

Urban Design, Neoliberalism, and Social Control in the Context of Winnipeg's Canada Life  
Centre

by

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## 1. Introduction

Walking towards Canada Life Centre (CLC) on the way to a Winnipeg Jets game, something that might catch the eye is the presence of numerous police officers, their junior counterpart Cadets, and security guards standing near or in the entrances to the arena. You might also then notice police and Cadets patrolling the area by foot or vehicle, or even parked in marked or unmarked vehicles scanning the surrounding area. These authority figures likely will catch your eye when you are exiting the arena as well. One might even observe a police officer or Cadet interacting with members of the public. Taking a closer look, a large amount of public and private CCTV cameras can be acknowledged as well. Although these observations are important, what most eventgoers will not see is what the police and Cadets are doing while a Winnipeg Jets game is taking place.

For instance, during a Jets game in April 2023, I watched five Cadets interact with around a total of 10 seemingly unhoused people between two nearby bus shelters near the southeast entrance of Canada Life Centre. The Cadets first visited one bus shelter and directed the individuals to leave the shelter before moving to the next shelter and doing the same. The individuals in the shelters dispersed, leaving all their belongings. After the shelters were clear, it appeared that one of the Cadets was trying to tie the door closed on one of the shelters to prevent the individuals from returning. After the people in the bus shelter had left, so had the Cadets. Immediately after this interaction, the Cadets drove two blocks to the west where a similar situation occurred, but with one individual camped in a bus shelter. This was on the other side of Canada Life Centre, outside of “True North Square”, a building complex owned by the owners of the Winnipeg Jets, True North Sports and Entertainment. The individual was searched by the five Cadets and then taken into the Cadets’ SUV. As these bus shelters are closely located to Canada Life Centre, my suspicion was that the Cadets’ intention was to remove the seemingly unhoused people from the area, ultimately to maintain a space more inviting to the eventgoer and consumer. Following the second interaction, I circled back to where the first interaction took place to find that the individuals who were removed from the bus shelters had already returned less than ten minutes later, essentially making the Cadets’ prior work ineffective. This was not a one-time occurrence, but rather a common sighting throughout my observation sessions in this research. I later saw the Cadets return to the same shelter, making this process become cyclical. The presence of police, Cadets, and security is something that everyone attending a Jets game

sees when entering or leaving the building, but what is likely not seen from eventgoers is the ongoing surveillance and policing presence at all times during a National Hockey League (NHL) game in Winnipeg.

I have had the privilege to attend around 15 Jets games since the NHL has returned to Winnipeg in 2011. Before intentional observations of the area and conduct of police in this setting that was a large part of this research, I had often curiously noticed a police presence in the arena, but always a seemingly larger presence outside the arena at the start and end of games. Most police and Cadet interaction with the public seemed to be directed not towards eventgoers, but rather those who appeared to be unhoused and not attending the games. As a fan, I realized years ago that a Jets jersey becomes a suit of armour. Armour is a protective layer worn over one's body, and it makes one who is vulnerable into someone who can withstand a blow. A Jets jersey turns a belligerently drunk person (myself, on occasion) into a regular attendee at a professional hockey game. With wearing a Jets jersey, a particular status is placed on the one wearing it. In Winnipeg, those who are attending National Hockey League games are typically thought to be members of middle- to upper-socioeconomic classes. Conversely, on multiple occasions I had seen police and Cadets confront, and sometimes detain, people who were loitering around Canada Life Centre who did not appear to be attending the games. These initial observations when I was attending games became the motivation for this current research. In my experience, this contradiction is a common and consistent occurrence before, during and after Winnipeg Jets games, but ultimately extends as a common practice more generally in downtown urban spaces. I began to wonder why a large police presence was warranted outside of Canada Life Centre. Why, amid this police presence, was I and others able to be drunk nuisances without worry? What are the physical or symbolic differences between myself and other eventgoers and those who are more frequently confronted by the police outside of Canada Life Centre? Who does this police presence benefit?

This research analyzes modes of urban social control through conventional and non-conventional policing practices in Winnipeg's Sports, Hospitality and Entertainment District (SHED), the area surrounding Winnipeg Manitoba's National Hockey League arena, Canada Life Centre. The objective is to explore the relationship between neoliberal mechanisms that drive business improvement districts (BIDs) and policing practices during events in this space. Angrosino (2007) defines an event as "sequences of activities longer and more complex than

single actions; they usually take place in a specific location, have a defined purpose and meaning, involve more than one person, have a recognized history, and are repeated with some regularity” (p. 56). In the context of this research, the observed events hosted at CLC will be Winnipeg Jets NHL games.

There are several objectives that this project addresses. First, this research outlines how urban social control visually operates within the SHED. It addresses techniques employed in the SHED to police the area through analyzing conventional municipal policing and considering non-state security organizations such as a privately employed security, and Winnipeg’s Downtown Community Safety Partnership (DCSP) teams, as well as methods of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Second, this research analyzes modes of urban social control at the time of Winnipeg Jets NHL games. The research compares the visual differences in techniques of social control employed at the time of Winnipeg Jets games versus daily tactics of social control, seeking to identify if there is an increase in police presence, and any difference in policing techniques used during games as opposed to non-event days. Lastly, this study conceptualizes the SHED as a neoliberal enterprise with primary goals of maintaining a presentable environment that follows “clean and safe” logics to create an atmosphere welcoming to the consumer and eventgoer for the goal of capital profit. This will be contextualized through a literature review on “business improvement districts” and an economic review of public and private investments into the SHED.

This thesis provides the locational context, literary context, and the required methodology to address the issues outlined above. Discussed first is an outline of Winnipeg which provides information about the locational context for where this research is situated. I briefly examine the specific setting and aesthetics of the SHED and provide a brief review of both the economic and physical development of this area. A discussion of policing, both conventional and non-conventional, in downtown Winnipeg follows, with particular attention to the SHED. A large redevelopment in downtown Winnipeg since the return of the Winnipeg Jets is evident, with much of the redevelopment done by True North Sports and Entertainment and their real estate division. A partnership between the Winnipeg Jets’ owners in True North Sports and Entertainment and the Winnipeg Police Service, among other stakeholders, shows TNSE’s stake in policing in Winnipeg. An intentional increase in foot patrol policing in the SHED and special

attention towards special events in this area is evident through various Winnipeg Police Service reports.

Following is a provision of the conceptual foundations of this research. The main conceptual foundations of this research include Bourdieu's "cultural capital", space and place, and urban branding. As well, a discussion of neoliberalism and gentrification will help guide the research in analyzing economic and consumptive behaviour in the SHED and social effects that result. A Bourdieusian analysis will be of use in this study to help to outline differences in classes and what might set socioeconomic classes apart. It will help to contextualize how the SHED, through its provision of large-scale sporting events, higher-end hospitality, and higher-end shopping opportunities, is built and protected in a way to tend to those with increased sophistication regarding economic, cultural, and social capital. The purpose of using space and place as a concept is to assist in directing focus towards the specific area that is the SHED and the functions within the SHED. The urban branding concept helps this research in defining the aesthetics of the SHED and what this area seeks to achieve. It assists in defining how this area employs its own unique brand that is separable from other geographically surrounding areas. As this research is focused on a specific geographical location and activities within it, great attention to the space itself and how it functions is relevant. Attention to space and place forces a consideration and analysis of how the physical urban environment works as a form of policing, and conversely, how it is policed. It also allows for greater consideration of how the urban environment of the SHED is constructed to promote consumption, reproduce and maintain acceptable behaviours within the brand, and highlight behaviours that are seen as being out of place.

To understand what the SHED is, business improvement districts are outlined, with special attention to the clean and safe, and neoliberal logics that underpin the operation of BIDs. The SHED is an area within the Downtown Winnipeg BIZ, a business improvement district. BIDs themselves are in set geographical locations and are environments that promote consumption and seek to maintain clean and safe images, hence, particular attention to the physical space of the SHED is of importance to this research. This discussion gives insight into the common use of urban branding techniques in downtown urban centres. We see the importance of clean and safe initiatives to BIDs and how they follow broken windows theory and neoliberal logics. The primary function of BIDs is to promote consumption and seek to maintain clean and safe images,

hence, particular attention to the physical space of the SHED is important to this research. Also outlined is sporting and criminology literature with emphasis on venue development and government subsidies, profitability, how venue development and large events can lead to gentrification and privatization of urban spaces, and how these developments can displace and continue the marginalization of certain populations. Developments of venues and the hosting of large events evidently follows similar logics found within BIDs, largely clean and safe initiatives to sanitize areas to become welcoming to sporting event attendees.

Following the literature review is an outline of this study's methods. To analyze the relationships between neoliberal structuring, the SHED, policing, and NHL games at Canada Life Centre, this research adopts a case study and multi-method approach consisting of observation and a visual semiotic analysis. Observation in this study allowed for a ground level analysis of everyday- and event-policing in the SHED, and for photographs to be taken of the general environment and police activity. A visual semiotic analysis assisted in analyzing included photographs through helping to decipher meaning behind said images through the conceptual lenses employed in this study. Through this study, the findings suggest that there is an increase in police and security presences in the times leading up to, during, and after NHL games in the area surrounding Winnipeg's Canada Life Centre as opposed to non-event days. I argue that these police presences contribute to a securitization of capital in the Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment district to assist in upholding clean and safe logics that typically underpin the operation of business improvement districts, ultimately to encourage and maintain an environment that is welcoming to consumption by the middle- to upper-class.

## **2. Research Site Context**

### *2.1 The SHED and Downtown Winnipeg*

At the longitudinal centre of Canada is Winnipeg, a prairie city in the province Manitoba with a population of approximately 750,000 (Statistics Canada, 2021). Winnipeg can be traditionally characterized as being a working-class city (Distasio, 2003). It is also a city that has historically had concerns of high crime rates and general disorder, gaining a reputation among Canadian cities as a major site of crime and violence (Comack & Silver, 2008; Catta & Linden, 2018). Much of these concerns have been concentrated within Winnipeg's inner-city, an area generally at socio-economic disadvantage comparative to other parts of Winnipeg, and one that

is racialized with large Indigenous and immigrant populations residing there (Comack & Silver, 2008). This research is concerned with a particular area in downtown Winnipeg, the Sports, Hospitality and Entertainment District, which is the area surrounding Canada Life Centre.

Canada Life Centre is a large event centre in Winnipeg and the place where Winnipeg's National Hockey League team, the Winnipeg Jets play games. The arena is situated in an area, the SHED (a smaller area within the Downtown Winnipeg BIZ), that endorses the Winnipeg Jets as a large part of Winnipeg's cultural and economic identity. Large banners on CLC display portraits of Winnipeg Jets players, additional smaller banners are seen hanging on streetlamps on nearby streets, and one street named after Winnipeg Jets alumnus, Dale Hawerchuk, with a recently revealed statue to memorialize the Winnipeg icon. The area is bounded with and defined by Winnipeg Jets decoration. Other markers work to designate the area as "higher class", such as high-end bars and restaurants, hotels and other businesses that appeal to middle- to upper-class individuals and consumers. The name itself, "Sports, Hospitality and Entertainment District", endorses sport as part of the area's identity and insinuates through the words "hospitality" and "entertainment" that this is an area intended for consumption.

Canada Life Centre, formerly holding the names "MTS Centre" and "Bell MTS Place", is the largest event centre in Manitoba, hosting 15,321 fans for Winnipeg Jets games, allowing for a few thousand more for concerts depending on seating arrangements, and hosts over 140 sporting, musical and entertainment events annually (True North Sports and Entertainment, 2022; Sportsnet, 2022; Gourluck, 2006). The location of Canada Life Centre is in the space where the former Eaton's building resided until 2002 (Gourluck, 2006), continuing the legacy of a central meeting place for Winnipeggers. Discussions on the replacement of the Eaton's building were grounded in "downtown revitalization" language, eventually deciding on the development of a downtown arena and entertainment venue that would intend to serve as the focal point of downtown development (Gourluck, 2006). True North Sports and Entertainment led the \$133.5 million dollar building's development (Gourluck, 2006). The building is connected to Winnipeg's skywalk system, allowing for access to Winnipeg's Portage Place and City Place shopping malls, Millennium Library, and Convention Centre, among other notable buildings (Gourluck, 2006).

Until around the 1950's, Downtown Winnipeg was the core of the city's commerce and entertainment (Goldsborough et al., 2007). At Downtown's largest intersection, Portage and

Main, wealth and commercial prosperity of Winnipeg was evident with the presence of Bankers' Row, Great-West Life, and the Winnipeg Grain Exchange (Goldsborough et al., 2007). To the west of this intersection, Portage Avenue was the city's primary shopping destination with the Eaton's and Hudson's Bay department stores located a few blocks from each other, as well as numerous other shops on and around Portage Avenue, that together attracted thousands of residents and visitors to Winnipeg's downtown daily (Goldsborough et al., 2007). At this time, shopping opportunities were not as plentiful in other parts of Winnipeg. Winnipeg's living and working population began to decentralize from the downtown core starting in the 1950's, with suburbanization gradually increasing into the later part of the century (Goldsborough et al., 2007; Distasio, 2003). Until this decentralization, Downtown Winnipeg was where the population lived, worked, and shopped (Goldsborough et al., 2007). Most of the population growth in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was in the expanding suburbs, whereas the inner-city had a concentration of poverty including single parents, immigrants, and Indigenous populations (Distasio, 2003; Goldsborough et al., 2007). The expansion into suburbia is a contributing factor to a dichotomous relationship that exists between the residents of the inner-city and the residents of areas surrounding downtown, ultimately contributing to stereotypes that many Winnipeggers have of the inner-city (Distasio, 2003).

Within this period of suburban expansion was also the phenomenon of big box stores that provided a place to shop closer to where one lived, along with free parking. At this time was also the decline of downtown, as it was no longer a primary shopping destination, particularly with the removal of Eaton's (Distasio, 2003). With the replacement of the Eaton's building with a brand-new hockey arena and event centre, Downtown Winnipeg was in a transitional period from being a shopping destination, to an entertainment destination. The MTS Centre opened its doors in late 2004. In the mid- to late-2000s, Before the return of the Jets in 2011, there was a mindset among stakeholders that downtown needed revival. The former executive director of the Downtown Winnipeg Business Improvement Zone, Stefano Grande, saw a fundamental and essential need in having more people live downtown to attribute to the city's revitalization and that downtown needed to be created into a space "to work, do business, live, shop, and enjoy" (Gourluck, 2006, p. 275). Although the downtown area was already prone to business (though not necessarily business attractive to middle-upper class consumers, such as low-end bars, fast-

food restaurants, and dollar stores), urban development was enhanced leading up to and after the return of the NHL to Winnipeg in 2011 (Toews, 2018).

Key in urban development of the SHED is CentreVenture (Toews, 2018). CentreVenture Development Corporation, established in 1999, is an arms-length agency of the City of Winnipeg that provides leadership in the planning, development, coordination, and implementation of projects and activities in the downtown (CentreVenture, n.d.). CentreVenture (n.d.) works towards development in Winnipeg's downtown by supporting private-public relationships and partnerships, encouraging development of new retail, housing, commercial venture, and public sector investments. In January 2010, CentreVenture assembled the Downtown Council to identify issues surrounding downtown and steps to address said issues. This council consisted of representatives of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce, Economic Development Winnipeg Inc., Destination Winnipeg, two city-center business improvement districts, the Winnipeg Convention Centre, and the Winnipeg Police Service (WPS). Together, they created an urban development plan in which, Toews (2018) would argue, the purpose would later become evident as means to remake the area for a wealthier consumer.

Toews (2018) argues the largely poor and Indigenous human geography of the downtown core was perceived as concerning and threatening by stakeholders. CentreVenture proposed the Portage Avenue Development Strategy (PADS) in 2010, which was endorsed by the city of Winnipeg. PADS held a vision of "creating a vibrant mixed-use district centred on the activity of the MTS Centre and the expanded RBC Convention Centre" with the purpose to drive new development in the district (CentreVenture Development Corporation, n.d.). This led to the development of an 11-block radius surrounding the MTS Centre designated as the SHED and the buyout of low-income hotels in the area slated for the development of higher-class hotels and luxury condos (Toews, 2018). CentreVenture began their first major constructions of a luxury hotel, restaurant, retail, and office complex – along with announcements of nearly \$100 million in new real estate investments in the vicinity of the MTS Centre, within two days of the NHL return announcement in 2011 (Toews, 2018). This first major development was Centrepont, occupying the space across from the MTS Centre (Kives, 2010). Longboat Development Corporation, a company owned by the wealthy Chipman family, planned to convert the former A&B Sound building into consumption and commercial space with assistance from CentreVenture (Kives, 2010; Skerritt, 2011). A&B Sound was placed on the building

conservation list and given heritage status; however, the City of Winnipeg removed its listing, citing long-term benefit of the new development outweighing the need to keep the building (Skerritt, 2011). The city noted this was the first major private-sector investment on Portage Avenue in years and was expected to be the beginning of the establishment of the SHED and downtown revitalization (Kives, 2010; Skerritt, 2011). The SHED would also later become a tax-increment financing (TIF) zone, the first of its kind in Winnipeg, which would see any tax generated in the area be directly reinvested into the area, a tactic to stimulate and accelerate development (Kives, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2012).

In 2012, the Province of Manitoba announced that it would transfer \$25 million to CentreVenture for further development of the SHED (Toews, 2018). The large investments into the core of downtown were celebrated by politicians, media, and the public, with strong undertones of relief for a revival of downtown that is presentable and for “respectable classes”, while “demonizing existing residents (widely understood to be [Indigenous] but rarely acknowledged as such) as ‘drunks’, ‘panhandlers’, and ‘vagrants’” (Toews, 2018, p. 260). In discussing their purchase of the St. Regis Hotel (a building bordering the SHED), former CEO of CentreVenture, Ross McGowan, was quoted as saying “one of the issues that was constantly being expressed to us was the excessive drunkenness and the aggressive panhandling that was going on in the area – the Winnipeg Police Service helped us identify that one of the primary center points of that was in fact the St. Regis hotel” (Toews, 2018, p. 262). In the redevelopment of Winnipeg’s downtown, much of the rhetoric seems to revolve around public safety concerns rather than the capital benefits through the development of new amenities. CentreVenture sold the St. Regis hotel in 2015 but bought the property back in 2018 when a planned redevelopment fell through (Levasseur, 2020). The hotel was bought again in 2020 for a mixed-use development that will include retail, parking, office, and residential space. The St. Regis Hotel, after being boarded up and not used since 2017, was demolished in late 2020 with construction for the new development to begin in 2021 (Levasseur, 2020). Although this project took longer to develop than CentreVenture anticipated, it was meant to be the beginning of the SHED strategy (Levasseur, 2020). As of Spring 2023, as noticed in the observation period in this research, the location of the former St. Regis Hotel remained an empty, fenced-off lot. In a CentreVenture report, it is noted that the former site of the St. Regis Hotel is immediately adjacent to the

“current” SHED TIF zone, insinuating the possibility of the borders of the SHED expanding to include new developments (CentreVenture Development Corporation, n.d.).

Rampant development in the SHED has been evident since (2010) and is still ongoing. In addition to CentreVenture, this development is largely the responsibility of True North Sports and Entertainment (TNSE). The SHED’s recent and current development, and downtown Winnipeg more generally, is largely influenced and spearheaded by True North Sports and Entertainment, owned by Mark Chipman of the Chipman family (who also owns Longboat Development Corporation) and Canada’s richest person, David Thompson. TNSE’s portfolio is wide in range, including ownership over the Winnipeg Jets, their American Hockey League (AHL) affiliates the Manitoba Moose, and the hosting venue of both teams, Canada Life Centre (True North Sports and Entertainment, 2022). Within the SHED, TNSE also owns the event centre “The Burton Cummings Theatre”, located a few blocks away from CLC. A division of TNSE is True North Real Estate Development, who owns the 1.5 million square foot mixed-use development in the SHED known as True North Square and is currently in development of the neighbouring luxury Sutton Place Hotel and Residences, adjacent to Winnipeg’s Convention Centre (True North Sports and Entertainment, 2022). Another 19-storey True North Real Estate development is set to follow the completion of Sutton Place that will be the North American headquarters of Wawanesa, a Manitoba born insurance company (True North Sports and Entertainment, 2022).

TNSE has embedded itself not only as a major economic stakeholder in Winnipeg, but also as a major part of the culture. There often is a sense of pride among Winnipeggers and Winnipeg Jets fans with regards to TNSE and their work towards a “revitalized” downtown. In fact, the company is celebrated at every Winnipeg Jets home game with a powerful “True North” chant during the Canadian national anthem. The power and hold that TNSE has on Downtown Winnipeg continues to grow. For example, it is seemingly increasingly likely that True North Real Estate Development will purchase Winnipeg’s Portage Place Mall with the goal of accelerating its redevelopment (Kives, 2023, October 24). Kyle Allen, a spokesperson for Dan Vandal’s office, who is the Minister for the Prairies Economic Development Agency of Canada, noted that the revitalization of Downtown Winnipeg is a priority for Minister Vandal with the federal government supporting the redevelopment of Portage Place, with plans to work closely with True North as the development progresses (Kives, 2023, October 24).

In Winnipeg, the games and events associated with the Jets bring individuals, tourists and ultimately consumption into the SHED, thereby providing an incentive for public and private stakeholders to maintain a presentable urban image through clean and safe logics that is welcoming to the consumer. The significance of this will be contextualized through a review of the literature on business improvement districts in this thesis. Winnipeg has a constant spotlight on itself within the sporting community, particularly the hockey community, as the city is shown on television multiple times per week, arguably contributing to a desire to uphold a presentable image. This spotlight was particularly relevant when TNSE announced the return of the Winnipeg Jets (Toews, 2018). As Huey (2001) argues, urban entertainment destinations, such as large sporting venues, generate demands for both increased and diversified forms of policing. These demands in policing can be traced to modern consumption patterns, and they can turn into policing practices that are not necessarily targeted towards crime prevention, but rather more to do with creating and maintaining images of safety and prosperity in areas frequented by consumers and eventgoers (Huey, 2001). Throughout the literature review on business improvement districts and large sporting events, their venues, and their impacts on urban spaces, this concept and its relation to Downtown Winnipeg and the SHED will become more evident. As a description of the geography and its development in the SHED has been discussed, a shift towards activity within downtown and the SHED will materialize.

## *2.2 Policing in Downtown Winnipeg and the SHED*

In the most recent *Winnipeg Downtown Safety Study Initial Report*, the Manitoba Police Commission (MPC) (2019) briefly noted a new partnership and collaboration between the City of Winnipeg and TNSE in piloting a public safety and wellness model for the SHED. This model was to implement the existing Minneapolis Downtown Improvement District model as a foundation for the proposed project in Winnipeg (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). With a \$5 million dollar investment from the Province of Manitoba in June 2020, this project developed into the *Downtown Community Safety Partnership (DCSP)* with the goals of reducing downtown crime, improving community safety, and alleviating pressures on emergency response resources through expanding the presence of downtown community outreach and safety teams and introducing an eventual “Downtown Safety Communications Centre”, both to operate 24/7 (Province of Manitoba, 2020; Manitoba Justice, 2021). The DCSP built off the success of and

incorporated the *Downtown Winnipeg BIZ* ambassador program to enhance their already established outreach program and teams (Downtown Winnipeg BIZ, n.d. a). Increases in training, improved coordination between partners and other outreach agencies, and enhanced visible presence and spatial coverage were introduced.

In the same report, a stronger enforcement of the already existing panhandling laws (*The Obstructive Solicitation By-Law*) was recommended alongside an increased police presence in the SHED to improve perceptions of safety and deter disorder (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019), aligning with common reasoning found in the BID literature which will be discussed ahead. Outlined in the Winnipeg Downtown Safety Study Initial Report is influence from private economic stakeholders, including CentreVenture and True North Sports and Entertainment (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). In addition to WPS constables, occupied in downtown Winnipeg are WPS Cadets who are junior to the constables and provide support to the WPS (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019), and teams employed through the DCSP, uniformed ambassadors who patrol downtown with the stated goals of enhancing the health, safety, and wellbeing of the community in downtown Winnipeg (Downtown Community Safety Partnership, n.d.).

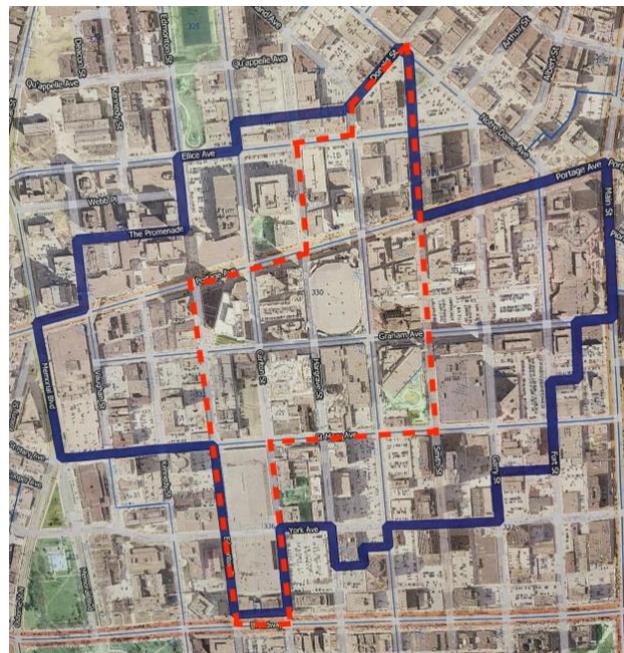
The DCSP is important to note as it shows a direct link between TNSE and social control in Downtown Winnipeg. TNSE, in this sense, is mobilizing their social and economic capital to extend social control past Canada Life Centre to the entirety of downtown (Walby & King, 2022), where it ultimately has other assets. Although the DCSP operates in a manner that minimizes violence, a variety of issues arise. For example, despite the less aggressive nature and lack of interest in criminalization from the DCSP, their activities revolve around providing hospitality services to pedestrians, providing surveillance, and communicating with the WPS, and addressing and removing people out of certain areas, particularly the Sports, Hospitality and Entertainment District (Walby & King, 2022). Walby and King (2022) see this as a protection of corporate assets and a reassurance for shoppers and sports fans in the downtown, albeit in a gentler manner than the police have historically provided. Another critique of TNSE spearheading this partnership is that it creates governance issues and gives the keys of a downtown wide security organization to a private corporation interested in protecting its current and expanding material assets in downtown. Beyond this material sense, there is interest in symbolically protecting the reputation of the SHED (Walby & King, 2022) to make it a

welcoming space for middle- to upper-class Winnipeggers who are attending Jets games or more generally practicing consumption.

The *Winnipeg Downtown Safety Study Initial Report* notes an initiative to enhance downtown Winnipeg's "livability" through the deployment of 16 foot-patrol police officers within the downtown area (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). The report states that the Millennium Library, the Winnipeg Sky Walk System, CLC, and True North Square are all deemed crime hotspots, each of which are within the SHED and in close vicinity to CLC (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). The foot-patrol is deployed in teams of eight uniformed officers working day and evening shifts with suggestions for an increase in officers, also stating that the WPS makes a specific effort to ensure maximal special event coverage by foot-patrol police officers during events at CLC (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). In addition to police officers, the WPS Cadets assist in the downtown area, providing support to the police through securing crime scenes, apprehending individuals under *The Intoxicated Persons Detention Act (IPDA)*, and acting as a visible police presence (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). Based on feedback from public and private stakeholders, this report states a perception of safety can be achieved through increased foot-patrol resources, as well as increases in other visible authority figures such security guards, as they will work as deterrents to crime (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). The MPC also recommends a stronger enforcement of panhandling laws. Panhandling is outlined as a stakeholder identified issue that is present in Winnipeg: "People are afraid of panhandlers. It reduces the dignity of our city" (Manitoba Police Commission, p. 25, 2019). Interviewed stakeholders note that "aggressive panhandling creates a level of friction that dissuades first time or infrequent visitors" (p. 25) and that they credit, to an extent, panhandling being a factor in deterring people from visiting or living downtown (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). In this report, it was noted that 88 percent of respondents to their survey indicated that they would not feel safe walking in Downtown Winnipeg at night (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019).

The WPS' Business Plan and Quarterly Report briefly outlines their "Downtown Safety Strategy" (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a). In it is stated that this strategy "was developed in response to community needs downtown, with a particular focus on the Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment District (SHED) and surrounding area" (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a, p. 1). This strategy, it is stated, involves police and Cadets providing a visible and proactive presence

through foot patrolling and building relationships through engagement with the community (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a). Additionally, “innovative” and cooperative partnerships with businesses and organizations operating downtown help to enable this goal in reducing crime and disorder and increasing senses of safety in the community (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a). The WPS’ stated actions to achieve this goal involve police and Cadet presence in downtown transit corridors, collaboration with safety and outreach partners, proactive foot patrol presence in the “Foot Patrol Zone”, directing focus on “Downtown Priority Offenders” (DPO), and notably for this project, attention to special events in the SHED and downtown (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a). This report does not provide the borders of the “Foot Patrol Zone” or define what constitutes a DPO, nor did an online search yield any results.



**Legend:**    ———— Border of WPS Downtown Foot Patrol Zone    - - - - - Border of SHED

**(Left) Figure 1:** Road map of Downtown Winnipeg with WPS Downtown Foot Patrol Zone and SHED borders  
**(Right) Figure 2:** Satellite image of Downtown Winnipeg with WPS Downtown Foot Patrol Zone and SHED borders

To gather this information, I submitted two *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (FIPPA) requests to the Winnipeg Police Service for the borders of the “Foot Patrol Zone” and what the WPS defines as a “Downtown Priority Offender”. I was provided with two

separate maps of the Downtown Foot Patrol Zone (Access Request #23 05 0729). As can be seen in the images, the borders between the two maps vary slightly, showing some inconsistency in the exact definition of the border of the Foot Patrol Zone. Important to this research, the zone seems to be centred on the SHED, but expanding the borders a few blocks to the east and west of the SHED. The Foot Patrol Zone additionally covers other notable buildings, such as Portage Place, Wehwehneh Bahgahkinahgoohn (the former Hudson’s Bay Building), and the WPS Headquarters. It does not, however, cover some other notable parts of downtown such as the Exchange District, the Law Courts, or the Legislature. As per my second FIPPA request, the WPS defines a Downtown Priority Offender as “individuals who have been identified as chronic offenders within the Division 11 Foot Patrol Zone. These individuals are involved in various offences including weapons, violence, property crimes, drug involvement and nuisance offences.” (Access Request #23 05 0730). Although surely attention is directed to individuals that fit more extreme aspects of this description, individuals receiving police attention in this area, and downtown urban centres more generally, seem to fit what might fall under what is considered a “nuisance” by the police, such as loitering, camping, and panhandling. This will become more evident throughout further sections in this thesis.



**Figure 3:** Map of SHED (Walsh, 2017) and public CCTV cameras. Cameras indicated by purple dots (Data from Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b)

Video surveillance has also been increasing in downtown Winnipeg. Serious pilots for video surveillance began in 2008. The map above outlines the SHED’s borders (Walsh, 2017). The added purple dots and depict all the current locations of publicly funded CCTV cameras.

As can be seen in the map, a large portion of the SHED, specifically near Canada Life Centre, receives significant CCTV coverage, particularly around Canada Life Centre. Notably, this map does not include private CCTV cameras, which are located on most of the buildings in the area. Each individual camera seems to be mounted in different manners, such as on streetlamp poles at the corner of intersections, on the corner of buildings at significant heights, or as in one instance, on the median on Portage Avenue. The WPS has operated nine public CCTV cameras in high crime locations since a pilot project was conducted in 2009 (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). To note, this pilot project was implemented only two years before the NHL was officially announced to be returning to Winnipeg in May 2011. The significance in this is that prior to the official announcement of the NHL's return to Winnipeg, there was speculation growing in 2009 that professional hockey might return to Winnipeg (Wiecek, 2009), a timeline that coincides with the implementation of the CCTV pilot project. It is fair to speculate that the introduction of CCTV surveillance to Winnipeg's downtown might coincide with the return of the NHL to Winnipeg. To note, several of these initially implemented cameras are non-operational due to the equipment aging and failing (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). As these cameras had failed and as technology has improved, the city announced in 2022 a replacement with modern, 360-degree cameras as well as an increase in the number of cameras downtown (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). An additional 16 new locations for CCTV surveillance were added, raising the total number of cameras to 25 (Hirschfield, 2022). Of these 25 cameras, three of them are at corners of CLC while nine of them lay on or within the borders of the SHED and many within close vicinity of the SHED. Important to note is that this includes only public CCTV cameras and does not include any privately owned cameras that may be within this area, including cameras owned by TNSE at CLC.

The city notes the implementation of new CCTV surveillance is a part of a multi-year Downtown Public Safety Strategy that was established by City Council in 2018 and will serve to enhance police investigations and thereby result in improved public safety (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). The stated purpose of these cameras is to obtain evidence for investigations in high crime areas and it is stated that they will only be accessed to solve ongoing investigations (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). After this statement, it is noted that "streaming of video will not be done during normal operation, however there may be occasions when streaming of video

will occur during large scale events to help facilitate and coordinate police response to those events” (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b).

Policing resources rose in Downtown Winnipeg. On July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2023, the premier of Manitoba at the time, Heather Stefanson, announced that a \$10 million investment would be made to implement more officers, lights, and CCTV cameras in Downtown Winnipeg in attempt to curb escalating crime (Crabb, 2023). To add context, the WPS is already a large recipient of funding. In 2019, the Winnipeg Police Service accounted for 26 percent of the City of Winnipeg’s budget, which was the largest percentage of a municipal budget that a police force accounted for across Canada (Seabrook et al., 2023). Additionally, a “centralized community safety office” will be established to serve as a hub for crime prevention initiatives, in partnership with the DCSP. The DCSP will have access to the CCTV system to co-ordinate dispatch, foot patrols and response teams (Crabb, 2019). The WPS’ annual statistical report shows there was a 25.6% increase in total crime in 2022 compared to 2021, and a 17% increase over the prior five years, with violent crime raising 19% since 2009 (Crabb, 2023). This announcement came about three weeks after a 17-year-old was fatally stabbed after leaving a concert at Canada Life Centre, and six months after a 28-year-old was fatally stabbed inside the Millennium Library. An additional 24 officers will be dedicated to increased foot patrol in Winnipeg’s Downtown, doubling the current number of foot patrols (Crabb, 2023). To note, this increase in foot patrols will cover areas of Downtown extending outside of the SHED. In addition to the current 25 CCTV cameras, it was stated that an additional 75 cameras would be added to Downtown Winnipeg, raising the total number of cameras to 100 (Crabb, 2023). Stefanson was quoted as saying “Manitobans have the right to safely live, work and play in our downtown communities. Whether it's for concerts, sports games or to visit a local shop, residents and visitors to our city should be able to enjoy all that Winnipeg has to offer”, noting that making Winnipeg’s downtown safe and attractive will help its economic engine thrive (Crabb, 2023). Stefanson argues in this announcement, “let’s defend our police officers, not defund them”. The importance of consumption to Downtown Winnipeg was emphasized by Stefanson.

The contexts of Winnipeg, the SHED, a brief economic history of the SHED, and policing in the area were outlined throughout this section. Several questions arise from this discussion. What is the goal in the development and transformation of the SHED? Who benefits from the transformation of this area? What is necessary to be policed? Who is primarily being

policed and why? Although the significance of the discussion thus far was not made explicit, the sections to follow will work to provide an academic context to this discussion. A discussion of the conceptual foundations of Bourdieu's cultural capital, neoliberalism, and gentrification, as well as space and place, will provide context to the economic goals of the SHED and their impacts, as well as how the physical environment itself contributes to capital accumulation and works to regulate the conduct within the space. These notions will further be made explicit through a thorough discussion of how business improvement districts operate, followed by a discussion of large sporting events in urban centers to conceptualize the role that Canada Life Centre plays within the SHED.

### **3. Conceptual Foundations and Literature Review**

This thesis employs a variety of concepts with the goal of targeting different aspects that this research is interested in, namely class differences, consumptive behaviour, and urban environments and their functions. The first outlined concept is Bourdieu's "cultural capital". A Bourdieusian analysis is used to assist in outlining differences in classes and what might set socioeconomic classes apart. Further, it helps to decipher the relationships between different classes in the context of policing in the SHED. This analysis helps to contextualize how the SHED, through large-scale sporting events, higher-end hospitality, and higher-end shopping opportunities, is built and protected in a way to tend to those with increased sophistication regarding economic, cultural, and social capital. The next major concept is "space and place", with an emphasis on the notion of "urban branding". The purpose of using space and place is to assist in analyzing the physical geography of the SHED and the functions within this area. Further, urban branding as a concept helps this research in defining the aesthetics of the SHED and what this area seeks to achieve. It assists in defining how this area employs its own unique brand that is separable from other geographically surrounding areas. This research is interested in a specific area and activities within it, which requires attention to the space itself and how it functions.

The concepts are distinct but complement each other in various ways. A focus on urban branding of the SHED shows how the area differentiates itself and who it desires to attract. It forces a consideration and analysis of how the physical urban environment works as a form of policing, and conversely, how it is policed. It also allows for consideration of how the urban

environment of the SHED is constructed to promote a certain type of consumption. A Bourdieusian analysis helps to decipher who this area is trying to attract and can give insight into class aspects of who is and is not desired in this area, and who policing is primarily directed towards. It gives an insight into types of consumers, and urban branding gives an insight into who is the desired consumer in this area. Before delving into the conceptual foundations of this thesis, a brief discussion of neoliberalism is provided as context, as each concept relates to capital and consumption in different ways.

### *3.1 Neoliberalism*

Neoliberalism is an economic ideology that impacts the economy and structure of societal practices largely through the privatization of capital (Prechel & Harms, 2007). Neoliberalism can be conceptualized as an economic policy, a modality of governance and order of reason, a global phenomenon, but it is important to note that it is inconsistent and differentiated across contexts (Brown, 2015). It is a set of fluctuating practices where deregulation, privatization, and reduction in government spending are key goals (Brown, 2015). Neoliberalism and its practices are thought about as a historically specific reaction against Keynesianism and democratic socialism (Brown, 2015). Essentially, neoliberal processes encourage capital growth through the privatization of capital. This is a step away from the welfare state, evident in Canada, for example, through the cutbacks to benefits, welfare and other social services by the federal and provincial governments in the mid 1990s (Gordon, 2005). To achieve the neoliberal goal of separating government interference in markets at its extreme, the markets must be privatized, taxes must be cut to reduce government resources with the excess money put towards capital investment, public property must be privatized and sold to private investors, all possible entities need to be commodified including health and education, and social programs need to be eliminated to increase personal responsibility (Prechel & Harms, 2007).

By the early 1980s, capitalism was in crisis. Debates about how to deal with a recession led to the introduction of lean production, the aim being to increase productivity and reduce the decline in profit that was evident from the late 1960s to the 1980s. It was argued that this was achievable through a cheaper and more productive work force (Gordon, 2005). Gordon (2005) states that this is the end that neoliberalism works to achieve. The fundamental premise of neoliberalism is that economies grow and prosper through privatization of the free market

combined with a lack of government involvement and regulation (Prechel & Harms, 2007). This, neoliberal advocates argue, encourages the individual to assume the role of entrepreneur in the development of economic growth, as opposed to government initiatives being the driver of capital as they were under Keynesianism (Prechel & Harms, 2007). The unemployed might be inclined to avoid poor wage labour, and as Gordon (2005) notes, governments had responded by reducing benefits to social programs and assistance to poor individuals, requiring the unemployed to be content with the low wages.

Gordon (2005) discusses the “ideological assault” on those who receive financial assistance through the creation of narratives, largely by the government and media, that recipients of welfare or unemployment benefits are lazy and reducing funds from the government. The neoliberal narrative is that the poor are at their own fault through their own lack of initiative. Gordon (2005) argues that poverty is not the problem in the neoliberal state as poverty is useful in compelling people to seek a wage for survival. Rather, what is not tolerated by the capital state is having the capable and able-bodied poor on social assistance or avoiding labour (Gordon, 2005). Brown (2015) contends that neoliberalism extends past an economic ideology and becomes a mode of reason where both individuals as well as states and private corporations are expected to conduct themselves in manners that work to maximize their capital value, both in the future and present. This is done through practices of entrepreneurialism, self-investment, and attracting investors (Brown, 2015). Brown (2015) argues that neoliberal rationality extends to all domains and activities, even where money is not a consideration. The individual becomes *homo oeconomicus*, where economization spreads into noneconomic domains and activities through the constant seeking of increasing competitive positioning and appreciating one’s value (Brown, 2015). Everyone becomes human capital, seeking to expand one’s portfolio and increase one’s value in all domains of life by attracting investors through pursuing education, training, work experience, competition and more (Brown, 2015). Neoliberalism then is a phenomenon that works to regulate and dictate human behaviour. In a neoliberal society, the intent is that each individual has freedom of choice and is responsible for the consequences of said choices (Prechel & Harms, 2007). This premise is based in the individual operating within their own self-interest and either fails or succeeds as a consequence of their individual initiatives and actions (King-White, 2018). This conversation serves as a good

transitory piece into Bourdieusian concepts of capital, where capital is not limited to only economics, but rather extends to many aspects of one's life.

### 3.2 Bourdieu and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and taste works to explain how social hierarchies and distinctions in classes are maintained through cultural consumption (Bookman, 2014). The reification of cultural choices is a form of capital, in which this cultural capital is used to reinforce social position symbolically and structurally, according to Bourdieu (Gemar, 2020). A Bourdieusian term, "*embodied cultural capital*", is what is internalized in an individual. It is one's ability, ultimately through socialization in the individual over their lifespan, to appreciate and understand various forms of culture (Gemar, 2020). *Objectified cultural capital* is a manifestation of *embodied cultural capital* in which cultural knowledge is objectified. Through this process, one's cultural capital and cultural knowledge is converted into implicit and explicit tastes and consumption patterns of exclusive forms of culture (Gemar, 2020). *Distinction* (also the title of Bourdieu's most influential book) is the produced outcome of the judgements between those with cultural differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020). This is then where a divide can be seen between those with different forms of cultural capital. There are social distinctions based on the type of culture that one engages in, and the sophistication in which one can appreciate and express their knowledge of higher forms of art and culture (Gemar, 2020).

An important concept is *habitus*. Bourdieu's "habitus" is a system of socially learned qualities that influence one's mind and character, their preferred activities, attitudes, and behaviour. The habitus structures cultural taste and social activity (Gemar, 2020). The habitus is internalized by individuals and is what differentiates one from another according to their lifestyle and preferences (White & Wilson, 1999). One's habitus is shaped through various forms of capital (Bookman, 2014). There are three key concepts that contribute to the development of one's "taste", and consequently result in variations between different people's tastes (White & Wilson, 1999). First is "economic capital", which includes one's income, wealth, and spare time. Second, previously touched on briefly, is "cultural capital". Cultural capital includes one's education, occupation, and family background. Lastly is "social capital", which includes one's social connections and associations with other individuals (White & Wilson, 1999). The sophistication of (or lack thereof) one's economic, cultural, and social capital networks help

reproduce and reinforce class distinctions and inequality. Increased economic capital allows one to have the means to consume, while cultural and social capital allow the individual to participate and move in certain circles of consumption.

For example, Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction argues that social inequalities are maintained through the intergenerational transfer of cultural capital (Sullivan, 2007). This concept suggests that individuals from higher social classes possess greater cultural capital, which in turn increases their ability and likelihood to excel within social institutions, such as education and in employment. In this case, one's privilege is advanced over those from lower social classes. Cultural capital plays a significant role in shaping individuals' life trajectories, influencing their educational and occupational success, and groups whom they might socialize with (Sullivan, 2007). Cultural capital also influences patterns of consumption, with individuals from higher social classes using their cultural knowledge to make consumption choices that reinforce their status and distinction (Holt, 1998). Consumption then assists in contributing to and reproducing class differences.

Take for example the average professional hockey fan. In a report regarding various demographics related to the National Hockey League, it is shown, through an ESPN poll, that 64 percent of fans are male, 83 percent of fans are under the age of 55, and 78% of fans are white (Miller & Washington, 2013). The National Hockey League (n.d.) does note that four out of ten fans are female, with the female fanbase growing 30 percent from 2009 to 2021. They do not, however, provide any other fan demographics. It is apparent that the average NHL game attendee is a white, young- to middle-aged male. White and Wilson (1999) note that studies have shown that young- to middle-aged white males are frequent attendees at professional sporting events. Part of this trend is likely due to sports leagues targeting corporations for ticket and box sales, where employees and customers are given tickets, indicating likely increased economic, cultural, and social capital among the ticketholders. White and Wilson (1999) found a higher concentration of younger to middle-aged males generally being the primary attendees at professional sporting events. They additionally found a correlation between one's income and the attendance of professional sporting events, and found that education also positively predicted attendance, highlighting the influence of cultural factors (White & Wilson, 1999).

A Bourdieusian analysis will be of use in this study to help contextualize differences in classes and how the SHED, through its provision of large-scale sporting events, higher-end

hospitality through restaurants, bars, and hotels, and higher-end consumption opportunities, is built and protected in a way to tend to those with increased sophistication regarding economic, cultural, and social capital. Winnipeg Jets games are a large selling point of the SHED; however, the area's aim is to provide various consumption opportunities that appeal to a wider variety of middle- to upper-class consumers. Bourdieusian concepts will be expanded on throughout the next few sections. Specifically, discussion in how various forms of capital operate within space and relate to urban branding will take place, business improvement districts will be discussed which will largely discuss a geographic area's ability to provide amenities tended towards those with higher economic capital (and those with higher social and cultural capital) while aiming to exclude others, and how increased forms of capital relate to sporting event attendees.

### *3.3 Space and Place, Gentrification, and Urban Branding*

The concept of space and place is the idea of considering the physical environment and the role it plays in social interaction and its influences on human behaviour (Kim et al., 2013). An area will influence the way people act given the urban environment (Kim et al., 2013). Kim and colleagues (2013), under the concept of "space and place", differentiate the two terms where "space" is a geographic area filled with arbitrariness in which it is nothing but its physical location with no meaning or value attached whereas place is space with the added value of meaning, which includes people, practices, objects, representations, and relationships (Kim et al., 2013). Using Kim and colleagues' (2013) differentiation between space and place, the space in question is an urban centre in Winnipeg, while the place is an area with much meaning and social force known to Winnipeggers.

Places are distinguished by their history, social perceptions, and character (Kim et al., 2013). Place is not only where social interaction occurs, but rather a social force with effects on the population within it (Kim et al., 2013). For example, a space often is perceived and defined as "good" or "bad" through racial understandings of an area, which have important effects in reinforcing continued racial inequalities and discrimination (Glass, 2017). Bass (2001) discusses the relationship between race, space, and policing in the United States where drug-war related regulations, quality of life policing, and zero-tolerance policing are developed policies to regulate the control of space and the policing of racial minorities. Glass (2017) notes that symbolic boundaries defining an area as "bad", "sketchy", or "ghetto" reinforce racialized social

divisions. Notably, Glass (2017) states that public understandings of space persist long after circumstances have improved.

Place is more than space with physical boundaries and characteristics, it is where social interactions and relationships occur and are defined, with influence on said interactions and relationships from notions of power, social hierarchies, race differences, and gender differences (Kim et al., 2013). Kim and colleagues (2013) state “the physical nature of the area provides cues for how one is to behave in an area and reinforces what behavior is appropriate or inappropriate” (p. 143). Relatedly, Paton et al. (2017) discuss “territorial stigmatization”, which notes the spatial dimension to stigma. The authors argue that, aside from others’ thoughts on an area, territorial stigmatization works to manifest feelings of guilt or shame for those living in stigmatized areas (Paton et al., 2017). According to Paton et al. (2017), spatial stigma can play into gentrification through the devaluation of neighbourhoods. Through the disinvestment and devaluation of land and those who live there, conditions become cheaper for future capital investment in the area (Paton et al., 2017). In this way, “urban spaces are socially and politically constructed to meet certain goals, ends, visions, and dreams” (Bass, 2001, p. 157).

Structured in neoliberal urbanism is “gentrification”, the concept of modifying areas to be “productive capital investments” which often reduces affordable housing and displaces the original inhabitants of an area (Beckett & Herbert, 2010; Smith, 2002). Gentrification often works to deplete affordable housing in urban areas through their replacement with expensive apartments and condominiums, offices, and businesses (Beckett & Herbert, 2010). It represents an appeal of certain economic and social interests over others, particularly in favour of the wealthy (Smith, 2002). State-led gentrification not only restructures space, it also seeks to reshape class through commodifying space and creating it for the more affluent user, thereby contributing to the restructuring of classes in these areas through working to encourage their participation as affluent consumers (Paton et al., 2017). At a broad level, gentrification is essentially the process of attempting to extract the value of land (Paton et al., 2017). Gentrification assists in developing an “urban brand”, which Bookman and Woolford (2013) note pertains to promoting business as well as safety, cleanliness, and beauty. Downtown urban areas are often capital investments and aim to be inviting to consumers. The welcoming environment is partly achieved through urban branding efforts to keep the space clean, safe, and presentable.

Places develop a unique identity in which one can play a part in creating or fitting into said identity. Conversely, an outsider to said place can be identifiable and distinguishable to insiders (Kim et al., 2013). The notion of identity in a place importantly and conversely works to define what is “out of place” (Trujillo-Pagan, 2019). Related to the concept of space and place and important to this research is “urban branding”. In an article focusing on Winnipeg’s *Exchange District*, a neighbouring area to the SHED, Bookman and Woolford (2013) discuss how policing strategies and BID initiatives in this area work to create an atmosphere or “urban brand” that welcomes consumption and regulates social behaviours. Downtown Winnipeg, like most cities, attempts to pursue an image that appears inviting, clean, stable, and safe – a commonality of business improvement districts. Bookman and Woolford (2013) refer to a particular sought out image of an area as a “brand”, noting that urban branding efforts are often directed towards BIDs. Masuda and Bookman (2018) argue that urban branding is a primary enabler of gentrification.

Taking various names such as “city marketing”, “place branding” and place “marketing”, urban branding of cities has become standard practice throughout the West since the early 2000’s in attempt to encourage a greater sense of inter-urban competition and promote tourism and business (Green et al., 2016; Ginesta & de San Eugenio, 2021). The importance of regional promotion extends globally where countries work to attract tourism and investment and improve their overall competitiveness (Ginesta & de San Eugenio, 2021). Cities, or specific neighborhoods within cities, are promoted using slogans and logos - a way to promote identity of the area, whether that be an identity and culture previously associated with the city with meaning to its people, or an identity in development (Green et al., 2016). However, Ginesta and de San Eugenio (2021), note that urban branding is much more than a slogan and logo. Rather, urban branding is a strategy that is used as a management device for complex identities of a place, and as a strategic plan to define the future of the area and its community. Ultimately, urban branding is a process of applying marketing and branding techniques to geographical locations to promote what an area has to offer. The city’s role shifts from one that is managerial to one that is entrepreneurial, which is an indication of neoliberal logics (Rantisi & Leslie, 2006). Urban branding strategies typically entail a partnership with private actors, but the city plays a large role in guiding the process (Rantisi & Leslie, 2006).

Many cities will introduce urban branding strategies in attempt to differentiate themselves from one another and create selling points unique to their own city (Crippa et al., 2023). Urban branding itself is often intentionally built around the culture of a city or a specific area. Miles and Paddison (2005) note that cities use culture as a driver for urban economic growth to advance their competitive position and excite their urban economy, calling the use of cultural regeneration in the promotion of an area a key form of urban entrepreneurialism and development. Culture in the advancement of urban areas is used as a strategy to meet social, economic, and political objectives – culture itself becomes a commodification and is a key component in the gentrification of areas to ultimately advance various forms of capital (Miles & Paddison, 2005). Branding programs are developed to identify and articulate the unique selling points of locations (Julier, 2005), which often includes an involvement of the location’s culture.

Here, Bourdieu can be used. Bookman (2014) ties Bourdieu to the idea of urban brands and brandscapes. “Brandscaping” is a technique that involves the use of design and themes to orchestrate space in a way that conveys value and constructs experiences that are monetarily valuable to business owners (Moor, 2007, as cited in Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Included in this is the physical landscape that uses tasteful design in its aesthetic features, such as its lighting, buildings, and art and decoration, ultimately to create a “feel” to the place (Masuda & Bookman, 2018; Julier, 2005). Urban brands are entwined with the cultivation and presentation of taste, and operate as a means of differentiation (Bookman, 2014). Rebranded, or revitalized spaces of urban areas often are developed with the tastes of middle- and upper-class consumers in mind where this gentrification encourages people to use the area with a reinvented purpose (Bookman, 2014). These reinvented landscapes are poised with style, and with that comes ideas of status. For example, Julier (2005) notes that buildings themselves work towards advancing a brand, including historic buildings, but also new buildings, specifically when notable architects are ones to design the buildings, creating a “landmark”. This may attract individuals to the area not only in seeing the building itself, but by the notion that the area afforded to and had the taste to hire said notable architect. Julier (2005), using Bourdieu, ties this notion to an objectified cultural capital. Those with a more sophisticated, highbrow, or increased embedded cultural capital may have more knowledge and appreciation for work by established architects and unique design, thereby drawing more individuals from desired classes to an area. This strategy becomes an attraction and selling point to the middle- to upper-class consumer who possess an increased

cultural capital. The buildings in an area symbolize a certain disposition, sensibility, and attitude (Julier, 2005).

Urban branding is a form of place-making. Cities will often gentrify areas to appeal to the “creative class”, or those employed in information or cultural industries, by shaping these environments to become unique, stylish, and diverse (Peck, 2005). In former industrial areas in urban centres, a common site is the conversion of loft apartments from former industrial buildings, cycling paths or bike lanes, and street entertainment such as festivals, all of which benefit the new middle- to upper-class residents of this area to practice their creative identities (Peck, 2005; Bookman, 2014). An example of an area like this is one of the SHED’s neighbouring areas, the Exchange District. Like the SHED, there are symbolic markers within the Exchange District that identify the boundaries of this area which define it as a neighbourhood with certain functions and aesthetic features (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). This, importantly, separates the Exchange district from surrounding areas that are more welcoming to the type of individuals that the Exchange District seeks to exclude, as the Exchange District creates a space more akin to activity and consumption for middle- and upper-class individuals (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). The area is defined as a safe, culturally rich area that is free from the social disorder that is associated with other inner-city neighbourhoods (Bookman & Woolford, 2013).

In this way, the brand itself becomes a form of policing as it creates a regulatory ideal and definition of order (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Brands can set a boundary around a particular area and create a perception of distance between the branded area and adjacent areas, which ultimately can lead to a divide between the middle- to upper-class residents of an area and the low-income neighbours on the other side of the area’s borders (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Additionally, the brand works to assist in coordinating multiple institutions and agents in the co-production of the brand and its boundaries, such as visible ambassadors who patrol business improvement districts by foot looking for visible signs of social disorder (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). The brand is a means of encapsulating local culture and spatial, social, economic, and political tendencies for the purpose of creating and regulating an ideal to guide social action (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Urban brands, however, are negotiated, reproduced, and developed through various activities among different actors who interact with the brand’s definition of order (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Each actor participates in the co-production of the brand. For example, business owners, employers, residents, visitors, homeless individuals, and

all others who make use of the space are entwined in the area's creation and recreation of its image (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Branded areas can then be contested with behaviour that is outside the vision of the brand. These behaviours, however, are often policed in various forms, such as through the environment, traditional policing, and foot patrol ambassadors. Policing measures will then work to create and maintain a "safe" environment that enables consumers and residents to engage in actions deemed acceptable in the brand (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). For example, the Exchange District maintains a brand that creates an exclusive space for safety and cultural consumption by middle-class professionals and residents while simultaneously displacing those that threaten the established image through various forms of policing (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). The urban brand, as is evident in the Exchange District, establishes a difference between insiders and outsiders through cultural distinction, contributing to a socio-spatial divide (Bookman & Woolford, 2013).

Urban branding is a way to give a place identity, with certain functions fitting into said identity. This, however, dually works to define what is "out of place" in relation to an identity (Trujillo-pagan, 2019). The intent of these urban areas is in producing a "safe" and "presentable" area for the goal of achieving business improvement and meeting neoliberal goals. As will be discussed, this is not unique to Winnipeg but rather a foundational goal of BIDs. Through interviews with civilians in the area, concerns of widespread drug and alcohol use in the Exchange District is evident, with citizens stating that it appears that the individuals involved in this culture have been moved over within a couple blocks of the Exchange district (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). In this sense, the authors argue that the brand of the Exchange District itself works as a form of policing (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). The aesthetics of the SHED have been briefly discussed, and the concept of urban branding is applicable. The urban brand of the SHED embeds itself as a major part of hockey culture in Winnipeg, the home of the Winnipeg Jets, and an area where consumption is encouraged through various forms of entertainment and hospitality, with the area evidently seeking to separate itself from many of the low-income and high-crime areas that surround it.

### *3.4 Business Improvement Districts*

I now turn to a discussion on what the SHED is. The SHED is an area within the Downtown Winnipeg BIZ, a business improvement district (referred to as a "business

improvement zone” [BIZ] in the Winnipeg context, and Business Improvement Area [BIA] in other contexts). BIDs are geographic areas where local businesses and property owners pay a tax to fund support services in the area, typically including amenities of security, sanitation and beautification, infrastructure improvements, and social events (D’Souza, 2020). Urban branding efforts are often directed by business improvement districts to create an identity for the area (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). BIDs emerged as a small and private initiative in Toronto in the late 1960s, expanding into a significant mechanism of urban governance (Lippert, 2010) and became a common practice for urban revitalization strategies in cities internationally (Kudla, 2022, Hoyt, 2004). BIDs typically adopt a slogan of “clean and safe” with the variety of services intended to positively affect both perceptions and realities of cleanliness and safety (Hoyt, 2004). It is commonly understood among stakeholders in BIDs that public fear is not often based on accurate knowledge of criminal activity but geared towards indicators that signal an area is unsafe, hence, BIDs place an emphasis on increasing perceptions of safety with the goal of minimizing signs that lead to fear (Vindevogel, 2005). BIDs will often employ private security personnel to patrol designated areas for the purpose of observing and reporting criminal activity, deterring disorderly behaviours to improve the area’s quality-of-life, and minimizing public fear (D’Souza, 2020; Hoyt, 2004; Vindevogel, 2005). Security in BIDs generally use non-coercive power through polite requests aimed at disorderly or undesirable individuals to “move along” (Kudla, 2022; Beckett & Herbert, 2010).

Much of the logic that underpins the operation of BIDs as an “effective” urban strategy for crime control uses orthodox criminological theories. For instance, Hoyt (2005) outlines a school of thought known as “social disorganization theory” which is aimed at explaining the spatial variation in crime rates in urban areas. Hoyt (2005) notes when social disorganization increases, so does crime. Under this theory, differences in capacity for control within areas can explain urban crime rates and the spatial variations of urban crime (Hoyt, 2005). There are three popular extensions of social disorganization theory, each of which are supportive of BIDs in the literature: “broken windows theory”, “defensible space theory”, and “routine activities theory” (Hoyt, 2005; Armitage, 2018). Wilson and Kelling’s (1982) popular “broken windows theory” (BWT) is outlined in BID literature and policy as the most common conceptual mechanism in the operation and policing of BIDs. The BWT perspective argues that uncontrolled social disorder provides a setting that encourages the expansion of more serious and frequently

occurring criminal activity as signs that an environment is unmaintained suggests there is diminishing social control and crime may be committed without penalty (Johnson et al., 2010; Hoyt, 2005, Vindevogel, 2005). This theory argues that the presence of visible authority figures will increase social control and thereby deter crime (Hoyt, 2005). D'Souza (2020) notes that BIDs largely operate using a “clean and safe” mandate within their borders which operates under a BWT perspective. The notion of “clean and safe” will be further discussed ahead.

Defensible space theory posits that a properly designed environment can increase social interaction and cohesion among the residents in the area, with these relationships increasing informal forms of surveillance mechanisms that work towards reducing crime (Hoyt, 2005). Within this theory is the assumption that there is a relationship between the physical design of the environment and the commission, or lack thereof, of crime. For example, a well-lit area provides potential visibility of crime and should act as a deterrent to disorderly behaviour as lighting will increase the probability of being observed and reported by the public (Hoyt, 2005). Defensible space theory is similar to CPTED, an approach to crime reduction that utilizes architecture, urban design, and psychology to deter criminal activity and reduce disorder (Armitage, 2018). Cohen and Felson's (1979) “Routine Activities Theory” puts forth that criminal acts may take place based on a motivated offender's access to a suitable target and the lack of capable guardianship (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hoyt, 2005; Clutter et al., 2019). The notion of an absence in guardianship is particularly important as routine activities theory purports that motivated offenders will choose whether to carry out criminal activity after the evaluation of the presence of capable guardians (Hoyt, 2005).

These outlined theories frame BIDs as a positive utility in decreasing crime in urban areas. There are also several concepts that are critical of BIDs, such as “crime pattern theory” (CPT) and “socio-economic hygiene”. CPT argues that BIDs should lead to an increase in criminal activity through the increase in foot traffic in an area leading to an increase in potential offenders (Clutter et al., 2019). Sanscartier & Gacek (2016) provide their concept of “socio-economic hygiene” in which BIDs and tactics to keep them “clean and safe” are seen as reminiscent of sociological mechanisms found within genocidal regimes. This concept is consistent with much of the critiques of BIDs. The authors argue that BIDs cast those who are unable to consume as obstacles to consumption that must be removed in some way (Sanscartier & Gacek, 2016; Bookman & Woolford, 2013). The term “socio-economic hygiene” works to

capture the goals of BIDs to provide “clean and safe” spaces, one of the most prominent objectives of most BIDs (D'Souza, 2020), and how these objectives work under similar sociological mechanisms to genocidal regimes, “namely, the motivators of greed and fear, the organization of individuals into a binary of civil consumers and uncivil non-consumers, and the centrality of constructing sub-human individuals to the regime’s existence (both genocidal and urban)” (Sanscartier & Gacek, 2016, p. 74). This concept is centered around the idea that to render an urban space as “clean” through the removal of non-consumers, the non-consumers must first be constructed as “dirty” (Sanscartier & Gacek, 2016). This essentially is the “distinction” that Bourdieu refers to. It is the produced outcome of the judgements between those with cultural differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020). There is a divide that can be seen between those with difference in sophistication of cultural capital based in the type of culture that one engages in (Gemar, 2020). In this sense, BIDs then “clean up” a “mess” they created through a social construction, similar to the social construction and extermination based upon “impure” genetics that underly genocidal logics (Sanscartier & Gacek, 2016). Whereas genocide and racial hygiene are based on genetics, BIDs draw on features of a specific space and place to regulate consumptive ability with said regulation premised in hygienically motivated mechanisms (Sanscartier & Gacek, 2016).

Beckett and Herbert (2010) note clustering of homeless people, and those exhibiting behaviours deemed as “undesirable” and non-profit generating, in many urban areas as a result of economic shifts and government policies that reduce employment, wages, welfare, and government housing. Policing tactics are used to control these designated spaces from “unwanted” or “undesirable” individuals, particularly through law-and-order strategies and broken windows approaches to policing (Beckett & Herbert, 2012; Gordon, 2005). Law-and-order policing strategies emerged alongside neoliberal economic practices, with a targeting of individuals who exhibit behaviours of begging, prostitution, selling various goods and other acts deemed problematic (Gordon, 2005). Using an Open-Marxist conceptual analysis, Gordon (2005) argues these behaviours associated with poverty are perceived to be problematic as they provide individuals with income outside of the neoliberal labour market. The poor are constructed as the reason for a poor economy, necessitating their policing. More recent policing initiatives, such as Quality of Life policing, exemplify this approach. Quality of Life policing

targets relatively minor behaviours and conduct that counteracts conventional societal norms with the immediate goal of improving the city's "quality of life" (Johnson et al., 2010).

Despite the BID model's popularity among neoliberal policy makers, BIDs have been a source of controversy, both in their exclusionary effects and claimed effectiveness for crime reduction (Hoyt, 2005; MacDonald et al., 2013; Clutter et al., 2019). As Kudla (2022) outlines, much of the critical literature argues BIDs are shaped by neoliberal logics that seeks to regulate urban spaces in ways that attract consumers and exclude the visible poor. D'Souza (2020), in interviews with "public safety officers" (PSOs) (similar to ambassadors) found that PSOs often defined "disorder" with consumers in mind – those who did not fit the category of "clean and safe" were seen as being "out of place" and effecting the appeal of the area. BIDs are perceived as a wider reflection of political-economic shifts towards entrepreneurial tactics that increase economic development rather than protect the social welfare of the public (Kudla, 2022) – in other words, BIDs are neoliberal. BIDs are seen as a form of neoliberal urbanism that regulates "undesirable" individuals in urban spaces (Beckett & Herbert, 2010; Kudla, 2022). The global expansion of BIDs is a demonstration of the resilience and flexibility of neoliberalism, with BIDs often legitimized by local actors for their economic and crime reduction benefits (Kudla, 2022). Peyroux (2012) discusses that local actors in Johannesburg, South Africa legitimized the adoption of BIDs by constructing a narrative of their necessity to accelerate economic capital, decrease crime, and increase social cohesion – based in a subjective representation of the social reality which favours needs of some groups while concealing the needs of others. This is a construction of an "urban crisis" as a legitimation technique to justify BIDs as an appropriate solution to local urban problems (Kudla, 2022). The focus then, according to critics, is for BIDs to maintain a clean and controlled environment welcoming to consumers rather than a focus on the apprehension of criminals (Vindevogel, 2005).

Throughout this thesis, the "clean and safe" slogan that most BIDs operate under has been mentioned, but what is its significance? Downtowns seek to create unimpeded space for enhanced flow of pedestrians and profits from consumption (Lippert & Sleiman, 2012). "Clean and safe" refers to ensuring a consumption environment free of refuse and risk for consumers to pass through unscathed (Lippert, 2012). This logic is ultimately housed in a fear of crime and the other. BIDs will carry out "clean and safe" initiatives through business promotions, beautification, street cleaning, maintenance, and graffiti removal (Walby & Hier,

2013). Issues of garbage and graffiti become issues of order and security in the BID – the aesthetics of the BID operates under a broken windows logic (Lippert, 2010). Lippert (2010) states that the thesis of “broken windows” itself has been translated into the even simpler slogan of “clean and safe”. Forms of securitization and surveillance through foot patrolling police officers, ambassador programs, and CCTV surveillance especially work in advance of clean and safe initiatives through maintaining sanitized environments for the consumer (Lippert, 2012). Walby and Hier (2013) note that due to common emphasis on consumption, cleanliness, and order maintenance, questions have been raised whether BIDs genuinely represent community interests. Rather, it is assumed that BIDs are more likely to pander to corporate interests as they are funded by taxes on commercial enterprises (Walby & Hier, 2013).

It is important to note that not all BIDs are consistent in their employed methods of creating clean and safe areas, rather there is variance in techniques depending on the BID. For example, Walby and Hier (2013) discuss that not all BIDs employ the same approach to or interest in video surveillance. One example of this is the Winnipeg Exchange District’s reluctance to implementing CCTV cameras while other parts of the downtown, specifically including the area of the would be SHED, were initiating their pilot program (Walby & Hier, 2013). Many BIDs do, however, employ CCTV programs, as outlined early is evident in the SHED and downtown Winnipeg more generally, with the stated intentions to reduce crime or disorderly behaviour, enhance safety, and ultimately contribute to urban revitalization (Lippert, 2012). A trend has shifted from active monitoring of cameras to recording only, as again is practiced in the Winnipeg context (Lippert, 2012). Surveillance cameras themselves are an important aspect to cover, however, Lippert (2012) notes that CCTV signage is equally as important as a clean and safe indicator. Lippert (2012) states that signage is less about deterring anti-social conduct and more about communicating to consumers that their presence is being watched and guarded – an indicator to the consumer that BIDs and property owners care about the space and enhancing safety. Rather than a deterrent, CCTV signage works as a marketing tool (Lippert, 2012).

The security employed in BIDs is often in the form of ambassadors (the DCSP is downtown Winnipeg’s ambassador program). Ambassadors are essentially a hybrid between security guard and tour guide (Lippert, 2010). They serve as a visible, uniformed presence and target signs of disorder, while also providing hospitality services for consumers (Lippert &

Sleiman, 2012). Additionally, ambassadors are often assigned street cleaning duties when they have time availability, consistent with clean and safe logics (Lipper & Sleiman, 2012). They also are a mode of surveillance through watching downtown spaces and conduct within them and identifying sign of urban environmental decay. Ambassadors patrol BIDs, watch and interact with pedestrian traffic, help identify people and behaviours that are problematic to the BID (e.g., illicit drug trade transactions, prostitution, public intoxication, and panhandling) and seek to exclude them from the district to keep the area more sanitized for the consumer (Lippert, 2010). Ambassadors also play the role of “knowledge brokers” where they produce area specific knowledge, relay said knowledge to BID coordinators who then inform police, businesses, or any other stakeholders in the BID. Essentially, as is the case in the Exchange District, ambassadors are foot patrols who instill the norms associated with the brand of the BID and are trained to identify and act on behaviours that do not fit within the vision of the brand (Bookman & Woolford, 2013)

The BID is often critiqued for its initiatives to exclude the “other” from public space (Lippert, 2010). Maintenance of these areas is reinforced by agents of the state, the BID, and private security, ultimately working to control the conduct and behaviours of those within the physical space. The BID seeks to both attract and produce a desired type of behaviour while excluding those exhibiting the behaviours inconsistent with BID ideologies of the “clean and safe” slogan. As Gordon (2005) argues, practices of coercion are targeted at behaviours associated with people making a wage outside of the formal labour market (e.g., panhandling, illicit drug selling, or selling other various goods). These are also the types of behaviours, among others, seen as obstacles that may deter legal consumers from coming to BIDs, and thereby reducing profits (Lippert, 2012). Recall the DCSP and their functions within the SHED. Like typical BID ambassadors, they are visible, uniformed officers and target signs of disorder, such as panhandling, and provide hospitality services for consumers. Their functions can be seen as a protection of corporate assets through reassuring shoppers, sports fans, and restaurant goers in the downtown. Of course, BIDs are areas that provide amenities to consumers, and arguably the largest amenity in Downtown Winnipeg is the Winnipeg Jets. The discussion will now shift to a focus on sport and event related literature, with particular attention to venue development and the implications and impacts large sporting events have on urban spaces.

### *3.5 Large Sporting Events, Venues, and Impacts on Urban Spaces*

Much sporting and criminology literature relates to securitization of venues from terrorist attacks and hooliganism. I turn to a brief discussion of this and a more detailed one of venue development and impacts of large sporting events in urban spaces. Major changes in security for large events began from raised concerns following the September 11th, 2001, attacks on the United States (Coaffee et al., 2011). There was significant emphasis on the security of the first post-9/11 National Football League (NFL) Super Bowl, which was designated as the first sporting event to be declared by the White House as a “National Special Security Event” (Schimmel, 2010). A development in security required hosting cities of the NFL Super Bowl not only to win the bidding process, but to also have security measures in place to be deemed “terrorist ready” (Schimmel, 2010). Though 9/11 became the most significant milestone in security development for mega-events, Giulianotti and Klauser (2011) acknowledge that sporting event security concerns date as far back as the 1972 Munich Olympic Games when a terrorist attack resulted in the death of 17 people. This notion of being “terrorist-ready” is relevant for most if not all sports mega-events, such as the Olympics and Paralympics (Coaffee et al., 2011).

Beyond major security threats, event organizers tend to employ security strategies and surveillance to combat public disorder or hooliganism. Although the concerns of preventing terrorist threats are relevant to event managers, Taylor and Toohey (2011) note the dominant daily concern is in controlling spectator behaviour that is often alcohol fueled and a result of tensions between team rivalries. Additionally, people under the influence of alcohol at sports games may be more prone to victimization due to decreased awareness (Block, 2021). Other motivations for hooliganism and violent behaviours in sports spectatorship involves ethnic tensions and historical conflict, social identity, masculinity, or for the sake of entertainment (Warren & Hay, 2009). Venues tend to lean in the direction of developing and maintaining an environment that encourages “normalized” behaviour among event goers based on accepted social norms and values (Taylor & Toohey, 2011). This includes a police presence, removing unruly and agitating spectators, and restricting items considered to be dangerous (Taylor & Toohey, 2011). Disorderly attendees also may be served with membership, entry, and ticketing bans (Warren et al., 2014).

Ostrowsky (2018) discusses the sociology of sports fans including their alcohol use and violent behaviour as well as other risk factors such as police presences. An increased police

presence would seemingly deter violence and disorder among individuals; however, Ostrowsky (2018) shows that an increased and aggressive form of policing can spark violence among event attendees. Davies and Dawson (2018) outline two types of crowd policing tactics in the context of the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup riot; the “high-profile” orientation, which relies on reactive, oppressive, and militaristic responses to large crowds, with a swift and forceful removal of problematic and agitating elements of a large crowd; and the “low-profile” orientation, which relies on methods of negotiation, mediation, communication, and screening to assess for any potential threat. The aggressive type of policing that the “high-profile” approach employs tends to incite violent behaviour among sports fans (Ostrowsky, 2018). In contrast, the “low-profile” approach is based on the notion, like community policing, that if the police are friendly with the crowd, the crowd is less likely to become disorderly (Davis & Dawson, 2018).

This research is not particularly concerned with the outlined notions above, but they are necessary to briefly discuss as common reasons for police presence at large sporting events. Rather, this research is interested in how major sport operates in both economic and urban contexts, and what role the police may play in these contexts. Although there may be legitimate safety concerns in regard to hooliganism and other security threats at large sporting events, the presence of police and security at games, as is similar to the logics of policing in BIDs, is certainly beneficial for a maintenance of consumption practices and ensuring of capital growth. Major sporting events are a product. Of course, sporting events are popular among the public and serve as entertainment, inspiration, bonding opportunities, and overall can impact society in meaningful ways (Block, 2021). As major sporting is ultimately a business and an opportunity for consumption from the public, best interests might not be placed over economic interests. For example, despite their unwavering vocality of player safety, the Commissioner of the NHL, Gary Bettman, stated in front of the House of Commons Subcommittee on Sports Related Concussions that any zero-tolerance policy to hits to the head in the NHL would lead to no more body contact, which fans ultimately find exciting (Kennedy & Silva, 2021). As Kennedy and Silva (2021) state, “[as the NHL] fails to address concussions, it is fair to wonder whether it is as concerned with player safety as it is with attracting advertisers, sponsors, and [fans]” (p. 120). This is an example that places monetary accumulation over safety.

Typically, major sport event attendees will be members of the public that have a larger disposable income, likely belonging to higher socioeconomic classes. Several studies have used

Bourdieuian analyses in relation to sports consumption. In a Canadian based study, White and Wilson (1999) found that the attendance in sporting events support Bourdieuian concepts whereas there is a correlation between socioeconomic status, cultural capital, and sports spectatorship. The authors found classed dynamics in terms of attendance at sporting events, where those with greater economic and cultural capital are more likely to attend sporting events of both professional and amateur natures (White & Wilson, 1999). White and Wilson (1999) used a “multiple classification analysis” where they identified economic capital through one’s income, and cultural capital through one’s education (Kahma, 2012). Background variables, including gender, age, language, and region, were controlled for. The authors found evidence that income was a strong predictor for the frequency of sporting event attendance, more so than one’s education, region, age, or language. The effects of education and income work independently, differing according to gender and whether spectatorship was of a professional or amateur event. For professional sport spectatorship, White and Wilson (1999) found that income was the strongest predictor for both male and female attendance. Education was also a positive predictor of attendance at professional sporting events, which indicates that cultural factors also influence one’s likelihood of spectatorship (White & Wilson, 1999). Although White and Wilson (1999) found that income is the largest determinant of one’s attending of a professional sporting event, they note that attendance can also likely be accounted for in norms, values, and opportunities accorded by one’s socialization and social class culture (White & Wilson, 1999). For example, as sports leagues are increasingly targeting corporations for season ticket and box sales, the opportunity to attend games might come from one’s occupation in a corporate setting, which signals: an increased income, which is economic capital; a higher education; which is cultural capital; and one’s social connections, which is social capital (White & Wilson, 1999). Thrane (2001) did a comparative study similar to Wilson and White’s (1999) research, but of sports spectatorship in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Thrane (2001) found similar results as in one’s income being the greatest predictor in their attendance of sporting events, however, the author did not find a significant relationship between one’s education and their spectating.

Major sporting provides an opportunity for capital accumulation, which not only private stakeholders work to accelerate. When constructing a sports venue, governments will often provide subsidies for the purpose of stimulating commercial activity and promoting economic development as the assumption is that consumer spending from these events will spill into other

local businesses and increase widespread economic activity (Bradbury, 2022). In fact, municipal, provincial, and federal funds helped build the MTS Centre with a total of \$40.5 million spent in tax dollars, while \$93 million was paid by TNSE (Van Rassel, 2015), resulting in about 30 percent of the funding for the MTS Centre coming from the public. In the Winnipeg context, public spending also extended past the building of the arena. At the time of the return of the Jets in 2011, CentreVenture announced nearly \$100 million in new real estate investments in the vicinity of the MTS Centre, and in 2012, one year after the return of the Jets, the Province of Manitoba announced that it would transfer \$25 million to CentreVenture for further development of the SHED (Toews, 2018). The SHED becoming a tax-increment financing zone, which sees tax generation in the area be directly reinvested into the area, also helps to accelerate the development of the SHED with public dollars.

Bradbury (2022) states that most academic studies, including his own, find that wider economic impacts of hosting sporting events in metropolitan areas are small to non-existent, with any benefits typically not sufficient to justify the public funding that is often provided. Bradbury (2022) found that the opening of a stadium in a metro-Atlanta BID was not associated with any increases in property values around the stadium. He argues that sports stadiums are poorly suited economic development projects for BIDs. Conversely, Rosentraub and colleagues (2019) promote the benefits of public-private partnerships in creating sports venues. Without public investment, a team owner may select a location to maximize private returns without regard for the effect on the local economy (Rosentraub et al., 2019). The notion of potential public-sector benefits, tax revenues, and downtown revitalization is enough to interest public officials to invest (Rosentraub et al., 2019). Although there is a debate on the true wider economic impact of sporting venues, publicly funded sporting development continues for the purpose of stimulating economic activity (Bradbury, 2022). These notions of government subsidies in building venues help to show the contradictory nature of neoliberalism where governments invest in private entities, which seemingly goes against the neoliberal principle of reducing state involvement in capital, however, the state works to mutually benefit from investing in private enterprises.

Part of this mutual benefit is in gentrification and the revitalization of urban spaces that major events often contribute to. Paton et al. (2017) discuss how sports mega-events are often a driver of gentrification. An example is the 2014 Commonwealth Games, hosted in Glasgow. Mega-events are promised by politicians as market boosters, as was the case in Glasgow where

the games were positioned as the economic saviour to Glasgow's East End, an area in economic decline (Paton, 2017). The games were presented as a way to transform and regenerate the East End (Paton, 2017). This is a common topic in sporting literature, much of which argues the negative social consequences of hosting large events on marginalized populations. Much of the literature on the policing of large sports events pertains to "mega-events", such as the Olympics or world cups, with a smaller but growing literature focusing on the operation of large events in ordinary contexts. A perceived safe, presentable, and livable image at the time of "mega-events", such as the Olympics, is evidently sought to be achieved through urban social control police responses (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011) often leading to a privatization of public spaces (Gaffney, 2010), marginalizing and displacing certain populations (Bennet & Haggerty, 2011), and is a predictable byproduct of hosting large events (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011). An example to consider is the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics.

Vancouver, in preparation for the games, desired to be viewed as a "livable city" with a high quality of life while receiving global attention (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011). This notion of "livability" entails the gentrification of low-income areas, multiple large infrastructural projects, and displacement of low-income and undesirable individuals to increase perceptions of cleanliness, attractiveness, and livability (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011). Preparation for large sporting events often follow logics that underpin "clean and safe" initiatives seen in the development and regulation of BIDs. Boyle and Haggerty (2011) discuss the regulation of disorder in the city of Vancouver prior to the 2010 Winter Olympics. The initiative in preparation for the Olympics was called Project Civil City (PCC). It is important to note that this is not only a policing policy, but rather city and provincial initiatives to prepare Vancouver for the Olympics in a way they defined as safe and presentable. Boyle and Haggerty (2011) note that considering Olympic host cities when discussing urban revitalization are beneficial as they receive global exposure for a 17-day window and are generally accompanied by efforts to quickly regulate poverty, homelessness, and other notions of disorder. The aim of PCC was to regulate disorder through goals of reducing visibility of homelessness, the drug trade, panhandling, and general street disorder<sup>1</sup> by 50% by 2010 (Boyle & Haggerty 2011).

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<sup>1</sup> General street disorder was defined as any activity or circumstance that deters the public from the lawful use or enjoyment of the city.

Like other initiatives that are targeted towards reducing “disorder”, PCC displayed how the “regulation of broadly defined and heterogeneous imaginings of urban disorder has become an integral component of post-industrial development” (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011, p. 3197). Boyle and Haggerty (2011) discuss how the financial, organizational, and pragmatic agendas in Vancouver as well as the urgency added by the Olympics led to public and private stakeholders fixating on urban design and policing of disorder to create images that display “livability” and “quality of life”. PCC, because of the urgency the Olympics forced on Vancouver, can be understood as a mechanism to manage inequality and disorder in Vancouver by using techniques of removal and dispersal to control the demographics of populations in the city’s main areas of consumption and tourism (Boyle & Haggerty, 2011).

Of particular concern in the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics was the Downtown Eastside, a neighbourhood in Vancouver that exhibits high rates of homelessness, substance abuse, prostitution, and HIV – this neighbourhood was of concern that it would leave lasting impressions on visitors’ perceptions of Vancouver (Boyle & Haggerty 2011). The recommendations of PCC included reactive tactics to control disorder through environmental design, enforcing tickets in a harsher manner, and adopting by-laws that restrict sitting or laying on sidewalks to limit camping (Boyle & Haggerty 2011). These types of approaches employ a broken windows mentality and a type of crime prevention that is situational and seeks to shape the context in which crimes are combatted in a manner that makes these disorderly acts more difficult to commit (Boyle & Haggerty 2011). These approaches follow a quick and reactive form of policing through targeting the issues with dispersal, while little concern lays in fixing the systemic problems (Boyle & Haggerty 2011). Boyle and Haggerty (2011) note that this type of initiative employment is not unique to Vancouver, but rather a predictable byproduct of hosting large events.

Bennett and Haggerty (2011) discuss that, in the context of implementing security and surveillance for large events, crime control mechanisms and surveillance for large events may affect social groups in different manners, leading to a continued marginalization of certain populations. The Vancouver Olympics is only one example. Boyle and Haggerty (2009) discuss the notion of “security creep” in which building the reputation of a safe venue, pertaining specifically to large events that are hosted in different cities (e.g., the Olympics or Super Bowl) but also applicable to stationary sporting events, results in a situation where security measures

are gradually increased in sophistication to improve upon previous efforts and expectations, for the purpose of noteworthy security and surveillance. Coaffee and Wood (2006) note that extensive and intense security measures required for many large events leave a legacy and long-term implications through introducing permanent security features. Surveillance to promote security at events, particularly at mega-events, will often feed into everyday public surveillance in host cities (Warren et al., 2014). An example of security implementations for the purpose of sport event security becoming widely employed is the use of CCTV cameras in the UK, which were employed in sporting venues in the late 1980s before being publicly installed throughout the UK during the 1990s (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2011). In this way, the suggestion is that mega events act as an introduction to and normalization of order maintenance and surveillance processes outside of sporting. Although not explicitly stated as a method to monitor activity at Winnipeg Jets games, CCTV camera implementation has increased (and continues to) in Winnipeg's downtown, covering much of the areas that surround Canada Life Centre and within the SHED.

Like the case in the UK is the implementation and implications of surveillance during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Johannesburg. Fonio and Pisapia (2015) show surveillance related strategies implemented for the FIFA World Cup, particularly CCTV cameras, led to an overall reduction of surveillance free areas within the inner city. However, with surveillance and other security measures being factors, the tournament was deemed a success in terms of safety, reduced crime rates, and public perception of safety (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). Through the employment of intelligence-led policing and technology-based strategies, crime hotspots were identified and targeted in Johannesburg, with one of the most severe crime hotspots being identified as the two-kilometer radius surrounding Ellis Park Stadium, one of the venues hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). Fonio and Pisapia (2015) show that perceptions of safety among residents, business owners and police officers increased during the time of the FIFA World Cup, likely due to increased security implementation through police visibility and crime prevention through environmental design. Although perceptions of safety increased likely as a result of security measures, these implementations affected the already marginalized groups living in this area through a heightened surveillance (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). At the 2012 London Olympics, surveillance worked to provide a sanitized space meant for inclusion of ticketholders while simultaneously helping to exclude displaced locals or othered

populations (Manley & Silk, 2014). In addition to top-down surveillance at sporting events, Dixon (2014) states that sports fans also conduct surveillance of each other to determine in- or out- group relations, holding capacities to shape notions of inclusion or exclusion. So, in addition to traditional surveillance from those in positions of authority, a lateral surveillance is in process through peer-to-peer surveillance (Dixon, 2014). This, again, is *distinction*, which as it is relevant to groups in BIDs is unsurprisingly also relevant in sporting crowds. This determination of inclusion or exclusion is the produced outcome of the judgements between those with cultural differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020). This in- or out-group determination could apply to fans of rivaling teams, but also to whether one appears to be an event attendee or someone who does not.

Imposed by FIFA, the 2010 World Cup in Johannesburg had “exclusion zones” outside the perimeter of the stadiums (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). The exclusion zones were policed to control criminality and uphold a certain appeasing image that is acceptable to the international audience (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). This example of exclusion zones displays the connection between private capital and state in the context of sport as it was FIFA who primarily implemented the exclusion zones with much leverage and dictation in how the event should be policed (Berg et al., 2014). Although Winnipeg does not have defined “exclusion zones” in the SHED, there certainly is evidence of TNSE having influence on policing initiatives in the SHED. First, TNSE’s hand in the creation of the DCSP (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019) is notable as it shows a direct link between TNSE and social control in Downtown Winnipeg. Although the DCSP are not police, they are uniformed ambassadors who patrol the SHED for the purposes of surveillance and communication to the WPS, deterrence, and provision of authority presences to encourage individuals to “move along”. TNSE is mobilizing their social and economic capital to extend social control to the entirety of downtown (Walby & King, 2022), where it ultimately has other assets. The *Winnipeg Downtown Safety Study Initial Report* is where the collaboration of the City of Winnipeg and TNSE, as well as the creation of the DCSP, was first outlined (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019). The DCSP were part of a wider, newly designed public safety and wellness model that also sought to implement an increased foot-patrol policing presence in the SHED, again with TNSE’s and CentreVenture’s influence. Specifically in this report, it was noted that the WPS makes a specific effort to ensure maximal event coverage by foot-patrol officers during events at CLC. The WPS’ Business Plan and Quarterly Report

discusses their “Downtown Safety Strategy”, specifically stating a “particular focus on the Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment District (SHED) and surrounding area” (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a, p. 1), and a directed focus towards special events in the SHED.

This section outlined some of the common topics in criminology related to sporting. The emphasis of this section was in venue development and impacts of large sporting events in urban spaces. It outlined government incentives and subsidies for private development of venues, how venue development and large events can lead to gentrification and privatization of urban spaces, and how these developments can displace and continue the marginalization of certain populations. Ultimately, developments of venues and the hosting of large events evidently follows similar logics found within BIDs, largely clean and safe initiatives to sanitize areas to become welcoming to sporting event attendees. It is evident how urban sporting venues can be fit within BIDs, and how their policing is similar the policing commonly found within BIDs. Additionally, it is common to see private-public partnerships in the relationship of large sporting events and downtown urban centres, which is evident in the context of Winnipeg. When it comes to sports spectatorship, a Bourdieusian analysis can be applied as it is evident that those who attend professional sporting events tend to possess increased economic, social, and cultural capitals. In this sense, why urban centres with large sporting venues might follow urban branding strategies to develop and maintain sanitized areas that are welcoming to middle- to upper-class sporting event attendees and consumers is logical.

To reiterate, this research analyzes modes of urban social control through conventional and non-conventional policing practices in the SHED, and particularly the immediate area surrounding CLC. This project explores the relationship between neoliberal influences from BIDs and policing practices at the time of NHL games in this space. The research addresses various techniques employed by a variety of actors in the SHED to police the area, analyzes modes of social control at the time of Winnipeg Jets games, and compares the differences in techniques of social control employed at the time of Winnipeg Jets games with daily tactics of social control. Ultimately, this study conceptualizes the SHED as a neoliberal institution with primary goals of maintaining a presentable environment that follows “clean and safe” logics to create an atmosphere welcoming to the consumer and eventgoer for the goal of capital profit. The next section will describe the methodological approaches that will be used to gain insight to these objectives.

## **4. Methodology**

### *4.1 Case Study Approach*

To analyze the relationship between neoliberal structuring, policing, and space and consumptive behaviours in the SHED, this research follows the form of a case study. A case study is defined as an “intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalize across a larger set of units” (Gerring, 2004, p. 341). The data in this research was primarily collected through onsite unobtrusive observation and employs a visual semiotic analysis of photographs taken during observation. The use of these methods will be discussed in depth, but first the bounds of the case study at hand must be outlined. This research is a case study of the SHED, the Winnipeg Jets, and policing in downtown Winnipeg. A case study uses multiple sources of information which can include observations, interviews, reports, and documents (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Cresswell & Poth, 2017), and should be investigated in its natural context (Johansson, 2003). The data in this research was collected through observation, which is compatible within a case study framework. During the observation, photographs of the environment and activities within the SHED were taken, some of which are presented and analyzed through visual semiotics. This combination of methods works to triangulate the case study with the important aim of ensuring validity (Johansson, 2003). Johansson (2003) goes as far to say that triangulation is the essence of a case study methodology, coinciding with Baxter and Jack (2008) stressing that phenomena examined through case studies be viewed from multiple perspectives. Small (2009) discusses the notion of the “extended case method”, which allows researchers to analyze a particular social situation in relation to the broader social forces shaping it. This allows for analysis of the case within the conceptual framework of this research.

This research is qualitative, with its approach to qualitative inquiry following that of a case study (Cresswell & Poth, 2017). A case study is more of a way of defining cases as opposed to a way of analyzing cases or defining causal relations (Gerring, 2004). A case study selects a specific case and attempts to find an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, issue, or problem (Cresswell & Poth, 2017). Common definitions often note that case studies are not well suited to provide reliable information for generalization and are better suited for preliminary investigation and generation of hypotheses (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Flyvbjerg (2006) criticizes common definitions of case studies as being indicative of conventional wisdom, stating definitions are often oversimplified and misleading. Flyvbjerg (2006) states “one can often

generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas ‘the force of example’ is underestimated” (p. 228). Based on Robert Stake’s (1982) notion, Ruddin (2006) states that case studies do not necessarily need to make claims about the generalizability of their findings, as importance often lays in what others make of them – this is known as “naturalistic generalization”. Case studies are also of value in that they add to a broader network of research and may hold the ability to falsify previously believed notions (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Ruddin, 2006).

As Flyvbjerg (2006) argues, a “case study has its own rigor, different to be sure, but no less strict than the rigor of quantitative methods. The advantage of the case study is that it can “close in” on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice.” (p. 235). Flyvbjerg (2006) notes that researchers who have conducted intensive case studies typically report that their preconceived views and assumptions were often wrong, so it is falsification rather than verification that often will characterize the case study. He notes that the case study, under much criticism in this regard, contains no greater bias towards verification than do other methods of inquiry (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Robert Yin (2003, as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008) outlines the acceptable situations to use a case study approach as when (a) the focus of the research is to answer “how” and “why” questions; (b) the behaviour of those involved in the study cannot be manipulated; c) the researcher wants to incorporate contextual conditions because they believe they are relevant to the phenomenon being studied; or d) the boundaries are not clear between the context and the phenomenon. The research at hand aligns in some way with each of the outlined situations, but largely in that it seeks to answer “how” and “why” questions and stresses the contextual factors, such as the physical urban environment that are relevant to the phenomenon of event policing and policing in the SHED at the time of events. This approach allows for an in-depth description of the physical environment of the study, which is a contextual factor to the phenomenon at hand, if not a part in the phenomenon itself. It also allows for a clear questioning and analysis of how police operate within this time and space. The discussion will now shift to the research’s data collection techniques and their rationale.

## 4.2 Observation

The observation portion of this research took place during the 2022-2023 NHL season, starting in January 2023 and ending in April 2023. 10 different observation sessions were conducted, each of varying length, with five during game days and five during non-game days. Multiple visits to the research site allowed for a more thorough inquiry into the area and its functions. For two of the game-day observations, I was attending the game. I observed outdoors before and after the games but was also able to see police activity within the arena during the game. The final observation session was during the Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Party. The research site was the immediate area surrounding CLC and more generally, the SHED. Within the SHED, observation took place both outdoors as well as inside public spaces. Observation served two main purposes in this research. First, the observation allowed for a detailed analysis of the physical environment of the study, specifically the SHED's urban brand, which is argued is largely designed and intended to promote entertainment, hospitality, and general consumption, ultimately adhering to the principles that underpin BIDs. Second, observational attention was directed towards police, Cadet, DCSP and security activity in the SHED, with specific focus towards the surroundings of CLC. The purpose was to observe the conduct of authority figures within the SHED to outline visible policing practices in this time and space. As Angrosino (2007) outlines, observational research is not a single act, but rather a developmental process.

Observation in its basic sense is a human ability that allows us to make commonsense judgements about things – much of our knowledge comes from observation, with or without intention (Angrosino, 2007). Observation in a research context is more formal and systemic of a process than observation that is a part of everyday life (Angrosino, 2007). Observation can serve as a key tool in collecting data in qualitative research (Cresswell, 2013) and combines well with other techniques of data collection (Angrosino, 2007). Observation is the act of noting a phenomenon in a research setting through the five senses of the observer and recording it for scientific purposes (Angrosino, 2007). Observations are typically tended towards the project's research questions and purpose (Cresswell, 2013). Angrosino (2007) notes that observation is good for research dealing with specific settings, demographic factors, and events, each of which are key in this research.

The research at hand took place in the specific setting of Winnipeg's Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment District, with particular focus around Canada Life Centre. Demographic

factors also received attention, along with attention to signifiers indicating eventgoers (e.g., someone wearing Winnipeg Jets or other sports merchandise during the night of an NHL game) and employees (e.g., individuals wearing identifiable uniforms, both in and out of public authority positions), among others. Angrosino (2007) defines an event as “sequences of activities longer and more complex than single actions; they usually take place in a specific location, have a defined purpose and meaning, involve more than one person, have a recognized history, and are repeated with some regularity” (p. 56). In the context of this research, the observed events hosted at CLC were Winnipeg Jets NHL games and one Winnipeg Whiteout Street Party.

Often outlined in the literature on observation methods is four types of observers: the complete participant, participant as observer, observer as participant, and the complete observer (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018; Cresswell, 2013; Angrosino, 2007). The role used in the observational component of this research was that of a “complete observer”. In the complete observer role, the researcher is not seen nor noticed by the people under study (Cresswell, 2013). In other word, the researcher observes but does not participate in the activities or interact with those being observed (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). The researcher is as detached from the research setting as is possible (Angrosino, 2007). Angrosino (2007) notes that this form of observation is not favoured as it may lead to forms of deception, ultimately raising ethical concerns. These concerns are not warranted in the case of this study as the research was conducted in a public setting during activity that would partake regardless of ongoing observation, with no manipulation of the setting or population being observed by the researcher, nor interpersonal interaction or identification. This is in ethical accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* and requires no ethical review. According to article 2.3 of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement*, “REB review is not required for research involving the observation of people in public places where: a) it does not involve any intervention staged by the researcher, or direct interaction with the individuals or groups; b) individuals or groups targeted for observation have no reasonable expectation of privacy; and c) any dissemination of research results does not allow identification of specific individuals” (Government of Canada, 2018, p. 17).

The intent of this observation was for descriptions of the physical setting and urban brand, as well as conduct from authority figures with attention to their visual roles before, during, and events. The intention was to leave the research site undisturbed and undisrupted, with no impact or disruption in the setting or population from the research taking place

(Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018), which was the case. Angrosino (2007) discusses that, although the oftentimes unobtrusive nature of observational research lessens opportunities for unfavourable interpersonal encounters between the researcher and participant, its quality of unobtrusiveness raises concerns of invasion of privacy, particularly in the complete observer role. This research did not record any form of identifying factors to those who are at the research site beyond basic demographic factors, such as denoting between authority figure, employee, or eventgoer. As any personal identity will remain anonymous, nor was sought to even be learned, as well as the research site being of a public nature in which the individuals place themselves in, invasion of privacy should not be of concern. However, photographs were taken in the observation sessions, the functions and ethical implications of which will be discussed in the next section. Angrosino (2007) also discusses the unethical nature of a researcher deliberately misrepresenting themselves as a member of the group they seek to observe. In the complete observer role, in which the researcher seeks to remain invisible and avoid any interaction with or probing of individuals or groups, this should not be of great concern, particularly in consideration that the public and busy nature of the research site results in a wide range of individuals and groups, not necessarily one specific group.

Observation in qualitative research involves the researcher taking field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). Field-notes were the primary documentation method of observation in this research. Cresswell and Cresswell (2018) define qualitative observation as taking fieldnotes on the behaviours and activities of individuals at the research site and recording observations. Observations are typically open-ended with field notes taken in an unstructured or semi-structured manner in accordance with the research questions (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). This research employed the “comprehensive note taking strategy” outlined by Wolfinger (2002) that works to systematically and comprehensively describe everything that happened within an observational research session with particular attention to a list of concerns. Consideration may be directed to the physical setting, the people involved, the activities, objects, actions, interactions, events, time periods, and the researcher’s own behaviours during the observation, among others (Cresswell, 2013; Spradley, 1980, as cited in Wolfinger, 2002). Of course, taking note of every observation is nearly impossible, and as this is the case, Cresswell (2013) suggests starting observations more broadly and then transitioning to a greater focus on the research questions.

These two methods proved to be successful in the context of this research. I began the observation sessions by taking a broad but detailed approach to note taking, later transitioning to a more specific focus on factors that relate to the research questions. As this method involves noting observations as they happen, this method of note taking has the benefit of forcing the researcher to annotate events in the order that they happened, which helps for both a chronological ordering of events and observations as well as aiding in the recall of details that were potentially forgotten (Wolfinger, 2002). This method, although perhaps resulting in many mundane observations, works to recall details both large and small. The mundane details may seem unworthy of annotation, but they may result to be valuable as they become a part of the researcher's tacit knowledge and the record of them works to help make this tacit knowledge explicit (Wolfinger, 2002). This type of data may also become valuable as it may work to provide contrasts to other observation experiences where these occurrences were not present, which may be of value in itself (Wolfinger, 2002). Although the method of "comprehensive note taking" was employed, implying notation of all occurrences, the observation was largely directed towards addressing the research questions, particularly in the later stages of the observational process. Further emphasis of observational data toward the research questions was placed in the data analysis phase of the research.

Instead of writing out my observations, I voice recorded my observations on my iPhone which allowed me to note my thoughts quickly and more thoroughly. I followed the comprehensive note taking strategy by making note of any observation I made that was remotely related to this research. Each observation session was preceded by rough intentions of what would be observed, which typically included holes in prior observation sessions and examinations for consistencies in observations, however, my process of observation did not follow strict guidelines and was rather free flowing. By the end of an observational session, I would have many separate voice recordings. I transferred each voice recording from a given observational session to my laptop where I then compiled each recording into Ableton Live 11, a digital audio workstation, to allow me to export all of the individual audio files as one larger file. I then uploaded the individual audio files from each session to Trint.com to create a transcription. The transcriptions contained flaws, which led to manual editing of the transcriptions while listening to the audio files to correct any mistakes. This additionally

provided the benefit of becoming re-emersed in the data. The result was having a completed transcription of all my voice recorded notes, where I could then begin to analyze the data.

#### *4.3 Photographs and Visual Semiotic Analysis*

In addition to observational notes, photographs were taken during the observation sessions. The photographs served the purpose of assisting myself in recalling details of my observation sessions, noticing further details I had not noticed in the moment, and for inclusion in this thesis. Included in this thesis is 15 of the hundreds of photographs I had taken over the ten observation sessions. As the adage goes: a picture is worth a thousand words. The inclusion of photographs in this thesis will help the reader visualize what I saw during my observation sessions. The visual became important in this research as a key in this research is the environment of the SHED itself. Images allow for a visual context that supplement the descriptive observational notes in this research. Additionally, I will engage in a semiotic analysis of several of the photographs that are presented to allow for discussion of the images in relation to the thesis. This section will outline the procedure of taking the photographs in this research, ethical considerations of both taking the photographs and what was excluded from the photographs to protect anonymity, and how a visual semiotic analysis will be of use in this research.

The photographs taken throughout this research were all taken by myself using an iPhone X. The photographs were transferred to my laptop, where they were then uploaded to the Apple Photos app for organization. I sorted through the photographs and kept those that seemed suitable for this research. In all photographs that included identifying features (i.e., faces, police badge numbers, license plates), I used the “retouch” function within Apple’s Photos app to blur said identifying features. The only identifiers of individuals that were not obscured were of public figures. For example, one of the included photographs depicts a publicly displayed banner of the Winnipeg Jets player Cole Perfetti. Of all the photographs taken, 15 were included in this thesis.

Steps were taken to ensure there was no risk of identifiable information of any individual being collected and included in this research. The only identifiable information collected was what is visual. There was no verbal or physical interaction with anyone in the observation portion of this research, so any information about an individual (both civilians and authority

figures) beyond what is visible was not collected. Additionally, the intention was to include the least civilians in the photographs as possible, as the focus is on the physical environment and authority figures. In certain settings, this was difficult to obtain, however, this notion was always kept in mind. Despite this caution, it might be worthy to note the use of photographs in this research could be compared to the online posting of people and/or law enforcement figures in the public - a legal act. This being noted, to avoid or mitigate any potential risks, identifying information was obscured during the editing process. This choice is due to the critical nature of this research and my preference to not have any individual in the public be perceived as the face of the said critical research. The intention is that any individual depicted (whether it be an authority figure or a civilian) will not be a target of criticism individually and obscuring is a way to help protect against that. The University Human Ethics Research Board at the University of Winnipeg granted approval for the inclusion of photographs in this research.

Again, photographs are not only included in this research for the benefit of the reader being able to picture what was seen during the observation sessions, but also serve the purpose of allowing for a visual semiotic analysis on several of the included photographs. Semiotics is the scientific study of signs and their meanings (Valverde, 2013). It takes a philosophical approach to interpreting messages through their signs and patterns of symbolism (Pânzaru, 2012). This form of analysis serves to look at symbolic meanings of visuals and study their underlying implications, such as political and social meanings and how these symbols interact with power and knowledge (Valverde, 2013). A sign is the unit of meaning or data in semiotics (Valverde, 2013). The meaning of signs are relational, in which their meanings are defined in the context of and relationship with other signs (Valverde, 2013). This could mean how one sign differentiates itself from another sign and what meaning that conveys (Valverde, 2013). A “semiotic system” is composed of signs (Valverde, 2013). Signs can mean anything that we interpret them to mean and can ultimately mean different things to different people or living organisms (Pânzaru, 2012). This means that signs, particularly non-verbal and non-written signs, can hold a variety of meanings (Pânzaru, 2012). Images and one’s interpretation of them are subjective. To understand the depth of meaning within an image requires analysis (Pânzaru, 2012).

In semiotics are the notions of “signifier” and “signified”. A signifier is any sign or combination of signs that hold any sort of meaning or number of meanings (Valverde, 2013). That meaning is the signified, the entity that is triggered through signifiers (Valverde, 2013).

Signification works through networks, in which the notion of a sign or signs raises thought of the notion of an entity itself (Valverde, 2013). A simple example of this would be the physical object of a computer being the signified, which the image of a computer is imagined in our thoughts when we read the word “computer”, which is the signifier. In addition to these concepts, Valverde (2013) provides a three-part template for a semiotic analysis, consisting of these components: content, format, and context. Content is concerned with who is and who is not featured in a piece of media (Valverde, 2013). Format is the style in how representation is structured and presented (Valverde, 2013). Context is the background of the piece of media being analyzed (Valverde, 2013). In semiotics, the concern is representation. What do specific signs represent or imply in the context of other signs within a semiotic system?

A semiotic analysis can help illustrate what is not said. It allows for relationships between signs to be drawn and for political and social inferences to be made. The inclusion of photographs and a semiotic analysis of several of them will help to add methodological rigour to this research. Pânzaru (2012) writes “without visual images, an idea may be lost in a sea of words, while without words, an image may be lost to ambiguity” (p. 409). Particularly in research that is very concerned with physical space, photographs provide an important context to what is written, and what is written in the analysis of said photographs provides important context to the images. Together, text and visual image possess a higher communicative power than either can provide individually (Pânzaru, 2012).

Images can elicit emotional responses to a greater extent than words in a much more efficient manner. However, in using semiotics and analyzing a visual, many assumptions are made. Much can be drawn from an image, though much that is drawn are assumptions and being conscious of that is of importance. The concern of assumptions is even greater when humans are the subject of the image - one cannot be certain of what the individuals depicted are thinking, saying, or doing from an image alone - there is much uncertainty without other sources of data and making assumption may lead to incorrect inferences. In my analysis of the photographs presented throughout this thesis, I work to be conscious of this through illustrating what is shown in the images, and how they relate to the outlined literature in this thesis and how they can be interpreted through this thesis’ conceptual foundation. I would like to note that as each of the photographs were taken by myself, the semiotic analyses will take place on photographs that I framed in particular ways to catch a variety of visuals. There was intent in the framing and

perspective of many of these images which ultimately allowed myself to capture images rich in visuals important to the analysis in this research. As Pânzaru (2012) notes, “Visual mediums are perceived as portraying reality while in fact they are constructing it” (p. 411).

The visual semiotic analyses will be included throughout the next session, along with data collected throughout the observation sessions. Not all the included photographs will receive an in-depth semiotic analysis. Rather, some of the images were important to include in this research to provide a visual to the reader, however, they are simpler images lacking numerous signifiers and depth compared to others and would benefit more from a descriptive analysis.

## **5. Analysis**

With or without intention, much of our knowledge comes from observation (Angrosino, 2007). Prior to the formal observation of this research, I had not realized that I had been observing policing functions in this area ever since I attended my first Winnipeg Jets game in my teenage years. I had also known there was a large policing presence at games, but it was not something I had put much thought into. As a fan of the Winnipeg Jets myself, I had always admired the Jets branding in the area but never understood its significance in the context of urban neoliberal spaces. Starting the intentional observational sessions of this research, I do not believe that I anticipated seeing the level of policing presences in the area that I did. Attentiveness towards the environment itself also revealed an amount of Winnipeg Jets and True North branding that had exceeded my expectations. Evidently, the Winnipeg Jets are embedded in a large part of the identity of the SHED through posters, banners, and advertisements, as well as a street and statue honouring late Jets legend Dale Hawerchuk. As the Winnipeg Jets home arena is within the SHED, and as branding programs typically work to identify the unique selling points of a location and its culture (Julier, 2005), an overwhelming presence of Jets branding is unsurprising. This is an example of brandscaping, where a space is designed with a theme intended to convey value and meaning to the urban geography (Moor, 2007, as cited in Bookman & Woolford, 2013) – the theme conveys the SHED as the hockey centre of Winnipeg. The blatant branding through Winnipeg Jets decoration is immediately noticeable, but other brandscaping was evident with further attention, particularly in the similar building designs throughout the area, aesthetic streetlamps and other geographic characteristics, and the type of

hospitality destinations available. By spending time in the SHED, and further venturing over its borders, one can notice that the SHED possesses a feel that is distinct through its urban design.

Other than being conscious of my research questions, I went into the observation sessions with an open mind and lack of a strict agenda. My first session was on February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2023, a Saturday afternoon. This was a non-game day, as I had planned my first couple sessions to have the intent of gathering information about the urban geography of the SHED. As it was a non-game day, meaning there were no visible sports fans in the area, and as it was a weekend meaning there was not many office workers in the area, the area felt relatively empty. Admittedly, this had me slightly worried about the success that my observational sessions would bring in relation to the research questions I wanted to answer. Conversely, after observing Winnipeg Jets game days, the unbusy nature of the area in my first couple observation sessions ended up being a confirmation of my suspicions – the area fosters a gathering of sports fans as its main mode of consumption, and policing ultimately followed.

Generally, I found that weekends on non-game or non-event days seemed to feel quite slow in the SHED, with not as much pedestrian traffic as weekdays or game days. I was observing on Sunday, March 19, 2023. Many businesses were closed, including almost everything in City Place. Evenings on non-game or event days seemed to not be overly busy as well. The exception to non-game or non-event days where downtown had more pedestrian traffic was during Monday to Friday at lunchtime, as well as morning and evening rush hour, largely from the people who work downtown. However, these times were still not quite as busy as a game-day. Seeing police by foot on non-game days was not nearly as frequent as seeing officers on game-days, other than walking within the skywalk between City Place and the Winnipeg Police Service Headquarters, or at the Millennium library. More commonly, seeing police activity in the area on a non-game day was seeing police vehicles driving around, which is expected as the WPS Headquarters are located just one block to the east of the SHED. Typically, on a non-game day, seeing police in moving vehicles was more likely than seeing foot patrol officers. I did also come across police parked and sitting in both marked and unmarked police vehicles within the SHED on non-game days. Non-game day observations did not have much human activity relevant to this research to observe, however, it did provide an important context to the times when the area is busy. These sessions then tended to garner an increased attention towards the environment of the SHED itself.

### 5.1 The SHED, its Gentrification, and its Branding



**Image 1:** Northwest corner of True North Square, where a sign with a Winnipeg Jets player, street sign for Dale Hawerchuk Way, and a large television screen advertising the Winnipeg Jets can be seen.

The SHED itself is an area within the larger Downtown Winnipeg BIZ. It is unclear of all the actors who organize the SHED and what their roles are, as resources on the development and functions of the SHED are limited, though CentreVenture Development Corporation played a significant role in its creation and ongoing development. Whether there is a branding coalition for the SHED is unclear, but CentreVenture is a primary driver for the development of the SHED. Other important actors seem to include the Downtown Winnipeg BIZ as the SHED is within it, and True North Sports and Entertainment as they hold many assets in the SHED, the branding of their hockey team can be seen throughout the area, and their real estate development wing has contributed to the SHED's redevelopment. The SHED came to fruition after CentreVenture proposed the Portage Avenue Development Strategy in 2010, which was endorsed by the city of Winnipeg. PADS held a vision of "creating a vibrant mixed-use district centred on the activity of

the MTS Centre and the expanded RBC Convention Centre” (p. 3) with the purpose to drive new development in the district (CentreVenture Development Corporation, n.d.).

The SHED appears to have a specific vision for its urban imaging. A CentreVenture report states “a tremendous amount of progress has been made toward the goal of achieving a unique character and sense of place in the SHED” (p. 4) with \$6.2 million invested into new streetscaping, along with grants for building exteriors in the area (CentreVenture Development Corporation, n.d.). In the document is a blueprint for streetlamp designs that include banners depicting the Winnipeg Jets’ logo, a feature of the SHED’s streetscape. Additionally, in the context of discussing the first phase of the SHED’s development, it is stated that “archetypal lighting and pedestrian features (enhanced sidewalks, signage trees, planters, furniture)” (p. 8) will be expanded throughout the district to create an “even greater sense of destination and identity for the district to truly complete the vision” (CentreVenture Development Corporation, n.d., p. 8). A key word in the last sentence is “identity”, suggesting an intended look and feel to the area. How Winnipeg Jets branding seen throughout the SHED fits into the area’s urban imagining is unclear as to whether it is a sole marketing of the Winnipeg Jets, or if it is a part in the branding of the SHED itself. As the blueprint of the streetlamp designs in the CentreVenture report depict a banner with the Winnipeg Jets Logo, it seems as though the team’s branding is embedded within the branding of the SHED.

The picture above was taken at the northwest corner of True North Square facing south. In this image, a variety of important buildings in the SHED can be seen. The building in the left side of this photograph is the north building of True North Square, with its southern counterpart building just behind seen with a large screen on it. Low and towards the right side of the photograph is the RBC Convention Centre which defines the southwestern border of the SHED. To the right is the in-progress building that will become Sutton Place, a project of True North Real Estate Development that will house a luxury hotel and condominiums in two separate buildings, and ultimately will become a part of the True North Square complex (True North Sports and Entertainment, 2022). The image shows one of the Sutton Place towers nearing completion, with an orange construction crane in the background where the second tower is being constructed. True North Square is quite recently opened, with the first building opening in June 2018, and the second building opening in July 2019. The Sutton Place project is expected to open in 2025. This image sees a dichotomy of developed to developing from left to right, where

there is a completed True North Square, and a building under construction complimented with construction equipment and fencing. This image in a way shows the liminal stage the SHED is currently in where rapid redevelopment is evident and will result in a new urban landscape that will be permanent for the foreseeable future. This image only depicts a fraction of the SHED, however, it displays a rapid gentrification and physical geographical dominance of True North and its Downtown Winnipeg assets through a completed project and a developing project. Evident through True North's Downtown Winnipeg assets, both existing and developing, is a capitalization on area and development to create the land into productive capital generators. The issue is in the depletion of affordable housing and replacement with more affluent housing and amenities (Beckett & Herbert, 2010), creating a downtown space that is tended towards the wealthier user. Gentrification represents the appeal of certain economic and social interests over others (Smith, 2002), not only shaping the land but also restructuring the classes who inhabit the area. The ongoing gentrification in Winnipeg's downtown assists in establishing and growing the SHED's urban brand that advertises the area as a trendy place to live, work, dine, and play.

True North's most publicized asset, the Winnipeg Jets, are an important feature in this photograph. This picture serves as a good visual for what much of the branding in the SHED looks like. Within this picture, we see Winnipeg Jets' player Cole Perfetti on a sign that is built into a streetlamp post. On the next streetlamp, there is a sign that includes True North branding, and further is another sign on a streetlamp depicting the Winnipeg Jets logo. Specifically with Winnipeg Jets branding, similar and frequent imagery can be seen throughout the SHED and within a couple block radius of Canada Life Centre. Also seen in this image is a large television screen attached to the southern tower of True North Square that is depicting an Indigenous inspired Winnipeg Jets logo and advertising for the Jets' annual "WASAC" (Winnipeg Aboriginal Sport Achievement Centre) night. This large screen, most often advertising for Winnipeg Jets and Manitoba Moose tickets while also showing Winnipeg Jets highlights, is placed so it is visible to pedestrians from multiple angles and vehicles passing by. The street where this image was taken is Graham Avenue, but this section of Graham has been renamed to "Honourary Dale Hawerchuk Way", named after late Winnipeg Jets legend who played on the team during the majority of the 1980s. At the northeast corner of True North Square resides a large statue of Dale Hawerchuk to memorialize the Winnipeg icon.

The Winnipeg Jets branding is an example that contributes to an urban branding that seeks to define the culture of an area. Winnipeg is a culturally relevant hockey city. Of the core four professional sports leagues in North America, the National Hockey League is the only league that Winnipeg has ever had a team in and has had a team in two separate eras. The Jets become the only local, internationally relevant team that Winnipeggers can support, making it the local favourite sports team. Additionally, hockey remains the most popular sports market in Canada. Bourdieu's habitus can shed light on the popularity of hockey in Winnipeg. Habitus is the socially ingrained habits and tastes that are acquired through both upbringing and socialization. Through socialization, one can develop preferences and tastes based on influence from their peers. With a long-standing history of professional hockey in Winnipeg, particularly since the 1970's, it is accessible to watch in Winnipeg. Through the sport's presence in Winnipeg (and Canada more generally), the sport became cemented as a favourite among many Winnipeggers, a commonality in the habitus of many. As the sport is so popular in Winnipeg, being knowledgeable about hockey can contribute to one's cultural capital which will influence the social circles one fits within. Whether it is playing or being a fan of hockey, the sport becomes a symbol of identity and social status. Though the culture that one might associate with hockey fans may not be as sophisticated as the culture associated with, for example, those who frequently see the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, hockey is embodied in the economic, social, and cultural fabric of Winnipeg. When hockey is culturally relevant to much of Canada's, and more specially in this context, Winnipeg's population, where it can be monetized and advertised is relevant to corporate players. This phenomenon aligns with branding strategies that aim to highlight the unique characteristics and cultural elements of a place (Julier, 2005). Urban branding is a process of applying marketing techniques to a geographic location to promote what the area offers (Ginesta & de San Eugenio, 2021). It becomes unsurprising that a constant advertising that passes as decoration is seen every approximately 20 feet in the area surrounding the Winnipeg Jets home of Canada Life Centre for a radius of up to two blocks in each direction.

True North Sports and Entertainment, and the SHED more generally, is then capitalizing on a previously established hockey culture in Winnipeg through a promotion of its hockey team and its players. This is a common tactic of urban branding, where meaningful cultural aspects and identity of a population is latched onto for the promotion of a specific area (Green et al., 2016). For example, the renamed street and statue of Dale Hawerchuk is an homage to a popular

and beloved Winnipeg icon among hockey fans who was one of the best players in the Winnipeg Jets' first era. As Julier (2005) notes, branding programs are developed to identify and articulate the unique selling points of locations, which often includes aspects of an area's culture. Culture becomes a commodification and is used to stimulate social, economic, and political objectives as a key component in the area's gentrification (Miles & Paddison, 2005). This area, in both its branding and architecture, signifies an objectified cultural capital, as Julier (2005) outlines. Those with a more sophisticated, highbrow, or increased embedded cultural capital may have more knowledge and appreciation for this type of architecture and the amenities in the area, and the branding might work to attract those who possess a cultural (and economic) capital that is compatible with sporting event attendance (White & Wilson, 1999). It becomes a targeting of desired classes to the area (Julier, 2005). Branded or revitalized urban areas often are developed with the tastes of middle- upper-class consumption in mind. These areas are formed in a way to differentiate themselves from other areas based on said taste, making it distinct to encourage people in the area to use it for its reinvented purpose (Bookman, 2014).

Similar to that of the Exchange District, the SHED creates a space more akin to activity and consumption for middle- and upper-class individuals (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Outside of the attendance of Winnipeg Jets games, the SHED offers much to the consumer in terms of dining, drinking, shopping, and even gambling. There are some fast-food options in City Place, but the dining options in the SHED tend to be dine-in restaurants and carry a higher elegance, but at a level still attractive to the middle-class consumer. Although similar hospitality businesses can be seen in other parts of the SHED, such as the bar and casino "Shark Club", "Rudy's Eat and Drink", and "Brown's Socialhouse", a prime example of higher-taste amenities is in True North Square's "Hargrave St. Market". The market holds many options that lean on the more expensive side and portray a sense of class, such as the pizzeria "Gusto North", Japanese restaurant "Saburo Kitchen", boutique coffee shop "Fools and Horses", and craft brewery "Lake of the Woods Brewing Company", among many others that hold a similar aesthetic and higher end value. Additionally in this space is "Mottola Grocery", a grocery store that is described as an "exciting new concept [that] is executed by restaurateur Bobby Mottola and Executive Chef Jesse Friesen, and inspired by similar markets seen in food halls around the world. Mottola Grocery is a chef driven, curated boutique store that will revolutionize Winnipeg's food-retail environment" (Hargrave St. Market, 2024). Like buildings working to advance a brand through

the commission of a notable architect (Julier, 2005), statements like this work to designate the business as possessing an increased trendiness and taste as it is associated with a famous endorser, further raising its sophistication. These types of higher-class hospitality destinations are directed towards appealing to those who possess a higher cultural capital and possess the ability to appreciate what is designated as higher quality in tastes. On some occasions, advertising to visit this area was clear through a display of a large, inflated Lake of the Woods Brewing Company beer can that was on the outside edge of True North Square and visible to nearing streets.

The *Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment District* is a place that is defined in its own title, and more accurately, defined by Winnipeg's NHL team, the Winnipeg Jets. This is an area in Downtown Winnipeg that maintains a goal of stimulating consumption. Much of what is found in this area revolves around entertainment (including but not limited to sporting events and concerts), drinking and dining, and shopping. Although there are a range of activities that the SHED offers to the consumer, clear is that the area largely values the NHL's Winnipeg Jets as its main attraction. As seen in the image above, throughout many of the streets that near Canada Life Centre, signs, framed posters, or banners of the Winnipeg Jets logo and individual players on the team are displayed on streetlamp posts, as well in Canada Life Centre itself. Although these Jets branded signs do not cover the entirety of the SHED, they cover a significant area in every direction from Canada Life Centre. One of the most visible and densely branded areas in the SHED is the portion of Portage Avenue that the SHED occupies, one of Winnipeg's busiest roadways. The signage covers the entirety of the width of the SHED from east to west (Smith Street to Edmonton Street), with banners hanging on almost every streetlamp post, and larger banners hanging along Canada Life Centre. The border of the SHED is very noticeable while travelling along Portage Avenue due to the Jets branding. In addition to Jets signage, there are also signs of the same design that depict brand of the SHED itself, which not so subtly signifies that this is a specific area and meant to be defined from other neighbourhoods.



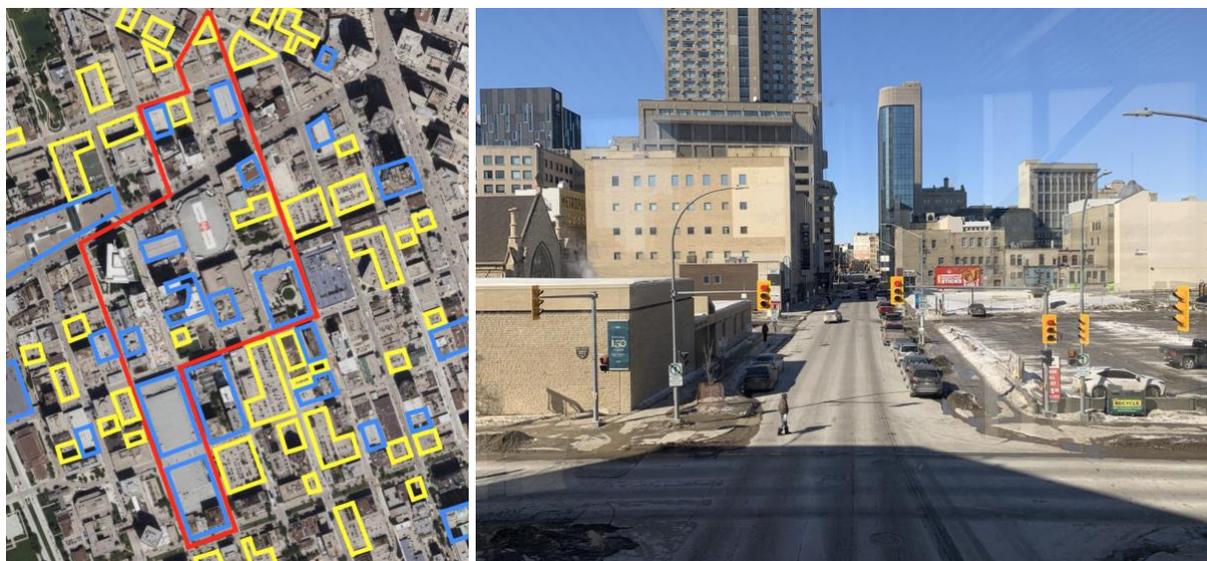
**Image 2:** Banner along future Sutton Place that reads “Redefining the Heart of the City”, along with True North Square branding and the logo of PCL Construction.

Throughout the years since the SHED was created, construction of new buildings in this area feels constant. Currently, the Sutton Place Hotel and its residential tower, built through True North Real Estate Development as a part of True North Square, is being constructed across the street from True North Square. Where the development’s residential tower is being constructed is where the Carlton Inn, a low-income hotel, was formerly located. The Carlton Inn was purchased by CentreVenture in 2012 with the intention of its demolition and replacement with the Sutton Place Hotel to contribute to ongoing development of the SHED (Kirbyson, 2013). Ross McGowan, former CEO and president of CentreVenture was quoted in 2013 saying “five years ago, we didn't have any cranes downtown. In the next two to three years, we could have as many as a half-dozen” (Kirbyson, 2013), showing the anticipation at the time for rapid redevelopment of Winnipeg’s downtown. Now, the redevelopment he alludes to is in action. During Sutton Place Hotel’s construction process, the fence surrounding the construction site had a large banner along it that read “Redefining the Heart of the City”, along with True North Square, Wawanesa Insurance, and PCL Construction branding. The replacement of the Carlton Inn with a larger, flashier development is one example of gentrification in the SHED.

The purchase and demolition of the low-income Carlton Inn, its replacement with a luxury hotel and living space, the quote above, and the text on the construction banner shows the clear intention of gentrification and rebranding the area. The banner shown above in image two, through its text reading “Redefining the Heart of the City” insinuates that downtown Winnipeg needs redefinition and ensures through the corporate branding that it is known that True North is a part of this development. “Redefinition” insinuates that what is newer is better and that a transformation of downtown is needed. Given the context that the Sutton Place Hotel’s location was the former home to the Carlton Inn which saw its patrons as largely poorer and Indigenous, and which stakeholders perceived as concerning and threatening (Toews, 2018), it becomes unsurprising that redefinition is stressed in the advertisement of a new building. This signals to the middle- to upper-social classes that the SHED desires to attract that the area is being developed to become more appealing and safer. Aside from the construction of this building and the banner that is displayed, interestingly in this image is the presence of two graffiti tags, with one being on the concrete barricade that borders the construction site. Graffiti is a form of anti-social behaviour that BIDs intend to both prevent and eliminate. Places are constructed through various actors whether that be corporate developers, residents, visitors, homeless people, and anyone else who uses the area. All of those who use the space are entwined in the area’s creation and recreation of its image (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Though brands seek to uphold their intended vision, the brand can be contested through the various actors in the space. This image is an example where minor forms of conduct that are unwanted by BIDs can be seen contrasted against the larger display of neo-liberal branding and gentrification.

The new buildings that were and are being developed as a part of True North’s assets appear to follow similar architectural designs. These buildings hold aesthetic appearances that are consistent with more modern architecture, such as large reflective glass panels, flat roofs, sharp and blocky edges, and an overall minimalistic appearance. The reinvented landscapes work towards advancing the brand through the integration of newer, modern styles (Julier, 2005) which appeals to creative and higher socioeconomic classes through the environment becoming more unique, stylish, and diverse from surrounding areas (Peck, 2005). Although not all buildings within the SHED’s border are brand new or have a modern feeling to them, many of the buildings (particularly the newer ones) have modern design features where they are slated in glass and hold a sleek look. This is evident in notable buildings in the SHED such as True North

Square, the Convention Centre, Centre Point, Canada Life Centre, and the future Sutton Place. Notably, as Sutton Place will be a part of the True North Square complex, the evident architectural similarities are understandable as the building seeks fit within and expand on True North Square as one of True North Real Estate and Development's neighbouring assets. These buildings seem large, and although subjective, "flashier" than a lot of the buildings (and surface parking lots) that are seen to the outside borders of the SHED. On the outside borders of the SHED, the buildings tend to be older, and both residential and commercial. This seems to be because many properties in the SHED were purchased with the intent to build new developments, such as luxury hotels, condominiums, and hospitality destinations, which the purpose is gentrification and the increase in land value (Beckett & Herbert, 2010; Paton et al., 2017). To note, many buildings like the ones seen just outside of the SHED were once seen in the current location of the SHED, although demolished and replaced by newer, and more aesthetically appealing buildings, often at the hands of True North Real Estate and Development. The northern most part of the SHED houses an architecture that is more visually consistent with the neighbouring Exchange district. An example is the True North owned and historic building, The Burton Cummings Theatre, where the architecture of this area is reminiscent of more industrial times.



**Legend:** ■■■■ SHED Border      ■■■■ Surface Parking Lot      ■■■■ Parkade

**(Left) Figure 4:** *Satellite image of the downtown Winnipeg, depicting the SHED, surface parking lots, and parkades. Screenshot of map taken from Apple (n.d.). Parking lot information taken from Downtown Winnipeg BIZ. (n.d. b).*

**(Right) Image 3:** *A picture facing north on Smith Street, a bordering street of the SHED. To the left of the street in this picture is the SHED, to the right is an empty parking lot.*

Although some of the northern area of the SHED is aesthetically akin to its neighbour in the bordering Exchange District, the SHED is majorly distinctive to the areas surrounding its border, particularly to the south of Portage Avenue. Development within the SHED is noticeably denser, larger, and taller than its immediately surrounding areas. This is partly due to the amount of surface parking lots that surround the SHED. Figure 4 is a satellite image of the southwest part of Downtown Winnipeg with the SHED, public surface parking lots, and parkades outlined. Within the SHED, there appears to be only four parking lots, each of which are small in area in comparison to others outside the SHED. Directly bordering the SHED appears to be nine parking lots, with many more within a short walking distance. Although there are more parking opportunities in the SHED through the provision of many parkades (albeit typically more expensive), the parking lots that surround the SHED seem as though their intent is for visitors to downtown to park outside the SHED's borders before venturing in. For example, these surrounding parking lots tend to fill with vehicles during Winnipeg Jets game days. Image 3 is taken along the eastern border of the SHED looking north. In this image, two of the SHED's hotels, the Radisson Hotel and Alt Hotel by le Germain, can be seen. To the left side of this image is the SHED, visually denser and taller than the other side of its border, which is seen in

the right side of the image. Although not depicted, immediately to the left of where this photograph was taken is where Winnipeg Jets decoration begins, and one block over into the SHED is Canada Life Centre. In the right side of the image is a parking lot, with an empty lot to its north where the former St. Regis Hotel was located, which is the future site of a new development.

Using Winnipeg Jets and SHED branding, the difference in density and architecture and holding more sophisticated dining, shopping, and entertainment options, the SHED possesses a look, feel, and intention that is distinct from its bordering areas. This serves a couple of important purposes. First, it works as an attraction to the more affluent user. “Embodied cultural capital” is the cultural knowledge and taste that is internalized in an individual, influencing their social interactions and identity. The material form of this is “objectified cultural capital”, where one’s internal mechanisms influence their consumption patterns where cultural sophistication is reflected (Gemar, 2020). Through the possession of a new downtown condo, or through dining at a restaurant with more class, one’s objectified cultural capital is shown. The reinvented landscapes in Downtown Winnipeg possess a style and status more akin to middle- to upper-class visitors of the downtown – or those who can economically, socially, and culturally afford to fit within this area. Bringing more wealth into an area is the intent of gentrification. Gentrification’s purpose is to modify areas to become productive capital investments (Smith, 2002). This will typically lead to the reduction of affordable housing and the displacement of those who use it (Beckett & Herbert, 2010; Smith, 2002), which is evident in the SHED through the purchase and demolition of the low-income hotels such as the St. Regis Hotel and the Carlton Inn. Though the location of the former St. Regis Hotel has yet to see redevelopment, the process of gentrification is seen in the construction of the Sutton Place Hotel and its residencies at the location where the Carlton Hotel once resided.

Second, the geography of the environment itself works as a form of policing. The SHED is a business improvement district. BIDs maintain a main purpose of exciting consumption and capital profits in designated areas, however, are criticized for their initiatives in excluding the “other” from public space (Lippert, 2010), which is not a flaw but a feature in the eyes of the BID through clean and safe logics. The symbolic markers in the SHED identify the boundaries of the area that possesses a particular aesthetic feature and acceptable functions within, which more importantly separates itself from surrounding areas where there are more individuals that the

SHED seeks to exclude, making the space perceivably safer for affluent consumers (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). For example, a few blocks away is Portage Place Mall that provides a food court with lower-end, fast food options and is more generally a place where many indigent individuals will be seen. In comparison to the SHED and its amenities, Portage Place is an area more welcoming to the behaviours, attitudes, and activities that the SHED seeks to exclude. Not only does economic capital contribute to this difference and limit one's abilities to afford higher-end options, cultural and social capitals determine and limit where someone can fit within. SHED amenities, aside from being more expensive, require one to hold a taste that can appreciate the higher-end options, and the ability to fit within social circles more accepted within these spaces. The geography of the environment itself and the businesses within it then work as a form of policing through creating an evident divide between spaces. This is further upheld through more traditional forms of policing in the area.

### *5.2 General Policing in the SHED*

It is important to remember that the police are an institution while policing is an action. The act of policing may or may not involve the police, however, in the context of the SHED, the area employs police, other authority figures, and methods to police through environmental design. As discussed thus far, one form of policing in the SHED, albeit not its only function, is the urban design of the SHED itself. It seeks to appeal to a certain person while excluding the other, a common goal of BIDs and urban branding techniques. Built into the area is also some forms of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Although this was not as frequent as I had anticipated, there are areas where "bum-proof" benches are located to deter people from sleeping on them, as well as metal pieces on benches, curbs, and concrete retention walls to prevent skateboarders from performing tricks on them. Additionally, in some areas are signs that prohibit skateboarding and cycling, such as at True North Square. These types of environmental features work through quality-of-life policing and broken windows theoretical approaches to deter certain behaviours from occurring and further signaling that these types of behaviours are accepted in the area. A common theoretical approach to environmental policing in BIDs is defensible space theory which argues that a properly designed environment will increase informal forms of surveillance mechanisms that work towards reducing crime, such as increases in lighting (Hoyt, 2005). For this reason, it is also argued that increases in lighting will deter

disorderly behaviour, as it will increase the likelihood this behaviour will be seen and reported (Hoyt, 2005). Increased lighting in the SHED is evident. Not only do many of the streetlamps in the SHED hold an aesthetic value to them to improve the appearance of the area, but there is also frequently placed bright LED lights throughout the SHED. Receiving more attention in the next section of this thesis, CCTV surveillance and its signage is also partly intended to work as an environmental deterrent. Through CPTED initiatives in the area, some being more common than others including lighting and CCTV surveillance, the SHED can be seen employing environmental tactics that utilize architecture, urban design, and psychology to deter criminal activity and reduce disorder (Armitage, 2018).

However, the SHED of course does not only police through its environment. This area sees the addition of presences of the police, Cadets, DCSP and private security. On a given day, seeing police officers in the skywalks between the police station and city place was common. Along this section of skywalk is the Millennium Library. During my observation, the Millennium Library was consistently guarded at the entrance by a team of three or four security officers who were managing metal detectors at the entrance of the library, as well as two police officers who were sitting or standing near the entrance at all times, typically in conversation with one another. This was implemented after a recent murder at the Millennium Library. Throughout the Millennium library itself, there were security guards who were sitting in chairs throughout the building on each floor. In and around many of the buildings in the SHED, there is always security, both on game days and non-game days – particularly in more publicly accessible settings such as True North Square, City Place, and throughout the Downtown Skywalks. Most of the time the security guards were standing and on patrol, although on one occasion I did notice City Place security escorting someone who appeared to be intoxicated out of the building.

Overall, on a non-game day, seeing police and Cadets was not as frequent as on a game day. Additionally, and to my surprise, I did not see as many DCSP members as I had expected to, during both game- and non-game days. I did however see DCSP vans driving around or parked often, but no DCSP members patrolling by foot, which a proactive street presence is a stated mechanic of the DCSP (Downtown Winnipeg BIZ, n.d. a). Although this is speculative, this could be because there are more pedestrians around CLC at the time of a game, requiring individuals with more authority, such as police and Cadets, to be patrolling. The police and Cadets seen on a non-game day were typically in their vehicles driving, or occasionally parked

while sitting in their vehicle. Importantly, on non-game days I had made sure to see if there was any sort of police or Cadet presence at Canada Life Centre around the time when there would be a game. On a non-game day, there were never police in or around Canada Life Centre. Although this is predictable, it is a confirmation that there is a specific process that the WPS follows when it comes to game day, which seems to include standing stationary at the corners of the arena and within its corridors, directing traffic, and patrolling the area by foot. Although there are no police or Cadets at CLC on a non-game day, there were always True North security officers around, which was typical, again, for many of the buildings in the area.

### *5.3 CCTV Surveillance*



**Image 4:** *CCTV Camera above Jets Logo Sign and broken/removed CCTV Camera below sign. Corner of Graham Avenue and Donald Street.*

In the image above, we see a streetlamp post with a CCTV camera above a sign with the Winnipeg Jets logo, a good example of both the branding, surveillance, and lighting that the area seeks to implement, and especially in the case of surveillance, continue to expand. Under the Winnipeg Jets sign appears to be an inoperative CCTV camera. Although the reason for the inoperative camera still being in place is unknown, this shows evidence of the City of Winnipeg

and WPS' efforts to replace broken or technologically outdated surveillance technology. In this example, the CCTV camera is mounted on a streetlamp post, however, camera locations vary in how they are mounted, with some on streetlamp posts, or placed quite high on the corner of buildings. Most of the public CCTV cameras are located at street intersections, presumably to gather maximal spatial coverage. One interesting camera location is at the intersection of Portage Avenue and Hargrave Street, located in the meridian on Portage, which seemed to be unique from a lot of the other camera location. This camera would certainly cover much area of Portage Avenue with the 360-degree cameras that were implemented.

This camera depicted in image 4 is located at the southeast corner of Canada Life Centre, where public CCTV cameras cover three of the four corners of the arena, and private cameras from CLC, City Place, and True North Square, among other buildings, cover a significant portion of the area. In addition to public CCTV surveillance, there is a noticeably large amount of private security cameras, both indoors and outdoors. Winnipeg possesses a skywalk system that connects a large portion of the buildings downtown. CCTV cameras were common in the skywalks, most located in the centre of the skywalk's ceiling. Every section of skywalk in the area seemed to include CCTV cameras, notably to and from City Place, in the True North Skywalks, near the Millennium library, and in the skywalks on the perimeter of the second floor of Canada Life Centre, all of which host much pedestrian traffic leading up to and after Winnipeg Jets games.

Forms of securitization and surveillance in BIDs come in many forms to advance clean and safe initiatives, and CCTV surveillance is an example. CCTV use is common in BIDs with the intentions to reduce crime or disorderly behaviour, enhance safety, and ultimately contribute to urban revitalization (Lippert, 2012). It appears the SHED uses CCTV in a way that is consistent with its use in BIDs more generally as outlined in the literature. Lippert (2012) notes that CCTV trends have changed from active monitoring of cameras to recording only, as is statedly practiced in the Winnipeg context (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). However, the WPS had stated that active monitoring of CCTV cameras might occur during large scale events with the purpose of helping facilitate and coordinate police responses (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). This is notable as many of the CCTV cameras in the SHED cover areas where the popular Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Parties take place during the NHL Playoffs, meaning that there is likely active monitoring of the CCTV cameras at these times. Evident in the sporting literature is that sporting events often lead to an increase in surveillance (Giulianotti & Klauser,

2011; Warren et al., 2014; Fonio & Pisapia, 2015; Manley & Silk, 2014). CCTV use for the monitoring of Winnipeg Jets games is not explicitly stated, however, CCTV camera implementation has increased (and continues to) in Winnipeg's downtown, covering much of the areas that surround Canada Life Centre and within the SHED, and are likely actively monitored during Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Parties.

In addition to CCTV surveillance itself, some signs can be seen throughout the SHED that warn about CCTV cameras in the area. I did not observe these signs to be placed throughout the SHED frequently but did notice two signs across the street from each other on Graham Avenue where there are two bus shelters that are often frequented by seemingly unhoused people, with this specific location often garnering police and Cadet attention. This is the area that was discussed in the introduction of this thesis. It feels intentional that the signs are placed in this spot where there is often much police and Cadet intervention with individuals, while the signs are not found frequently in other areas of the SHED. Although placed above eye level, the signs themselves catch the eye as they depict a bright yellow triangle with a black figure of a CCTV camera and above, the word "NOTICE" is presented, stylized in bolded, all capital lettering. The sign also reads "CCTV cameras in operation" below the triangle, followed by "The collection of personal information is authorized by the Winnipeg Police Service Public Space Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) Project for the investigation of crimes", as well as the WPS crest and contact information for the CCTV Project Coordinator.

Although the CCTV cameras are advertised as both crime prevention and investigation strategies, the use of cameras, as well as their signage, work as a marketing tool to the consumer. Recall "routine activities theory", one of the orthodox criminological theories that BIDs often operate under. CCTV surveillance and its signage might serve as a perceived "capable guardian" that limits the opportunity of a potential offender, bringing a sense of security and safety to the pedestrians in the area. It may be true that CCTV can bring comfort to an individual, which the BID capitalizes on. Lippert (2012) notes the importance of CCTV signage to BIDs as a marketing tool as it signifies to the consumer that the area cares about the space and its safety. Lippert (2012) argues that in this sense, CCTV is not about deterrence to crime but rather about raising comfort and perception of safety among consumers. Although this intention in Winnipeg cannot be overtly confirmed, it can be speculated. As far as CCTV camera use itself in

Downtown Winnipeg goes, it seems to cover much of the area of the SHED, which is consistent with many BIDs globally.

The use of CCTV surveillance is a common feature in BIDs for the intention of reducing crime and disorderly behaviour, enhancing perceptions of safety, and contributing to urban revitalization (Lippert, 2012). In relation to sporting and entertainment events and areas, the use of CCTV cameras are common and often implemented at the time of mega-sporting events. CCTV cameras in the UK were initially employed in sporting venues in the late 1980s before being publicly installed throughout the UK during the 1990s (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2011) and are often introduced for mega-events before becoming common place in inner cities (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015). For example, a “security creep” was seen in Johannesburg through the implementation of CCTV surveillance for FIFA, which then led to an overall reduction of surveillance free areas in the inner city (Fonio & Pisapia, 2015; Boyle & Haggerty, 2009). Large sporting events act as an introduction to and normalization of order maintenance and surveillance processes outside of sporting. Although perhaps being more related to the introduction of CCTV in BIDs more generally, the premise that the initial CCTV pilot program in Winnipeg was introduced around the time where the return of the Winnipeg Jets was rumoured to return, and two years prior to the team’s return, is noteworthy (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b; Wiecek, 2009). Though not explicitly stated as a method to monitor activity at Winnipeg Jets games, CCTV camera implementation has increased (and continues to) in Winnipeg’s downtown, with significant public and private CCTV coverage in the immediate surroundings of Canada Life Centre, which is common in the surveillance of sporting events and venues. Forms of securitization and surveillance work in advance of clean and safe initiatives through maintaining sanitized environments (Lippert, 2012). The expansion of CCTV in the SHED, increasing from the current 25 cameras to a total of 100 (Crabb, 2023), enhances the WPS' surveillance capabilities. This expansion provides simpler access to footage and reduces the need for warrants to collect private footage. Additionally, the increased surveillance benefits the SHED by contributing to the ongoing revitalization of the area through improving perceptions of safety among its desired crowd.

## ***5.4 Game Day***

### *5.41 Before the Game*

Downtown Winnipeg is exceedingly busier when a Jets game or other large event is taking place, particularly before and after the event when people are travelling to or from Canada Life Centre. On a given gameday, the atmosphere feels different than that of a non-game day. The purpose of BIDs is to accelerate economic activity and bring consumers to the area. During a Jets game, or other large event, is when the SHED is most successful in bringing visitors to downtown. On Sunday, February 26<sup>th</sup>, I arrived at Canada Life Centre a bit over two hours before game time. The game on this day began at 2:30pm. Pedestrian traffic is minimal a couple hours before events, but during Jets games for example, noticeable is hockey fans clad in Winnipeg Jets clothing walking around downtown and sitting in bars or restaurants. At 12:30pm, two hours before the game, I walked around the perimeter of Canada Life Centre and noticed that at each corner of the building, even the northwest corner where there is no public entrance to the arena, there was loud dance, house, and pop music playing, which had never been playing on a non-event day. As crowd attendance began to increase, so did the volume of the music. This coincides with building an energetic atmosphere for the game attendees that the organizers, True North, and the NHL want to provide. To my surprise, I had not noticed much activity within True North Square before games had begun, other than fans walking through, or admiring the Dale Hawerchuk Statue. The interior of Hargrave St. Market, particularly at the restaurants and brewing company, was quite busy. My expectation was that there would be events in True North Square prior to games, however, that seems to be reserved for special event nights (e.g., the unveiling of the Dale Hawerchuk Statue). Most people who were in the area before the games seemed to having meals and drinks in many of the nearby amenities. Within an hour of the game, fan attendance continues to increase in the area until just before the game begins, where less fans are seen as they are in the arena about to watch the game.

As I had noted, as police and Cadet foot patrol presences were not frequent on a non-game day, game days brought a consistency of noticeable police presences. Police presence before Jets games seems to coincide with when larger crowds begin to appear until the game begins. I found that police and Cadets arrive at or near Canada Life Centre at roughly one hour before the scheduled time for the game, which is when attendees are let into the arena. Police and Cadet presence is certainly denser near Canada Life Centre prior to, during, and after games.

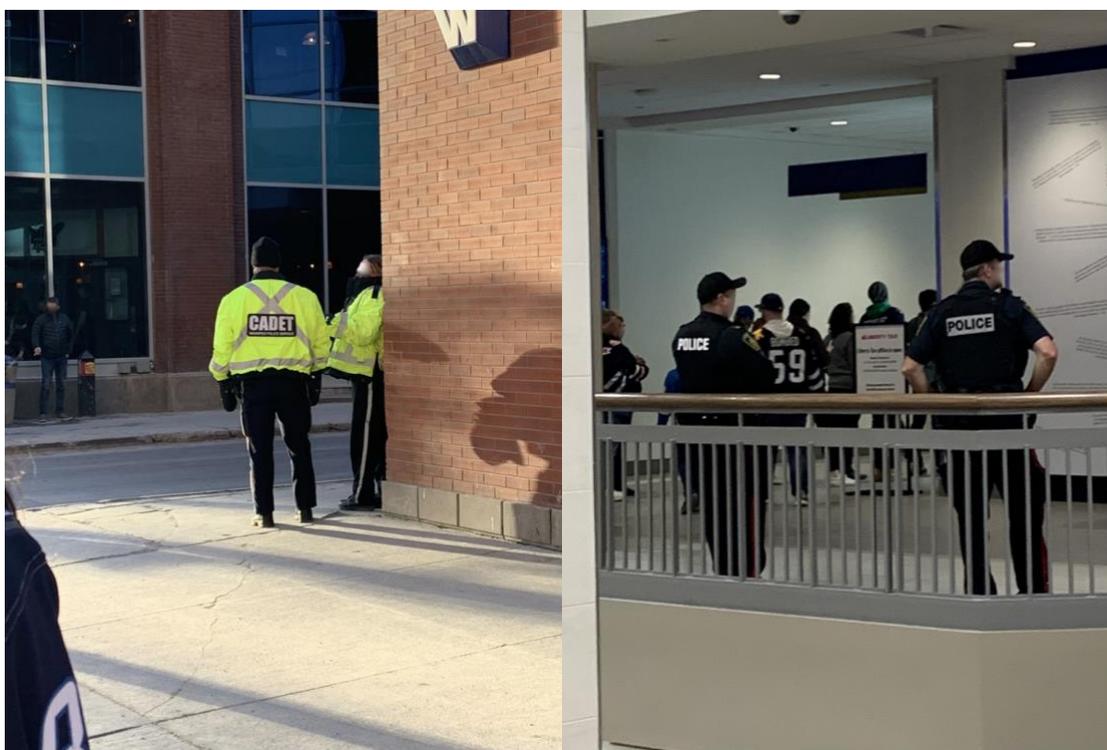
There is noticeably less police and Cadets in areas a few blocks away Canada Life Centre around game time as they seem to be more concentrated around the arena. Specifically, I noticed that north of Portage Avenue and south near the convention centre, despite both being a part of the SHED, receive much less police activity as compared to near the arena at game time. Police and Cadet activity seemed to include a variety of different activities: traffic control, stationary foot patrol, active foot patrol, sitting in stationary vehicles, and driving around in moving vehicles.



**Image 5:** *Three Cadets blocking off Donald Street before start of Jets game.*

Consistent as a function of the Cadets at Jets games is traffic control. Both before and after Jets games, Cadets are stationed at the northeast corner of Canada Life Centre. This is near the main entrance to Canada Life Centre at the Corner of Donald Street and Portage Avenue. The Cadets typically would park their vehicle, as seen in the above photograph, close to the intersection with its lights flashing. On one occasion, a police officer was with the Cadets, but this function is primarily performed by Cadets only. When traffic was heading down Portage Avenue (the cross street in image 5), the Cadets would stand on the street blocking Donald, as is seen in the picture above. This seemed to be to allow pedestrians to safely cross Donald Street by blocking Traffic from Portage Avenue from turning right, as pedestrian traffic is increased on game days. When the traffic lights were green and the traffic was heading down Donald Street, the Cadets would stand on the corner of the sidewalk and wait until the traffic passed. This is a process that took place during each game day that I observed. This appeared to be the only traffic

control methods conducted by the WPS prior to the games. As soon as the actual game would begin, typically about 10 minutes after the scheduled game start, the Cadets conducting the traffic control would leave. The main purpose of this process was to direct traffic, however, on February 26<sup>th</sup>, there was a minor car collision in which a police officer who was with the Cadets and one Cadet went to check on the individuals involved in the accident while two other Cadets stayed directing traffic. So, although their purpose is to direct traffic, it is evident that the Cadets and officers (when present) will respond to events nearby. This importantly shows a regulatory function that the WPS performs in the context of privately held entertainment events. Although traffic direction is meant to assist in preventing collisions and allow for pedestrians to safely cross the street, the presence of cadets in this function also provides a visible policing presence in the area, particularly at CLC's busiest entrance where there are sometimes panhandlers. The primary function of the cadets in this situation is for traffic direction, however, appearance of the WPS seems to be an additional important aspect of events taking place.



**(Left) Image 6:** Two Cadets Standing at the southwest entrance to CLC before the game.

**(Right) Image 7:** Two officers standing in City Place near CLC entrance before the game.

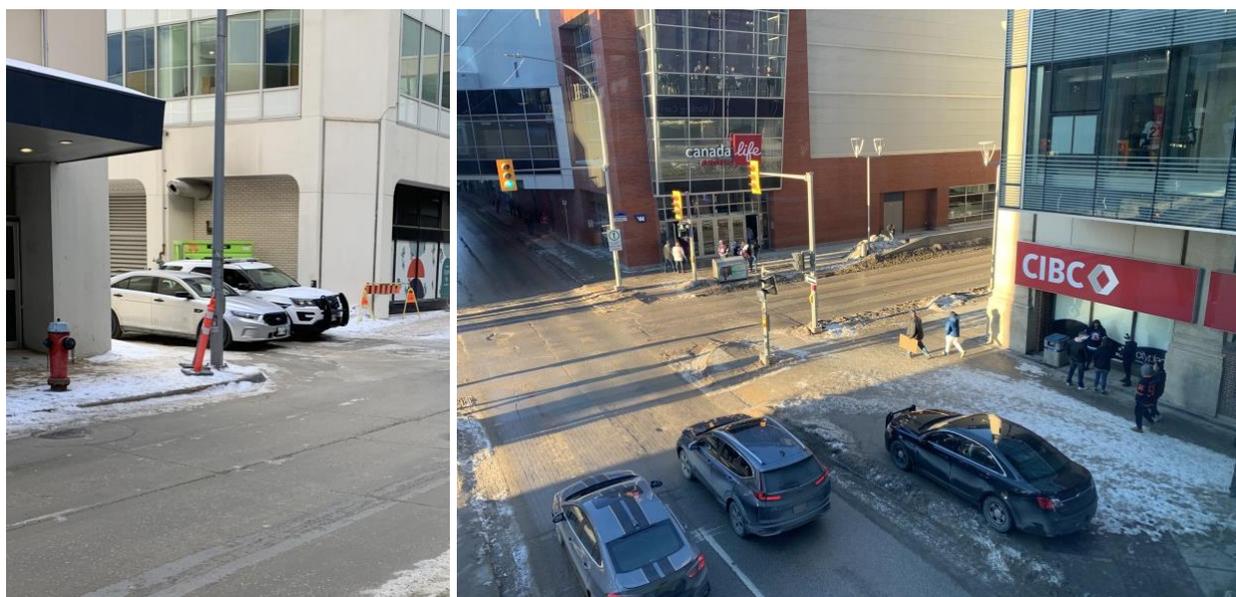
At almost every game I observed, one of the two south entrances to Canada Life Centre would have two Cadets standing near, as can be seen in the left image above, albeit not as consistent as the Cadets being at the main entrance at the corner of Portage Avenue and Donald

Street. These are areas where often panhandlers would be located, but importantly, never at the direct corners of CLC but across the streets. The function of cadets in this time and space was somewhat unclear as their conduct seemed uneventful. Rather, their function appeared to be to provide a visual deterrent. This aligns with the *Winnipeg Downtown Safety Study Initial Report* recommending a stronger enforcement of the already existing panhandling laws (*The Obstructive Solicitation By-Law*) and an increased police presence in the SHED to improve perceptions of safety and deter disorder (Manitoba Police Commission, 2019), as well as the WPS' stated attention to special events in the SHED (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022a). This supports BID literature as in employing visible authority presences with the intention to deter perceived disorderly behaviour and minimize public fear so consumers and event goers can continue on unworried (Hoyt, 2004; Vindevogel, 2005). Through these clean and safe logics, this assists in sanitizing the space to maintain a consumptive environment for consumers to pass through composed (Lippert, 2012). Similarly, and seemingly performing the same function, a consistency I noticed was that two police officers stand near the skywalk entrance to Canada Life Centre in City Place before each game, as can be sign in the right photograph above. This was consistent in each of my game-day observation sessions. The police officers appear to arrive at this location about one hour before each game. The exact spot where the police officers stand changes, but all within the same vicinity and always on the second floor of City Place where the entrance to CLC is. In the picture above, the officers are leaning against a railing and facing the line that is entering Canada Life Centre. Other spots I noticed the officers standing were near the Shark Club (the bar and casino that is on the second floor of City Place), or at the top of the escalators in City Place. As their conduct seemed uneventful, it seemed that their function was to act as a deterrent to indigent individuals who might be in City Place and to allow eventgoers to enter CLC or Shark Club without worry. The police officers would stay in this vicinity until the game would begin. It was always police officers standing here and never Cadets.

As event attendees were entering the arena, paid duty police officers were often seen standing near the security that eventgoers need to pass through, both in front of and behind the security, as well as at the three main floor entrances and the skywalk entrances. This was seen at all entrances at different times, although I am not sure if I noticed this at all entrances all at once. When I had attended two of the games, entering through the ground level entrances I noticed a police officer would be standing in the concourse of the arena directly across from where the

attendee enters through security. These officers inside the arena would be paid duty officers. In addition to police, there is always security from Canada Life Centre and True North, as well as other outsourced security agencies, who are near the entrances of the building, scanning the tickets of fans and letting attendees through security. There was always a large security presence, and this security presence would start hours before the police presence would. This is understandable as security would let fans into the concourse of the arena exactly one hour before gametime but would allow people to be in the foyers of the arena before this.

Quite often I would see officers walking in the skywalks between City Place and the Winnipeg Police Service Police Station, however, that might not be significant as they likely were coming to and from the police station and this was an occurrence that would be seen on non-game days as well. However, the police station being located just on the outer east edge of the SHED does allow for easy access to policing in the downtown area, and particularly the SHED. For example, on some occasions during game day, I saw groups of police officers and Cadets walking through city place who I later saw standing near Canada Life Centre or in its foyers.



**(Left) Image 8:** *Two police vehicles sitting in an alley facing Canada Life Centre's west side prior to game*

**(Right) Image 9:** *Police vehicle parked on portion of sidewalk on Hargrave, facing Canada Life Centre's southwest entrance*

In addition to seeing WPS members on foot, there were always stationary police and Cadet vehicles in the area. Other than only one observation session, there was an undercover car that sat beside True North Square at its southeast corner. Two times I was observing, I noticed a

black, unmarked police cruiser parked on the sidewalk just south of Canada Life Centre's southwest entrance. The first time I saw it there, the vehicle had two officers sitting in it without the car's flashing lights on. The second time I saw it parked there, the officers had the vehicle's flashing lights on. On some occasions, officers were sitting in vehicles in an alley on Hargrave Street that faced the west side of Canada Life Centre. Before games, there were always police vehicles, most often unmarked, that were present on streets that were in the same block, or within one block of Canada Life Centre. Although these vehicles were typically unmarked, my sense was that they worked to add to the visibility of policing in the area. In addition to stationary vehicles, like a non-game day, on a game day it is common to see police and Cadet vehicles driving around the area. As Cadets and sometimes police get to Canada Life centre at about an hour before a game will begin, seeing a police presence around the arena before this time is usually in the form of police vehicles driving through the streets of downtown.

Though visibility is a key aspect, the convenient location of police and Cadets near CLC allows them to respond to signs of disorder nearby. For example, on February 26<sup>th</sup>, about half an hour before the game would start, I observed a Cadet SUV park beside a bus shelter near the southeast corner of Canada Life Centre. At these bus shelters on Graham Avenue, it is common to see seemingly unhoused people taking shelter inside for long periods of time, along with many of their belongings. This is the same location where the story in the introduction of this thesis took place, but a separate incident. The Cadets, with verbal hostility, talked with the individuals in the bus shelter (one of whom had been smoking a substance out of a pop can), and then had directed the people in the bus shelter to leave the area. One of the people in the bus shelter was handcuffed and taken into the Cadets' vehicle. This was an interaction that lasted about three minutes. About ten minutes later, very near where the interaction took place, I saw the Cadets take the same person out of their vehicle, have a conversation with him for a couple minutes, then searched his pockets and let him leave. In my opinion, as the individuals in the bus shelter were calm and cooperative, the hostility from the cadets was not warranted. Although, whether hostility had or had not occurred, this served as an example of an approach to quality-of-life policing in this area, and notably just before the hockey game was to begin, where relatively minor disorderly behaviours are targeted by police to improve the area's "quality of life" (Johnson et al., 2010), which further follows the slogan of clean and safe in BIDs. It demonstrates to surrounding members of the public that the WPS is swift to respond to

disorderly acts, which demonstrates to consumers the area is being protected and to others that acts of disorder will be policed. Before the game, in addition to practices of traffic control, the primary functions of the police and Cadets seem to be to provide visibility in various locations and to respond to any acts of disorder.

#### *5.42 During the Game*

Once the game begins, at each entrance to Canada Life Centre, security is still present, and within City Place, security wander the building. However, police and Cadet activity visibly reduces when the game begins and until it ends, particularly the police and Cadets who stand in specific spots such as corners of Canada Life Centre and in City Place. Additionally, police who park and sit in their vehicle in fixed locations before the game would leave the area they were sitting in once the game began, including both marked and unmarked vehicles. During the game, police and Cadet activity seen in the area shifts more to foot and vehicle patrol, but again there are not as many officers and Cadets that are as visibly noticeable as before or after games. During the game, although predictable, it becomes apparent the extent that downtown pedestrian traffic correlates to a Winnipeg Jets game taking place. During the games, the streets within the SHED were bare of people, including also in True North Square, and City Place. On some occasions during this time, I had also noticed the Winnipeg BIZ environmental teams picking up litter while a game was being played. This aligns with the clean and safe policies that BIDs tend to employ. A variety of services in BIDs seek to positively affect both perceptions and realities of cleanliness and safety. The cleanliness is an indicator that the environment is looked after and cared for, further signaling safety. This is a tactic of broken windows theory to prevent urban decay before it begins to spread and become acceptable in an area. The BWT perspective argues that uncontrolled social disorder provides a setting that encourages the expansion of more serious and frequently occurring criminal activity as signs that an environment is unmaintained suggests there is diminishing social control and crime may be committed without penalty (Johnson et al., 2010; Hoyt, 2005, Vindevogel, 2005). This, however, goes beyond cleanliness.



**Image 10:** *Cadets interacting with people in a bus shelter*

Recall that broken windows theory is the theoretical approach that most often underpins the operation of BIDs. BWT theory argues that the presence of visible authority figures will increase social control and thereby deter crime (Hoyt, 2005), which seems to be part of the intended function of hosting many uniformed authority figures in this area and at this specific time. When deterrence does not work, individuals that are undesirable to the area are encouraged to move along. In the introduction of this thesis, I relayed a story about an interaction I observed between five Cadets and around 10 seemingly unhoused people between two nearby bus shelters close to the entrance of Canada Life Centre. The image above is a photograph at the time of this interaction. To briefly reiterate, the Cadets first visited one bus shelter and directed the individuals to leave the shelter before moving to the next shelter and doing the same. The individuals dispersed, leaving all their belongings. Once the individuals had left, it appeared that one of the Cadets attempted to tie the door closed on one of the shelters to prevent the individuals from reentering. Immediately after this interaction, the Cadets drove two blocks to the west where a similar situation occurred, but with one individual camped in a bus shelter and a True North Square security officer standing nearby. The individual was searched by the five Cadets and then taken into the Cadets' SUV. Following the second interaction, I returned to

where the first interaction took place to find that the individuals who were removed from the bus shelters had already returned less than ten minutes later, essentially making the Cadets' prior work ineffective. This was not a one-time occurrence, but rather a common sighting throughout my observation sessions in this research. I later saw the Cadets return to the same shelter, making this process become cyclical.

The above image holds lots of relevant meaning. Similarly covered through the description and analysis of other pictures, seen in this picture is a couple Winnipeg Jets decorative banners. Just outside of this picture is much more Winnipeg Jets and SHED branding as well. The streetlamps are also important to pay attention to as they hold a more appealing, aesthetic quality to them as opposed to many other lamps in neighbouring downtown areas. The thoughtful design helps to signify a higher sophistication in the area. We see a display of urban branding in this photograph but coupled with various methods of social control. Within this photograph are two signs that can be seen near these bus shelters that note there is CCTV surveillance in the area. The purpose of this was discussed in that not only do these signs seek to act as a deterrent to disorderly behaviour, but they also work to signify to pedestrians that the area is being protected. The only place in the SHED where I had noticed these signs was in this location, which importantly houses two bus shelters that are often frequented by seemingly unhoused people. This was also an area where I observed police, and more often, Cadets interacting with people very often. These signs then appear to be strategically located for an area that seemingly is problematic to the WPS

Seen in this image is that one of the bus stops is titled as "Canada Life Centre". This area is likely problematic to TNSE as it is located next to their arena. As these bus shelters are closely located to Canada Life Centre, my suspicion was that the Cadets' intention was to remove the seemingly unhoused people from the area, ultimately to maintain a space more inviting to the eventgoer and consumer. Although this interaction took place during a game, meaning the area was not busy with Winnipeg Jets fans at this moment, it seemed as though the Cadets were trying to remove the individuals from the area before the end of the game. In the background of the photograph, the WPS Headquarters can be seen, which displays how accessible policing is in this area. Additionally, the building to the right in this photograph is the millennium library, which the City and WPS seems to be hyper aware of since after a man was fatally stabbed inside (Crabb, 2023). Although a murder is cause for concern, it is important to remember that the

aggressive policing at these bus shelters is towards individuals who generally appear to be loitering at most. Rather, the area is policed in a way that is consistent with holding an appealing image of the area as the individuals are dispersed by the WPS and typically are not visually displaying harmful or dangerous behaviour.



**Image 11:** *Three foot-patrol police officers walking near the west side of Canada Life Centre*

In addition to Cadets being around in the area, I had seen on one occasion a group of three police officers walking around the SHED, seeing them multiple times throughout the evening and always within close vicinity to Canada Life Centre. This was during the third period of the game, so in the later portion of the game. They just seemed to be walking around and observing the area, later joining the Cadets who were set up to direct traffic at Donald Street and Portage Avenue outside the main entrance of Canada Life Centre. With about 10 minutes left in play time in the game, the Cadets tend to start gathering at the main entrance of Canada Life Centre and begin to direct traffic as the area gets busier. Around this time, I had gone to look in City Place to observe if any police were in the spot where they would be before each game. There were no police officers in City Place. With a few minutes left in the game (particularly if there is a large differential in goals scored between the teams and the game is not close), fans start to slowly exit Canada Life Centre, so police and Cadets gathering around the arena a bit before the game ends is expected. Overall, the processes of policing while NHL games are ongoing seems to be much more mobile than policing before and after the games. The policing shifts from a guarding of CLC entrances to one that is looking for signs and removal of disorder,

as is evident through the mobility of Cadets to different bus shelters and their dispersal and apprehending of indigent individuals. The policing during the game much more clearly aligns with clean and safe logics deployed in BIDs.

#### 5.43 After the Game



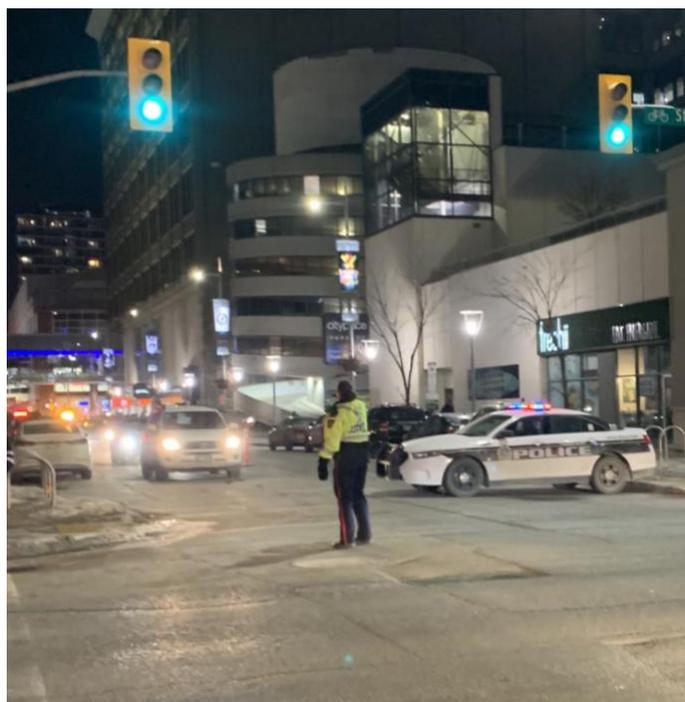
**Image 12:** Two Cadets directing traffic and three police officers chatting outside main entrance of Canada Life Centre as April 10<sup>th</sup> game was just ending.

Policing functions around CLC and more generally in the SHED are very similar to before games in that traffic regulation is performed (but increased), and visible police and Cadets, both stationary and mobile, are seen. The picture above is located at the main northeast entrance of CLC just as a Winnipeg Jets game is about to end. In this image is three police officers who are talking to each other (the same three foot-patrol officers in image 11), and two cadets in reflective clothing who are performing their traffic duties. Not pictured is one more cadet standing on the other side of the street. Although the aesthetic of the SHED has been discussed, seen in this picture is Centre Point, a mixed-use development including a luxury hotel, semi-fancy restaurant, and tech office space that was built around the return of the Winnipeg Jets. It holds a similar aesthetic value to many of the other buildings seen in the SHED, but additionally possess the entrance of the historic former A&B Sound building. This building itself represents a

transition of this part of Winnipeg from its former self to a newer, modern self with higher-end amenities. In this sense, it is a preservation of cultural and historic Winnipeg but within a revitalized context with a glamourized aesthetic and amenities, possessing an elegance attractive to an increased cultural taste. This is an example of branding that identifies a cultural selling point of a location, holding onto its meaning and value (Julier, 2005; Bookman & Woolford), but rebuilt and aestheticized to fit within the theme of the rest of the SHED. Additionally in this photograph is a variety of Winnipeg Jets branding, extending on the Jets theme within the SHED. This photograph is another example that portrays the aesthetic and brand of the SHED, while also the intended visual and deterrent policing functions within (Bookman & Woolford, 2013).

As soon as the game ends, pedestrian and vehicle traffic quickly increases, including down the sidewalks and through the skywalks. Cadets and sometimes police stand near the exits of Canada Life Centre as game attendees leave the arena. Typically, Cadets would be directing traffic after the game at the main entrance on Donald Street and Portage Avenue in the same fashion that they would before the game. On one occasion, March 31<sup>st</sup>, the Cadets were not directing traffic here which I found to be unusual. On one occasion (March 31<sup>st</sup>), the Cadets who were at the southwest corner of Canada Life Centre prior to the Jets game were back at that same corner after the game, with their Cadet cruiser on the other side of Graham Avenue with its flashing lights on. Like before the games, one of the two southern entrances typically had Cadets and occasionally police standing near while the crowd exited the arena, but which entrance they were at did not seem consistent each game. Initially, I had noticed just Cadets standing at one of the two southern corners of Canada Life Centre, but on April 10<sup>th</sup> there seemed to be a police and Cadet presence that was larger than usual. Two Cadets were standing at the southeast corner of Canada Life Centre, wearing bright reflective yellow jackets. They had their Cadet SUV parked perpendicular across the street, in front of the Millennium Library. In addition, there were two separate unmarked police cruisers parked nearby, with one police officer standing outside of each vehicle. The officers did not appear to have any tasks, but rather were standing and watching the crowd exit the building, providing a similar visible appearance to that of the Cadets. This increased presence was not something I had seen at every post-game I had observed. This tells me that, although there is consistency in being some sort of presence from Cadets and police, the manner in which they are present at Canada Life Centre does not follow a

specific routine. One thought I did have is that this larger presence was on April 10<sup>th</sup> and they were standing at the corner nearest to where there had been the Cadets removing the people from the bus shelters about an hour prior, so perhaps those prior interactions influenced the larger presence from police and Cadets at that corner on that particular day.



**Image 13:** *WPS Officer directing traffic at Hargrave and St. Mary after the game*

The City Place parkade faces west on Hargrave Street. Hargrave is a one-way street facing north. After games, employees of the parkade direct departing vehicles south on Hargrave Street toward St. Mary Avenue. At this intersection, a police officer blocks a portion of Hargrave with their vehicle to stop cars from progressing north down Hargrave, and the officer will direct the cars coming from the city place parking garage to turn onto St. Mary. The officer would not be at this intersection before or during the game, they would set up just before the game was ending (on one occasion, I noticed that there was three minutes left in the game) and when pedestrian traffic was increasing. This police traffic direction in this location was a consistent practice, as it occurred after every game. It appeared to be a joint effort between the City Place parking garage employees and the police. The officer would stay in this location directing traffic until there was minimal traffic. Between 15 and 20 minutes after the game, the crowd of game attendees in the SHED seems to thin out significantly, but bars and restaurants begin to get busy

again. The Cadets and police officers who are stationary at the corners of Canada Life Centre start to leave around this time (about 20 to 25 minutes after the game ends) as the crowd becomes much less busy. The process of Cadets and police standing near the corners of the building does not last very long. The officers and Cadets who had vehicles with them would leave in their vehicle, but on some occasions where I saw foot patrol officers with no vehicle standing near Canada Life Centre, they continued to walk around the SHED after the game. Police and Cadets seems to disperse, but security can still be seen in the area after the game, particularly within Canada Life Centre and in its foyers, in and around True North Square, and in City Place.

Police activity in the SHED after Winnipeg Jets games is quite like their conduct before games. Police and Cadets, in addition to slightly increased traffic control functions, primarily appear to serve as visible deterrents and authority figures in the area. Where police and Cadets stand and the exact number of them in the area appears to fluctuate, but their presence is consistent. The police traffic direction by the City Place parkade being a consistent practice further confirmed part of the regulatory function that the WPS plays in policing at events. Although security working at their respective buildings are present after the space become less populated, the dispersion of police and Cadets from Canada Life Centre a bit after games is an indicator that their sole intention at this time is to police the arena. In BIDs, private security works to play a similar visible deterrent role to the police for the purpose of maintaining a sanitized space (Lippert, 2010). Throughout my observation sessions, I had not seen any police interaction with Winnipeg Jets fans, even with those who appeared to be quite intoxicated and rowdy. This is not a claim that police interactions with fans never occurs, but rather it seems much more common that police will interact with indigent folk in the area, or individuals otherwise displaying anti-social behavior not associated with the excitement that arises from sports games. This aligns with the common function of police in BIDs more generally - foot patrolling officers advance the clean and safe initiatives of BIDs by working to provide a socially sanitized environment for the consumer by deterring or removing those displaying behaviours inconsistent within BID ideals (Lippert, 2012). This maintains a space that is free of risk for the consumer, which is what the brand intends. In this context, policing works to bring comfort to the consumer which contributes to a protection of corporate assets.

### *5.5 Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Party*

A shift from regular event policing in the SHED is when the National Hockey League Playoffs occur. I was observing on around 12pm on April 18<sup>th</sup>, the first day of playoffs and four days before the first “Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Party”, an event that takes place in the SHED right outside Canada Life Centre and in True North Square where the public can watch the game broadcasted on large screens when the Winnipeg Jets are in the NHL Playoffs. I noticed a shift in energy and enthusiasm downtown towards the Jets even prior to the first Whiteout Party. Some of the signs and banners that had displayed the Winnipeg Jets logo and players throughout the season had been changed to signs that were white, included the Winnipeg Jets logo, and read “STREET PARTY” in large text. Much of the signage began to become specific to the Winnipeg Whiteout and the Street Party. I noticed a bus drive by that, in addition to displaying which route it was driving on its front and back screens, displayed a message that read “Go Jets Go”, which was new as of the Jets starting playoffs. Aside from physical changes to the environment, although the first playoff game this day was in Las Vegas, there was noticeable enthusiasm from many pedestrians who were wearing Winnipeg Jets jerseys. Over the few days shift from achieving a spot in the playoffs to the playoffs starting, there was a noticeable shift in the atmosphere and excitement for the Jets.

As these street parties only occur when the Winnipeg Jets are in the playoffs, the street parties are not guaranteed to happen every year. Traditionally, starting in the late 1980s, the crowd in attendance for Winnipeg Jets playoff games dress in white, originally a way to support the Jets by wearing their home colour of white – hence, “Whiteout”. In the 2022-2023 NHL season, and conveniently during my observation period, the Winnipeg Jets did make playoffs. I decided to attend the Whiteout Street Party on April 24<sup>th</sup>, the second of the only two street parties that were held as the Winnipeg Jets had been eliminated from playoffs after losing to the Vegas Golden Knights in five games. I arrived at the Whiteout Party at around 8:15pm. I came from the north of Canada Life Centre down Donald. The first thing I noticed was that a WPS “Check Stop Van” was blocking the middle lane of Donald St. at the north side of the Donald and Portage Avenue intersection, on Donald – the intersection where Canada Life Centre’s main entrance faces. This blockage appeared to be of the purpose to force traffic to turn rather than continue straight, as the next block over on Donald is where the Whiteout Street Party began.



**Image 14:** *Police SUV and a Semitruck Blocking off the Entrance to the Whiteout Party*

The image above depicts the north entrance to the Whiteout Party. The building to the right is Canada Life Centre, where the Winnipeg Jets Playoff game was about to take place. Looking closely, this image depicts a policing presence in a densely populated event space, a shift and increase in Winnipeg Jets branding, and a large public support of True North's most publicized product, the Winnipeg Jets, through the provision of a street level festival. First thing that is noticed is an all-black WPS SUV with its flashing lights on with a police officer in a fluorescent yellow jacket standing next to it, with a large semitruck and trailer parked behind to effectively create a blockade to the event. This is perceivably a tactic of the police to prevent vehicles from entering the party area and the possibility of a vehicle attack. As this is a large, sports related, public (with a small fee) event, securitization against large a planned attacks is common, particularly since the events of 9/11 (Coaffee et al., 2011).

Although this is likely a thought of the WPS, more interesting to this research is the change and increase in branding, the idea of a street party itself, and how this is a signal of urban branding, gentrification, and policing that follows. As noted, the Winnipeg Jets branding in the area was changed to be "Whiteout" themed, which replaced the blue signs in the permanent

fixtures with white signs, added a stylized font reading “STREET PARTY” in all capitals, and kept the Winnipeg Jets logo. As the excitement of hockey fans increases for the NHL Playoffs, in this instance, the environment that endorses the Winnipeg Jets as a significant aspect of its area changes to match the festivities that the fans are taking part in. In this way, the branding possesses a sort of adaptability that realigns itself with the excitement of the fans, and the culture of Winnipeg Jets Playoff hockey. This, again, is an example of branding identifying, targeting, and commodifying culture to use it as a unique selling point of locations (Julier, 2005).

Additionally, more similar but larger banners can be seen in the photograph on the inside of the street party which is where one of the large screens broadcasting the game is located, which not only means that the branding has adapted but also increased. Although there is an increased in Winnipeg Jets branding in the environment, this photograph also depicts a large, public support for the Winnipeg Jets in Playoffs, and a buying into the festivities by wearing white, as can be seen in the crowd waiting to enter the street party towards the right side of the photograph, and on the large screen that can be seen in the distance of the photograph. Though a small detail, and likely the decision of the truckdriver who parked their truck outside the entrance of the street party, a small Winnipeg Jets flag can be seen on the semitruck’s window. There is a clear anticipation for Winnipeg Jets Playoff games and a desire to party among fans, but what is notable is that the branding tends to follow to foster an environment that adds to that excitement.

There is also an increase in decoration to add to the festivities of the party. For example, blue LED lights wrapped around the branched of a tree can be seen towards the right side of image 14, which is notably the Winnipeg Jets primary colour and main accent colour of the interior of Canada Life Centre. Further seen is more “fun” advertising, albeit partially blocked in this photograph, where an inflatable “Mike’s Hard Lemonade” can is present. This inflatable can was placed near the drink tents, which also means that this area outside of Canada Life Centre encourages the drinking of alcohol at this time in this space, where it is otherwise prohibited on a regular basis. The street party sees a higher concentration of middle- to upper-class individuals at the event. As Peck (2005) outlines, gentrified areas will host street entertainment such as festivals and parties to appeal to the “creative class”, or otherwise consumers, as it presents an opportunity to partake in something stylish and unique. Though the street parties are much fun, it is also important to recognize them as a byproduct of the gentrification of this area. Noticed towards the upper right of the photograph is another crane, similar but separate from the crane

shown in image 1. This, again, signifies the ongoing redevelopment of this area, despite the crane's location being just outside the borders of the SHED.



**Image 15:** *Police officer wearing a Winnipeg Whiteout themed WPS hat*

This entrance to the whiteout party had security located behind the semitruck and trailer. After having your ticket scanned, you then had to enter through the security protocol which included a procedure where you put your cellphone, keys, and any other electronic devices in a bin where your belongings are then checked by staff, walk through metal detectors, and then potentially be scanned by a metal detector wand, which is also practiced when entering Canada Life Centre for any game. Once entered the event from this entrance, you are surrounded by a fence that forces you between the crowd of attendees and the east wall of Canada Life Centre. Within this fenced path, there were multiple police officers standing near Canada Life Centre and watching over the crowd of party attendees.

In the above picture, various forms of changed and increased branding, decorative and increased lighting, the drink tents, and CCTV cameras can be seen, which has been outlined through the description of other pictures as well. What is notable in this image is an example of

an officer wearing a WPS Whiteout themed hat while watching over the street party. Not all, but many of the uniformed police officers wear Whiteout themed hats, where it is an all-white hat with the WPS crest on the front of it. This, notably, is not a part of their regular uniforms. Like the changing of Winnipeg Jets branding in the SHED for the NHL Playoffs, it seems as though the police will take a part in the festivities by including white in their uniform. As the environment shifts to buy into the festivities, it also is evident that the police do as well, perhaps to find relatability to the people who are attending the street parties. This officer is also wearing a fluorescent yellow vest to increase her visibility. Typically, WPS officers will not wear fluorescent clothing, even at the time of regular season Jets games. The exception to this is when officers are directing traffic after regular season Winnipeg Jets games. However, police wearing reflective clothing at the Whiteout Street Party was common, likely to increase their visibility at a large event.

The police presence at the whiteout party was overwhelmingly visible. First, CCTV cameras throughout the SHED, both public and private, were in range of capturing much of the Whiteout Party. It is likely that the CCTV cameras were being monitored during this time as the WPS had stated that “there may be occasions when streaming of video will occur during large scale events to help facilitate and coordinate police response to those events” (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). Further, surveillance exceeded the likely monitoring of the street party. In almost every direction, I was able to see several police officers present. Additionally, there were many security guards at the party, and Cadets in the area. During the entirety of the evening, the WPS helicopter was present in a circle above the whiteout party, visible at almost all times. On top of Canada Life Centre, there appeared to be a police officer who occasionally would peak their head over the edge of the building to observe the crowd below. The officer appeared to be on top of the building during the entirety of the whiteout party. Leaving the Whiteout Party, there was a large police and Cadet presence who were both standing near the crowds and observing, as well as assisting in traffic management.

As noted, beyond major security threats, event organizers tend to employ security strategies and surveillance to combat public disorder or hooliganism. As thousands of people attend the street parties with the availability of alcohol, hooliganism is a concern and a probable reason for a large police presence. The use of the police helicopter and officers standing on the roof of nearby buildings seems to exceed the need of policing for hooliganism, likely being

employed with the thought of a possibility of large violent attack occurring. Although these are likely the intentions of the police, I contend that the police dually intend to act as visible deterrents. They likely act as deterrents to sports related hooliganism within the party, but seemingly act as deterrents to other anti-social behaviour as well. Near the entrances to the Whiteout Parties were officers and no panhandlers or buskers nearby, but rather located across the streets. Beyond the visibility that the police provide in this setting, their engagement with the culture of Winnipeg Jets fans by wearing all-white hats is notable as a way for the police to appear as relatable and taking part in the fun of the event. Much as the environment itself adapted to be culturally relevant to Winnipegger's celebrating their favourite team being in the NHL Playoffs, so did the police.

## **6. Discussion**

The conceptual framework of this research aims to demonstrate the correlation between the formation of identity within a space and the affluent individuals for whom this space is intended. A Bourdieusian "cultural capital" analysis is used to assist in outlining class differences and what might set socioeconomic classes apart. It assists in deciphering the relationships between different classes in the context of policing in the SHED. This helps contextualize how the SHED, through higher-end hospitality and shopping opportunities, and large-scale sporting events, is built and maintained in a way to favour those with increased sophistication regarding economic, cultural, and social capital, and exclude those who do not fit the ideals of the brand. "Space and place", with an emphasis on "urban branding" assists in analyzing the physical geography of the SHED and the functions within this area. Urban branding assists this research in defining the aesthetics of the SHED, what this area seeks to achieve through its design, and how this area employs its own unique brand that is separable from other geographically surrounding areas. The two primary concepts work together as urban branding shows how the SHED differentiates itself and who it desires to attract, while a Bourdieusian analysis helps to differentiate classes and assists in determining who the SHED appeals to.

Places develop a unique identity in which one can play a part in creating or fitting into said identity. Urban branding efforts are a form of place-making, contributing to how the area looks, feels, and is governed. An outsider to said place can be identifiable and distinguishable to

insiders (Kim et al., 2013). The notion of identity in a place importantly and conversely works to define what is “out of place” (Trujillo-Pagan, 2019). A variety of actors participate in shaping a place and its image, including business owners, employers, residents, visitors, homeless individuals, and all others who make use of the space (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). Places are then contested with a variety of behaviours. BIDs often are implemented with a sense of identity through urban branding efforts by various stakeholders within it, thereby holding a predefined identity. Despite a variety of actors shaping a place and its image, the identity of the BID is sought to be upheld through its design, feel, and policing initiatives. Ideologically in a BID, its identity follows the “clean and safe” mantra (Hoyt, 2004). Behaviours that veer outside of the predefined identity are not encouraged in the BID, often receiving policing efforts in their direction.

Who then is an insider and outsider in the SHED? The SHED is branded in a way, like most BIDs, to promote consumption. The SHED, through its difference in density and architecture and holding more sophisticated dining, shopping, and entertainment options, possesses a look, feel, and intention that is distinct from its bordering areas. It works as an attraction to the more affluent user by using its reinvented landscapes that possess a style and status more akin to middle- to upper-class visitors and residents of downtown. It becomes a targeting of desired classes to the area (Julier, 2005). Gentrified urban areas are typically developed with the tastes of middle- and upper-class consumption in mind. These areas are designed to differentiate themselves from other areas based on taste, encouraging users of the area to use it for its reinvented purpose (Bookman, 2014). Through the SHED’s reinvented landscape consisting of aesthetically pleasing and modern buildings, landscape, and amenities, it desires to attract those with a more sophisticated cultural capital. Included in the desired crowd in the SHED are hockey fans. Julier (2005) notes that branding programs are developed to identify and articulate the unique selling points of locations, which often includes aspects of an area’s culture. Hockey is culturally relevant in Winnipeg, and Canada more generally, and with the Winnipeg Jets’ arena being in downtown, the SHED uses Winnipeg’s hockey team as a primary selling point. This selling point transitioned to become a part of the physical environment through the inclusion of Jets signage throughout the area. Culture becomes a commodification and becomes key in gentrification to stimulate economic, political, and social objectives (Miles & Paddison, 2005). As White and Wilson (1999) found a positive correlation

between professional sport attendance and one's cultural and economic capital, it is unsurprising that the Winnipeg hockey fan is a desired individual in the SHED.

The outline of a desired individual conversely helps to define the undesired individual. The BID tries to encourage certain behaviours while discouraging ones that do not fit its "clean and safe" image. Typically, activities like panhandling, public intoxication, and loitering are targeted (Gordon, 2005; Lippert, 2010). These types of behaviours are seen as obstacles that might discourage legal consumers from being in the area, which disrupts economic profits for businesses within the BID (Lippert, 2012). Policing tactics are used to control these spaces from undesired individuals, typically through broken windows approaches to policing to limit these recurrent activities (Beckett & Herbert, 2012; Gordon, 2005). This type of policing was seen throughout the observation sessions quite often, particularly aimed towards indigent people who were loitering or sleeping in bus shelters. Cadets would request for the individuals to disperse from the area. Importantly, though not to say this does not ever occur, throughout my observation sessions I had not seen any police interaction with Winnipeg Jets fans, even with those who appeared to be quite intoxicated and rowdy. It seemed much more common to witness police and Cadets interacting with those appearing to be unhoused and loitering. With the provision of professional hockey in the area, and drinking alcohol being commonplace at sports games, this behaviour then seems to fit within acceptable conduct in the area. BIDs are areas that provide amenities to consumers, and arguably the largest amenity in Downtown Winnipeg is the Winnipeg Jets. Public intoxication then becomes acceptable if it is within the bounds of a Winnipeg Jets jersey as support for Winnipeg's team is within the acceptable behaviours of the SHED.

Drawing on Bourdieu's distinction, there is a display of the produced outcome of the judgements between those with cultural differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020). Distinction is the separation between groups socially and culturally. Not only is distinction seen between favoured and unfavoured groups in the SHED, it is this distinction between favoured and unfavoured groups that is policed. Those who do not consume the brand in its intended vision are undesired. Behaviours that do not fit within the vision of a BID are seen as obstacles that may deter consumers from coming to BIDs (Lippert, 2012). Policing attention towards individuals displaying anti-social behaviours then can be seen as a protection of corporate assets through the reassurance of shoppers, sports fans, and restaurant goers in the downtown area. This further

explains why there is an increased policing presence at the times when the SHED is at its busiest – when there is a Winnipeg Jets game happening. In this sense, it is logical why urban centres with large sporting venues might follow urban branding strategies to develop and maintain sanitized areas that are welcoming to middle- to upper-class sporting event attendees and consumers. The SHED itself, largely occupied by True North Sports and Entertainment assets, is a neoliberal enterprise with the primary goal of developing and maintaining a space that welcomes the consumer for the benefit of increased economic capital. Policing is not only directed towards the person, but it is direction towards the distinction that sets people apart economically, culturally, and socially. Unwanted groups in the SHED become policed in this space because large economic, social, and cultural gaps are evident, and the area seeks to only include those on the higher-class end of the gap.

Through the identity and brand of a business improvement district is a distinction between who is and is not desired in the area, necessitating forms of policing to maintain the area for its intended audience. Policing varies outside of contemporary forms. Like Bookman & Woolford's (2013) analysis of Winnipeg's Exchange District, I argue that the symbolic markers within the SHED work in advance of defining a border that is visually separate from its neighbouring areas. This serves two important purposes: to define a space for the desired consumer and to separate itself from areas more welcome to individuals the SHED seeks to exclude (Bookman & Woolford, 2013). This intention is to exclude the "other" by creating a maintained space that does not tolerate anti-social behaviour. The SHED possesses symbolic markers to identify its boundaries, such as through Jets branding, streetlamp designs, and the aesthetics of its buildings, as well as the restaurants and businesses within it being of increased sophistication. On the opposing side of the SHED's border is an increase in number and size of parking lots, and older buildings that do not fit the newly reinvented look of the SHED. The Winnipeg Jets are embedded in a large part of the identity of the SHED through posters, banners, and advertisements, as well as a street and statue honouring late Jets legend Dale Hawerchuk. As the Winnipeg Jets home arena is within the SHED, and as branding programs identify the unique selling points of a location (Julier, 2005), an overwhelming presence of Jets branding is unsurprising, but additionally helps to define the SHED as unique. By spending time in the SHED, and further venturing over its borders, one can notice that the SHED possesses a feel that is distinct through its urban design. The brand of the SHED is distinct and, like Bookman &

Woolford (2013) argue in the context of the Exchange District, creates a perception of distance between itself and adjacent areas, causing a divide between those who live, work, and shop in the SHED and those in its poorer neighbouring areas. The border and the brand itself work to regulate its ideal definition of order, which is co-existent with traditional policing initiatives.

In this research, not only how policing operates is evident, but also how it appears in different forms, and how it adapts. There is crime prevention through environmental design initiatives in the SHED, such as increases in lighting, “bum-proof” benches, and skateboard deterrents. CCTV surveillance is a notable crime prevention tactic in the SHED with many public cameras throughout the SHED, particularly surrounding Canada Life Centre, and what feels like an infinite number of private cameras in the area. In addition to the current landscape of surveillance, CCTV camera usage in downtown Winnipeg is set to quadruple (Crabb, 2023), which will not only limit any surveillance free zones, but give the DCSP and WPS simpler access to surveillance within the area as opposed to gaining warrants for use of private footage. In addition to the CCTV cameras themselves, there are examples of signage that notates the use of CCTV surveillance in the area which is conveniently placed near two bus shelters that the WPS sees as problematic, evident through common Cadet attention that this area receives. This not only intends to work as a deterrent, but also as a marketing tool to communicate to the consumer that the area is being watched and is safe (Lippert, 2012).

On a non-game day, seeing police and Cadets patrolling the area by foot was not as frequent, other than within the close vicinity of the WPS Headquarters and Millennium Library. Security, however, is plentiful in the SHED on a given day with privately employed guards at the Millennium Library, City Place, Canada Life Centre, True North Square, and within the skywalk system. On a given day, police and Cadet vehicles are mobile very frequently in the SHED. Though various foot patrols are not as common on a non-game day in the SHED, this provides an important context for how visible police and Cadets are when a Winnipeg Jets game is taking place. Police presences evidently increased for Winnipeg Jets game days. Police and Cadet presence becomes denser near Canada Life Centre prior to, during, and after games as opposed to other parts of the SHED. Before the NHL game begins, there seems to be a variety of functions that the police and Cadets perform, including directing traffic, maintaining stationary posts near entrances of Canada Life Centre, actively patrolling by foot, sitting in stationary

vehicles, and driving around in moving vehicles. The visibility of policing is increased in this space and time.

Aside from traffic control, the primary function of police and Cadets seems to be to provide visible deterrents and respond to anti-social behaviours. The policing of anti-social behaviours, although was observed on one occasion before a game began, was much more evident when the game was in progress. When the area is less dense with event attendees, policing becomes more mobile and seems to shift to looking for signs of disorder, followed by their subsequent removal. Once the game ends, the policing seems to shift back from being mobile to more stationary around Canada Life Centre, similar to before the game but with a bit more of a traffic control function. A further adaptation of policing in the SHED is evident when “Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Parties” are taking place. Policing shifts in intensity and volume in this space and time through including large protective barriers, constant presence of the police helicopter, and an increased surveillance through officers standing on the roofs of buildings, an increase in foot patrol officers, and the likely ongoing surveillance of CCTV cameras. As the SHED adapts through its provision of large events, it seems as though the policing follows. What is consistent is the following of clean and safe logics and maintenance of the desired image of the SHED.

## **7. Conclusion**

This thesis analyzes modes of urban social control through conventional and non-conventional policing practices in Winnipeg’s Sports, Hospitality and Entertainment District with specific attention to the area immediately surrounding its National Hockey League arena, Canada Life Centre. This thesis explored the relationship between neoliberal mechanisms that drive business improvement districts and policing practices during NHL games in this space. This research addresses three primary objectives. First, this sought to outline how urban social control visually operates within the SHED. It addressed techniques employed in the SHED to police the area through analyzing conventional municipal policing and considering non-state security organizations such as a privately employed security, and Winnipeg’s Downtown Community Safety Partnership teams, as well as methods of crime prevention through environmental design. Second, this research analyzed modes of urban social control at the time of Winnipeg Jets NHL games. The research compares the visual differences in techniques of

social control employed at the time of Winnipeg Jets games versus daily tactics of social control, with particular attention to if there is an increase in police presence, and any difference in policing techniques used during games as opposed to non-event days. Lastly, this study conceptualized the SHED as a neoliberal enterprise with primary goals of maintaining a presentable environment that follows “clean and safe” logics to create an atmosphere welcoming to the consumer and eventgoer for the goal of capital profit.

The SHED, through its distinctive density, architecture, and variety of high-end dining, shopping, and entertainment options, is visually separable from its surroundings. This serves a dual purpose. First, the design of the SHED serves as an attraction for more affluent visitors through aesthetics that appeal to middle- to upper-classes, or those with increased cultural capitals. Second, the SHED works as a form of policing by visually differentiating itself from neighbouring areas that are more welcome to anti-social conduct that the SHED seeks to exclude. Symbolic markers through forms of urban branding, such as Winnipeg Jets Branding, unique streetlamp designs, and building aesthetics help in defining its boundaries. The SHED also implements various crime prevention through environmental design strategies, such as enhanced lighting, deterrents like “bum-proof” benches, and CCTV cameras and signage. With plans to quadruple CCTV cameras in Winnipeg’s downtown, the already heavily surveilled area will see increases in CCTV usage. The urban geography and surveillance strategies in the SHED is complimentary to more traditional forms of policing, where the SHED also sees many police and Cadet vehicles in its streets daily, and many officers around City Place and the Millennium Library.

Although it is often to see police and Cadet vehicles in the SHED on a given day, foot patrol presences are heightened on days where a Winnipeg Jets game is taking place. This signals a shift in social control strategies for the operation of large events. The increase in policing is particularly notable around Canada Life Centre, where various functions take place. Before games begin, the common forms of police and Cadet activity include traffic management, stationary standing at CLC entrances, and sitting in parked police vehicles near Canada Life Centre. This heightened visibility of policing aims not only to ensure public safety but also to act as a visible deterrent against disruptive behaviours. On some occasions, foot patrols were visible, with one instance before a game of Cadets dispersing a group of seemingly unhoused people, and detaining one individual, who were in bus shelters near the arena. During games, Cadets and

police stop directing traffic and keeping post at CLC entrances. A shift towards a more mobile function is evident during the less crowded times. Foot and vehicle patrols begin to be more common, where particularly the Cadets seem to seek and act on signs of disorder, often in the form of removing indigent folk from bus shelters. Policing functions after the game are reminiscent of their function before the game, with a slightly increased role in traffic direction. Policing strategies adapted for “Winnipeg Jets Whiteout Street Parties” through an intensified police presence and heightened surveillance. These large events also lead to a temporary privatization of urban spaces, a common occurrence in gentrified areas.

The policing strategies seen in the SHED, especially at the time of Winnipeg Jets games, reflect the neoliberal logics that underpin the operation of BIDs. Policing in this context plays a crucial role in maintaining a presentable environment, aligning with “clean and safe” logics to create an atmosphere welcoming to consumers and eventgoers, ultimately serving the end goal of capital profit. Various forms of policing, including both conventional and environmental approaches, work to regulate the conduct and behaviours of individuals within the SHED. This regulation defines what is considered acceptable or desirable within the SHED's boundaries. The overarching goal of the BID is to drive consumption for capital profit, which necessitates attracting and maintaining behaviours that align with BID ideologies while excluding those that do not. The SHED's amenities, including upscale bars and restaurants, cater to individuals with higher cultural capital who can appreciate and afford these luxuries. Drawing from Bourdieu, there is a display of the produced outcome of the judgements between those with cultural differences (Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020). Behaviours that fall outside the BID's vision are met with exclusionary mechanisms, through broken windows and quality-of-life policing ideologies, by encouraging individuals to “move along”. Policing in this context can be seen as a form of asset protection, ensuring the comfort of shoppers, sports fans, and restaurant-goers in the downtown area. This explains the significant police presence during peak times, such as Winnipeg Jets games, when the SHED is busy with activity. Urban centres with large sporting venues adopt urban branding strategies to cultivate and maintain sanitized, welcoming environments for middle- to upper-class visitors. The SHED, largely under True North Sports and Entertainment, operates as a neoliberal entity with the primary aim of creating a space conducive to consumer engagement, enhancing economic capital.

This thesis explored the relationship between neoliberal mechanisms that drive business improvement districts and policing practices during NHL games in this space. Through a provision of the local context of this research, a rapid redevelopment in downtown Winnipeg's entertainment district since the return of the Winnipeg Jets is evident, with much of the redevelopment being fueled by True North Sports and Entertainment and their real estate division. Additionally, a partnership between the Winnipeg Jets' owners in True North Sports and Entertainment and the Winnipeg Police Service, among other stakeholders, shows TNSE's stake in policing in Winnipeg. Evident through various Winnipeg Police Service reports is also an intentional increase in foot patrol policing in the SHED and special attention towards special events in this area.

The conceptual foundation of this research works to show a relationship between the creation of identities in space and the affluent user who this space is tended towards. A contextual foundation of neoliberalism and gentrification is first provided to give insight into each of the following concepts, as well as help guide the research towards a consideration of economic and consumptive behaviour in the SHED and the social effects that result. A Bourdieusian analysis is used to assist in outlining differences in classes and what might set socioeconomic classes apart. Further, it helps to decipher the relationships between different classes in the context of policing in the SHED. This analysis helps to contextualize how the SHED, through large-scale sporting events, higher-end hospitality, and higher-end shopping opportunities, is built and protected in a way to tend to those with increased sophistication regarding economic, cultural, and social capital. "Space and place", with an emphasis on "urban branding" assists in analyzing the physical geography of the SHED and the functions within this area. Urban branding as a concept helps this research in defining the aesthetics of the SHED and what this area seeks to achieve through its design. It assists in defining how this area employs its own unique brand that is separable from other geographically surrounding areas. The two primary concepts work together as urban branding shows how the SHED differentiates itself and who it desires to attract, while a Bourdieusian analysis helps to differentiate classes and assists in determining who the SHED appeals to.

Neoliberalism and gentrification are further relevant in the discussion of business improvement districts. This discussion also gives insight into the common use of urban branding techniques in downtown urban centres. Through this discussion, we see the importance of "clean

and safe” initiatives to BIDs and how they follow broken windows theory and neoliberal logics. The primary function of BIDs is to promote consumption and seek to maintain clean and safe images, hence, particular attention to the physical space of the SHED is of importance to this research. The sporting and criminology literature emphasizes venue development, government subsidies, profitability, and how venue development and large events can lead to gentrification and privatization of urban spaces, and how these developments can assist in displacing and continuing the marginalization of certain populations. Developments of venues and the hosting of large events evidently follows similar logics found within BIDs, largely clean and safe initiatives to sanitize areas to become welcoming to sporting event attendees. It is evident how urban sporting venues can be fit within BIDs, and how their policing is similar to the policing commonly found within BIDs. Through a Bourdieusian analysis, regarding professional sporting spectators, it is evident that attendees of professional sporting events tend to possess increased economic, social, and cultural capitals. It is argued that therefore urban centres with large sporting venues might follow urban branding strategies to develop and maintain sanitized areas that are welcoming to middle- to upper-class sporting event attendees and consumers, as is evident in the SHED.

To analyze the relationships between neoliberal structuring, the SHED, policing, and NHL games at Canada Life Centre, this research used a case study approach consisting of observation and a visual semiotic analysis. Observation in this study allowed for a ground level analysis of everyday- and event-policing in the SHED, and for photographs to be taken of the general environment and police activity. A visual semiotic analysis assisted in analyzing included photographs through helping to decipher meaning behind said images through the conceptual lenses employed in this study. Through this study, the findings suggest that there is an increase in police and security presences in the times leading up to, during, and after NHL games in the area surrounding Winnipeg’s Canada Life Centre as opposed to non-event days. Through the environment itself and the adaptive policing functions at the time of games, I argue that these policing presences contribute to a securitization of capital in the Sports, Hospitality, and Entertainment district to assist in upholding “clean and safe” logics that typically underpin the operation of business improvement districts, ultimately to encourage and maintain an environment that is welcoming to consumption by the middle- to upper-class.

This research is a case study of the SHED, the Winnipeg Jets, and policing in downtown Winnipeg. As this is a case study, it provides value through adding to a broader network of research and contributes to a naturalistic generalization (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Ruddin, 2006). This research adds to the existing literature on business improvement districts, urban branding, and event policing in a Canadian context. Much of the literature in policing at sporting events pertains to “mega-events”, such as the Olympics. This research contributes to policing in the context of regular sporting events in urban districts. Further, as this type of research has not been conducted in the Winnipeg context, a local research value is relevant. Conducting similar observational research in other locational contexts with the similar conditions of possessing urban entertainment districts and downtown arenas to determine the similarities to the Winnipeg context would be a beneficial academic pursuit.

Methodologically, this thesis benefits from an onsite observation which allowed for a ground-level look into the functions of and within the SHED. Observation was key in this research for descriptions of the physical setting and urban brand, as well as conduct from authority figures with attention to their visual roles before, during, and events. It also allowed for photographs of the environment and activities within. A visual semiotic analysis of the photographs benefited the research by assisting in the analysis of the images to interpret their depth in relation to the conceptual lenses at hand. Although these methods were useful to this study, several limitations are evident as observation was relied on solely throughout this research as the main form of data collection. The question of subjectivity arises, despite my intent to be objective and truthful in my observations. Personal expectations and interpretations can lead to biased results (Angrosino, 2007). For example, different observers might interpret observations differently, leading to inconsistencies. Whereas interviewing will benefit from the ability to feature direct quotes from subjects involved, observational findings can suffer through their “confirmability” (Angrosino, 2007). The inclusion of photographs in this thesis works to assist in supporting the descriptions provided.

Observations, particularly in the “complete-observer” role, also become limiting through only being able to record what is visual with no way of knowing what one is thinking and their internal mechanisms that lead to their behaviours and actions. This leads to a limited context. What is seen is important, however, sole reliance on observations lacks insight into internal functions of the police, TNSE, and other stakeholders in the area. Reliability, the degree to which

an observation is consistent with a general pattern, and validity, whether an observation actually demonstrates what it appears to demonstrate, are important to carefully consider for observational research (Angrosino, 2007). The intention of the 10 observation sessions was to conclude consistencies, however, some aspects (such as certain police and Cadet interactions) were only observed once, making empirical conclusions difficult. For these reasons, future research of this topic would benefit from a use of a variety of other methodological approaches. For example, an inclusion of official documentation collected through freedom of information requests might assist in further analyzing the relationship between the WPS, TNSE, and other stakeholders. Interviews with various stakeholders in downtown would also be beneficial to gain internal insights, such as interviews with members of the WPS, TNSE, and DCSP.

The Downtown Community Safety Partnership (DCSP) and their functions are important to this research as it shows a direct link between True North Sports and Entertainment and social control in Downtown Winnipeg. However, the DCSP were not often observed throughout this research, other than seeing their vehicles on occasion. This was an aspect that I had overestimated prior to my observation sessions as I had assumed I would see DCSP Ambassadors and their functions more frequently. Though ambassadors are a common topic throughout business improvement district literature, and Walby and King (2022) provide a discussion and analysis of the DCSP, the DCSP remains largely unstudied, particularly in an on-site setting. A similar observational research methodology of the DCSP would be beneficial for the context of policing in Winnipeg and through adding to literature on ambassadors, particularly as they are a newer organization.

Based on the analysis in this thesis, several implications and recommendations can be made. The increase of CCTV surveillance perpetuates the social control in downtown and raises concerns of privacy, effectiveness in reducing crime, and economic allocation. An independent evaluation of the effectiveness of CCTV programs in reducing crime and increasing safety in the SHED, and Downtown Winnipeg more generally, would be beneficial especially in the context of CCTV cameras increasing four-fold. The stated purpose of CCTV cameras in Winnipeg is to obtain evidence for investigations in high crime areas, only being accessed to solve ongoing investigations (Winnipeg Police Service, 2022b). The cameras may act as deterrents to an extent; however, they are not a proactive solution to reducing crime but rather are a reaction to

investigating already committed crimes. Funds may be better suited towards initiatives that help reduce poverty.

As policing in the SHED appears to be reactive and often targeting indigent individuals in the area, a continued addressing of homelessness and poverty is necessary, including a provision of more affordable housing options and support services. Much of the behaviours that are targeted through urban social control strategies are associated with poverty. Policing attention towards individuals in these contexts becomes cyclical and does not alleviate the causes of anti-social behaviours. For example, after I witnessed five Cadets disperse about ten people from two bus shelters, the people returned to the shelters about ten minutes later. The development of more affordable housing in the area is required to decrease the homeless populations in Downtown Winnipeg. With the planned redevelopment of Portage Place, some affordable housing is promised. The redevelopment will see the construction of a residential tower that will contain 200 multi-family units with 40% (or 80 units) of those being “affordable and accessible” (Kitching, 2024). The Southern Chiefs’ Organization is also planning to include affordable housing at Wehwehneh Bahgahkinahgoon (the former Hudson’s Bay Company building) (Kitching, 2024). These initiatives, though only in proximity of and not directly within the SHED, are good starts to reducing and preventing homelessness, but insurance of continued provision of affordable housing is required. Additionally, more inclusive spaces should be prioritized in the SHED to assist in creating a sense of belonging and reduce the need for exclusionary policing practices.

Policies need to be reinforced to strengthen social services and mental health resources in this area of Downtown Winnipeg. Increases in addiction treatment programs and the provision of a more centralized supervised injection facility would benefit the health and safety for all who use the SHED. Though the provincial government promised that Winnipeg will receive a supervised injection facility, a location has yet to be chosen but will likely be in the area of north Main Street (MacLean, 2024). Though the proposed location for a supervised injection facility is understandable, the SHED or somewhere more central to downtown would benefit from an additional supervised injection facility. Downtown Winnipeg covers a large surface area and provisions of harm reduction resources need to be accessible to all. A greater reliance on crisis intervention teams in Downtown Winnipeg is also suggested rather than a reliance on police and Cadets. Though the involvement of TNSE with the DCSP raises concerns, ambassador programs

have historically responded to calls for service in less violent manners (Walby & King, 2022). As a function of the DCSP is community outreach and they seek to link indigent folk with partnering housing, addictions, and mental health support agencies, an increase in funding and jobs, and a greater reliance on the DCSP would be beneficial. Throughout my observations, the DCSP were seen seldomly and were never seen in interactions with homeless individuals in the area. Though the corporate involvement with the DCSP is not ideal, DCSP or other community outreach interaction with Winnipeg's most vulnerable is encouraged over reliance on police and Cadets to disperse these populations. These suggestions would contribute to a long-term focus on addressing the diverse needs of all those in the downtown community, leading to an increase in the health and safety of Winnipeg.

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