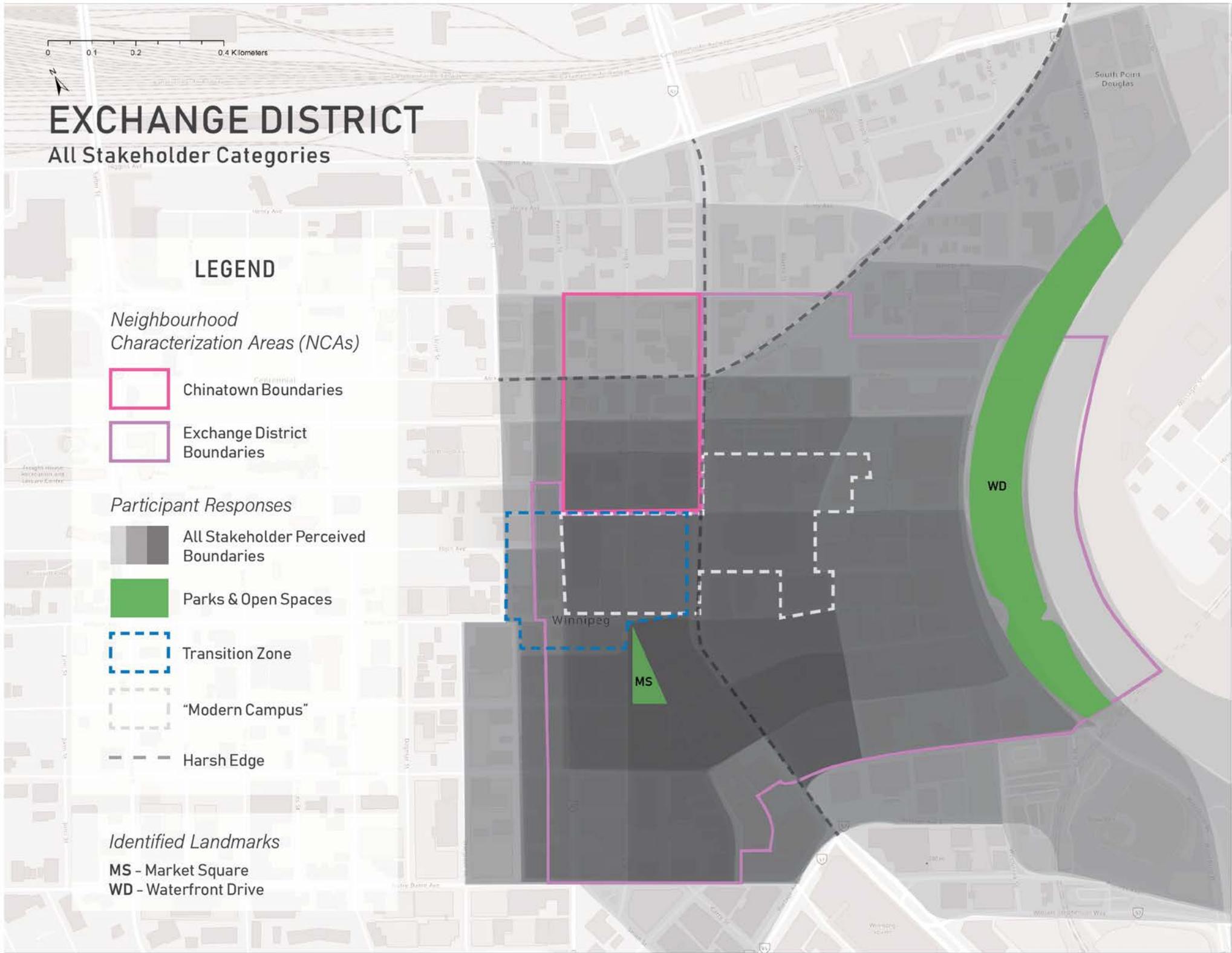
Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

HNPO Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces

Transition Zone

Harsh Edge

Identified Landmarks

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WD – Waterfront Drive

WD

MS

EXCHANGE DISTRICT
Non-governmental Planning Organizations

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

NGPO Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces

Transition Zone

"Modern Campus"

Harsh Edge

Identified Landmarks

MS – Market Square
WD – Waterfront Drive

WD

MS

Winnipeg

South Point Douglas

EXCHANGE DISTRICT
All Stakeholder Categories

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

All Stakeholder Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces

Transition Zone

"Modern Campus"

Harsh Edge

Identified Landmarks

MS – Market Square
WD – Waterfront Drive

WD

MS

Winnipeg

CHINATOWN

Housing- and Homelessness-Focused Non-Profit Organizations
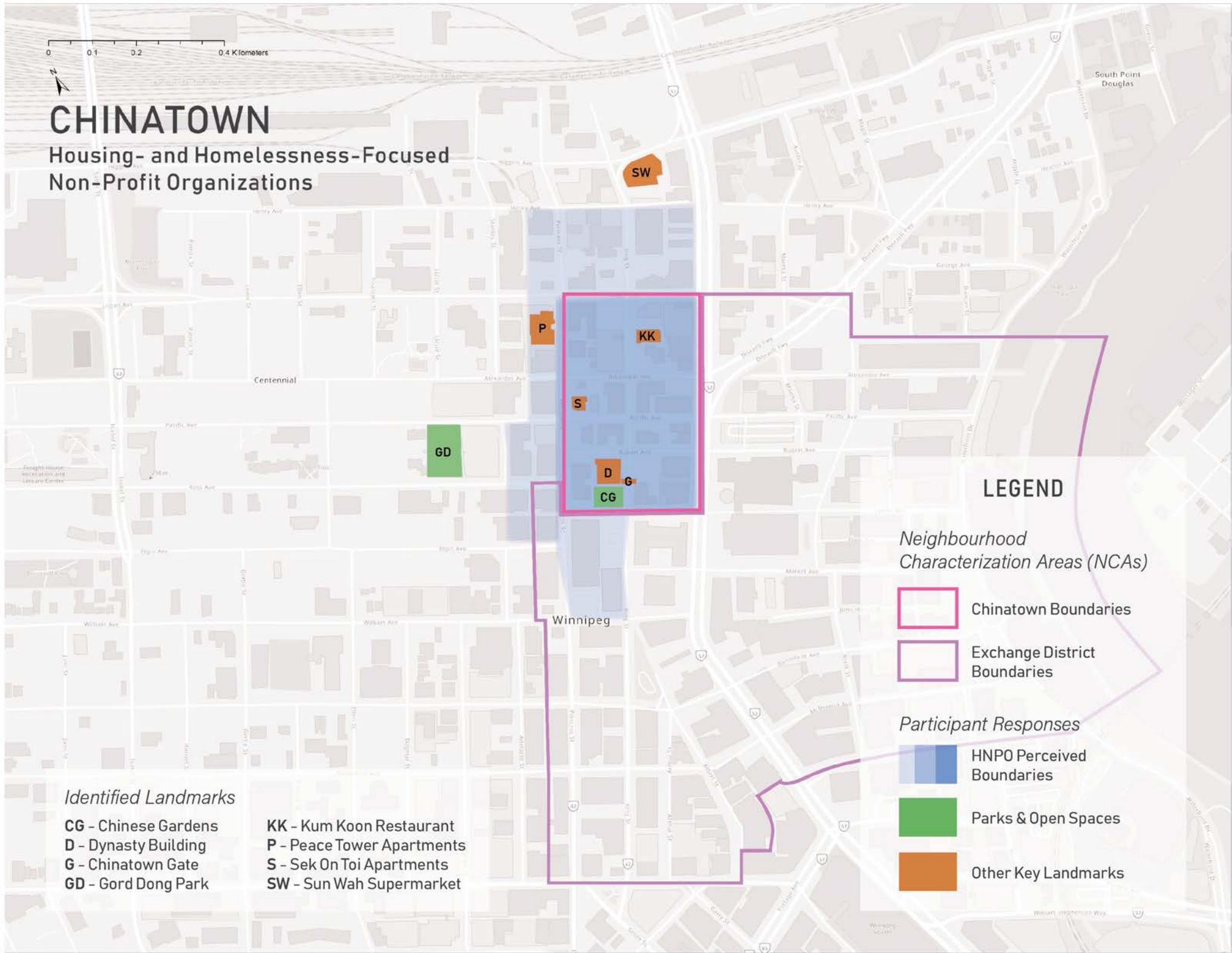
SW

P

KK

S

GD

D

G

CG

Centennial

Winnipeg

South Point Douglas

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

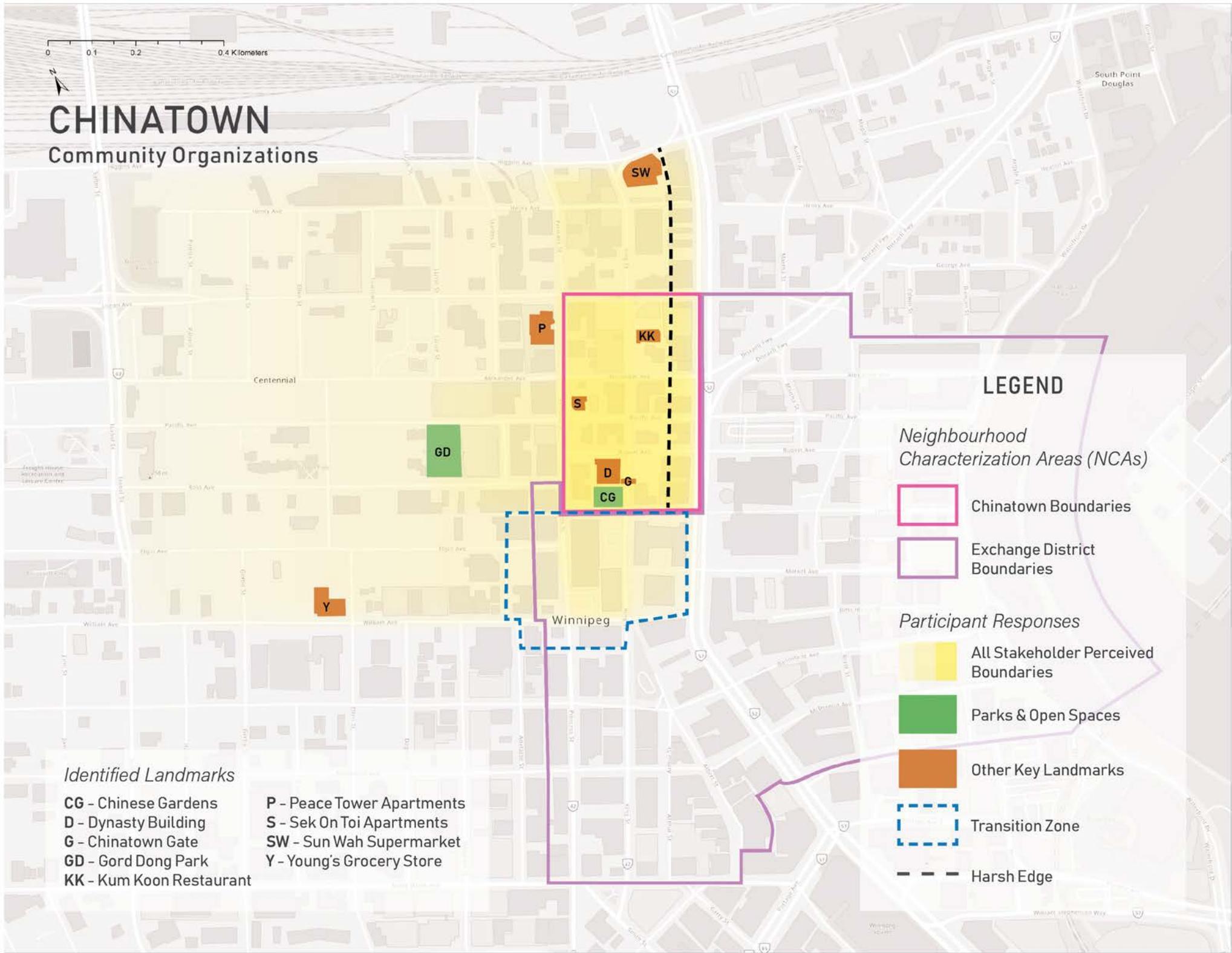HNPO Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces

Other Key Landmarks

Identified Landmarks

CG – Chinese Gardens
D – Dynasty Building
G – Chinatown Gate
GD – Gord Dong Park

KK – Kum Koon Restaurant
P – Peace Tower Apartments
S – Sek On Toi Apartments
SW – Sun Wah Supermarket

0   0.1   0.2   0.4 Kilometers

CHINATOWN
Community Organizations

SW

P

KK

S

GD

D

G

CG

Y

Winnipeg

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

All Stakeholder Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces
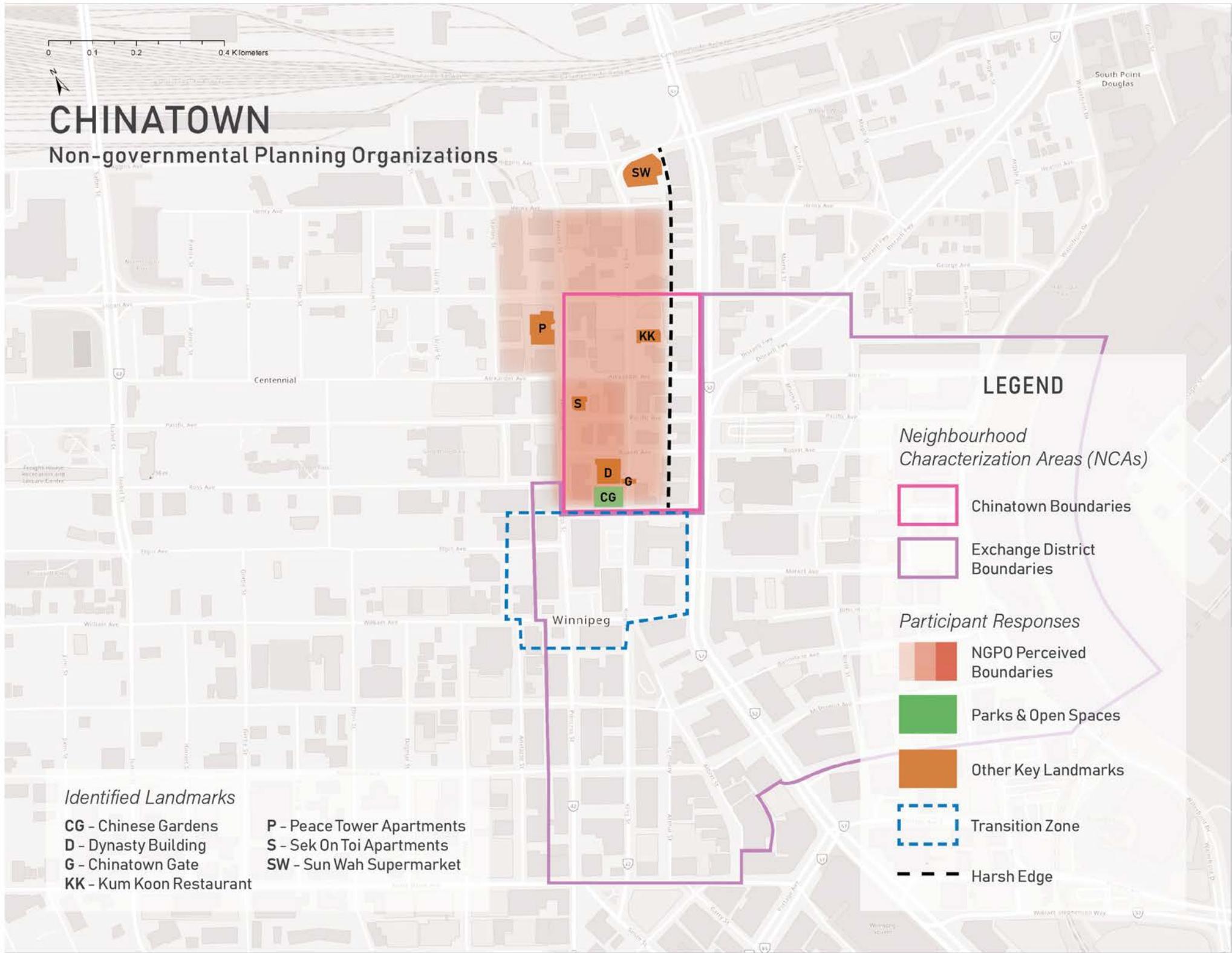
Other Key Landmarks

Transition Zone

Harsh Edge

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GD – Gord Dong Park
KK – Kum Koon Restaurant

P – Peace Tower Apartments
S – Sek On Toi Apartments
SW – Sun Wah Supermarket
Y – Young's Grocery Store

0   0.1   0.2   0.4 Kilometers

CHINATOWN
Non-governmental Planning Organizations

SW

P

KK

S

D
G
CG

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

NGPO Perceived Boundaries

Parks & Open Spaces
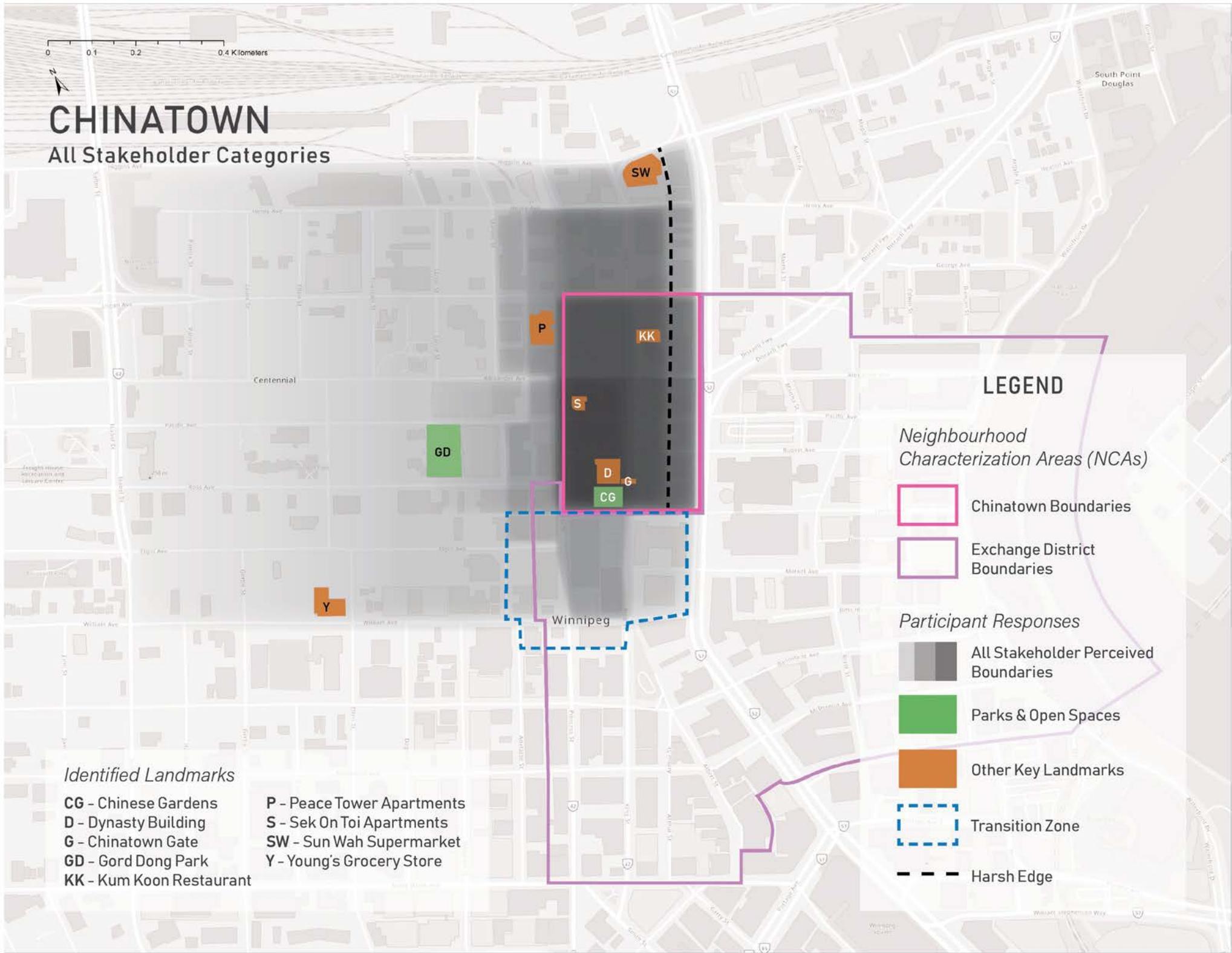
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CHINATOWN
All Stakeholder Categories

0   0.1   0.2   0.4 Kilometers

LEGEND

Neighbourhood Characterization Areas (NCAs)

Chinatown Boundaries

Exchange District Boundaries

Participant Responses

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