

Structural Design and Social Impacts in Winnipeg
Central Park Neighbourhood

Student Paper 24

Colin Wolfe

Institute of Urban Studies

2007

PUBLICATION DATA

Wolfe, Colin
Structural Design and Social Impacts in Winnipeg Central Park Neighbourhood

Student Paper 24

ISBN: 978-1-894858-20-5

I. The University of Winnipeg. Institute of Urban Studies. II. Title. III. Series: Student Paper (The University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies); 24.

This publication was funded by the Institute of Urban Studies but the views expressed are the personal views of the author. The Institute accepts no responsibility for them.

Published by:

Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
Suite 103-520 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3C OG2

©2007
Institute of Urban Studies

Abstract

This study analyzes the relationship between structural design and social behavior within an urban public space, using Winnipeg Central Park as a case study. The findings suggest that the structural dimensions leading to geographical isolation, paired with a lack of upkeep of the area have a significant effect upon social behavior. Case studies of a decaying historical monument, a 1985 park addition and a large commercial development further illustrate the point that structural design heavily influences social behavior.

Introduction

The urban public park has always conjured disparate views and connotations. Spaces like Central Park in New York City have been described as both catalysts of strong communities and as taxpayer maintained breeding grounds of drug and gang related crime. With the resurgent popularity of downtown renewal and revitalization discourse, the contributions of parks as public spaces are brought into even sharper focus. Response to the various issues of urban public space seem to further complicate an already fragmented effort; from the always temporary broken-windows policing style crackdowns on panhandling and drugs, to large scale structural renovation proposals, to outright neglect. Options, whether promising or frightening, are abundant, yet cohesion is elusive due to the constantly evolving nature of the urban context. Suburban flight, post-industrial economic trends, and auto-dependency have also shifted the role of the downtown park, as well as the demographic that this kind of space now serves, inviting an analysis of the new roles of the people and the space itself. Ultimately, the fate of the urban public space is indicative of the direction that a downtown is going. Consequently, a closer inspection of the state of urban parks can be a very telling barometer of things to come.

This research examines the urban public space that is Central Park in downtown Winnipeg, in an attempt to discover the relationship between social problems and the physical design of the park (see map 1.1, p. 13). The findings of this study argue that structural design can, in some cases, actually contribute to social ills such as isolation, attractiveness to crime and negative public perceptions¹. These various aspects are very much related to structural factors such as upkeep of buildings and monuments, the degree of connectivity to the surrounding community as well as the relationships with surrounding businesses and institutions. The research is divided into three main sections with references and discussions concerning the social, political, economic and racial issues that spawned current situations. The first section will provide a brief history of Central Park, with an overview of its evolution and how it came to serve the role it currently does in the heart of downtown Winnipeg. The second section, divided into three parts, comprises the main focus of the report, with the first part analyzing the structural design of Central Park with regard to the layout, notable architecture and buildings. The second part of section two focuses on one of the major features of the park, the Waddell fountain, as representative of the deterioration of the structural design and how it also reflects social conditions of the neighbourhood. Finally, the third part of section two consists of an interview with one of the landscape architects, David Wagner, who designed the park. The interview component provides a stark contrast by comparing the original intentions of the design of the Park and its current usages. The third and last section discusses social dimensions of Central Park with an exposition overview of the problems and assets of the area, taking into account current community development ideologies and approaches. The unique social composition of residents living in the Central Park area will be mentioned in the third section, serving as a positive example of an asset-based approach to the realities of ethnic concentration in Central Park.

1.1 History

1893 marked a watershed year for an economically booming Winnipeg, as city council and many members of the business and educated elite called for a body to provide and regulate parks in Winnipeg, as part of a

beautification campaign. On February 1st, 1893 the Winnipeg Parks Board held its first meeting, during which it would establish a plan for “small parks, ornamental squares, or breathing places throughout the city...”² as well as a large outside park in the suburbs. This approach, favoring small urban parks, was unconventional at the time as most Canadian major cities opted for grand scale projects, similar to what would later become Assiniboine Park.

The impetus as to why the design and location of Central Park came into favor was beyond a simple aesthetic preference, it was also perceived as a form of social engineering. By the late 19th century Winnipeg’s urban neighbourhoods were already sharply divided along class lines³. Industrial capitalism in Winnipeg reached a threshold point culminating in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. These conditions and increasingly disparate social hierarchies seemed to be a focus of the Winnipeg Parks Board. Their solution was to conceive of urban public parks as a means to ease social segregation: “Public Parks would provide these areas with space for recreation to soothe the social tensions (then) building up between the increasingly working class North End of Winnipeg and the more affluent South End.”⁴ With this benevolent yet lofty role bestowed upon it, the land for Central Park was purchased rather expensively from the Hudson’s Bay reserves and Central Park began to take shape in 1893. The urban parks movement proved popular at the time and Central Park became a popular and very busy place⁵. Yet some newspaper editorials expressed concerns as to the rapid and often expedient development of the city, thereby eliminating the prospects of future projects based on the Central Park model. An 1878 article in particular raises this issue in relation to the lack of proportionate allotment of public space, condemning the hasty commercial developments as a push that would “be regarded as a burden...by the citizens of another century.”⁶ History therefore raises some of the issues to be explored, and sets the stage for others.

2.1 Structural Aspects: Park Layout and Surrounding Buildings

Beginning with the structural aspect, we will explore the physical attributes and determine how Central Park integrates within the whole of downtown Winnipeg. The park is rectangular, ‘boxed in’ by older buildings, with only the south side having been recently developed (as will be discussed in section 2.3). The main pedestrian thoroughfare is an asphalt path bisecting the park from diagonal corners, with smaller tributaries serving as offshoots from the main path to cover the park. This path design was preceded by the 1905 cinder walkway around the perimeter of the park (which led to a bandstand at the southern end, which no longer exists), and later the 1914 “X” walkway design of two intersecting paths⁷. The current configuration provides large open grassy areas to facilitate recreational sport, although no markings, goalposts, etc. are provided.

The buildings enclosing the park are of a distinct character and design rarely seen anywhere else in the city. This distinguished architecture and design creates a space which emanates a very distinct sense of place. The latter is accentuated by the presence of Knox United Church, a Victorian style building made to accommodate 800 people when it was rebuilt in 1917 (see figure 1.3, p. 15). The majestic design and religious congregational function are not all the church has to offer, as it is also a base for several community based economic development initiatives and job preparation workshops. Two different refugee and

immigrant support organizations are located within the square, the Manitoba Interfaith Council building located along Carlton Street on the eastern side, and the more modern International Center on Edmonton Street on the opposite side. In addition to the immigrant demographic, a senior home, several daycares and a modern playground in and around the area yield a diverse age demographic, typical of the incredible variation that characterizes the Central Park neighbourhood. A convenience store within the square, along with a nearby sushi restaurant (reportedly Winnipeg's first) and a MLCC at the edge of Central Park, define the area as mixed-use, an atypical designation unique to Central Park⁸. High rise apartments are located on all sides of the square, resulting in the Central Park area having one of the highest population densities in the city, at 13,755 people per square kilometer⁹. These apartments are markedly low-income housing, some being provided for refugee status individuals on government assistance, but most serving as an affordable option for newer immigrants and lower income family units. These various aspects, diverse demographics, commercial and residential intermixing and very high population density are what effectively shape the Central Park and its surrounding neighbourhood. The structural design of Central Park, in effect, shares a symbiotic relationship to the social, as will be expounded upon in section three.

2.2 Structural Aspects: The Case of Waddell Fountain

In order to illustrate the social and structural design interrelationship, we will focus on one important physical element of Central Park, the Waddell Fountain, located at the northern end of the park. This fountain represents a deteriorated landmark, its decayed state symbolic of social realities of the area. The fountain was constructed in the Gothic revivalist style (to complement Knox United Church) in 1914, with funding coming from a private donation¹⁰. Since its construction, the fountain was virtually untouched by maintenance of any kind, as the attention of the Parks and Recreation board was diverted to major projects in the emerging suburbs. Lack of upkeep and the effects of weather related erosion contributed to the rapid deterioration of the sandstone fountain, leaving the historical structure in a state of disrepair.

City councilor Harvey Smith, a longtime advocate of renovating the decaying fountain, believes that an effort to restore the structure would represent “a great symbol of renewal in the district” as expressed in a strongly worded 2005 statement, reiterating a chorus of concern that has grown since the mid eighties¹¹. The need for a renovation is unanimously agreed upon (city hall minutes, Manitoba Historical Society, most newspaper articles), but the price attached to it attracts understandable criticism. The fountain does not flow with water, several spires and buttresses have been damaged, and the original sandstone requires a limestone reworking; the compounded costs to remedy the current situation come to \$566, 000¹². Adrienna Batra, Director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation (CTF), reacted to the Waddell proposal with this quote in a Winnipeg Sun article in 2006: “Everyone wants pretty cities, but how about safe streets first?”¹³ The Waddell fountain and the contention that such a large expenditure would be better spent elsewhere continues to be discussed at City Hall, but seems to receive the same treatment and consideration as the shelved rapid transit initiative.

The perennial roads-first and pothole patchwork argument represents the crux of the ideology of the CTF, City Hall, and presumably much of the suburban car-dependent demographic. As money continues

to flow towards road infrastructure, pedestrian urban infrastructure seems to be ignored, as talks have shifted from a grand scale renovation to a city proposal to surround the fountain with a chain link fence¹⁴. This sort of institutional neglect serves to exacerbate the already decaying fountain and by funding a metal barrier, it is sending the following message “Attention: this place is derelict, condemned and forgotten.” Such a solution ends up creating an eyesore out of an asset. There is a strong relationship between the structural integrity and aesthetic presentation of an area and its attractiveness to elements of crime and social vice. The already negative perception of central park as a dangerous and crime-ridden place would be further propagated by a crude chain link fence around a rare and unique historical structure¹⁵. This trend invariably leads to less foot and through traffic, and in turn less ‘eyes on the street’ and therefore creates an isolated space that serves as a base of operation for criminal activity and potential violence.

The renovation bill itself is quite high, and concerns regarding the \$566,000 expenditures are valid. However, a smaller scale renovation paired with a more holistic approach to revamping the park in its entirety (improvements to the small basketball court, updating the largely unused horseshoe pit, etc.) would serve as the most effective solution. The core issue here is that some form of reconstructive attention must be concentrated on Waddell fountain for two main reasons: 1) Winnipeg’s constant need for infrastructure funding must apply to public space infrastructure within the poorer inner city as well as serving the strident and affluent groups demanding road infrastructure, and 2) Structural neglect is closely tied to trends in public perception. If Waddell fountain is allowed to further deteriorate and be surrounded by a chain link fence, this course of action will serve to further entrench negative perceptions, which in turn can affect social realities as less people are attracted to the area for recreation purposes (see figure 1.4, p. 15).

2.3 Structural Aspects: 1985 Ellice Extension: Interview with Landscape Architect David Wagner (www.dwla.ca)

Aside from the Waddell fountain, Central Park structural design was directly influenced by other factors in the surrounding area, such as commercial developments, political agendas and zoning. In order to illustrate this aspect, we will focus on the latest large-scale project undertaken in the park. In 1985, city hall via the CORE initiative introduced an extension of Central park that closed off a section of Qu’Appelle Street and expanded the park from its former boundary (Qu’Appelle) northward to Ellice Street. David Wagner’s company, David Wagner Associates Inc. designed the extension¹⁶ (see figures 1.1 and 1.2, p.14; figures 1.5 and 1.6, p. 16).

Colin Wolfe: *What specifically was your company’s involvement in Central Park?*

David Wagner: My company worked in conjunction with the CORE initiative’s directive to expand Central Park in 1985. I was responsible for the design of the extension from Qu’Appelle to north Ellice. The project was part of a three part CORE project entitled the “North of Ellice Neighbourhood Report”, all this was essentially part of then mayor Bill Norrie’s vision to link Central Park across Portage Avenue to the Manitoba Legislative Building grounds. This whole thing was to be passive in nature, that’s why no field markings or large scale sports grounds, skateboarding facilities etc. were included in the Ellice extension, as people were intended to pass through, not stay there.

CW: *By “passive” do you mean the Central Park-Legislature Park was to serve a pedestrian corridor/thoroughfare function?*

DW: Exactly. In some respects what was actually implemented kind of subverted what Norrie's plan specified. A story you should know is that when Qu'Appelle Street was closed in the park area to facilitate the extension, fire regulations required that it still be paved over. We used that opportunity to include the basketball nets and the horseshoe area on the pavement that was required to be there, even though Norrie wanted this project to be completely passive.

CW: *What was your reasoning behind implementing the basketball and horseshoe areas?*

DW: There has to be some kind of an activity to draw people around an area. The benches included in the addition were also a part of that, and we had the paved space already so we went ahead with it. The area was changing at that time, with many new immigrants situated in the area and beginning to make up a big part of the area demographic. So the Ellice extension, complete with lots of benches, basketball area and the raised flower planters was there to cater to the new demographic in a kind of more welcoming manner. "Opportunities and Constraints" is the operative thinking here. I tried to work in some amenities while still appealing the idea of the park being passive.

CW: *What other factors did you have in mind when designing the extension?*

DW: The structural setup for the extension was working with the "Disney approach" regarding "desire lines", which are pathways that appeal to the human natural inclination to get from point A to B. The winding path and spatial relationships of the walls were done with this in mind. The walkway through the extension into the older area of the park is supposed to be a non-grid approach that responds to natural lines of motion. The Gateway type red steel structure situated right on Ellice is supposed to signal the start of central park, the new fountain was to contrast the older Victorian style Waddell fountain at the opposite end of the park. Things like the new fountain and the some of the walls had very deliberately placed voids within them. This was to facilitate an openness of the park from Ellice, but mainly to aid the police in their sightlines to help monitor the park, the "eyes on the street" idea.

CW: *Getting back to the idea of the Central Park-Legislature extension, as it obviously did not come to fruition, what exactly terminated the plan?*

DW: Basically the development of the north side of Portage is what effectively squashed the remaining phases of the project.

CW: *Portage Place for instance?*

DW: Yes, the development of that area is what cut off the park and ended the grand-scale extension that was Norrie's big concept. If it went according to plan, the last stage would've involved a more recreational focus, shifting away from the initial pedestrian corridor idea, apparently to include a hockey rink and full scale sporting courts, but this was all long term speculation. During my work on the park, the new boundary was officially Ellice, but from an architect's perspective, you are always looking beyond political boundaries and my design would've easily accommodated the extension to the legislature.

* * * *

The development of Portage Place isolated Central Park from Portage Avenue as well as abruptly ending what could have been a grand scale urban park centered on pedestrian culture. In retrospect, the 1878 newspaper article, mentioned in section one, condemning the hasty commercial developments over public green space proves to be prophetic. While the construction of Portage Place undoubtedly proved to be

initially a lucrative opportunity, the ramifications of isolating Central Park did not seem important enough for city hall to take seriously at the time. Wagner's efforts to foster an openness that encourages through traffic and allows for more "eyes on the street" through its very design have been undermined, as the gateway to the Ellice addition faces the literal backside of the mall, hardly an effect of "openness." It is unfortunate that the unique renaissance revivalist aspects of the park, both in architectural styles and in the concept of opening up vistas are in essence defeated by a mall that could just as easily have occupied a different lot, leaving the historic park to be an open and active part of downtown.

The amenities that David Wagner Associates Inc. did manage to establish serve their purpose well. Wagner's foresight serves the area effectively. While the isolation and negative social perception of the park deter the "passive" aspect of through traffic, the benches and small basketball court are commonly used by residents in the area¹⁷. Here, Wagner's credo of "opportunities and constraints" applies even more so to the contemporary isolation of the area. Keeping in mind the idea of opportunities and constraints, the next section explores the social aspects of Central Park.

3.1 Social Aspects: Safety

As discussed in the previous sections, the structural design and the social perception and usages of a place are often inextricably linked. The effects of an isolated inner city square combined with overwhelmingly low-income housing manifests itself in several ways. For example, at a recent meeting of the Spence Redevelopment Project group, held at the Knox United Church, residents voiced their concerns that revitalization of the Spence and Furby areas between Ellice and Portage were not being felt in the Central Park area¹⁸. Furthermore, aggressive panhandling was recognized as the most prominent safety concern, according to several studies conducted by the Hecht Committee¹⁹ and later the aforementioned Spence Redevelopment Project. Although City Hall has introduced what some would call an equally aggressive anti-panhandling policy²⁰, the root causes boil down to large levels of poverty and unemployment concentrated in the area.

The Ellice liquor store located just outside Central Park constitutes what survey respondents regarded as a significant contributor to safety problems- a "symptomatic" factor that is fueled by the underlying socio-economic conditions²¹. Response to safety issues like public drunkenness and panhandling have been met by 'hiring out' safety in the form of security guards. Most apartment buildings have hired several, with some actually patrolling the area, while the MLCC in response to public concerns have posted security personnel as well. While this appears to have worked, according to Winnipeg Free Press writer Don Marks, the root causes again go unaddressed²².

Several agencies serving as economic development and job training centers are situated in the area, two of which are located on Edmonton Street directly in the Central Park square, demonstrating an institutional base has already been established. Bearing this in mind, perhaps a change in approach would serve the neighbourhood well, concentrating on the assets that a community has to offer and the capacity building strength of projects like a skills bank. What makes the Central Park area so difficult in this respect is the transient nature of its people, as many refugees and asylum seekers relocate once their year long government funding expires. Yet even with the considerable challenges presented by the mobility of the Central Park population, there are always alternatives.

3.2 Social Aspects: Ethnic Dimensions

As integration issues and cultural hurdles seem to provide the breadth of information concerning urban-ethnic discourse, this brief section aims to elucidate the contributions and potential of an immigrant neighbourhood. In this regard, Kretzmann and McKnight suggest more emphasis should be allotted to the unique capacities that immigrant populations can contribute²³. Fifty to sixty per cent of the total population of the Central Park area are of African origin. The community has collaborated with Welcome Place²⁴ to host an African market every Saturday in the park (during summer) that sells authentic handicrafts and clothing²⁵. Such activities by the ethnic residents of the area can even be applied to creatively market an area such as Central Park as exotic, appealing to increased modern cultural tastes and providing cultural experiences to a niche market seeking “authentic” dining and shopping²⁶. Certainly, the ascendant contemporary interest in a wider variety of food (Thai, Sushi restaurants) and cultural practice (Yoga) prove that there is a market for ethnic centered goods and services. A district in Rotterdam has expanded this approach into a ‘City Safari’ where visitors to the area are taken on tours of the ethnic offerings of the area (covered on foot) such as taste testing at restaurants and visiting local mosques and temples²⁷. Perhaps this seems too ambitious for Central Park, but considering the African market, the multi-faith services offered at Knox United Church and the fact that several Ethiopian restaurants have been successful in the city, a blueprint of hope emerges for the area. Many options are stacked against various ethnic groups, but it is worth stating that many have survived through conditions far worse than Central Park using a resourcefulness and spirit that could be readily applied to the Winnipeg context.

Conclusions

What began as a neutral ground established to relieve class tensions in 1893 has proven to be a veritable battleground of social problems in 2006. The structural layout and lack of investment into Central Park have significantly contributed to this, although potential for a better reality still exists. To its credit, the park boasts a mixed-use, diverse age demographic, high density area that Jane Jacobs so adored. These are all factors that encourage a vibrant neighbourhood. The park also has a unique aesthetic quality due to its layout and rich heritage, which constitutes another attractive quality. Yet, the end sum of these positive factors is not a successful urban park, but a public space dogged by negative social perceptions and isolation. Past efforts to combat this isolation were undermined by years of neglect toward the area and its assets such as Waddell Fountain, and less than visionary development along Portage that served to seal in what could have been an open thoroughfare. As demonstrated, the structural aspects are closely tied to the social.

David Wagner’s comment on “opportunities and constraints” presents a particularly poignant lesson: although the constraints of social problems and errors in design are a heavy burden, one must look to the opportunities and capabilities of an area. The supportive base of vibrant cultural networks and job training paired with more initiatives like the African market could tap into a new image for the area. For all its faults, Central Park has the potential character, ability and aesthetics within the existing structures and social frameworks to begin concentrating on the opportunities instead of the constraints and in time, perhaps, societal and government attitudes will follow suit.

Notes

- ¹ In this study, the term 'structural' refers to the physical design of a space, encompassing all aspects: buildings, walkways, courts, street design, etc. The use of the term throughout is essentially for the purposes of comparing the effects of the physical structures and layout on the behaviors and attitudes of people living in the area, as well as considering the perceptions of those who do not.
- ² Catherine Macdonald, *A City at Leisure: An Illustrated History of Parks and Recreation Services in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg Parks and Recreation Department, 1995): 9.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p.8
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p.8
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p.26
- ⁶ Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975): 269.
- ⁷ Catherine Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 26.
- ⁸ Based on personal observation and comparison to other Winnipeg downtown parks (ie. Victoria, Memorial etc). While other parks like Assiniboine Park are close to commercial development, there is a definite feeling of leaving the park to reach the services, whereas the Mass Convenience store in Central Park is directly on Carlton street within the square, lending a feeling of inclusion within the park.
- ⁹ www.cbc.ca/manitoba/features/urbanmyths/centralpark.html
- ¹⁰ This donation was specified in the will of Emily Waddell, who bound her husband to donate \$10, 000 if he remarried. Waddell Fountain could be seen as an edifice of punishment for a the remarried Thomas Waddell as is the running joke between architects, according to David Wagner in an interview presented in the next section.
- ¹¹ Patti Edgar, "Fixing up fountain a \$500, 000 touch" *Winnipeg Free Press* July 5, 2005. p. B2
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. B2.
- ¹³ Ross Romaniuk, "City Considers Fountain Fixup" *Winnipeg Sun*, March 8, 2006. p. 8
- ¹⁴ Patti Edgar, *op. cit.*, B2.
- ¹⁵ "Final Report: A Review of Safety in the North Portage-Central Park Neighbourhood and Downtown Winnipeg." *The Provincial/City Safety Review Team*. Jan 27 1993. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Urban Affairs, 1993):7.
- ¹⁶ The telephone interview with David Wagner was conducted on November 13, 2006. Due to the impossibility of recording the telephone conversation, some responses here are paraphrased. The interviewee invites any verification and offered to be reached via email at dwagner@dwla.ca
- ¹⁷ Based on weekly observation through personal volunteer involvement at Welcome Place, which is situated adjacent to the Ellice Expansion.
- ¹⁸ Spence Redevelopment Project 2005 Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies: 13
- ¹⁹ *The Provincial/City Safety Review Team., op. cit.*, p.7.
- ²⁰ City Hall Press Release, June 29, 2006. http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr_2006/nr_20060629.stm
- ²¹ The Provincial/City Safety Review Team. *Op.cit.*, p.8.
- ²² Don Marks, "Living the Headlines: Trust me, the police are doing a vital job in taking out the trash" *Winnipeg Free Press* September 25, 2006. p. A3.
- ²³ John L. Kretzmann and John McKnight, "Building Communities from the Inside Out: A path toward mobilizing a community's assets" *Canadian Housing*, vol.15: 1998: Book Review
- ²⁴ A refugee support organization run and regulated by the Manitoba Interfaith Council
- ²⁵ www.cbc.ca/manitoba/features/urbanmyths/centralpark.html
- ²⁶ Stephen Shaw, Susan Bagwell and Joanna Karmowska, "Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimagining Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption" *Urban Studies*, Sept. 2004, vol. 4,1 no.10: 1985.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1985

References

- Artibise, Alan F.J. 1975. *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 2006. Urban Myths Winnipeg Feature, Central Park. www.cbc.ca/manitoba/features/urbanmyths/centralpark.html
- City Hall. 2006. Press Release, June 29, 2006. http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr_2006/nr_20060629.stm
- Edgar, Patti. 2005. Fixing up fountain a \$500,000 touch. *Winnipeg Free Press* 5 July 2005, City ed.: B2.
- Macdonald, Catherine. 1995. *A City at Leisure: An Illustrated History of Parks and Recreation Services in Winnipeg 1893-1993*. Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg Parks and Recreation Department.
- Marks, Don. 2006. Living the headlines: Trust me, the police are doing a vital job in taking out the trash. *Winnipeg Free Press* September 25, 2006, online edition. <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/westview/v-printerfriendly/story/369909098p4276-152c.htm>
- Mcknight, John L. and John Kretzmann. 1998. Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets (excerpt from book of the same title) *Canadian Housing* vol.15.
- Provincial/City Safety Review Team. 1993. *Final Report: A Review of Safety in the North Portage-Central Park Neighbourhood and Downtown Winnipeg*. Manitoba Urban Affairs/City of Winnipeg, January 27, 1993.
- Romaniuk, Ross. 2006. City considers fountain fixup. *Winnipeg Sun* March 8, 2006, city ed. p.8.
- Shaw, Stephen, Susan Bagwell and Joanna Karmowska. 2004. Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimagining Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption *Urban Studies* 41 (19): 1983-2000.
- Spence Redevelopment Project. 2005. University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies. Winnipeg. Online Publication: http://ius.uwinnipeg.ca/publications_new_releases.html.

Map 1.1 Central Park in downtown Winnipeg



Fig. 1.1 High density public housing project situated at the northern edge of the park.



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)

Fig 1.2 Entrance to the park via the Ellice street extension designed by David Wagner Associates, located at the southern edge of the park.



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)

Fig 1.3 Knox Church in the southwest corner featuring gothic revivalist architecture.



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)

Fig. 1.4 Waddell Fountain, situated at the northern edge of the park. Note missing spires, lack of flowing water and decaying base.



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)

Fig 1.5 New fountain within the Ellice extension of the park, with gaps in the architecture to promote 'eyes on the street' supervision by the police and surrounding community.



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)

Fig 1.6 View from Qu'appelle street looking on to the Ellice extension towards Portage Place mall, demonstrating the effect of closing off Central Park from the intensity of Portage Avenue (located on the other side of the mall).



Photographer: Colin Wolfe (2006)