

Transforming Downtown St. Catharines into a Creative Cluster

by

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Abstract

The City of St. Catharines, located on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, is Niagara Region's only major urban node. Like many small/medium-sized cities in Canada and abroad, the city experienced a rapid decline of large-scale manufacturing in the 1990s. In a renewed attempt to recover from this economic depression, and spurred by Provincial policy, the City implemented the *Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan* (DCCMP) in 2008. In this thesis I conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP. My analysis indicates that DCCMP is shaped by neoliberal economic development paradigms. As such it is designed to restructure the downtown into a creative cluster by attracting developers/investors and appealing to the interests, tastes, and desires of middle-class consumers and creatives. I illustrate that this competitive city approach to urban planning has a questionable track record, and has been shown to result in retail and residential gentrification and displacement.

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Chapter 1 – Introductions and Chapter Outlines

1.0 – Introductions

For many who travel between Toronto and Niagara Falls, the City of St. Catharines is just an unassuming set of ramps on to, and off of, the Queen Elizabeth Highway. Unbeknownst to these travelers, and perhaps some residents, the City of St. Catharines, is preparing to undergo a transformation. This transformation began with the implementation of the St. Catharines *Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan* (DCCMP). The DCCMP is an urban revitalization strategy designed to transform downtown St. Catharines into a signature wine and arts-based cultural tourism destination that offers visitors and residents a chic urban experience including trendy cafes, boutique retail shopping, art, and cultural facilities. In addition, this transformation will provide exciting employment opportunities in a new, knowledge-based economy. In summary, the DCCMP is to bring an end to the city's life of anonymity, attract new residents, visitors, and investment, and transform the downtown into a creative cluster.

Urban revitalization and economic development discourses, developed in the context of globalizing neoliberal discourse, underpin this transformation. The hegemony of neoliberalism has, as Keil (2009) argues, left little room for other alternatives. Despite this, little is known about how neoliberal discourses frame contemporary economic development and urban revitalization in small and medium-sized Canadian cities. This thesis therefore contributes to geographic scholarship by exploring how neoliberal discourses have led local officials in a medium-sized Canadian city to implement entrepreneurial and interventionist planning and economic development policies that will restructure the look, feel, and function of the downtown. Using a combination of discourse analysis methods, I examine the DCCMP to explore the discourses that define

the economic development and urban revitalization strategy implemented through the DCCMP. My analysis of the DCCMP is guided by two research questions. They are:

1. How do neoliberal discourses define the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives that unfold in the DCCMP?
2. What do these initiatives indicate about the relationship among urban planning and economic development, and how this led to the use of planning policy to foster particular socio-spatial arrangements in St. Catharines?

In summary, this thesis explores how neoliberal discourses shape the DCCMP, and thereby the City's approach to urban revitalization and economic development.

My analysis indicates that the DCCMP is an entrepreneurial and heavily interventionist economic development and urban revitalization strategy, loosely based on creative and experience economy theories. The popularization of these theories has been fuelled by competition between cities seeking to establish and secure a competitive economic base in a global and post-industrial economy (Price, 2012). However, the popularization of these theories, most notably Richard Florida's *Creative Class Theory* (CCT) as well as Pine & Gilmore's experience economy theory (v. Peck, 2005; Lorentzen, 2009), has caused them to morph into more generic "vehicular ideas" that can be implemented almost anywhere (Peck, 2011b, p. 1). The implementation of these vehicular ideas through the DCCMP, however, requires downtown St. Catharines to undergo a process of creative socio-spatial restructuring that is characteristic of neoliberal economic development (v. Brenner & Theodore, 2002). This thesis illustrates how economic development and planning policy is used to both trigger and create the conditions for this process of socio-spatial restructuring to unfold using typically neoliberal or more precisely competitive city planning techniques (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). However, despite being branded and informed by vehicular ideas, the DCCMP is

clearly an attempt by the City to restructure the downtown to attract both middle-class residents/consumers (v. Rousseau, 2009) and particular industries (v. Schlichtman, 2009) back to a city that was once a capital in the manufacturing economy. The application of vehicular ideas to justify competitive city planning practices indicates that St. Catharines, like many cities around the world, has not deviated but in fact helped to reproduce the neoliberal status-quo. This thesis, then, focuses on how neoliberal discourses have shaped economic development and urban planning policy. More specifically, it will pay attention to how a medium-size Canadian city, still suffering from the lingering effects of deindustrialization, has dealt with the pressures of neoliberal globalization, a topic none too often brought up in geographic literature. I hope to fill this literature gap by answering the research questions above.

In order to identify how neoliberal discourses have shape planning practices, I conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP using two complimentary methods: a qualitative content analysis (QCA) and a textual discourse analysis (TDA). Researchers use a QCA to describe large data sets in terms of occurrence of selected words, themes, or concepts (Tonkiss, 2012). In this thesis, I use a QCA to describe what is said (or not said) about St. Catharines and urban-economic revitalization of the downtown. The results of the content analysis are presented in the Appendix and summarized in Chapter 3. The results are then again discussed in chapters 4 and 5 along with the textual discourse analysis results. My approach to TDA is used to analyze the DCCMP for *key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, and emphasis and silence* (v. Tonkiss, 2012). The results of the TDA are presented as *statements*. These *statements* are quotations from the DCCMP and are used to highlight

the results of the TDA. In other words, *statements* identify truth-claims about economic development and urban revitalization. For clarity, *statements* are presented in grey text boxes and in the following format:

Statement #:

Statements are direct quotes from the DCCMP. They identify the key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, and emphasis and silences that constitute truth(s) about urban revitalization in downtown St. Catharines.

Statements are grouped into data driven categories according to theme. Through analysing the content of each *Statement* box, individually and as themed groups, it is possible to identify not only what knowledge is used to construct truth-claims made in the DCCMP, but also the discursive underpinnings of the relationships among land-use, economic development, and urban revitalization. Below is an introduction to the City of St. Catharines followed by brief summary of the chapters to follow.

1.1 – The City: Past and Present

The City of St. Catharines, Niagara's biggest urban centre, has a long and proud history. Although officially incorporated in 1845, the City of St. Catharines had already been Niagara's economic and socio-cultural hub for almost a century. Before it was incorporated, the City was known by local residents as *The Twelve*, and was used as a trading post, market, and storage facility for farmers and traders (City of St. Catharines, 2013a). It was not until 1829 that the city began to grow and experience rapid urbanization. This period of growth was driven by the opening of the first Welland Canal. The Welland Canal, a system of locks and waterways linking lakes Erie and Ontario, brought ship-builders, engineers, sailors, doctors, lawyers, and banks to St. Catharines (Jackson, 1997). Furthermore, the Canal allowed farmers to transport their crops, as well as machines and livestock, prior to the establishment of a rail or road network in Niagara

(Jackson, 1997). The Canal also enabled the establishment of water-driven mills. One of these mills, owned by William Hamilton Merriton in the village of Thorold, was the largest in Canada when it opened in 1829 (City of St. Catharines, 2013a). In 1887 the canal was re-routed to allow the passage of larger ships carrying more cargo. While the Canal still passed through the City of St. Catharines, the new route led to the development of canal communities. These communities, like Thorold and Merriton, were anchored by mills, shipbuilding companies, and other canal oriented industries (Jackson, 1997). The advent of hydro-electric generators in the late 1890s led to the use of the Canal as a source of power for Niagara's residents and companies, while at the same time bringing new industry and employment (Jackson, 1997). The Canal is largely responsible for the establishment of many of Niagara's communities and transforming a village once referred to as *The Twelve* into the Regions centre of commerce and activity. Evidence of Canal-driven growth and industrialization can still be seen in the streets and buildings that make-up the downtown today.

The downtown follows a natural ridge atop of Twelve Mile Creek and is laid out in a grid pattern that reflects the city's history. Buildings in the downtown, although mixed in architectural design due to different times of construction, were primarily mixed use; ground floors were usually used for shops and offices, while upper floors were used as residential units (Jackson, 1997). The downtown is easily walkable. With wide sidewalks there is enough room for three people to walk shoulder-to-shoulder in most areas, and there are few vehicle access points that cross the sidewalk. This pedestrian friendly layout (see Figure 1 on next page) is a direct result of the absence of automobiles



Figure 1 – St. Catharines in 1875 - This 1875 map of St. Catharines illustrates what is now considered the downtown. The map also illustrates Twelve Mile Creek flowing East to West and the City's grid pattern layout (Brock University, 2014).

during the city's formative years. Rather, the dominant form of transportation was pedestrian and horse-drawn carriage (Jackson, 1997). Although the city was connected to rail service since the 1850s, the train station was located outside of the downtown due to the presence of the 12 Mile Creek ravine. The ravine sinks over 80 feet and snakes around the downtown core as illustrated in Figure 1. Existing bridges were only strong enough to support the weight of a loaded horse drawn carriage.

The opening of the Burgoyne Bridge in 1914 provided reliable access of heavy goods to the railway station, one that connected St. Catharines to Detroit, Windsor, Hamilton, and Buffalo. Niagara's fresh fruit farmers quickly took advantage of this

opportunity and began to send their crops to large metropolitan areas (Jackson, 1997). To prevent crops from spoiling, farmers began to use large cold storage warehouses, bringing new industry to St. Catharines.

With the development of a vibrant economy based on manufacturing, agriculture, and shipping, the middle class grew. This middle class began to construct extravagant Victorian homes in what is now recognized as the Yates heritage district (Jackson, 1997; City of St. Catharines, 2013a). The stature of St. Catharines as a prominent urban centre was showcased when famed landscape architect Fredrick Law Olmstead came to plan Montobello Park; the City's biggest park with two and half hectares of green space that consists of treed lawns, a rose garden, and an outdoor performance venue (City of St. Catharines, 2013a). The presence of a wealthy middle class also attracted various types of service industry businesses such as cobblers, tailors, furriers, and cigar stores to downtown St. Catharines (Jackson, 1997). A number of banks also had branches in downtown St. Catharines, and the majority of the Region's finances passed through the City's banks. In sum, the Region's wealth, the city's rapid growth and prominence as one of the biggest metropolitan centres, rivalling the likes of Detroit, Buffalo, Rochester, and Hamilton, can be attributed to the opening of the Welland Canal, and the resulting expansion of manufacturing and agriculture.

The canal, and later the railway, enabled the city's manufacturing and agricultural industries to continue to grow well into the 20th Century. The early 1900s saw the opening of new canneries, textile mills, metal and rubber fabricating plants that not only depended on the city's growing skilled labour force, but also on long-established industries such as wheel manufacturing, and electricity generated at the Decew Falls

hydro-electric station (Jackson, 1997). The mass production of automobiles led to the opening of several auto-parts manufacturing plants in the mid 1900s. With the outbreak of World War I, several of the manufacturing firms in St. Catharines were awarded military contracts and expanded their facilities (Brock University/Niagara Tourism, 2012). With the popularity of personal automobiles growing, so did the City's auto manufacturing industry. This was reflected by the opening of a General Motors Automobile manufacturing plant in 1954. Several manufacturing firms, such as TRW, which to this day produces specialized automotive parts for car companies such as GM, also located in St. Catharines to draw from a skilled labour force and reduce shipping costs (Dyer, 1998). In other words, large-scale manufacturing was the dominant form of employment in St. Catharines for over 100 years. St. Catharines quickly continued to be a manufacturing power house, and in 1991 approximately 20% of an active labour force (about 104,690 people) was in some form of industrial manufacturing (Statistics Canada, 1991; Scotts Industrial Directory, 1991). This figure excludes those employed in management or logistical support for the manufacturing industry (e.g. drivers, engineers, or administrative workers). These figures, derived from the 1991 Census, indicate that manufacturing, above all other industries, has been almost a constant driver of economic growth in the region and particularly the City of St. Catharines. Agriculture, tender fruit production, and viticulture also continue to be recognized for their role in establishing St. Catharines as an industrial giant (Jackson, 1997). However, signs of economic change, particularly for the large-scale manufacturing industry, began to appear in the late 1990s.

1.2 – Economic Changes and the Downtown

In 1991 the total workforce in St. Catharines was approximately 104,690 (Statistics Canada, 1996). By 2011 the size of the workforce shrank to 61,000 (Statistics Canada, 2014). This means a loss of 43,690 people, or a 42% reduction of the workforce, in just 21 years. This dramatic job loss can be partially explained by the rapid decline in manufacturing. In 1991 approximately 20,403 people were employed in manufacturing in St. Catharines. By 2001 that number dropped to 12,062; that is a loss of 8,341 stable, well paying, and unionized jobs in just 10 years (Scotts Industrial Directory, 2001). This dramatic job loss has continued to this day; only 4,500 people, about 7% of the workforce, are still employed in the manufacturing industry as of 2012 (City of St. Catharines, 2012a). Despite these losses, manufacturing continues to generate revenues that outpace all other industries in the Region; a staggering \$7 billion in revenue was reported in 2008 (Niagara Workforce Planning Board, 2010). However, the sustained loss of large scale manufacturing jobs left a mark on the City's economy. According to the St. Catharines community profile, approximately 29% of the workforce, about 17,690 people, were employed in sales and services in 2010 (City of St. Catharines, 2012a).

This rapid deindustrialization and loss of large-scale manufacturing has left the City, and particularly the downtown, in a state of limbo. The city's population is either stagnant or shrinking – between 2006 and 2011 the population shrank by 0.4% (Stats-Canada, 2011) – and the unemployment rate rose to 9.7% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Unemployment continues to be high, with the highest rates observed in the downtown and traditionally industrial areas of the city; similar trends have been observed in Welland and Port Colborne (Niagara Region, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2006).

Furthermore, storefront vacancy in the downtown is at a record high, averaging 21% and peaking at 35% along St. Paul St. and Ontario St., the two arterial roads that were once the City's busiest streets (Fraser, 2011). In contrast, suburban shopping destinations located near major transportation corridors continued to grow at a rapid pace. In 2005 construction began on a Smart Centre shopping plaza in the City's west end. In 2011 the Pen Centre, Niagara Regions biggest shopping mall, completed an \$8+ million dollar renovation (City of St. Catharines, 2012a). The disparity between the downtown and suburban shopping destinations can be partially attributed to the high level of automobile dependency created by suburbanization (Canadian Urban Institute, 2013a).

The suburbanization of Niagara's canal communities, including St. Catharines, began in the 1950s (City of St. Catharines, 2012a; Jackson, 1997). This suburbanization is visible in the dispersal and decentralization of the City's population (Niagara Region, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2006). Currently, about 3% of the city's population, or 4,220 people live in the downtown, an area of about 3.5 hectares (Canadian Urban Institute, 2013a). Figure 2, on the next page, displays the land-use designations in the downtown; the figure illustrates that approximately 26% of the downtown is designated Residential (Canadian Urban Institute, 2013b). The suburbanization and decentralization of the population is also visible in commuter patterns. Currently, the majority of those who work in the city, particularly in the downtown, do not live in the city. Rather, the city's workforce lives in suburban bedroom communities outside St. Catharines and commutes into the city (Niagara Region, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2006). This suggests that the Region's population is auto- dependant and relies on car friendly, big-box shopping destinations

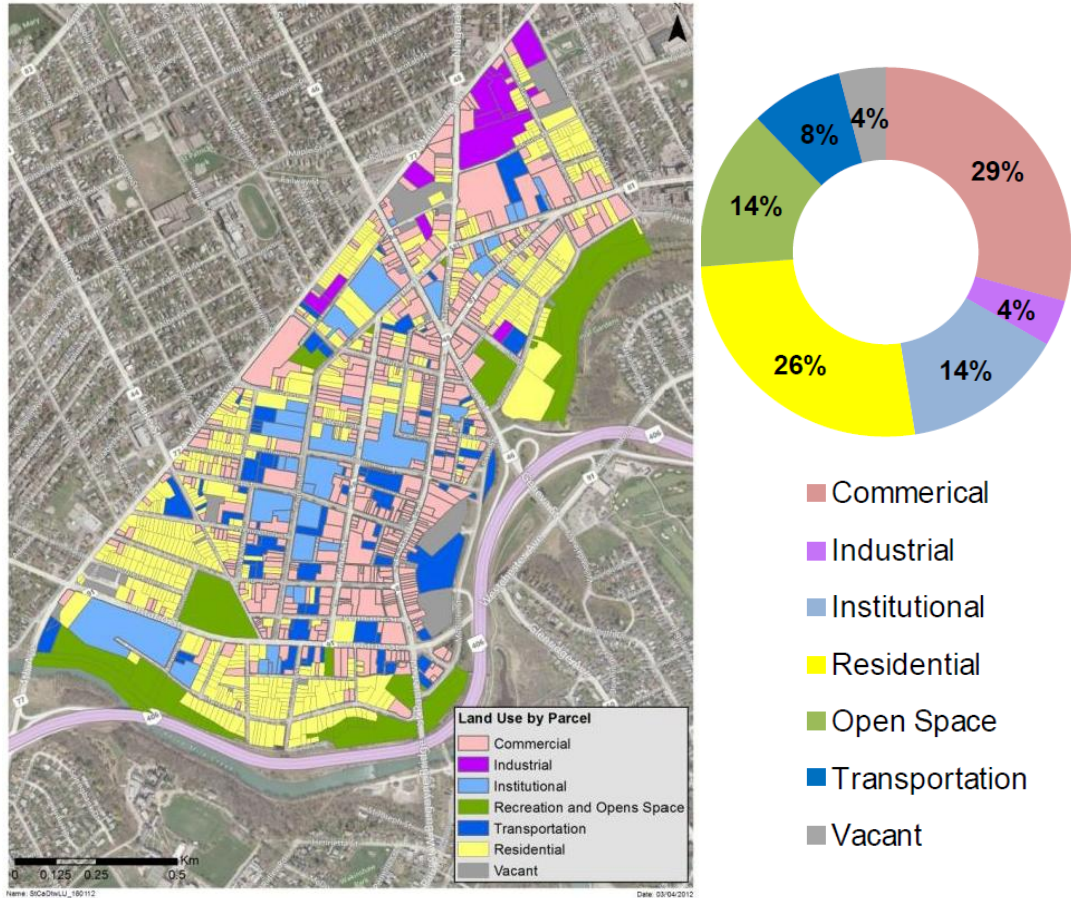


Figure 2 – Types of Land-use in the Downtown - This figure illustrates the land-use types, and their corresponding percentages, that make up the Downtown designation as per the St. Catharines Official Plan (Canadian Urban Institute, 2013, p. 10)

such as the Pen Centre. Despite the decentralization and suburbanization of the population the downtown remains the Region’s primary office-based employment hub.

Although occupying only 2% of the city's total area of 173 Hectares, the downtown is home to 53% of all office space in the city (Canadian Urban Institute, 2013a). As a result the downtown boasts the highest concentration of office-based employment in all of the Niagara Region (Niagara Region, 2014). This office-based employment is anchored primarily by essential government services, such as the Canada Revenue Agency, the Ontario Court of Justice, the Ministry of Transportation, City Hall, as well as private corporations, such as the Algoma Corporation. The concentration of

office buildings in the downtown reflects an ongoing transition toward a service-based economy; 45% of the active workforce is employed in either Sales and services (29%) or Business; finance and administration (16%) (City of St. Catharines, 2012a, p. 23). The figures illustrate that the primary, or perhaps sole function, is to host the Region's office-based, service-oriented economy. In summary, the downtown is no longer the Region's retail, residential, and cultural centre as it once was. Rather, the City and the downtown are mere shadows of their former selves. The DCCMP is, therefore, an attempt to help the city deal with economic trauma caused by the rapid decline of large-scale manufacturing and facilitate the growth of an economy driven by tourism, advanced manufacturing, and the creative/cultural industries.

The DCCMP is an urban revitalisation strategy designed to introduce new urban space users and expand the functions of the downtown as to attract new residents, visitors, and industry. The notion that the current make-up of the downtown will not allow the city to establish a competitive economy are framed by neoliberal economic development discourses that are expressed through the urban revitalization and economic development initiatives proposed in the DCCMP. Though the DCCMP is not the first attempt at remaking the downtown, new Provincial legislation accelerated the uptake and implementation of interventionist and entrepreneurial urban revitalization and economic development strategies like the DCCMP.

1.3 – Provincial Policies and the DCCMP

In an effort to develop solutions to its economic problems, the City began to conduct research on downtown revitalization strategies and how to secure a competitive economic base. Most notable of these were the *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country*

Communities (2007), a study funded by several municipalities in Niagara including the City of St. Catharines, and *Creating a Vibrant Downtown (2007)*, a report prepared for St. Catharines City Council by Staff. These reports identify both the Region's and the City's existing and potential assets, and how these assets can be used to attract investors and businesses in an effort to revitalize the downtown and rebrand the city as an attractive place to live, work, and play (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2007). In particular, the two reports emphasize the potential of the creative industries, arts-based cultural tourism, and Niagara's wine industry. These reports marked the City's first foray into unknown economic territory in an effort to find a solution to a stagnant urban economy. However, it was only after the Province introduced new legislation in 2005 that the City began to look at downtown revitalization at a comprehensive level.

Land-use and policy planning in Ontario is under the domain of the *Planning Act* R.S.O. (1990). The *Planning Act* is a powerful piece of legislation that mandates municipalities to protect the environment, effectively manage natural resources, maintain a high standard in built form, ensure the provision of services, and maintain public infrastructure through the implementation of Official Plans and zoning by-laws that conform to various provincial policies and laws; see Part III, Sec. 16-29 of the *Act*. The Province draws on its jurisdictional authority to mandate municipalities via the *Confederation Act* of 1867; the same act that allows the Province to create, dissolve, and govern municipalities like the City of St. Catharines. In other words, the *Planning Act* R.S.O. (1990) ensures that municipalities like the City of St. Catharines implement the ideas and practices – or discourses – inscribed in Provincial legislation. In 2005 the Province displayed its legislative authority with the implementation of the *Greenbelt Act*

and *Places to Grow Act*; the two *Acts* that would fundamentally alter governance and land-use practices in St. Catharines.

The *Places to Grow Act (2005)* was developed by the Province, in conjunction with the *Greenbelt Act (2005)*, as an initiative to secure the economic competitiveness of Ontario's cities and curb urban sprawl by refocusing growth towards already built-up areas (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013). The primary purpose of the *Greenbelt Act (2005)* is to "protect about 1.8 million acres of environmentally sensitive and agricultural land from urban development and sprawl" (Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2008, para. 1). To achieve this goal and protect the fertile soils on the Lake Ontario basin from development, the Greenbelt effectively encircles the City of St. Catharines. As illustrated in Figure 3 (next page) the scale of the Greenbelt is extraordinary, encircling not only the City of St. Catharines, but the entire Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The designation of almost all of the Niagara Region as part of the Greenbelt has locked the City of St. Catharines within its own borders with no chance of expansion onto the Greenbelt for the life of the *Greenbelt Act (Greenbelt Act, 2005, Sec. 1, Sec. 5)*. The restrictive policies of the *Greenbelt Act* are not only intended to protect agricultural lands from development, but also to encourage more efficient land-use patterns in combination with the *Places to Grow Act (2005)*. The *Places to Grow Act* requires municipalities in Ontario to conform to strict planning directives and growth management targets outlined in a document called *The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe* (henceforth *Growth Plan*) in addition to the *Planning Act*. The *Growth Plan* introduces a new

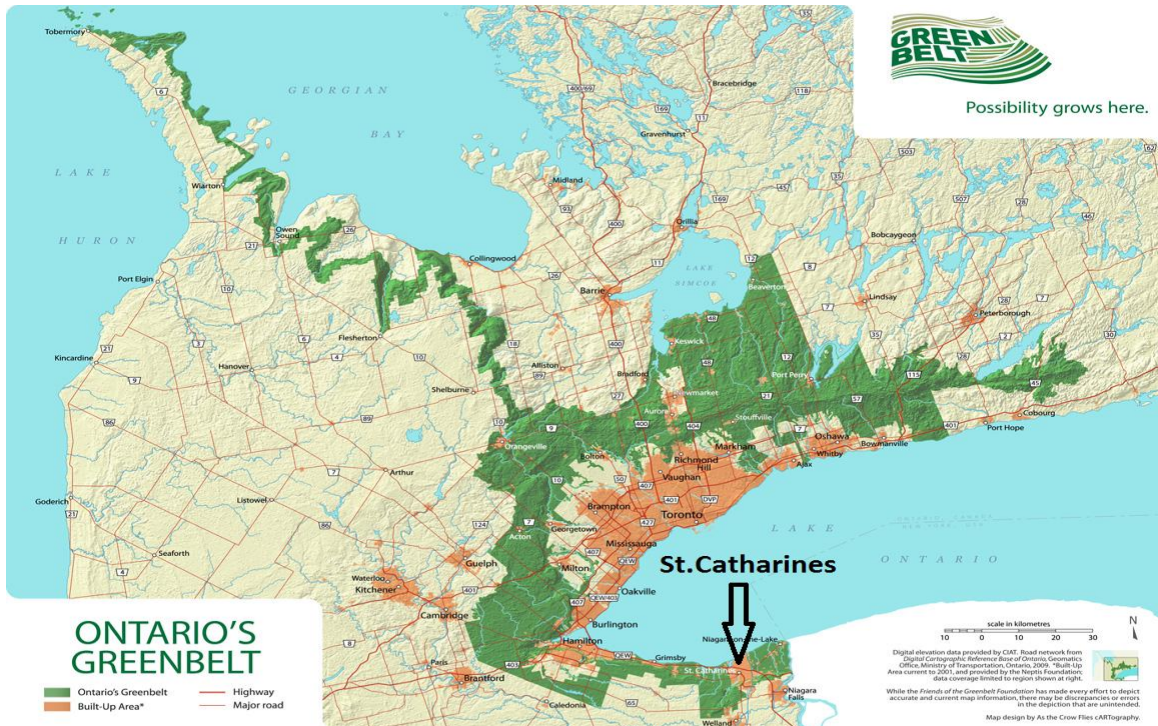


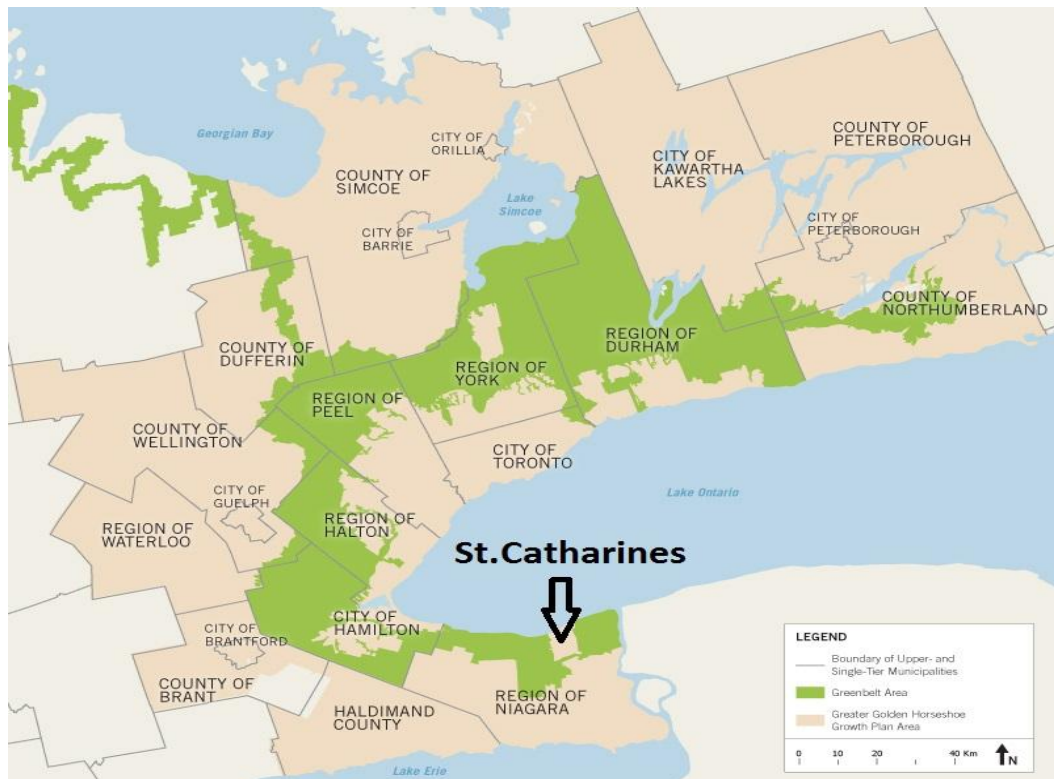
Figure 3 - The Greenbelt - The Ontario Greenbelt stretches east of Toronto westward and around the south-west tip of Lake Ontario and past St. Catharines (Friends of the Greenbelt, 2013).

geographic region to Ontario’s planning system; the *Greater Golden Horseshoe* (GGH).

The GGH was created to allow the Province to more effectively manage land-use planning and growth within Southern Ontario’s built-up areas (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013). As the City of St. Catharines and Niagara Region are located within the GGH, both are subject to the policies of the *Growth Plan* (See Figure 3 below). Figure 3 illustrates the expanse of the GGH and identifies the municipalities subject to the *Growth Plan*.

The *Growth Plan* stipulates that certain cities in the GGH are to be *Urban Growth Centres* (UGC). The City of St. Catharines, more specifically the downtown core, is a designated UGC, the only one in the Niagara Region. As an UGC downtown St. Catharines is to be the "foci of regional population and employment growth," and must be planned in such a way to accommodate this growth (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013,

p. 56). To further direct municipalities the *Growth Plan* mandates that UGCs must achieve



Note: The information displayed on this map is not to scale, does not accurately reflect approved land-use and planning boundaries, and may be out of date. For more information on precise boundaries, the appropriate municipality should be consulted. For more information on Greenbelt Area boundaries, the Greenbelt Plan 2005 should be consulted. The Province of Ontario assumes no responsibility or liability for any consequences of any use made of this map.

Figure 4 - The Greater Golden Horseshoe - illustrated in the pink fill, identifies where the policies of the *Growth Plan* apply (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013)

minimum urban density targets. These urban density targets, a combination of people and jobs per hectare, must be achieved by 2031 or earlier; downtown St. Catharines must reach an urban density of 150 (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013, p. 17). At the same time the City has been assigned a population target of 143,800 that it must reach, but cannot exceed by 2031 (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013; Schedule 3). This means that the City not only has to encourage more (compact) growth, but manage this growth so that it occurs at rate as to not exceed the Province's population allocation for the city. The *Growth Plan* is therefore a rather prescriptive and parental approach to planning.

The implementation of the *Growth Plan*, however, remains a municipal responsibility (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013, Sec. 5). That is, the Province has not provided any additional guidance on how municipalities are to achieve their intensification and urban density targets. On the contrary the Province offered the funds for the development of "made-in-Niagara solutions to enhance [the City's] economic sustainability and competitiveness" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). Shortly after, the City began to develop a three-part "Comprehensive Plan for Downtown St. Catharines" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 21).

The first component of the Comprehensive Plan was a feasibility study to determine if a flagship cultural facility, one jointly built and operated in partnership with Brock University, would help revitalize the downtown and help the City meet *Growth Plan* targets. The feasibility study was largely an attempt to take advantage of the University's interest in the establishment of a downtown campus and the availability of Provincial funding. On April 16, 2007 Dr. Jack Lightstone, the president of Brock University, presented the University's desire to establish a fine and performing arts school in downtown St. Catharines; the purpose of the meeting was to formally solicit the City to enter into a partnership with the University for the construction of the Performing Arts Centre (PAC) and the Marilyn I. Walker School of Fine and Performing Arts (SFPA). The City took full advantage of the University's invitation, and on July 30th, along with the Province and Brock University, a total of \$400,000 was committed for the development of a three-part 2007 Comprehensive Plan, a component of which was a feasibility study for the PAC (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). The feasibility study, delivered in 2008, indicates that a new performing arts centre in downtown St.

Catharines could bring in an additional \$16+ million in net revenue for the City per year, and that the "catalytic economic impacts of the project...are expected to be truly enormous over time..." (City of St. Catharines, 2008a, p. 6). However, the feasibility study was not intended to provide direction on the implementation of the Growth Plan. Rather, the task of implementing the *Growth Plan* was left to the remaining two components of the Comprehensive Plan, the DCCMP and an accompanying *Economic Development Transition Strategy*.

The DCCMP is a long-term strategic planning document, one that merged the City's existing economic development initiatives with residential and employment intensification, to revitalize the downtown (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). On October 29, 2007 City Council retained Joseph Bogdan and Associates to spearhead the development of the DCCMP. After only eight months the final version of the DCCMP was delivered and approved by City Council. It is important to note that the DCCMP is not policy. Rather, it is officially referred to as a study. As such it was not subject to the same planning process as, for example, an Official Plan Amendment. This partly explains why the DCCMP was developed and approved so quickly. Furthermore, as a study, the DCCMP cannot impose policy changes through By-Law, but only propose recommendations. The approval of the DCCMP marked the City's commitment to not only implement these recommendations, but also indicated that the City's decision makers subscribed to the overall vision of the downtown as presented in the text. This vision is presented in a number of creative cluster scenarios. (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. VI). Each scenario follows the same formula; the transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster is to occur through targeted public investments in key areas of the

downtown. These investments include the construction of the PAC, a new spectator facility, new parking lots and pedestrian links, improved streetscapes, lighting and signage, and the establishment of a Wine Embassy and a creative/cultural firm incubator. The primary tool for implementing the vision and recommendations proposed in the DCCMP is the City's Official Plan. The DCCMP is therefore a broad umbrella document, one which now frames the City's planning and economic development framework. Part of this framework, and the final element of the Comprehensive Plan implemented in 2007, was the *Economic Development Transition Strategy*.

The *Economic Development Transition Strategy* complements the DCCMP and was released as a document entitled *Paths to Prosperity (2008)*. The report, authored by the St. Catharines-Thorold Prosperity Council and delivered two months after the DCCMP, presents five paths to prosperity that make up an economic transition and development framework for St. Catharines, Thorold, and Niagara Region (St. Catharines-Thorold Prosperity Council, 2008). These paths are as follows: organic business acceleration and incubation, capitalization on interactive Media Cluster Development, building on the foundations of health and wellness, culture + creativity + tourism = opportunity, linking into green opportunities (St. Catharines-Thorold Prosperity Council, 2008, p. 6-7). Shortly after the DCCMP the *Paths to Prosperity* study was released, and adopted by City Council. The City's new Economic Development and Tourism strategies now reflect and support the DCCMP's focus on creative economy (medical/bio-sciences, interactive media, the green industry), manufacturing, and wine-culture tourism (City of St. Catharines, 2009; City of St. Catharines, 2012b). The DCCMP is therefore not only a land-use guide, but a comprehensive revitalization strategy that combines new and

existing economic development and residential redevelopment opportunities within the context of new Provincial planning legislation to transform the downtown into a creative cluster. The remainder of this chapter provides a roadmap to the thesis.

1.4 – Chapter summaries

The remainder of this thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 is divided into two parts, a literature review followed by a methodology. The chapter begins with a broad discussion regarding the impacts of globalization of neoliberal economy theory, particularly on governance, urban planning, and economic development. The literature suggest that the neoliberal theory has been sanctified as truth, and can be observed in the ideas and practices that constitute urban planning and economic development policies on a global scale (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002; Keil, 2009; Wang, 2011, Peck, 2011b). The global proliferation of neoliberalism has led to an increased demand for policy ideas that urban managers and decision makers can implement to gain or develop a competitive economic advantage (Peck, 2011a; Prince, 2012). As a result cities are now implementing increasingly similar policies, many of which focus on growing the creative economy by engineering urban environments that appeal to the creative class (v. Evans, 2009; Zimmerman, 2008; Peck, 2011a). In summary, there is a clear consensus that the globalization of neoliberalism has both disciplined cities to continually seek competitive advantages. At the same time however, these discourses limit the field of options to market-oriented solutions that lead to socio-spatial restructuring (v. Theodore & Brenner, 2002). It this with this understanding of how neoliberalism frames economic development and planning that I analyzed the DCCMP.

As stated above, I conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP to understand how these broader neoliberal discourses have impacted urban planning and economic development in St. Catharines. The theoretical background to my analysis is described in the second half of Chapter 2. My analysis is a "symptomatic reading" of what ideas are presented in the DCCMP, and what is or is not done to account for these ideas (Aitken 2005, p.236). This is then contextualized using secondary literature. The analysis is primarily textual, and based on a rigorous and iterative coding procedure based on the work of Margrit Schreier (2012) and Fran Tonkiss (2012). The results of the analysis are summarized following a context analysis in Chapter 3.

Similar to Chapter 2, Chapter 3 is also divided into two parts, a context analysis and a summary of the QCA results. The context analysis provides insight into what precipitated the development of the DCCMP in greater detail than described above. More specifically, it describes the ideas that underpin the DCCMP and the City's focus rebuilding the urban economy by developing the tourism and creative/cultural industries. My context analysis is primarily focused on a review of the City's various committee minutes, reports, and studies that span over a 10 year period. The context analysis indicates that the City began to implement entrepreneurial planning practices prior to the DCCMP. Furthermore, these practices were encouraged through the release of the Provinces *Growth Plan* in 2005. In summary, the context analysis provides important information as to the origins of the DCCMP and the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed within. The chapter then provides a brief summary of the QCA results; the QCA results themselves can be found in the Appendix. This brief

summary of the QCA results also provides a basic understanding of the DCCMP and the subject matter within. The following chapters present the results of the TDA.

Chapter 4 and 5 present the results of the TDA coding process. In chapter 4 I focus specifically on the physical/material make-up of the creative cluster. I argue that the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP hinges on exploiting assets and overcoming barriers to create a network of what I refer to as developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. This term refers to relationships between land-uses/users that are engineered to establish downtown St. Catharines as a good place to invest. The land-uses/users that make up this socio-spatial arrangement are flagship catalysts, such as the jointly built PAC/SFPA, and beautified public infrastructure, such as clean streets/sidewalks, visible street signs, and ample lighting. I argue that the use of public resources to create the network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements reflects the influence of neoliberalism and the three elements of competitive city planning (v. Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Atkinson, 2003). Chapter 5 continues the inquiry into how neoliberal discourses have shaped the DCCMP, but focuses on what ideas/knowledges underpin the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed.

Chapter 5 illustrates how neoliberal discourses constrain urban managers to a pre-set number of competitive city urban revitalization and economic development initiatives. This is evident not only in the initiatives proposed in the DCCMP, but also in the ideas/knowledge which upon these initiatives are based. The chapter highlights that the DCCMP is primarily based on the inputs of private sector stakeholders and experts. Furthermore, the DCCMP seems to be based around the concerns of another group, the

creative (middle) class. This is evident in the use of Richard Florida's Creative Class Theory as a guide to what needs to be done in order to attract creatives, as well as middle-class consumers. The entrepreneurial use of public resources, combined with the implementation of Florida's CCT, suggest that the city's decision makers have chosen to implement a market-oriented urban revitalization and economic development strategy. The DCCMP is therefore not an innovative approach to urban revitalization. Rather, it is yet another example of the serial reproduction of neoliberal discourses – a phenomenon Hackworth (2007) refers to as *There Is No Alternative* [to neoliberalism] syndrome, or TINA – that will, as the literature suggests, impose competitive city socio-spatial arrangements onto the downtown.

The final chapter answers the research questions through a summary of the preceding chapters. I argue that initiatives proposed in the DCCMP exhibit the influence of neoliberalism. That is, the DCCMP has all the components of a competitive city urban revitalization strategy. This is evident in the entrepreneurial use of public resources to restructure, manage, aestheticize, and culture the socio-spatial arrangements of the downtown to gain a competitive advantage. However, it is unclear if any room in this competitive city urban revitalization strategy has been left for those who cannot contribute to, or take advantage of, this restructuring. Rather, as I argue throughout the thesis, it is clear that the DCCMP will transform the downtown into a place that caters to the creative (middle) class.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review and Methodology

This chapter is broken into two parts. First, I review the literature that informs how I approach the DCCMP. I highlight urban planning and economic development has changed under the influence of neoliberalism, and discuss how impacts urban landscapes. The second half of the chapter details how I conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP. As stated in the previous chapter the two primary methods are a qualitative content analysis (QCA) and a textual discourse (TDA) analysis. This chapter therefore provides a broad overview of the conceptual framework that informs both my understanding and analysis of the DCCMP.

2.0 – Literature Review

This literature review explores the discourses that frame contemporary economic development and urban planning. It begins with a broad discussion on the role of globalization and the proliferation of neoliberalism and its establishment as a hegemonic discourse. In Canada, not-for-profit think tanks lobbied the Federal government to apply business-like solutions to the country's economic problems (Carroll & Shaw, 2001). It is within this context that Provincial governments began to restructure (Scanton, 2013). The election of Mike Harris and the conservative party in June of 1995 marked the establishment of neoliberalism as the driving force behind Provincial policy in Ontario. This was evident in the aggressive implementation of neoliberal reforms during what was called the Common Sense Revolution (CSR) (Keil, 2002).

The neoliberal discourses that shape Provincial policy are reproduced at the municipal level through implementation of economic development and urban revitalization strategies in order to establish or maintain economic competitiveness

(Boudreau, Keil, & Young, 2009). Ontario's municipalities are, however, not unique in this regard. Rather, the literature indicates that the globalization of neoliberalism has led to a system in which neoliberal policy solutions are delivered in record time (v. Prince, 2012). This system is driven by a demand for neatly packaged strategies based on easily applicable economic development and urban revitalisation ideas referred to as "vehicular ideas" (Peck, 2011, p. 3). The popularity of these vehicular ideas is argued to be largely due to their compatibility with the neoliberal context (Peck, 2005, 2011a; Kratke, 2010). Furthermore, these vehicular ideas often focus economic and urban revitalization efforts around creative class and the creative economy (v. Peck, 2005), clustering/ agglomeration of knowledge-based and creative/cultural industries (v. Scott, 2010), and packaging places as experience economy destinations (v. Lorentzen, 2009). Some theorists (v. Schlichtman, 2009) have outlined how economic development and planning policy can be used to transform cities into Niche (economy) Cities, while others (v. Rousseau, 2009) illustrate that policy can be use the change the image of a neglected urban areas to attract investors, stimulate gentrification, and bring middle-class residents and consumers back to downtowns.

In summary, the literature points to use of economic development and planning policy as instruments or tools which are used to establish or maintain economic competitiveness. This instrumental use of urban planning policy to achieve economic development goals has mixed results; some argue that they lead to increases in regional wages (Florida, Mellander, Stolarick, 2010) and have been shown to effectively repopulate neglected urban centers (Rousseau, 2009), while others point to social and economic displacement (v. Atkinson & Easthope, 2009), the homogenization of once

heterogeneous urban centers in an efforts to attract the creative (middle) class (v. Zimmerman, 2008). Furthermore, this instrumental use of planning policy suggests that urban managers continue to look for ways to secure a competitive advantage over their neighbours. This not only exemplifies the hegemony and influence of neoliberal discourses, but illustrates how it is continually reproduced. However, literature on how neoliberal discourses impact medium-sized cities like St. Catharines is sparse. In writing this thesis I hope to fill this gap in the literature, and contribute to the broad knowledge-base on how neoliberal discourses are expressed through planning policy and how they shape the socio-spatial arrangements of urban centers. The discussion begins with a broad overview on the effects of globalization and neoliberalism on public policy.

2.1 – Globalization and Neoliberalism

The effects of globalization on cities has been well documented (v. Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 1995; Sassen, 2002; Florida, Gulden, & Mellander, 2008; Scott, 2008b). Cities, particularly global cities, are increasingly subject to forces of globalization (Bourne, 2004). One of the most influential global forces that have shaped Canadian world cities is liberalization of trade policy on a global level (Keil & Keifer, 2002; Bourne, 2004). The liberalization of trade restrictions on a global scale introduced foreign economic actors that compete with domestic firms. The arrival of new economic actors has diversified the economic network that connects (global) cities to international markets, capital, and labour (Bourne, 2004). This process has, however, had profound effects on the large scale manufacturing economy as it helped facilitate the movement of capital in search of cheaper labour in developing countries in the global south, particularly Asia (v. Lever, 1991; Harvey, 2005). This led to the deindustrialization of the North American economy

(Harvey, 1989; 2005; Zukin, 1995). In order to cope with the dramatic and rapid loss of employment and revenue, Federal governments in North America and Europe began to de-regulate or liberalize trade (Harvey, 1989, 2005; Lever, 1991; Bourne, 2004). Cities soon followed suit and began to experiment with the implementation of entrepreneurial policies that were to unleash the “external force of the market,” intensify inter/intra-urban competition, and attract global flows of capital (Harvey, 1989, p. 10).

Around the globe, urban managers use policy experimentation to determine the most effective ways to tap global circuits of human and monetary capital (Boudreau et al. 2009; Harvey, 1989, 2005; Hackworth, 2006; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002). This experimentation typically unfolds through two distinct “moment of creative destruction,” characterized by the dismantling of Keynesian/welfarist/managerial institutional and socio-spatial arrangements, and the “moment of creative construction,” characterized by establishment of an entrepreneurial infrastructure needed to enable “market growth, commodification, and the rule of capital” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 362; Harvey, 1989). These moments of destruction/construction are referred to as “neoliberal roll-backs/roll-outs” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 373-374). The globalization and subsequent establishment of neoliberalism as the driving force behind economic development policy in North America, as well as in Europe, led to the spectacular re-structuring of policies and cities.

2.2 – Ontario's Neoliberal turn: Impact on Municipal Planning Policy

The consolidation of a neoliberal policy bloc in Canada was illustrated by the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Carroll & Shaw, 2001; Bourne, 2004). NAFTA symbolized the rise of economic development policy guided by

"the principle of corporate private property, and its advancement and defence" (Carroll & Shaw, 2001, p. 196). The rise of the neoliberal policy bloc in Canada can be traced to private think tanks and advisory groups, made up of the corporate-elite, which lobbied the Federal government for restructuring and reform (Carroll & Shaw, 2001). The five key players which were fundamental in the implementation of neoliberal economic development policy at the Federal level: The Conference Board of Canada, The C.D. Howe Institute, The Business Council on National Issues, The Fraser Institute, and The Atlantic Institute for Market Studies (Carroll & Shaw, 2001, p. 196-202). These institutions were closely inter-related, and as a result a corporate ecology developed and began to regulate neoliberal policy discourse in Canada. Furthermore, competing political views and implementation practices led these institutions to develop and present context-specific, neoliberal policies to the Federal government as easy solutions to domestic and increasingly urban issues. In other words, the signing of NAFTA marked the Federal governments turn away from "managerial" governance and acceptance of neoliberal or market-based solution policies (Carroll & Shaw, 2001, p. 212). This effectively changed the socio-economic and political context in which Provincial and Municipal governments operate (v. Bourne, 2004, Scanton, 2013). However, as the Federal government does not have any direct legislative authority over municipal governments, the policy shifts after NAFTA were expressed through changes in Provincial policy (Scanton, 2013) .

As stated above the neoliberalization of policy in Ontario began with the election of Premier Mike Harris in 1995 (Keil, 2002). The Harris government aggressively implemented reforms in a series of neoliberal roll-backs/rapid roll-outs which led to union strikes, privatization of public services, and the shrinking of the provincial

government restructure municipal governance to reduce dependency on Provincial funding, and the loosening of planning regulations (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Walks, 2009; Boudreau et al. 2009). Discursively, the CSR solidified the hegemony of neoliberalism in Ontario (Walks, 2009). This was exemplified in the implementation of a "competitiveness agenda" (Graham & Phillips, 1997, p. 178) which some argue has coalesced into a neoliberal governmentality (v. Keil, 2009).

The competitiveness agenda disentangled intergovernmental relations, promoted efficiency and effectiveness, and reduced government interference in economic processes to illustrate that Ontario was "open for business" (Graham & Phillips, 1997, p. 178). This focus on reducing government interference in economic processes is a central tenement of neoliberalism (v. Harvey, 2005). The competitiveness agenda exhibited other neoliberal traits such as creating market opportunities by privatizing public services and reducing or eliminating social services so that the private sector could fill the gap (Graham & Phillips, 1997; Boudreau et al. 2009). Furthermore, the Province also significantly reduced Federal transfers to address deficits, amalgamated municipalities, and downloaded responsibilities for social services (e.g. housing) to local municipalities (Keil, 2002). These roll-backs and roll-outs effectively established neoliberalism as the driving force behind Provincial policy (Graham & Phillips, 1997; Keil, 2002; Walks, 2009; Scanton, 2013). Although the changes introduced during the CSR redefined the role and function of the Provincial government, the effects of these changes were most visible at the local level.

Policy changes during the CSR had very tangible effects on economic development and planning policies of Ontarios municipalities. Economic development

and planning in Ontario transitioned from rational and reform-oriented policy towards piecemeal, project-based, entrepreneurial policies which, like those occurring in the United States, were designed to “facilitate, encourage, and even publically subsidize the accelerated mobility of circulating capital and resources" in order to attract investment and generate revenue (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 385; Harvey, 1989; Keil, 2002). These new economic development and planning policies, largely driven by changes to Provincial policy and set in the context of neoliberal globalization, became manifest in what Keil & Keifer (2002) refer to as competitive city planning.

2.3 – Competitive City planning

The convergence of entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning has coalesced into competitive city urban planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The competitive city urban planning model incorporates the entrepreneurial city planning (v. Harvey, 1989), the city of difference planning (v. Jacobs & Fincher, 1998), and the revanchist city planning (v. Smith, 1996; Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 234). These three urban planning regimes have one thing in common:

“...they are tied to an overarching (imputed and material) imperative of intercity competition that treats cities as homogenous units that compete with each other for investment and mobile segments of new urban middle classes through strategies of municipal state restructuring and policies of economic development, finance, taxation, land-use planning, urban design, culture, diversity management, policing, and workfare.”

(Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 235)

The competitive city model is therefore diverse and multi-faceted, integrating economic development, land-use planning, socio-cultural planning. Furthermore, competitive city planning is one of the few ways that municipal governments, particularly in Ontario, can ensure they remain a part of the global economy. This is primarily achieved through

entrepreneurial policies which leverage public resources to establish public-private partnership (Keifer & Keil, 2002). Scholars (v. Harvey, 1989, 2005; Hackworth, 2006) have argued that public-private partnership are at the heart of neoliberal economics as they align public and private interests, and prevent government from becoming a obstacles to market rule by facilitating the implementation of market-oriented and business-like solutions. Subsequently competitive city planning focuses on strategic planning. That is, the "visioning" or development of an underlying philosophy for Official Plans and long-term economic development policies is increasingly done by city planners and private consultants behind closed doors (Keil & Keifer, 2002, p. 246). The finished product often sold to the public as most effective or a best-practice using expert testimony. As I illustrate below competitive city planning now incorporates a variety of economic development ideas which have become popular on a global scale (Evans, 2009; Wang, 2011; Prince, 2012; Peck, 2011b). In the following section I explore the various iterations of contemporary competitive city planning.

2.4 – The global proliferation of competitive city planning practices

The drive for cities to be competitive has defined the role and direction of planning and economic development policies on a global scale. Post-industrial cities on a global scale are under pressure to implement innovative policy ideas to secure a competitive edge in a global and largely service-based economy (Boudreau et al., 2009). It is argued that the global demand for these new competitive city ideas has led to the development of policy regime that not only facilitates but also requires the urban managers to seek out innovative ways of attracting and channelling market forces (v. Prince, 2012). Below I explore some the vehicular ideas popularized through this policy

regime, and how their implementation through competitive city planning policy has impacted the impact socio-spatial arrangement of cities. The literature suggest that the implementation of vehicular ideas through competitive city planning policies has led to the restructuring of whole downtown neighbourhoods while not necessarily improving the economic situation of the city (v. Watt, 2008; Atkinson & Easthope, 2009; Peck, 2011b). Due to its widespread application in North American (v. Bourdeau et al. 2009; Zimmerman, 2008), European (v. Evans, 2009), and Asian (v. Wang, 2009) cities, one of the most influential ideas that has shaped planning and economic development is Richard Florida's Creative Class Theory (CCT).

2.4.1 – The Creative Class Theory

The CCT, presented in *The Rise of the Creative Class (2002)* and *Cities and the Creative Class (2005)*, is based on two key assumptions that Florida defends with complex empirical research. The first assumption is that the creative economy, which Florida describes as rooted in the production of "innovation" through the inputs of human creativity and knowledge rather than raw materials, is the primary driver of growth in post-industrial economies (2002, p. 44). With the acceptance of this first assumption as true Florida argues that to grow the "creative industries," the constituents of the creative economy, cities must attract the creative class (Florida, 2002, p. 46). Florida defines the creative class primarily by their economic function: their ability to tap their innate creativity (Florida, 2002, p. 68) to innovate ways of adding and/or producing social and economic value (Florida, 2002, p. 71). The creative class consists of two categories, the "super-creative core" and the "creative professionals" (Florida, 2002, p. 69). The super-creative core is comprised of people who produce knowledge, such as academics and

researchers. Florida claims that the super-creative core is highly educated and therefore possesses a high degree of human capital (2002, p. 69). The creative professionals are those who use their creativity to manage the implementation of new ideas, rather than produce knowledge itself.

To attract this creative class Florida contends that cities must create a people climate by following the 3 T model of economic development. That is, cities must offer the creative class **T**echnology (the high-tech industry), **T**alent (anyone with a bachelor degree or better), and **T**olerance (an open and accepting community) (Florida, 2002, p. 283). However, Florida argues that for the 3 T model to succeed and for cities to attract the creative class, they must offer, above all else, a high quality of place which offers creatives opportunities to validate their identities as creative individuals (Florida, 2002, 2005). Following Florida, Currid-Halkett & Stolarick propose that cities must harness and build on their place-specific cultural capital if they are to attract the creative class and support the development of the creative/cultural industries (2010).

This place-specific cultural capital is a product of the unique social networks and specialized division of labour that constitutes a city's creative/cultural industries (Currid-Halkett & Stolarick, 2010). They argue that this place-specific cultural capital attracts and generates talent. Therefore, Currid-Halkett & Stolarick (2010) argue that it is in the best interest of city governments to implement entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning policies that support creative/cultural industry clusters. However, others (v. Kloosterman, 2010) warn against the application of generic cluster development policies.

Proponents of cluster-oriented economic development policies agree that they can be useful tools to support the creative/cultural industries of cities (Scott, 2008a, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010). However, the implementation of these policies requires city governments to recognize institutional limits (what the city governments are or are not capable of doing), and the different actors in the cognitive-cultural economy (such as creative/cultural firms at different levels of development) (Kloosterman, 2010). This means that, at the very least, city governments must understand: (a) what a creative/cultural firms need to generate "spillover of knowledge and the sharing of a dedicated infrastructure of formal and informal institutions" (Kloosterman, 2010, p.136), and (b) what level of intervention is needed in order to protect the cognitive/cultural firms from experiencing "lock-in" (i.e. inability to expand beyond originally established borders of the cluster) (OConnor & Gu, 2010, p.131) or "over-heating" (i.e. rapid growth causing displacement or burn-out causing collapse) (Martin & Sunley, 2003, p. 27). Implementing policies which ignore these factors may lead to the development of clusters that displace non-creative/cultural businesses or prevent new businesses from locating within the established cluster (Martin & Sunley, 2003, p. 27). Furthermore, the literature indicates that only newly-established producers rely on topographical networks, and therefore pool into clusters out of necessity (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Brown & Rigby, 2008). Established cognitive/cultural producers, on the other hand, rely on topological networks to stay in operation (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010). In other words, the scholars seems to be polarized on what cities should do to grow their creative economies. However, some argue that the CCT approach, which has reached a global level of popularity, has had few positive impact on cities in which it is applied.

The literature indicates that creative city initiatives based on Florida's CCT have been associated with “higher-than-average unemployment rates...and sustained job losses” in the urban core, rather than economic growth (Zimmerman, 2008, p. 233). Furthermore, Zimmerman's case study of the Milwaukee creative city development strategy echoes Evans (2009) finding that CCT-based policies lead to diminishing investment returns, loss of a distinct economic advantage/competitiveness, and increased job losses – particularly for minority groups – during and after Floridian policy experimentation (2008). Zimmerman also found that Milwaukee's creative city policy had actually worsened the city's racial and social segregation (2008). Zimmerman's (2008) findings also support claims that creative city policies result in “social displacement” as local governments attempt to satisfy what are imagined to be the desires of the creative class (v. Atkinson & Easthope, 2009, p. 74). Similarly, Keil & Wilson argue that CCT-based policies displace the “real creative class” – the poor bohemians and artisans that agglomerate in low-rent space areas – through gentrification re-branded as re-vitalization (2008, p. 846). The poor performance of the CCT may be a result of its empirical underpinnings as some argued have stretched to fit preconceived notions around the relationship between social classes and economic growth (v. Sanchez, Lang, Nelson, & Danielsen, 2003). Others (v. Rausch & Negrey, 2006) claim that the presence of the creative class is not associated with economic growth or regional wage increases. In summary, there is consensus that Florida's approach to planning and economic development policies seem to purge whole districts to create spaces that are thought to be appealing to the creative class. As a result urban districts experience

residential/commercial displacement and little positive economic outcomes (v. Kratke, 2010)

Scholars argue that despite being quite problematic the CCT has effectively re-branded extant competitive city initiatives with creativity and culture as it fits neatly with a neoliberal discursive frame (Peck, 2005; McGuigan, 2009; Kratke, 2010; Atkinson & Easthope, 2009). As a result urban managers and planners now use various forms of entrepreneurial and strategic planning policies to enter into partnerships that are not only intended to transform neighborhoods districts into creative hubs, but also empower private sector agents to regulate these hubs (v. Catungal & Leslie, 2009). However, some defend creative city economic development practices, arguing that small/medium-sized cities can offer the amenities that big cities cannot and that which creative/cultural firms and workers seek out (v. Scott, 2008, 2010; Donald & Lewis, 2010). This can be done by leveraging characteristics unique to small/medium sized cities in order to attract creative/cultural firms and workers (Donald & Lewis, 2010). This model, however, one that has grown in popularity, is referred to in the literature more aptly as the experience economy model.

2.4.2 – The Experience Economy Model

The idea of selling experiences was popularized by Joseph Pine and James Gilmore in their book *Welcome to the Experience Economy* (1999). The theory proposed by Pine & Gilmore (1999) focuses on the development of products that create immersive experiences. Immersive experiences are defined as those which involve clients in the "dynamic process of co-production" (Hayes & MacLeod, 2006, p. 48). In this process clients are invited to the production of experiences so that they can assign or imbue that

experience with a unique and personalized meaning. In their study of trail pamphlets and brochures Hayes & MacLeod argue that "eliminating negative cues...[and providing] opportunities for engagement and personalization" are ways trails can be packaged to provide more immersive experiences (2006, p. 57). These rather vague prescriptions echo Pecks (2011) critique that vehicular policy ideas are intentionally ambiguous as to fit a wide array of socio-economic contexts. This breadth of applicability, however, is argued to be one of the strengths of the experience economy model (Lorentzen, 2009).

Scholars (Charters, Fountain, & Fish, 2009; Hayes & MacLeod, 2006; Lorentzen, 2009; Therkildsen, Hansen, & Lorentzen, 2009; Quandri-Felitti & Fiore, 2012) argue that the experience economy model can be applied to various cultural tourism sectors and thrives in entrepreneurial policy environments. The experience economy is presented as "the latest state of an [economic] evolution aimed at extracting as much value from the market as possible" (Lorentzen, 2009, p. 830). Furthermore, Lorentzen argues that the experience economy model can be used to create "place-bound" experiences that cannot be reproduced elsewhere, creating a competitive advantage (2009, p. 838). Places can also be used to "help constitute parts of other experience products," such as place-based attractions (Lorentzen, 2009, p. 834; v. Charters et al., 2009). Proponents of the experience economy model also argue that places that have an easily recognizable culture, heritage, and uniqueness can be easily packaged as experiences that clients can consume (Hayes & MacLeod, 2006; Lorentzen, 2009). As stated in the conclusion of the previous section this is particularly advantageous for small cities with walkable, intimate and historic downtowns that can be manipulated to make visitors feel involved and inspired (Lorentzen, 2009). In summary, proponents of the experience city model argue

that strategic intervention and planning policy can be used to transform (urban) spaces into place-bound experience products (Therkildsen et al. 2009).

To effectively re-brand and package their cities as experience destinations local governments are encouraged to adopt an entrepreneurial approach to governance, particularly in terms of economic development and planning (Therkildsen et al., 2009; Lorentzen & Hansen, 2009). Proponents of the experience city model argue that entrepreneurial strategies can dislodge centralized power and bureaucracy, offering more "open dialogue oriented, self-reflexive, transformative, micro-political and locality oriented modes of management and governance" (Therkildsen et al., 2009, p. 928). This is accomplished by empowering more new actors and agents, such as entrepreneurs and civic bodies, entering into public private partnerships, and developing a more flexible and perhaps more democratic approach to governance (Donald, 2005; Therkildsen et al., 2009). In summary, the experience city model calls for the use of entrepreneurial strategic planning and intervention policies to transform urban space(s) into place-bound experience products that cater to "guests, visitors, tourists, and potential future residents" as well as local businesses that are dependent on the patronage of these groups (Therkildsen et al., 2009, p. 938; Lorentzen, 2009; Lorentzen & Hansen, 2009).

In an attempt to test the claims made by supporters of the experience economy Sorensen, Fuglsang, Sundbo (2010) found no strong relationship between the cultural uniqueness of small cities and towns, the presence of the creative class, and growth of the creative/cultural industries. Rather, the study found that the implementation of experience economy models to support creative city initiatives was in fact an attempt by local urban managers to appear as not falling behind (Sorensen et al. 2010). This echoes Prince

(2012) claim that the demand for competitive city policy ideas has create a regime which disciplines municipalities to act, even if it just to present a particular image. The need to appear current or to maintain or improve a position on rankings release by private think tank has been observed as one of the drivers behind implementing competitive city policies (v. Evans, 2009).

Despite criticism and its questionable performance the experience city model is claimed to be particularly beneficial to small cities looking to compete with larger cities (v. Donald & Lewis, 2010; Therkildsen et al., 2009; Lorentzen, 2009). However, it is clearly the ease of applicability of this model within neoliberal policy environment that has driven its popularity. However, the popularity of this model, like the CCT, serves only to reproduce the hegemony of competitive city planning and the neoliberal discourses. That is, both models require the implementation of entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning policies to re-orient or re-structure the socio-spatial arrangements of cities in order to realign them with either, the needs of the creative class, or to create urban environments that can be experienced. In other words, these economic development models effectively encourage the restructuring of the socio-spatial arrangements of cities in order to make them more competitive in a global and post-industrial economy. However, this is not to say that all competitive city planning practices are necessarily branded as one model or another. Rather, as I illustrate below, some urban mangers have implemented competitive city initiatives without using a particular brand.

2.4.3 – Market needs and middle-class tastes

The competitive city models discussed above are not radically different from

more generic economic development initiatives that focus on urban boosterism. Rather, contemporary entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning policies, based on either the CCT, clustering/agglomeration or the experience economy are a nuanced approach to attracting people, investors, and industry. For example Rousseau has shown that symbolic or image focused competitive city planning policies can be used by "loser cities" to attract new middle-classes back to the inner city (2009, p. 771). To achieve their goal, loser cities can implement symbolic policies to rebrand their image as reflects middle-class tastes. Such policies not only signal to property developers that property values are increasing (Rousseau, 2009), but also fuel the speculation that results in increased property values (Immergluck, 2009). In attracting both the middle-classes and property developers these symbolic policies initiate the process of inner-city residential gentrification (Rousseau, 2009). More broadly, these loser cities seek to initiate processes of urban revitalization – perhaps more accurately defined as urban restructuring – by stimulating and channelling flows of both market and human capital. This approach to economic development is no less entrepreneurial or even different from Florida's 3T/creative class theory (2002) or the experience economy model (Lorentzen, 2009). Tapping into and channelling global market and human capital flows towards inner-city urban centres is not only used to revitalize inner city centres, but also to boost or even restart the urban economy (Schlichtman, 2009).

By facilitating global market forces to exploit local assets cities can develop "an economic specialization in a specific segment of the global service economy" (Schlichtman, 2009, p. 105). In order to create this economic specialization and transform a post-industrial loser city into "niche city" local governments must allow urban spaces to

be re-aligned by global market forces (Schlichtman, 2009, p. 105). This realignment is expressed in the transformation of the urban core into a “totalizing landscape”; this landscape reflects the city's capacity to absorb and facilitate the economic processes and activities of a particular segment of the service economy (Schlichtman, 2009, p. 120). However, as Schlichtman rightfully points out, the transformation of a city into a niche city requires local governments to offer priority of land use to the economic actors and agents which make up a specific segment of the service economy (2009, p. 119). This means that cities must have control over land-use, and must use this control to allow private interests to re-align or re-structure socio-spatial arrangements of the inner-city according to their needs. However, scholars warn that the increased regulation of public property to attract and facilitate economic growth can transform publically owned space(s) into "pseudo-private property" (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008, p. 56). That is, property that is publically owned, but regulated so that does not negatively impact privately property values and accommodate private sector interests (v. Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Schlichtman's notion of the niche city is yet another example of competitive city planning (2009). That is, the niche city idea can be applied to a wide range of contexts, and relies on the restructuring of urban spaces as to allow the exploitation of locally available assets. Therefore, the niche city idea is another expression of entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning which focuses on urban revitalization and restructuring to achieve economic competitiveness.

2.5 – Conclusion

The literature indicates that entrepreneurial economic development and strategic planning practices have come together in the form of competitive city urban planning.

Urban managers use competitive city planning to target and facilitate the growth of ostensibly new economies, such as the cultural economy, the creative economy, or the experience economy, to succeed in a post-industrial economy (v. Peck, 2005, 2011). Scholars argue that the implementation of these competitive city policies is largely due to global proliferation of neoliberal thought (v. Kifer & Keil, 2002; Bourne, 2004). Proponents of competitive city policies argue that further (neoliberal) restructuring is needed, particularly in Canada, to remove the institutional and bureaucratic barriers that limit the growth of the cognitive/cultural industries (Donald, 2005; Lewis & Donald, 2010). In contrast, other scholars (Evans, 2009) warn that the proliferation of generic vehicular policy ideas may actually erode any potential competitive advantage, particularly for smaller cities competing on an inter-urban/regional scale, as more places seek to appeal to the creative class and developers. More importantly, however, the widespread application of various forms of competitive city policies points to the establishment of an institutional governmentality that is distinctly neoliberal.

The concept of neoliberalism as governmentality sheds light onto why city governments continually implement policies which only intensify inter/intra urban and global competition for market and human capital (v. Larner, 2000; Walks, 2009). Keil argues that after 30 years of policy experimentation with neoliberalism it no longer needs to be aggressively enforced by think tanks or governments (2009). Rather, various levels of government, particularly in Ontario, where municipalities must submit performance indicator reports (v. Schatteman, 2010), now govern themselves according to the general norm of competition, efficiency, and market rule (Keil, 2009). This is also evident in the need for cities to implement new policies as to improve on attractiveness or creativity

rankings and appear to look as if efforts are being made to be competitive (v. Evans, 2009; Sorensen et al., 2010). This suggests that city governments in Ontario as well as abroad are now simply rolling with neoliberalism (Keil, 2009, p. 323). This roll-with-it neoliberal policy environment has created a situation in which city governments seek to transform urban spaces into manicured, aestheticized, regulated, and festivalized pseudo-private spaces that are reserved for agents of a global service economy as well as tourists, creatives, and middle-class consumers in search of cultural capital (v. Zukin, 1987, 1995; Lorentzen, 2009; Florida, 2002; Rousseau, 2009; Schlichtman, 2009). With the establishment of a global fast policy network it is clear that these trends are indeed long term. However, what is unclear is how these global discourses shape the economic development and planning policies of a medium-sized city like St. Catharines. Is St. Catharines simply another loser city that is revitalizing its downtown to attract middle-class consumers? To what extent has the DCCMP been influenced by vehicular ideas? This thesis seeks to answer these questions and add to the wider body of literature on economic development and how planning policy is used to foster particular socio-spatial patterns of development in a medium sized Canadian city.

2.6 – Methodology

The literature review illustrates that neoliberal discourses have become global, shaping the policies of governments at all levels. This thesis focuses on the use of competitive city planning policies in a mid-sized Canadian city in southern Ontario. Specifically, it seeks to add to the larger body of literature on neoliberal path dependency, how it is articulated in the economic development and planning policies of a medium-sized city, and how these policies lead to particular socio-spatial development patterns.

St. Catharines was chosen as the focus of my analysis for several reasons. First, the City of St. Catharines recently implemented a long term economic development and urban revitalization strategy, the DCCMP. The development of the DCCMP, as stated in Chapter 1, was partially due to the introduction of new Provincial policies. These new policies, specifically the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe*, created not only the mandate for the DCCMP, but also provided the funding for its development and implementation. My analysis of the DCCMP could therefore shed light on: (a) how neoliberal discourses shape the planning practices and therefore urban spaces of a medium-sized Canadian city, and (b) illustrate the ways in which neoliberal discourses are reproduced through planning policy in Ontario. Second, I chose St. Catharines due to access/availability of information. As a student at Brock University, and a resident of St. Catharines, access the City's documents – many of which are not available online – was made readily available through my thesis committee or personal contacts. As a result data collection is less difficult. Lastly, I chose St. Catharines as I was, at the time of writing, as a long time resident/patron of the downtown. As such I had, and continue to have, a vested personal interest and connection to city and the downtown. In summary, my choice to analyze the DCCMP, and not the policies of another medium-sized Canadian city, was due to a desire to fill a gap in the literature as well as convenience and personal interest. Below I describe, explain, and justify the methods used in my analysis of the DCCMP.

2.7 – Epistemological Approach: Discourse, truth, and the DCCMP

The literature on discourse analysis (DA) is broad, diverse, and changes depending on the theories that underpin a researcher's approach to understanding the

world (v. Titsher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000; Aitken, 2005; Dittmer, 2010; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Tonkiss, 2012). My approach to DA is based on the work of Michael Foucault (1980) in that it focuses on the effects of (neoliberal) discourses on the *statements* which constitute the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP, and the *practice* of using planning policy produce the socio-spatial arrangements necessary to execute these initiatives (v. Mills, 2004). In other words, my DA examines the relationship between discursively defined statements and practices and their affect on downtown St. Catharines.

To explore these discursive relationships and their material impacts I use methodology that consists of two components. The first component is a qualitative content analysis (QCA). The second is a textual discourse analysis (TDA). These two methods – which I describe and explain in detail below – are designed to provide me with insights into how the hegemony of neoliberal discourses has shaped the production of truth, and how these truths lead to actions which in turn reproduce established discourses (v. Foucault, 1980; Dittmer, 2010). My DA is therefore a "symptomatic reading" of *how* broadly accepted and institutionalized neoliberal discourses have come to shape what is said (e.g. *statements*) in the DCCMP, and what is done (e.g. *practices*) to account for what is said (Aitken 2005, p. 236; v. Foucault, 1980; Rose, 2001; Roth, 2005; Tonkiss, 2012). This is done by examining the context in which texts are produced (Dittmer, 2010) as well as the language used – referred to as "language-in-use" – to constitute and give meaning to economic development, urban revitalization, and the use of planning policy to manipulate the material form of the downtown as presented in the DCCMP (Allen & Hardin, 2001, p. 168; v. Tonkiss, 2012). In what follows I detail what

constitutes as a QCA and a TDA in this thesis, and how I use the methods. In the final section of this I discuss why the methods I have chosen are appropriate to my research goals.

2.8 – A Discourse Analysis of the DCCMP: the two components

As stated above, this methodology is composed of two components, a QCA and a TDA. The QCA is used to reduce what is said in the DCCMP to only content that pertains to economic development, urban revitalization, and the use of planning policy to transform the downtown into a creative cluster (v. Slater, 1998; Roth, 2005; Schreier, 2012). The second component is a textual discourse analysis (TDA). The TDA interrogates the QCA to determine *how* the truths regarding economic development, urban revitalization, and the use of planning policy to establish a creative cluster are constructed in the DCCMP (v. Dittmer, 2010; Tonkiss, 2012). The sub-sections below, following a discussion on the impacts of subjectivity on the process of data collection and interpretation, describe and explain the methods that make up my DA.

2.8.1 – Truth claims and subjectivity

Research designs and the data they yield are shaped by subjectivity (Cragg & Cook, 2007). Discourse and textual analysis methods are no exception. Some scholars even warn that content and discourse analysis methods leave little room for a researcher to be reflexive (Titsher et al. 2000; Rose, 2001; Roth, 2005). To address this limitation it is important to recognize that any truth-claims regarding this topic are the result of a subjective interpretation of a text (v. Tonkiss, 2012; Schreier, 2012). Furthermore, my social situatedness and positionality also shapes how I come to produce, interpret, and present my findings (v. Jensen & Glasmeier, 2010). In this sense, I cannot and, do not,

claim to have an objective view or to be detached from the reality in which the DCCMP exist (v. Crang & Cook, 2007). On the contrary, I see my claims about the DCCMP as limited by situatedness. Furthermore, I see my claims as context specific; that is, the generalizations I make about the text are limited to the context in which the text was produced, and any claims which extend beyond this context are analytical and not empirical in nature.

These epistemological caveats mean that any claims I make regarding the DCCMP are not absolute, but a product of my positionality, subjectivity, and relative to the context in which they are made. My thesis is therefore not intended to apprehend a pre-existing reality, or to ascertain truths in the DCCMP that are awaiting discovery. Rather, my project explores of the many ways in which an established discourse has shaped the reality as constructed in the DCCMP, and how this reality makes certain actions become more or less possible. In addition to recognizing the epistemological limitations of qualitative research this methodology is designed to be rigorous, internally valid, and transparent. The following two sections detail the components of the methodology.

2.8.2 – Component 1: the qualitative content analysis

A qualitative content analysis (QCA) involves the development and application of a coding frame to describe and summarize text (Titsher et al. 2000; Crang, 2005; Roth, 2005, Tonkiss, 2004; Schreier, 2013). The content or data produced through a QCA describes how the author(s) of a text speak about the topic of a study (v. Crang, 2005; Slater, 2004; Schreier, 2012). In this project I use a QCA to code the DCCMP for content that describes what is said about economic development and urban revitalization

initiatives, as well as the function of planning policy in the execution of these initiatives. Below I describe and explain the QCA developed for this project.

My QCA involves the development and application of a rigorous coding frame that is narrow in focus, but at the same time based on "analytic induction" to provide depth to the data (Crang, 2005, p. 224; Allen & Hardin, 2001; Crang, 2005; Roth, 2005; Crang & Cook, 2008; Schreier, 2012). This balanced approach is reflected in the categories that make up the coding frame; the coding frame is made up of one "concept driven" *main* category, three "data-driven" *sub* categories, and one miscellaneous *sub* category (Schreier, 2012, p. 84-85). Using this rigid coding frame imposes a set of parameters on the coding process, allowing only content relevant to the research questions to become data used for further analysis (v. Roth, 2005; Schreier, 2012). To establish and maintain rigour and transparency the categories that make up the coding frame were developed through a process shaped by strict guidelines.

The first step in the process was to develop main categories that are based on knowledge and information drawn from sources outside the DCCMP (v. Schreier, 2012). As there is only one *main* category in the coding frame, this *main* category is the only one that is based on knowledge drawn from outside the DCCMP. The next step in the process is to define the main category (v. Schreier, 2012). A category definition, regardless of hierarchal level, is made up of two mandatory components, a name and a description, and two optional components, examples and decision rules (Schreier, 2012). Once the *main* category is defined it is used to code the DCCMP for *relevant content* (v. Schreier, 2012). This preliminary round of coding involves using Adobe Acrobat® to highlight content deemed generally relevant to the *main* category. Content coded as *relevant* is not

reproduced in the coding frame. Rather, the *relevant* content is analyzed for the development of data-driven *sub* categories. The process used for the analysis of the *relevant* content is referred to as "subsumption" (Schreier, 2012, p. 115; Titcher et al. 2000).

The sub categories developed through this process are particularly important as they capture themes and ideas that do not fit within, or would not be captured by, concept-driven categories (Crang, 2005; Schreier, 2012). The process of subsumption is particularly useful as it ensures that all *relevant* content is captured in at least one sub category; this is required for the development of a rigorous coding frame (v. Schreier, 2012). Once data-driven categories are established they are defined with a name, a description, examples, and decision rules (if necessary). The definitions ensure that the *sub* categories used are mutually exclusive, satisfying another main requirement of a rigorous and internally valid coding frame (v. Schreier, 2012). Once sub categories are defined the coding frame is deemed complete. The final coding frame was composed of three data-driven *sub categories*, and one miscellaneous *sub category*. As the *sub categories* are based on an analysis of the *relevant* content, then all *relevant* content should fit within the data-driven *sub categories*, and the miscellaneous *sub category* should remain empty (v. Schreier, 2012). If *relevant* content does not fit within any data-driven *sub categories*, and is coded as miscellaneous, then the coding frame must be reviewed. Furthermore, before the coding frame is applied it must be reviewed by my supervisor. This is a particularly important step in the development of a rigorous coding frame (v. Schreier, 2012). The complete and supervisor reviewed coding frame is then used to conduct the final coding procedure.

In this final round content previously coded *relevant* is coded again to generate the data of the QCA. As the coding frame used for the QCA is made up of three *sub categories*, including a miscellaneous *sub category*, the final coding round cannot be executed all at once; Schreier (2012) recommends that beginners do not code for more than three sub categories at a time. In light of this I code the *relevant* content in two stages. In the first stage I code for sub categories 1 and 2, followed by a second stage in which I code for sub categories 3 and 4. To facilitate this final coding round all *relevant* content is segmented prior to coding (v. Schreier, 2012, p. 126). To ensure the coding process is rigorous, as is required in a QCA, I perform this final coding round twice, leaving two days in between each round (v. Schreier, 2012). The data generated in this final coding round are reproduced in the coding frame under the column *sub category elements and content*; please refer to the Appendix. The data in this column is arranged under data-driven sub headings. The data is reproduced in this column to illustrate that all *relevant* material was captured in the final coding round (v. Roth, 2005; Schreier, 2012). The data in this column consists of textual excerpts with context units as well as figure and page numbers of images identified as *relevant* (v. Schreier, 2012). The data generated in this final coding round constitutes a “chain of signifiers” that describes what is said about a topic captured by each sub category (Allen & Hardin, 2001, p. 168).

The results of a QCA, however, are more than a collection of signifiers that describe a text. Rather, the results constitute a theory on what is thought and said specifically about economic development and urban revitalization initiatives, as well as the role of planning policy in their execution (v. Roth, 2005). The results are described and contextualized in Chapter 3. However, there are several limitations to a QCA. First,

while a QCA is useful in describing what is said in a text, the use of a rigid coding frame necessarily excludes all content that does not fit the research parameters. That is, content that does not fit within the definition of a *main* category – my coding frame consists of only one *main* category – then that content will be excluded from further analysis. This limitation, cannot be eliminated as it is inherent to the QCA used here. However, its impacts can be reduced by making the main category particularly broad (v. Schreier, 2012). A second limitation of the a QCA is that it cannot be used to explain patterns of *how* or *why* certain ways of thinking/describing a concept came to be inscribed in a text (v. Deacon, Pickering, Golding, & Murdock, 1999; Schreier, 2012). Also, a QCA is not effective at identifying latent content, what is absent from a text, and cannot be used to explain these absences. This is why it is recommended that a QCA be combined with more critical methods, such as a textual discourse analysis (v. Roth, 2005; Schreier, 2012).

2.8.3 – *Component 2: the textual discourse analysis*

The TDA is used to interrogate the QCA results and determine how and why particular constructions about economic development, urban revitalisation, and planning policy appear in the DCCMP. My approach to TDA is rooted in coding the QCA result to identify key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, examining characterization and agency, and locating emphasis and silences (v. Tonkiss; 2012). The TDA unfolds a follows.

The first step of the TDA is to cast away any pre-existing notions about the text (Waite, 2005: 180; Tonkiss, 2012). Tonkiss stresses that all claims made about a text must be grounded in both textual evidence *and* a detailed argument, and not a predetermined

data-set or selective description (2012). However, to totally suspend our own political views and subtle inclinations towards a text is impossible due to our subjective understanding of the world (Crang & Cook, 2007). Therefore, all we can do is question the tranquility with which we construct and accept our own interpretation of a text (Rose, 2001). The second step of the TDA is becoming familiar with the text (Waite, 2005:180). The familiarization process is a preliminary review of the DCCMP and an introduction to the texts interpretative repertoire. This step in the process is completed during the QCA. As such, I would be thoroughly familiar with the content of the DCCMP and well positioned to conduct the TDA coding exercise.

The TDA coding process is based on the work of Fran Tonkiss (v. 2004, 2012). Tonkiss (2012) provides four general guidelines on how to code content in a TDA; they are: coding for key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, and emphasis and silence. The identification of key themes and arguments is done by locating reoccurring ideas and the themes behind them (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 413). This involves coding the QCA results to identify repeating, explicit, and explained ideas or "manifest" content (Dowler, 2004, p. 577). The second phase of the process focuses on coding for *patterns of association and variation* (v. Tonkiss, 2012). Coding for patterns of association and variation identifies how and where in the text an author attempts to imbue their statements with authority to convince the reader. These patterns can be located in areas of the text where truth-claims appear to be sanctioned by already established texts or experts; this is a rhetorical tactic referred to as "intertextuality" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). Intertextuality is therefore "interdiscursive" as it allows the transference of authority and exercise of power from one text to another (Fairclough,

1995, p.135). In this sense, authors build on and borrow each other's statements to constitute or marginalize truths. Coding for patterns of association helps identify what texts or experts have shaped what is presented as true in a text (v. Tonkiss, 2012). In summary, coding for patterns of association and variation highlights the ways in which knowledge resources are used to support truth claims made in the DCCMP.

The third phase of TDA coding seeks to identify "character and agency" (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 415). Character refers to the authors voice, particularly how the authors voice has authority, while agency refers to the presence or silence of other voice(s) (Tonkiss, 2012). Coding for character therefore identifies statements that highlight author(s) "institutional location"; that is; their ability to make truth-claims in relation to the established regime of truth rather than use texts or experts to illustrate and justify their claims (Rose, 2001, p. 158). Tonkiss argues that the voice of political discourse is often characterized by a need to fulfill a duty to the public in the name of good governance and effective statecraft (2012, p. 415). However, as the DCCMP is a planning document, one sanctified as truth by broader legal discourses, the institutional location of the text is predetermined. The authors of the DCCMP only have the choice to make this explicit or not. Therefore, coding for character is less important than to coding for agency.

Agency refers to coding for voices that are present or intentionally silenced in a text (v. Tonkiss, 2012). Active voices are identified and empowered through positive intertextual associations. Voices active in a text are those which are considered important, valuable, and in need of representation. Passive voices – which often state competing truths – are generally not intertextually associated, but may be negatively associated so they are discredited (v. Tonkiss, 2012). Passive voices can be coded by identifying the

use of “nominalisation”; a process where words are arranged in a way to imbue a voice with a passive and unconvincing tone (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 416). In summary, coding the QCA results for agency is important as it identifies the groups that are permitted to speak through the DCCMP. Coding for agency illustrates that truth-claims made in the DCCMP are not *a priori* truths, but constructed within a particular context and subject to the political economy (v. Foucault, 1980; Tonkiss, 2012; Crang & Cook, 2007).

The fourth and final coding phase attempts to locate areas of conspicuous emphasis, and the active presence of the invisible and silent (v. Waitt, 2005; Tonkiss, 2012). Emphasis refers to the use of vague and incoherent descriptors that (over)emphasize and dilute concrete meaning with ambiguous details (v. Tonkiss, 2012). Content which carries emphasis is considered "latent" as it carries meaning that is implied or apparently self-evident and not explained (Dowler, 2004, p. 577). Silences represent another form of latent content that is used to bridge, maintain or build gaps between discourses (Tonkiss, 2012; Waitt, 2005). Silences are also often used to create a void where commonly held assumptions will fall easily into place (Waitt, 2005). Coding for silences can therefore be used to identify where in a text authors rely on what is assumed to be the readers discursively constituted understanding of the world (Tonkiss, 2012; Rose, 2001). Similar to agency, silences also identify what is not present in the text. However, coding for silences requires an in-depth knowledge of the topics discussed in a text (v. Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Tonkiss, 2012; Schreier, 2012). Therefore, any claims made using content coded as silent or latent requires the use of secondary literature. Coding for emphasis and silences is the last step in the TDA. The same four TDA coding guidelines are used when coding non-textual content.

As a planning document, the DCCMP is full of pictures, diagrams and maps. This non-textual content, like language-in-use, (re)produces and transmits meaning (v. Rose, 2001; Crang & Cook, 2007). Therefore, non-textual content is politically motivated and in no way representative of a naturally occurring reality. On the contrary, non-textual communication is a powerful convincing tool that portrays a reality that apparently exists and can be captured and represented fully in a photograph, map, or diagram (Crang, 2010). This apparent reality, however, is produced and its production is concealed from the reader/viewer (Aitken, 2005). Maps are a particularly powerful tool as they impose and reflect an apparent order onto what is a chaotic reality (Aitken, 2005). It has also been argued that maps are masculine representations as they often reflect an apparent reality that is masculine, objective, and perhaps imperialist (Crang, 2010, p. 211). In summary, non-textual communication can be used to present an apparent reality, one that can be used to marginalize alternative representations of seeing and representing the world (v. Rose, 2001; Aitken & Craine, 2005). Therefore, all non-textual content captured during the QCA is subjected to a *visual* discourse analysis. The analysis is designed to determine what discourses shape the meaning and purpose of the non-textual material (e.g. map, image, conceptual rendering). To do this, the non-textual content, as with textual content, is coded according to Tonkiss's four guidelines; that is, non-textual content which was captured and coded in the QCA, such images, maps, and diagrams, along with their descriptions, is then coded for key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, and emphasis and silences. It is important to note that the visual discourse analysis is secondary textual discourse analysis. This is largely because the DCCMP is a textual document in which non-textual

communication is used to supplement or illustrate ideas and statements conveyed via language-in-use. Despite its supplementary function, non-textual content is productive – in that it does work for the authors – and needs to be analyzed to provide a more detailed understanding of the discourses that shape the DCCMP (v. Rose, 2001; Aitken & Craine, 2005). The coding of non-textual content concludes the TDA coding process.

The TDA coding process itself, although involving several steps, is repeated for each sub category using a simple process. This process involves coding the QCA results with four colours: red = key themes/arguments, green = variation/association, cyan = character/agency, purple = emphasis/silence. The results of TDA coding process can be reviewed the Appendix. The TDA results are then analyzed in relation to literature and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. There are, however, several limitations and challenges to the implementation of a TDA that must be addressed. The first and major limitation is the lack of a standardized discourse analysis methodology (v. Rose, 2001; Davis, 2008; Dittmer, 2010; Tonkiss, 2012; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This lack of consensus is due to the goal and data-driven nature of discourse analysis (Deacon, 2007; Dittmer, 2010; Tonkiss, 2012). As a result, analysts/researchers must build their methodologies to suit their research goals and questions. This data-driven approach may be useful to experienced researchers/analysts, but may overwhelm first time users, resulting in data sets which are unreliable (Dittmer, 2010). This is compounded by the second limitation, the researcher/analyst's knowledge base. The TDA approach used here requires the DCCMP to be coded for emphasis or silence (i.e. latent content). However, without prior knowledge on how emphasis is used, or how to recognize silences, the researcher/analyst may overlook valuable content (v. Crang, 2005). This is why any claims made using the

results of a TDA must qualified with secondary literature. Otherwise the argument made by the researcher/analyst will be unconvincing (Tonkiss, 2012).

Although difficult to design and implement for first time users (Dittmer, 2010), the lack of a rigid how-to process means DA offers unparalleled flexibility as a research method (Tonkiss, 2012). That is, a DA methodology can be designed around research interests, research goals, and material (e.g. interview transcripts, legal documents). Therefore, the methodology proposed here is based on the work of critical geographers and Foucauldian scholars (v. Philp, 1987; Rose, 2001; Aitken, 2005; Mills, 2007; v. Crang, 2010; Tonkiss, 2012), and is designed to provide data which can be analyzed for: (a) the ways in which the DCCMP produces and reproduces particular ways of thinking about and practicing economic development and urban revitalization; and (b) how this leads to the use of planning policy to foster particular social spatial arrangements (i.e. transform the downtown into creative cluster).

2.9 – Conclusion: Reflecting on a Methodology

The methods used to achieve these goals are tailored around my data source, the DCCMP. The methods I use are designed to help me understand truth-claims made in the DCCMP, the discourses that shape the knowledge used for the production of these truth-claims, and what actions these truths do or do not permit (v. Foucault, 1980, Mills, 2004). The QCA is used to reduce the DCCMP to only the content that is relevant to the research. While one of the drawbacks using a QCA to describe a text is the potential loss of content due to the rigidity of coding frame, the definition of the *main* category was left intentionally broad as to produce multiple *sub* categories and *sub* category components. The TDA is then used to analyze the QCA results in order to shed light onto what the text

is doing and for what purposes. This is done relying on secondary literature to explain the TDA coding patterns. In combination the QCA and TDA will allow me to conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP.

My focus on text of the DCCMP is underpinned by the assumption that “language is performative” and constitutes part of a “system of statements that construct objects” and ideas used to give meaning to the material world, our subjectivities, and our practices (Benford & Gough, 2006, p. 430). By examining and contextualizing key themes or arguments, what is not said, what voices are present in or absent in a text, it is possible to theorize as to what discourses define the knowledge used in the production of truth in that text (Rose, 2001; Aitken, 2005; Roth, 2005; Tonkiss, 2012). The methodology proposed here is designed to examine the ways in which truth-claims are constructed in the DCCMP. This is done by mining the text of the DCCMP to develop a data set which will help me to understand the influence of neoliberal discourses, and the effect these discourses on planning policy, and how it is used to foster particular socio-spatial relations in downtown St. Catharines. In the next chapter I present the results of the QCA to illustrate what is said in the DCCMP regarding these concepts. In later chapters I theorize their make-up and their meaning.

Chapter 3 – Provincial policy, the DCCMP, and the Content Analysis Results

3.0 – Introduction

This chapter focuses on results of the context analysis and the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). Therefore, the chapter has two sections. The first section focuses on the context analysis. The purpose of the context analysis is to provide background information on the policy environment that led to the development of the DCCMP. Specifically, it describes changes in planning that occurred in St. Catharines before and after the *Growth Plan* was introduced in June 2005. The goal is to trace the origins of the DCCMP as well as test the validity of the QCA results. That is, as the DCCMP is a product of the policy context in St. Catharines the context analysis should speak to the QCA results and vice versa (v. Roth, 2005; Schreier, 2012). Gaps between the context analysis and the QCA results should be explored as they can point to methodological weaknesses. Furthermore, gaps can also point to the presence of active silences or latent content that needs further analysis. Finally, the context analysis will also help illustrate the importance of the QCA results discussed below by providing a frame of reference (Dittmer, 2010; Tonkiss, 2012). In summary, the context analysis is used to help contextualize my claims as to what is said in the DCCMP about urban revitalization and economic development initiatives, and the socio-spatial arrangements that result due to their implementation. The results of the QCA follow the context analysis.

The goal of this QCA summary is not to simply reproduce the QCA results, which can be found in the Appendix, but to provide a detailed description of only those aspects of the DCCMP that are the most interesting and the most relevant to the research questions. The QCA results presented here constitute a theory on what is said in the

DCCMP about topics relevant to the research questions (v. Roth, 2005). Discussion is only relevant in relation to the context in which it exists, hence the importance of a context analysis, and does not represent the apprehension or discovery of *a priori* truths. Rather, the QCA results are a subjective and purposeful reading of the text. Any claims made using a QCA must therefore be made modestly and their deeply politicized nature must be recognized (v. Rose, 2001; Roth, 2005; Crang, 2010; Tonkiss, 2004, 2012). Despite these important epistemological caveats the QCA results are no less valid or rigorously developed. On the contrary, the results are quite definitive due to the rigid structure of the coding frame, the coding process, and the level of saturation exhibited by the results.

The QCA results clearly indicate that the DCCMP is a deeply interventionist urban revitalization strategy, one characterized by massive public expenditures to exploit and converge on existing assets to create a specific environment. The purpose of the DCCMP is to create or engineer a particular type of downtown environment, referred to as a creative cluster, in order to achieve a very specific set of intended social and economic outcomes in addition to achieving the urban density targets set out by the Province. In other words, the DCCMP is a plan to use planning policy to foster the development of particular socio-spatial arrangements. The QCA results also indicate that the make-up or design of these socio-spatial arrangements is clearly underpinned by economic development and revitalization theories – or vehicular ideas (v. Peck, 2010) – that focus on packaging places to (re)brand them as hubs and destinations, create buzz around publically funded flagship projects, raise property values, and stimulate retail and residential gentrification. The DCCMP is therefore a calculated and multi-faceted plan to

re-arrange the socio-spatial relations to reflect consumption habits, values, employment/employers, and living arrangements of particular groups, with the purpose of attracting these groups and increasing the urban density of the downtown. To contextualize these claims I begin with a context analysis.

3.1 – Context analysis: Planning Policy in St. Catharines, Ontario

This context analysis describes the planning policy environment that led to the development of the DCCMP. A part of the context analysis was presented in Chapter 1, where I introduce the history of Niagara and St. Catharines, as well as in Chapter 2, in which I discuss how neoliberal discourses have shaped Ontario's planning legislation. The following discussion specifically focuses on the legislative and political environment in which the DCCMP was developed. The focus of the context analysis is shaped by the research questions. That is, the discussion focuses on the role of economic development and urban revitalization initiatives and their relationship with and impact on planning policy prior to the implementation of the DCCMP. The data for the forthcoming discussion is drawn primarily from a review of over 10 years of various City of St. Catharines committee meeting minutes, studies, and reports. The meeting minutes are a particularly rich source of data as they speak to and describe the setting which falls under the purview of my study (v. Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Furthermore, Roth stresses that researchers using textual analysis methods must provide a detailed description of the context, as it is the context which mediates and frames statements made in a text like the DCCMP (2005). In other words, the DCCMP is the product of a particular historical context, therefore the context can tell us something about the DCCMP just like the

DCCMP can tell us something about the context in which it was developed and implemented.

The context analysis begins with a brief review of the policy environment that existed prior to the *Growth Plan*. I contend that the policy environment in St. Catharines clearly transitioned towards entrepreneurialism prior to the implementation of the *Growth Plan* in 2005. The *Growth Plan* helped to entrench and support this entrepreneurial approach as it helped justify the City's aggressive pursuit of economic competitiveness through downtown revitalization. The direction and the building blocks of the City's economic development and downtown revitalization policies were introduced in two discussion papers, *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities (2007)* and *Creating a Vibrant Downtown (2007)*. The strategic recommendations proposed in these discussion papers initiated the development of the provincially funded *2007 Comprehensive Plan for Downtown St. Catharines*. Many of the goals and recommendations of the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* have been incorporated as the foundational elements of the DCCMP. The directions of the DCCMP also received support from an economic transition plan titled *The St. Catharines - Thorold Prosperity Council Paths to Prosperity Report (2008)*. The development of this transition plan was required as it fulfilled a condition for additional Provincial funding that was to be used for the development and implementation of the DCCMP. However, as the context analysis and QCA results show, the idea of tying together downtown revitalization and economic development initiatives in order to transform the creative cluster, a concept clearly influenced by Richard Florida's Creative Class Theory (CCT), was introduced in the DCCMP itself. Furthermore, although the DCCMP clearly builds on existing

initiatives and policies it does so to push the City towards new and emerging economic markets, like the creative economy and arts-based cultural tourism. This transformation, however, began with the City's embrace of entrepreneurial planning practices.

3.1.1 – The St. Catharines Policy Environment

Planning in St. Catharines until the year 2002-03 was a relatively managerial and regulatory pursuit. This is evident in the rather broad and generic policy statements such as: "the policies in this [housing and the residential environment] section are intended to manage growth in a manner that maintains the character of existing neighborhoods, having particular regard for context and compatibility" (City of St. Catharines, 1971, p. 15); or "the City's primary role will be to provide for, facilitate, and support" development and redevelopment of industrial and commercial lands (City of St. Catharines, 1971, p. 21). While these two statements are not meant to be representative of the whole 1971 Official Plan, they do reflect its rather unspecific and open-ended tone. This tone is repeated in the Central Area Secondary Plan; a component of the 1971 Official Plan that focused on the downtown. The Secondary Plan, however, did not recognize the downtown as an area in need, or requiring investment or special attention. Rather, the Secondary Plan simply identifies seven objectives to "promote the development of a strong mixed-use profile in the downtown and to improve its role as a major economic and social centre for the City" (City of St. Catharines, 1971: Sec.15), as well as describe what types of land-use arrangements the City will encourage and the function of these arrangements. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully explore and characterize the discourses that constitute the 1971 St. Catharines Official Plan, it is sufficient at this point to highlight that planning prior to 2002-03 had a more regulatory

character, and that the City was more concerned with compatibility between land-uses, providing enough parks/green space, and civic identity than attracting investment. The adoption of an Official Plan Amendment in 2003 introduced entrepreneurial planning practices that were new to the 1971 Official Plan. These new practices paved the way for the development of the DCCMP and the restructuring of the downtown.

3.1.2 – The pre-Growth Plan (2005) policy era

Prior to the *Growth Plan* and the DCCMP the City pursued several downtown revitalization initiatives that were funded by the Federal government and intended to spur residential redevelopment, attract new employment, and increase the City's presence in the tourism industry. The first of these initiatives was a *Comprehensive Development Strategy* (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 10, 2000). The *2001 Comprehensive Development Strategy* was intended to provide "concrete, results oriented action plans for future economic development" that were informed by local organizations and citizens (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 10, 2000, p. 24). The *Comprehensive Development Strategy* focused on four City neighborhoods: Port Dalhousie, West St. Catharines, Merritton, and the Downtown. The Downtown component was to receive particular attention for two main reasons. First, the City was aware that previous attempts to boost the urban economy and revitalize the downtown had failed to produce any significant results. Second, the City recognized that the downtown "serves as a community to those who reside there" as well as a commercial hub for businesses and customers; as such the *2001 Comprehensive Development Strategy* needed to be "focused around the dual identity of the Downtown" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 10, 2000, p. 26). The downtown portion of the *Comprehensive Development Strategy* was presented to Council in January, 2002.

The *2001 Comprehensive Development Strategy* proposed three general recommendations on how to revive the urban economy and revitalize the downtown. These recommendations were: invest in the Information and Communications Technology sector to support the expansion of high-end service sector employment; support and encourage residential development to improve commercial viability, to create a more attractive downtown, and to increase municipal tax revenues; and, to improve traffic flow, control, and parking in the downtown (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2002). The report also states that "if implemented, the recommendations outlined in the Downtown portion of the *2001 Comprehensive Development Strategy* have the potential to transform the downtown in exciting and positive ways" (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2002: Item 34, para. 14). To implement these recommendations planning staff needed permission from Council to update the City's ostensibly out-dated Official Plan and Community Improvement policies.

The request to modify the City's Community Improvement policies came in December 2002 through an Official Plan Amendment. In a report to City Council planning staff state that due to "changes to the planning process...mainly the shift from regulatory planning to incentive based planning policy..." the City's Official Plan, particularly the Community Improvement section, needed to be updated (City of St. Catharines, Dec. 5, 2002: Item 638). The report argues that the Amendment would ensure that Community Improvement Plans are strategically implemented to address the needs of the community through public-private partnerships (City of St. Catharines, Dec. 5, 2002: Item 638). These public-private partnerships, however, were little more than financial incentives – such as funding environmental assessments and other studies, development

charge exemptions, development permit fee exemptions, and facade improvement loans – that were to make redevelopment more attractive for the private sector (City of St. Catharines, Dec. 5, 2002: Item 638).

The Official Plan Amendment marks a well-documented departure from managerial planning to incentive-based or entrepreneurial planning (v. Harvey, 1989). Over the next two years the City worked to develop and implement comprehensive financial incentives and policies, such as the establishing of the Downtown as a Community Improvement Area (City of St. Catharines, 2004: Item 130). As a Community Improvement Area the Downtown had its own Community Improvement Plans (CIP); this is a secondary plan that details what improvements, investments, and incentives a municipality can offer to encourage redevelopment (Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2010). The implementation of the CIP illustrates that the City was, and continues to be, interested in a development friendly planning context to attract investors and facilitate redevelopment. The establishment of CIPs that entice developers through financial incentives signaled that the City had recognized entrepreneurial planning practices as legitimate. In other words, knowledge that incentive based planning was the *right* and *correct* approach to urban planning was assumed as *true*. This suggests a discursive shift occurred, one that allowed new knowledge to be sanctified as truth (v. Foucault, 1980; Mills, 2004). The City's transition towards entrepreneurial planning created a policy environment that was well aligned with the Province's redevelopment oriented *Growth Plan*.

3.1.3 – Planning policy post Growth Plan and Pre DCCMP (2005-2007)

The *Growth Plan* designates downtown St. Catharines as a UGC (see Figure 3 on

next page). This means that the City must manage and direct growth as to reach an *Urban Density* target of "150 residents and jobs per hectare" in the downtown by 2031 (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013, p. 17). Furthermore, the *Growth Plan* mandates all municipalities, with a few exceptions, are to meet a 40% intensification target; that is, 40% of all development after 2015 is to occur within *built-up areas* (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013). Since the *built-up area* in St. Catharines constitutes all lands within the UCG, this means that 40% of all growth after 2015 must occur in the downtown.

As a result *Growth Plan*, in combination with the development limits imposed on the City by the Greenbelt, effectively funnels a significant component of future growth and development towards the downtown. However, despite the Province's mandate and desire to re-urbanize the downtown, the rate and magnitude of growth allotted for St. Catharines is small. That is, the *Growth Plan* assigns population allocations for all municipalities in the Greater Golden Horseshoe (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013). These population allocations are intended to reflect future Census populations. Municipalities are then to plan and accommodate for these allocated future populations. The 2031 population allocation for St. Catharines is 143,800; that is a net growth of 4,900 new residents between 2011 and 2031 (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013: *Schedule 3*; City of St. Catharines, 2012c: 7). Forty percent of this population allocation must be accommodated in the area outlined in Figure 5 (on the next page). This means that the city is to grow by approximately 0.17 percent per year from 2011 to 2031. The 2031 population allocation for St. Catharines indicates that the Province has a rather conservative or perhaps bleak growth outlook for St. Catharines. The *Growth Plan* does not have a universally conservative growth outlook. On the contrary, the *Growth Plan*

seeks to encourage growth in certain areas while restraining growth elsewhere; for example, the population of the County of Simcoe, located about 30 minutes north of Toronto, is expected (and permitted) to grow in excess of 50 percent by 2031 (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013: *Schedule 3*).



Figure 5 - The St. Catharines UGC - the boundaries of the UGC are identified by the red fill (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2008, p. 24)

Despite being allotted a rather conservative amount of growth, the City saw the *Growth Plan* opportunity to aggressively pursue downtown revitalization and economic development.

Curiously, however, the City did not implement any policy changes, enact new by-laws, or fund studies regarding the implementation of the *Growth Plan* for about a

year and seven months after it was released. This silence was partially interrupted in January of 2006 when City Council received a report from the Planning Department regarding the impacts of the *Growth Plan* on the city. The report highlights that the *Growth Plan* requires municipalities with designated UGCs to pursue commercial and office development, paired with infrastructure and transit investment, and improved walking and cycling opportunities, to meet their urban targets (City of St. Catharines, Jan. 23, 2006). Furthermore, and more importantly, the report indicates that Planning staff were pleased that the *Growth Plan* is "consistent with the [City's] overall planning approach," and that the Province has once again taken a leadership role and provided an "overall framework within which municipalities can plan" (City of St. Catharines, Jan. 23, 2006, p. 4). Despite the City's agreement with the interventionist approach taken by the Province in the *Growth Plan*, it was not until February 2007 that City Council began to use the *Growth Plan* to bolster its interest in aggressive pursuit of downtown revitalization.

On February 17th, 2007 the City hosted a day-long strategic planning session where participants, specifically senior City staff and City Councillors, selected five objectives as priorities to improve quality of life in St. Catharines (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2007, p. 11). The five priorities were: enhance communication with residents and municipal/private partners, foster a vibrant downtown, develop strategic prosperity corridors, provide value for tax dollars, and pursue long-term consolidated planning. In the following Council meeting, staff were directed to prepare information reports around these priorities. The reports were to serve as "a starting point for the development of concrete action plans...with agreed upon deliverables" to implement the City's strategic

plan (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2007, p. 11). Out of the five information reports prepared for Council one had a direct impact on the DCCMP.

The report in question is titled *Creating a Vibrant Downtown (2007)*. The report pulls together the results of various studies completed between 1995 and 2005 to define the "seven key components of a revitalized the downtown" (City of St. Catharines, Mar. 2007, p. 3). These components are summarized in the chart (Figure 6) below.

1.	<i>Ease of Access</i>	Address the real and perceived, social and material barriers to access and movement in and throughout the downtown. Furthermore, the City needs to adapt to a decrease in automobile use due to rising energy costs. As a result the City needs to invest in public transportation infrastructure such as cycling routes, and implement transit friendly urban planning policies.
2.	<i>Community Safety</i>	The real and perceived lack of safety results revenue loss for businesses and an eroded sense of pride and community. An increased police presence is recommended to combat the perceived lack of safety in the downtown in combination with the provisioning of social services to protect at-risk individuals from committing criminal acts. Increased lighting in the downtown is recommended to create an inviting pedestrian atmosphere.
3.	<i>Business Support and Development</i>	Leverage the unique downtown shopping experience against generic malls and industrial parks. Support the establishment of local, high-end, boutiques and restaurants to reduce high vacancy rates. Expand on talent retention and business development services, particularly in interactive digital media and the growing creative and cultural sectors.
4.	<i>Civic Attractions</i>	Invest in large, publically funded civic attractions, such as the Performing Arts Centre, to promote the downtown as an appealing destination to an increasingly affluent tourist market. Establish the downtown as a signature destination on the <i>Wine Route</i> – a route through a series of interconnected wine producing towns – as per the <i>Energizing Niagara's Wine Communities Report (2007)</i> . Continue to use public spaces like Montebello Park for events that promote and support local producers.
5.	<i>Centralization of Services</i>	Establish the downtown as the hub of government activity and service delivery. Work with semi-private institutions like Brock University and Niagara Collage to increase their presence in and use of the downtown at various hours.
6.	<i>Residential Development</i>	Increase and support residential development in the downtown in order to populate streets and improve the perception of safety, help achieve minimum density/intensification targets as per the <i>Growth Plan</i> , and improve commercial viability for the establishment of new businesses.
7.	<i>Visual Quality</i>	Improve the visual quality and unique character of the downtown through facade improvements to reflect a positive image to tourists and potential residents. Improving the visual quality of the downtown is a key factor in re-routing the <i>Wine Route</i> through the downtown.

Figure 6: Elements of a Vibrant Downtown

The chart represents what was the *truth* about what is needed for a revitalized and vibrant downtown. These truths are based on expert knowledge gathered from studies completed between 1990 and 2007 on the barriers and challenges to downtown revitalization in St. Catharines. The components of a revitalized downtown listed above are almost identical to the downtown revitalization recommendations made in the 2001 *Comprehensive Development Strategy* (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2002).

This indicates that *Creating a Vibrant Downtown (2007)* did not focus on new or innovative ideas on downtown revitalization or economic development, but instead it reproduced existing truths that had been determined to constitute a revitalized downtown as per the 2001 *Comprehensive Development Strategy*. Furthermore, the report recommends that the seven components summarized above be implemented into a "comprehensive corporate strategy," one that would revitalize the downtown, implement the growth management requirements of the *Growth Plan*, and secure a competitive economic base for the city (City of St. Catharines, Mar. 2007, p. 3, 5). Acting on these recommendations the City implemented the *2007 Comprehensive Plan for Downtown St. Catharines*.

The *2007 Comprehensive Plan* was an initiative to develop a long-term, action based framework that pulled together the seven components of a revitalized downtown to secure economic competitiveness through downtown revitalization. However, *Creating a Vibrant Downtown* was not the only reason why the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* was developed. Rather, as indicated in a July 12, 2007 report to Council, the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* was implemented to take advantage of two inter-related opportunities. The first was the need for a *Growth Plan* implementation strategy. In a

report to Council planning staff claim that in addition to the *UGC* designation and the accompanying density/population and residential intensification requirements the *Growth Plan* called for "investment in region-wide public services, cultural and entertainment use, major transit infrastructure and higher density employment centers" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 21). In other words, City planning staff made it clear to City Council that the *Growth Plan* supports the recommendations made in the *Creating a Vibrant Downtown* report and the direction of the *2007 Comprehensive Plan*. This convergence of City and Provincial interests entrenched the City's approach to downtown revitalization and economic development, and provided irrevocable justification for the exploitation of "key assets that will help anchor, transform and sustain a vibrant sense of place in Niagara's largest urban centre..." (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 21). The *Growth Plan*, therefore, not only created the opportunity but also the need for the implementation of the *2007 Comprehensive Plan*. Another opportunity, presented itself in April 2007 when Brock University formally approached the City with a proposal to build a dedicated arts facility in the downtown core. The proposed facility would be jointly constructed and serve as a campus for Brocks School of Fine and Performing Arts as well as the City's main theater. The cultural facility, however, is intended to be more than the name implies.

The proposed arts facility is intended tie together key assets and catalyze socio-cultural and economic change in the downtown. These key assets would initiate an economic transition away from large scale manufacturing, the City's established but shrinking economic base, and toward a lucrative and booming cultural tourism and knowledge-based/creative economy (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 21). The

proposed arts facility would therefore not only "satisfy the needs of the University, and the St. Catharines cultural community," but also help "promote the downtown as an appealing destination to an increasingly affluent tourist market" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 23). The focus on tourism, particularly wine and viticulture, was underpinned by the 2007 *Energizing Niagara's Wine Communities* report prepared for the Niagara Economic Development Corporation. The report argues that a signature wine destination needs to be established in the downtown core to create wine tourism economic development opportunities (v. Peter J. Smith & Company, Inc., 2007). Furthermore, the report also recommends that the City lobby the Wine Council of Ontario to re-orient the *Wine Route*, a well established tourism corridor, through downtown St. Catharines so that the City may contribute to and take advantage of Niagara's wine tourism industry (v. Peter J. Smith & Company, Inc., 2007). As the QCA illustrate, the re-orientation of the *Wine Route* through the downtown is one of the fundamental goals of the DCCMP and it underpins a number of public infrastructure improvement initiatives. In summary, the proposed arts facility gave the City an opportunity to pursue the development of a comprehensive and well-integrated plan that would anchor new economic and cultural activity in the downtown. The 2007 *Comprehensive Plan* was, therefore, partly an effort to explore how the proposed arts facility could be incorporated into a broader downtown revitalization, economic development, and *Growth Plan* implementation strategy.

3.1.4 – The 2007 *Comprehensive Plan* and the DCCMP

To take advantage of the opportunities presented by the *Growth Plan* and Brock University, and to implement the recommendations of *Creating a Vibrant Downtown*, the

2007 Comprehensive Plan had three deliverables. All three deliverables were financed by the Provincial government in an effort to develop "made in Niagara solutions to enhance economic stability, regional competitiveness, and mobilize local resources" (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). These deliverables were: an *Economic Development Transition Strategy*, a feasibility study for the proposed arts facility, and a long term strategic visioning document that would combine the art facility, the seven components of a vibrant downtown, and *Growth Plan* implementation, into one downtown revitalization and economic development strategy. This last deliverable, which was described as a broad "plan for [downtown] revitalization...that would synthesize a number of economic development opportunities and develop a comprehensive and integrated strategy" would become the DCCMP (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). The *Economic Development Transition Strategy* and the art facility feasibility study, both of which were delivered in August 2008, support urban revitalization and economic development initiatives proposed in the DCCMP. The main purpose of the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* was, therefore, to initiate the development of a downtown revitalization and *Growth Plan* implementation strategy that took advantage of new opportunities and existing assets. This strategy became the DCCMP and its supporting documents.

The context analysis therefore illustrates that the DCCMP is primarily a product of the City's turn away "from regulatory planning [and subsequent turn] to incentive base planning policy," an approach that was supported by the *Growth Plan* (City of St. Catharines, Dec. 5, 2002: Item 638). The transition from managerial to entrepreneurial planning, as illustrated by the establishment of CIPs, the use of financial incentives to entice developers, and the search for strategic investment opportunities to secure

economic competitiveness, was largely an attempt to deal with the effects of rapid economic restructuring and decline which occurred between 1991 and 2001 as illustrated in Chapter 1. The convergence of the City's interest in urban revitalization with Provincial policy that supports strategic planning and entrepreneurial economic development is more than a coincidence. Rather, the convergence of policy interests suggests that the City and the Province are attempting to deal with socio-economic challenges in the same ways or using the same tools. This is evident in the City's exploration of entrepreneurial economic development practices, strategic/incentive-based planning, and downtown revitalization prior the *Growth Plan*. The DCCMP is therefore not simply a response to the *Growth Plan*, but a response to a shift in the relationship between land-use planning, urban revitalization, and economic development, one that could be observed at both the local and Provincial level.

This shift, as I contend throughout this thesis, exemplifies that neoliberal discourses have expanded what constitutes as urban land-use planning. My thesis suggests that urban land-use planning is more than the orderly disposition of land for the purpose of social, economic, and physical efficiency (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2014). Rather, my analysis of the DCCMP suggests that urban land-use planning is primarily focused around engineering environments to achieve economic goals. This means that urban land-use planning in St. Catharines has undergone a shift, one which began with the adoption of incentive based planning practices in 2002-03 and led to the DCCMP. This shift is a product of hegemonic neoliberal and entrepreneurial discourses (v. Foucault, 1980). These discourses have led to the development of a policy environment in which strategic planning and intervention plans, like the *2007*

Comprehensive Plan and the DCCMP, have become the one and only option to economic development and urban revitalization. Furthermore, these discourses also clearly define the best ways to achieve these outcomes. That is, urban land-use planning practices are distinctly neoliberal and entrepreneurial in character as they focus on creating a development friendly policy environment and a development friendly landscape. In this sense, the City engages in a partnership with a wide range of private actors, although not officially, through land-use policy that fosters socio-spatial arrangements that facilitate economic processes. In St. Catharines the development of these socio-spatial arrangements began with the hiring of experts that put together the City's long term downtown revitalization strategy in just eight months.

In October 2007 the City retained *Joseph Bogdan and Associates*, an architectural and urban design firm based out of Toronto, Ontario, for the development of the DCCMP (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). *Bogdan and Associates* quickly sub-contracted the development of DCCMP to several consulting firms, each with a specific purpose: *Sorenson Gravely Lowes Planning Associates Inc.* - Planning, Implementation, Public Consultation, *Hemson Consulting Limited* - Economic Development, Growth Potential and Real Estate, *Dillon Consulting Limited* - Transportation, Parking and Municipal Service Infrastructure, *ENVision/The Hough Group* - Pedestrian Connectivity/ Streetscape Hierarchy, Public Consultation, and *George Friedman, Architect* - Performing Arts and Arts-Related Academic Facilities Consultation. These consultants are referred to as the authors of the DCCMP throughout this thesis. However, as the DCCMP was to incorporate the City's existing downtown revitalization/economic development initiatives with a strategic vision informed by previously conducted

research, the consultants' authorship and ability to contribute ideas to the DCCMP was limited to building on already accepted ideas. Therefore, the consultants are more accurately described as co-authors of the DCCMP; for clarity I simply refer to the consultants as authors. The large number of consultants involved in the development of the DCCMP explains how such a complex and lengthy document can be developed in just eight months. In the following section I describe what is proposed in the DCCMP. The QCA results constitute the data I use in later chapters to illustrate that the City has implemented neoliberal and entrepreneurial land-use practices to increase the urban density of downtown St. Catharines.

3.2 – Summary of the Qualitative Content Analysis Results

As argued in Chapter 2 the repetition and clustering of coding units can provide insight into how an author, or group of authors, thinks about and constructs a discursive object (v. Allen & Hardin, 2001; Tonkiss, 2012; Schreier, 2012). The QCA results indicate that the urban revitalization and economic development strategy proposed in the DCCMP is intended to restructure the socio-spatial arrangements of the downtown in order to achieve a specific set of social and economic goals. This is evident in the web of signifiers that make up what is said in the DCCMP about economic development and urban revitalization initiatives, and the role of planning in the implementation of these initiatives. The discussion below follows the layout of the coding frame for easy reference to the coding units that support my claims/description of what is said in the DCCMP. The codes that make up the data-driven sub categories have been grouped under broad user-defined themes. This helps organize the discussion around themes which are explored further in later chapters. The first of these themes focuses on what is

said in the DCCMP about the assets and barriers that have an impact on the revitalization of the downtown.

3.2.1 – Sub Category 1: Assets and Barriers

The first 64 pages of the DCCMP are characterized by a detailed description of the City's history, the layout of the downtown, the economic base, and the surrounding natural environment. This part of the DCCMP is more than a description of the downtown, but an account of assets that must be exploited and barriers that need to be overcome if the downtown is to become a creative cluster. These assets and barriers can be grouped under four broad categories: policy context, social character, the urban economy, and urban and natural landscape. The first of these categories, policy context, refers to planning policies that either impede or support downtown revitalization via redevelopment. The *Growth Plan* and the Regions cultural heritage policies are regarded as development friendly because they encourage intensification and adaptive reuse of the existing building stock. In contrast, policies which restrict or prescribe development in the downtown, such as the City's then-current Official Plan, are described in negative terms and as barriers to the implementation of the DCCMP. Planning policies that are unobtrusive and flexible are preferred as they are less challenging for investors to navigate. Furthermore, the DCCMP describes a lack of policy as a barrier as it signals a lack of direction and does not inspire investors with confidence. It is recommended that the City take a proactive stance and take the lead on implementing the recommendations proposed in the DCCMP to signal stability and confidence. The DCCMP therefore simultaneously refers to the existing policy context as an asset or as a barrier. However, only policies which are investor/development friendly and support the approach of the

DCCMP are regarded as assets. Those which are complicated, regulatory, and involve complex bureaucracy or impede the development process are seen as barriers to the implementation of the DCCMP. The repeated focus on policies that are development and investor friendly will be analyzed further in the TDA. Another key focus area of the DCCMP is the social character of the downtown.

The social character of the downtown refers to its cultural heritage, its strong civil/institutional presence, and the people that occupy the streets. The City's rich cultural heritage and arts-based culture are components of a social environment that is conducive to the implementation of the DCCMP. The unique and attractive facade of the downtown is of particular interest as it offers a connection to the City's history. At the same time, however, this pleasant social environment seems to be occasionally interrupted by negative cues, such as anti-social behavior of bar patrons that make the downtown appear unsafe. The various cultural heritage features of the downtown, such as building architecture or monuments, also present a historical narrative to visitors. The presence remnants of the first and second Welland Canals are particularly important as they represent potential tourism attractions and offer additional connections to the City's history.

Another major cultural element of the downtown are the various post-secondary and government/civil institutions. It is argued in the DCCMP that these institutions, by attracting workers and students, reaffirm the downtown as a vibrant urban centre and an employment hub. The post-secondary and government/civil institutions are also said to add character to the downtown an attractive place to live and work due to its vibrant street life, at least near the CBD. Finally, the DCCMP points to the presence of artists,

theatre groups, and an active bar/nightlife as beneficial to the revitalization of the Downtown. These institutions are also valuable as they contribute to a the establishment of a people environment that appeals to the creative class (v. Florida, 2002). Finally, these institutions, or more specifically the people they attract, are recognized as assets as they will assist transition the urban economy towards boutique retail, wine and arts-based cultural tourism, and the creative/cultural industries. However, the urban economy seems to be faced with serious challenges. Firstly, the lack of prominent retailers and the presence of undesirable retailers, like tattoo parlours and dollar stores, makes the downtown less attractive to visitors and residents. As a result the downtown appears empty and lacks activity/street animation. Also, the DCCMP describes the downtown as lacking in services and amenities. One of the reasons why the downtown suffers from a lack of attractive, retailers, services, and amenities, is suburban competition and lack of parking.

Suburban shopping destinations are seen as major barriers to the revitalization of the downtown as they attract shoppers and tourists with free parking and easy access to transportation corridors. A lack of sufficient parking in the downtown is seen as *the* deterrent which prevents people and businesses from coming downtown. In order for the urban economy to grow and the downtown to transform into a tourism and shopping destination, the DCCMP recommends addressing the lack of parking and connectivity in/to and through/out the downtown. Despite this parking deficit the downtown is argued to be home to many unique shops and boutique retailers. The presence of these boutique retailers is argued to be an asset, one that can be combined with attractive green spaces,

streetscaping, and multi-modal trails in order to improve the amenity stock of the downtown while improving connectivity/mobility.

The DCCMP refers to specific components of the urban landscape, such as trails, parks, small public spaces, and the 12 Mile Creek Ravine, as amenities that offer visitors and residents a unique urban experience, one that cannot be found in suburban destinations. Despite their presence these natural heritage features are argued to be poorly integrated in/to the urban landscape. In this sense they are not barriers, but assets that exist and need to be utilized. Integrating and linking the various disparate trails would not only improve connectivity, but also make the downtown a more attractive place to live. Making the downtown an attractive place to live is critical to achieving the urban density set out by the *Growth Plan*. To help the downtown reach a density of 150 jobs and persons per hectare a significant component of the DCCMP focuses on identifying re/development opportunities. These re/development opportunities are itemized on a site-by-site basis. Furthermore, the DCCMP provides information on the unique characteristics of each site, specifying what makes each site a good re/development opportunity. The number of re/development sites identified in the DCCMP illustrates that there is re/development potential in downtown St. Catharines. This potential can be combined with other elements, such as parks and trails, to attract the developers/investors needed to build more medium/high density residences needed to raise the urban density of the downtown.

In summary, the DCCMP identifies several key assets and barriers that need to be explored and addressed. While many of these are identical to those identified in the 2007 *Creating a Vibrant Downtown* (see Figure 4 above), none have the potential to revitalize

the downtown in and of themselves. Rather, the DCCMP stresses, above all else, the need for synergy and the need for relationships to exist between the various urban precincts, land-users, employers, visitors and residents. These relationships and synergies must be cultivated over time. However, it is apparent that the ways that the DCCMP proposes to foster and join these socio-spatial relationships will transform the downtown into a particular type of urban space, one that is appealing and attractive to specific groups. Pages 64-93 of the DCCMP are dedicated to urban revitalization and economic development initiatives that target these assets and barriers in order to establish the socio-spatial arrangements that are to make up the St. Catharines downtown creative cluster.

3.2.2 – Sub Category 2: Key Material/Physical Components of a Creative Cluster

The DCCMP describes the key material/physical components that would contribute to the development of socio-spatial arrangements that have the potential to revitalize and transform the downtown into a creative cluster. This portion of the DCCMP is particularly rich and complex as illustrated by the twelve pages of content reproduced in the coding frame; see *sub category 2* in the Appendix. These key material/physical components can be grouped into two broad categories, *flagship projects* and *general public infrastructure improvements*. Flagship projects, as the name suggests, are intended to introduce and anchor particular land-uses and land-users into the urban landscape. Furthermore, they are to generate as well as accommodate both pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The general public infrastructure improvements connect the flagship projects to create a sense of synergy and connectivity. Together these key material/physical components constitute the socio-spatial arrangements of the St.

Catharines creative cluster. Below I describe these two in more detail to illustrate their intended impacts on the urban landscape.

3.2.3 – *Flagship Megaprojects*

The QCA results illustrate that the DCCMP proposes several flagship megaprojects that are to anchor new land-uses, new economic processes, and attract new urban space users to the downtown. Although these flagship projects have specialized functions they are intended to be mutually supportive. As such no one project would be able to transform the downtown into a creative cluster. Rather, these projects are intended to develop synergy between, across, and through the urban landscape. There are three projects that are most prominent, the City's PAC, Brocks SFPA, and the Garden City Arena Complex/Spectator Facility. These three projects constitute the core of the creative cluster for two reasons. First, they symbolize the City's commitment to work with both public and private agencies to revitalize and transform the downtown. Second, and perhaps more importantly, these flagship projects will introduce new cultural and institutional land-uses and land-users into the downtown core in an effort to stimulate redevelopment and ultimately increase the urban density. In other words, they are intended to be *catalysts* of revitalization. The PAC/SFPA and Arena/Spectator Facility are complimented by three equally important but separated flagship projects: the Carlisle Parking Garage, the Interactive Media Cluster (IMAC), and the Wine Embassy/Wine Route.

The Carlisle Parking Garage is recognized as a major redevelopment/revitalization catalyst as it is intended to not only allow more people to come to the downtown, but also incorporate mix-uses. Furthermore, the Carlisle Parking Garage is

centrally located, but not located adjacent to any other flagship projects. Rather, the Parking Garage is located with a few minutes walking distance of all major destinations in the downtown. The placement of the Parking Garage in this location, as discussed further in the next section, is intended to draw pedestrians through the downtown and create a sense of vibrancy and street animation. However, the primary function of the Parking Garage is to help shoppers reach downtown retailers. In this sense, the Parking Garage will introduce both new urban space users and uses. The Wine Embassy/*Wine Route* and the IMAC, as with the Parking Garage, are to introduce new economic land-uses/users into the downtown, expanding its scope of economic functions. The Wine Embassy/*Wine Route* and the IMAC are particularly important as they are catalysts which are to facilitate the transition of the urban economy towards tourism and the creative economy. The Wine Embassy/*Wine Route*, the IMAC, and the PAC/SFPA are also signature destinations of the downtown tourism economy, signaling that wine and arts-based cultural tourism is to be the mainstay of the urban economy. However, the mere presence of these five flagship megaprojects is not enough. The downtown also needs the connective infrastructure that links each flagship project to another as well as integrate it into the urban landscape. This is the purpose of the general public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP.

3.2.4 – General public infrastructure improvements

The DCCMP proposes a complex array of public infrastructure improvements which are intended to provide connectivity in/to and through/out the downtown. These public infrastructure improvements fall under three main subheadings: pedestrian infrastructure, vehicular infrastructure, and recreational and open/green spaces.

Pedestrian infrastructure is crucial to the revitalization/transformation of the downtown as it interconnects the downtown in ways in which streets and roads cannot. That is, it is the sidewalks that physically connect people to their downtown destinations. Roads and parking, although important, cannot perform the same function. The pedestrian infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP focus primarily on quality and availability of sidewalks, lighting, signage, as well as improved safety and traffic calming, to facilitate connectivity and mobility. A series of vertical links, which connect the Spectator Facility and the Lower Level to St. Paul St., exemplify the intended purpose of pedestrian infrastructure improvements. The DCCMP compliments the pedestrian infrastructure improvements with vehicular infrastructure improvements.

Vehicular infrastructure improvements focus on addressing barriers to access for those who do not live in the downtown. One of the ways in which this is to be achieved is converting the one-way street network to a two-way street network. This would help those not familiar with the downtown navigate its street network. The street conversion, however, is secondary to the scale of parking infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP. These parking improvements are in addition to the Carlisle Parking Garage, and focus on increasing the supply of parking throughout the downtown. The role of parking is vital to the successful revitalization/transformation of the downtown as it enables the connectivity, flow, and movement of people. Furthermore, the downtown, as well as the City in general, is not well integrated into the broader (Regional/Provincial) public transportation network. As such the City remains relatively disconnected and auto dependant, despite improvements to the City's transit network. This underpins the need

for parking infrastructure improvements. The final public infrastructure component is recreational and open/green spaces.

Investments in trails, bike lanes, parks, open leisure spaces is intended to introduce new land-uses and land-users to the downtown. That is, the downtown currently lacks any significant cycling infrastructure. This is regarded as a barrier to the revitalization/transformation of the downtown as cycling is a favourite activity of the Creative Class (v. Florida, 2002). In addition to the Creative Class, the DCCMP also notes the aging population as future users of an attractive and interconnected multi-modal trail network. Furthermore, this network is intended to provide future downtown residents, as well as tourists, an opportunity to escape the city and indulge in the unique natural features of the 12 Mile Creek ravine or one of the City's public parks/green spaces. The trail network is also intended to connect residents and visitors to new public meeting spaces, referred to as parkettes, located throughout the downtown. In summary, the DCCMP proposes a network of recreational, multi-modal trails and open spaces to be located throughout the downtown. As with the flagship megaprojects the public infrastructure investments are physical/material components that make up the creative cluster envisioned for the downtown. The QCA results indicate that the land-uses and land-users introduced to the downtown are intended to have a specific set of social and economic outcomes. These were captured in the last two sub categories of the coding frame.

3.2.5 – Sub categories 3 & 4: Social and Economic Outcomes

During the QCA process it became apparent that the social and economic outcomes of the DCCMP were its motivation. That is, the DCCMP is more than a

revitalization strategy intended to simply meet the *Growth Plan* density targets. Rather, it is clear that the DCCMP represents an intentional transformation of the downtown into a specific type of downtown, one populated by particular socio-economic groups and particular types of retailers, employers, and housing types. In other words, the social and economic outcomes of the DCCMP are designed to transform the downtown into an urban space that may not be necessarily designed for or accessible to all, but particular urban space users and their clientele. This is illustrated in the social and economic outcomes described below.

3.2.5.1 – Sub Category 3: Social Outcomes

The physical changes to the downtown are intended to produce a series of social outcomes. These social outcomes are to compliment the physical layout of the downtown, and help create an environment which would ostensibly help realize the intended economic outcomes of downtown revitalization. As illustrated in by the coding results the DCCMP focuses on generating a particular set of social outcomes. Beginning at the top of the coding frame the first social outcome is *buzz/vibrancy/movement of people*. The DCCMP states that the downtown is missing a sense of vibrancy, street animation, and energy created by the movement of people between coffee shops, galleries, or their place of work. However, it is beyond the scope of the QCA to answer the question: why a sense of vibrancy is needed? What is it to do? These questions will be considered in the TDA. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the DCCMP, through its focus on public transportation improvements, is not only looking to move more people in/to and through/out the downtown, but also to create a sense of activity/vibrancy that the downtown currently lacks. The increased vibrancy and activity is also intended to make the downtown a more

attractive/appealing place. That is, the amenities, street animation, and historic character of the downtown will become a draw in itself, one that will attract residents and visitors. To further build on the attractiveness/appeal of the downtown the DCCMP also focuses on improving its quality.

The need to reflect a high aesthetic standard is evident in the massive public infrastructure improvements intended to improve lighting, facades, signage, and streetscaping throughout the downtown. These streetscape improvements are assumed to add to the cultural heritage and symbolic value of the downtown in the eyes of visitors and residents alike. Furthermore, in order for the *Wine Route* to be reoriented through the downtown, the City must first demonstrate how the downtown meets the high aesthetic/urban design criteria of the *Wine Council of Ontario*. The aesthetic quality improvements are intended to simultaneously tackle another problem; the perception that the downtown is unsafe. It is argued in the DCCMP that improvements to the level of lighting and signage in the downtown will address visitors' concerns about the apparent lack of safety and security. Therefore, the socio-spatial arrangements that are to make up the creative cluster are to be safe and secure in an effort to attract and keep people in the downtown; if the downtown is not perceived as safe all the effort to make the downtown more attractive and interconnected will be moot. As a result, the economic outcomes of the DCCMP (discussed below) will not be attainable. Safety is therefore a very important component of the DCCMP, and identified as a goal as well as an objective in the opening pages of the document. The final two social outcomes are interrelated. The first concerns the establishment of an urban identity/brand, while the second focuses on attracting the right groups to the downtown.

If the downtown is to become a creative cluster it must rebrand as such. This is to be partly achieved with the establishment of the PAC/SFPA, built on by the IMAC, and complimented by the various high-skilled, knowledge-oriented employment found in the downtown. It is also recommended that the adaptive reuse of historic buildings continue in an effort to celebrate the cultural heritage of the downtown. The branding exercise, however, must also reflect a reality. That is, creative cluster brand is to be reflected in the urban population, one that is young, mobile, and involved in the downtown. As such the downtown must be a place for groups such as the Creative Class, young artists, students, and creative/cultural economy workers. At the same time, however, the DCCMP raises concerns around the displacement of economically vulnerable groups, particularly students and artists. Despite these concerns there are no conceptual strategies/ recommendations that identify what can be done to ensure these groups are not displaced. In summary, the social outcomes of the DCCMP pivot around aesthetic quality, safety, and the presence of the *right* groups. These social outcomes are not goal in themselves, but a means to lubricate the economic outcomes of the DCCMP.

3.2.5.2 – *Sub Category 4: Economic Outcomes*

The QCA results for this sub category are complex, but perhaps the easiest to navigate. The content in this *sub category* is clearly linked to the content found in previous the three *sub categories* introduced above. This last *sub category* is unique as achieving the economic outcomes of the DCCMP seems to be *the* one final purpose of the document. That is, the content in *sub categories* 1 through 3 describes various phases of the economic development and urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP.

The implementation of this strategy is generate a series of economic outcomes. If these economic outcomes are achieved the downtown will ostensibly become a creative cluster.

The first of these economic outcomes is rather broad and refers to *attracting investors/investment*. The DCCMP proposes a number of recommendations that would signal confidence to investors. In other words, the DCCMP is designed to nurture and present investors with not only a development friendly context, but also development opportunities. The appeal of these opportunities is argued to increase due to the flagship projects proposed for the downtown. These flagship projects are therefore to be catalysts that not only attract, but secure investment. Attracting investors/investment is one of the intended economic outcomes of the DCCMP. However, not all types of investment are desirable. Rather, the DCCMP favours investment in the City's new economic base, one rooted in the creative economy, boutique retail, wine and arts-based cultural tourism, and residential redevelopment/intensification. In light of this the next intended economic outcomes of the DCCMP is *employment intensification and retail redevelopment*. The introduction of new land-uses and land-users into the downtown, as described under *sub category 2*, is intended to facilitate employment intensification and retail redevelopment. This is to be accomplished by attracting and retaining office-based employers, such as Niagara Police, in the downtown. Furthermore, retail chains are to be permitted in the downtown. However, the DCCMP points out that the intended retail space users are to be *specialty retailers and boutiques*. These high quality and unique retail amenities would attract young (creative class) professionals, empty nesters, and tourists, and in combination with office based employment boost the City's urban density. More retailers are also necessary to reduce number store front vacancies in the downtown. Retail along

St. Paul St. and Ontario St., the two main downtown thoroughfares, is needed so that the downtown functions as a boutique retail shopping destination. In order to compliment employment and retail intensification efforts the DCCMP also proposes the establishment of a *wine, heritage, and arts-based cultural tourism cluster* in the downtown.

This tourism cluster is to be anchored by and based around the PAC/SFPA and the Wine Embassy/*Wine Route*. Other components include the redevelopment of the Leonard hotel (located across the street from the PAC/SFPA), the wine culture retail operations, as well as new local gastronomy and arts-based cultural entertainment amenities. The development of this tourism cluster is intended to attract wealthy, educated, and sophisticated visitors to St. Catharines, validating the City as a signature tourism destination. The old Welland Canals are also included as components of the tourism cluster along with the City's natural heritage features, such as Twelve Mile Creek. The tourism cluster is therefore to be a mainstay of the urban economy and the new urban landscape. In addition to tourism the DCCMP also proposes the establishment of a *creative economy cluster* in the downtown.

This creative economy cluster, which includes firms/industries ranging from bio-science research to interactive media design, is to be fixed onto the urban landscape by the IMAC and supported by satellite campuses of post-secondary institutions. The creative economy cluster is intended to pull together, attract, and retain creative talent generated by the IMAC the Region's post-secondary institutions. The City's own Silicon Knights was also a prominent partner in the creative economy cluster initiative. Unfortunately, Silicon Knights could not continue as a partner as it was dissolved due to a catastrophic legal loss. Another project, referred to as nGen is now located within the

IMAC. nGen is described as an incubator where ideas can be developed and gestate before they are commercialized. The purpose of the project is to support the development of the City's creative economy and knowledge-based industries. However, for the creative economy cluster to succeed the downtown must first attract the right groups of people as described above. In addition to attracting new employees and talent the downtown needs to offer a wider array of housing options. Therefore, the last, but perhaps most important economic outcome of the DCCMP is *(mixed-use) residential redevelopment/intensification*.

As mandated by the *Growth Plan* the DCCMP must accommodate 1,000 new residential units within the UGC boundaries. The DCCMP cites expert studies which state that in order for the urban economy to grow more residents are needed in the downtown. Recognizing this, the DCCMP proposes policy changes that would make residential redevelopment and intensification more attractive and less difficult; these are the assets and barriers discussed above. The proposed policy changes focus specifically on supporting residential conversions and redevelopment through CIPs and other methods. The types of residential development and intensification imagined to occur are of medium to high density. These specific unit types are of particular interest as are argued to attract mostly singles/childless couples and empty nesters. This market is well aligned with other downtown revitalization initiatives. For example, both groups are argued to be attracted to places that offer a high quality trail network as well as culture and experience-based amenities and conveniences. Furthermore, the DCCMP states that stakeholders expressed concern about the displacements of students and artists. However, concerns around the displacement of students and artists is, however, not altruistically

motivated. Rather, it is clear that students and artists are important as they help create the atmosphere which appeals to groups, such as singles/childless couples and young (creative class) professionals that purchase medium/high density accommodations. In summary, residential intensification is one of the most important economic outcomes of the DCCMP as it will help the City achieve its urban density targets, and attract/create the critical mass of new residents that downtown businesses need to operate and grow. Furthermore, the increased number of downtown residents would contribute to vibrant urban environment and reduce the negative cues that currently dissuade visitors from shopping downtown.

3.3 – Conclusion

The QCA results summarized above describe the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP. The QCA results are clearly interdiscursively linked to the context analysis results discussed in the first half of the chapter. This is evident in the presence of the same data in both the context analysis and in the QCA results. This link is to be expected as it is the context which mediates what content is inscribed in a text (Roth, 2005, Schreier, 2012). However, it is important to note that the description of the QCA results is not intended to reproduce all the content or make an argument. Rather, the descriptions provide the necessary background for the more complex discussions coming in the next two chapters. Although the descriptions are not intended to present an argument, the QCA results make their own argument. That is, they describe what *are* assets and barriers to economic development and urban revitalization, and *how* these assets and barriers can be exploited and overcome to

achieve certain social and economic goals. It is this argument, one made by the authors of the DCCMP, which I critically analyze in the next two chapters.

Chapter 4 – Creating a Network of Developer/Investor-Friendly Socio-Spatial Arrangements

4.0 – Introduction

My analysis of the QCA results indicates that the DCCMP is a multi-faceted urban revitalisation strategy designed to transform the downtown into a creative cluster. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate and critically analyze how this transformation is to occur. I argue that the transformation is to be initiated using distinctly neoliberal economic development and urban revitalization techniques that reflect a competitive city approach to urban planning. I argue that this is evident in the entrepreneurial use of planning policy to create a network of socio-spatial arrangements that are developer/investor-friendly. The purpose of the network, as the name suggests, is to attract the private sector investment needed to for the downtown to truly become a creative cluster with an economy driven by boutique retail, wine and arts-based cultural tourism, and creative/knowledge-based industries. However, as I illustrate below, the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP may not have universally positive impacts on all businesses or residents. Rather, the restructuring of socio-spatial arrangements using market-oriented economic development and urban revitalization initiatives, such as those proposed in the DCCMP, have been shown to result in the displacement of business as well as residents (v. Immergluck, 2009; Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber, Walker, 2009; Wang, 2011). Furthermore, it has been argued that this displacement of certain businesses and residents may create a sanitized urban environment that is unappealing to creatives (v. Keil, & Wilson, 2008). In summary, this chapter examines the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP.

My analysis indicates that there are several components to establishing a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. First, the DCCMP identifies what assets can be exploited and what barriers need to be addressed in order to attract developers/investors. The second revolves around the use of neoliberal techniques/methods such as flagship catalysts and increased regulation/management of public property to help developers/investors exploit local assets, overcome barriers, and ultimately transform the downtown into a creative cluster (v. Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002; Atkinson, 2003; Hackworth, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Biddulph, 2011; Boyle & Haggerty, 2011). This approach to urban revitalization reflects elements of competitive city planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). That is, the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP incorporates elements of competitive city planning as it calls for the entrepreneurial use of public funds, the regulation of public property, and the instrumental use of arts-based culture to attract and work with private sector capital in order to revitalize the downtown. The evidence to support my claims is presented using a series of *statements*. These *statements* appear in gray text boxes and are direct quotations from the DCCMP. These *statements* illustrate key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, or emphasis and silences (v. Tonkiss, 2012). My analysis of the QCA results indicates that identifying assets and barriers is the first step in creating a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements.

4.1 – Assets and Barriers

In this section I focus on what the authors of the DCCMP define as policy-based assets and barriers that are currently in place and how they can be used or addressed in

order to create a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. The QCA results illustrate that a considerable amount of the DCCMP, about sixty pages, focuses on identifying socio-spatial assets or barriers to revitalization. Assets or barriers are defined using a strict criteria; assets are those socio-spatial arrangements that can be used to attract the developers/investors needed to facilitate the development of a competitive urban economy, new residents, and visitors. Socio-spatial arrangements that do not support goal, or that are missing from the downtown, are referred to as barriers. The discussion begins with a description and critical analysis of policy-based assets and barriers.

Policies such as the *Growth Plan* and the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS) are identified as assets as they identify residential redevelopment/ intensification as a way to establish competitive and sustainable urban economies (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2013; City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). While the context analysis (Chapter 3) indicates that the City of St. Catharines had already implemented incentive-based planning policies in order to attract developers/investors and stimulate residential redevelopment, the DCCMP indicates that more needs to be done. That is, the City's planning policies need to be further improved so that they attract developer/investors, and thereby help achieve *Growth Plan* density. This is evident in *statements* (see the *statement* box on the next page) which indicate that simpler Official Plan designations and community improvement policies would benefit revitalization efforts. The common thread between the five *statements* above is that developer/investor-friendly planning policy is necessary to stimulate the revitalization of the downtown.

Statement 1

"Provincial planning policy supports intensification of the Downtown. Specifically, Downtown St. Catharines is identified in Places to Grow as an Urban Growth Centre with a density target of 150 residents and jobs combined per hectare"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. ii)

Statement 2

"The current Official Plan is generally development and intensification supportive"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. ii)

Statement 3

"**Simplify the Secondary Plan...**[to] Create a more investor-friendly planning context"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. iiiv)

Statement 4

"The PPS requires that municipalities support long-term economic prosperity by maintaining and, where possible, enhancing the vitality and viability of downtowns..."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 33)

Statement 5

"For the investor, a simplified flexible land use approach is desirable"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 96)

In addition to developer/investor-friendly policy the DCCMP also identifies the types of socio-spatial arrangements that contribute to downtown revitalization. It is these material or spatial assets and barriers that are the primary focus of the DCCMP.

The DCCMP defines cultural heritage, close proximity and connectivity to green spaces, and the presence of established institutions/employment and unique retailers as assets to the revitalization of the downtown. This is reflected in the *statement* box below.

Statement 6

"Ensure that the rehabilitation potential for the Canada Hair Cloth building becomes an asset to the image of St. Catharines."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. ix)

Statement 7

"St. Catharines has the greatest concentration of arts and culture-related activity [in Niagara Region]"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 48)

Statement 8

"The confluence of many cultural and natural heritage features at the west end of the Downtown begin to reveal some of the historical narrative of St. Catharines..."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 54)

Statement 9

"Natural and cultural heritage features ... give Downtown St. Catharines its unique sense of place"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 27)

Statement 10

"Uncovering a portion of them or "re-watering" them would reinforce development of the Canada Hair Cloth building and provide a captivating "start" to rediscovering this unique cultural heritage resource.

City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 64)

Statements 6-10 illustrate a key theme/argument which indicates that the City's history, the natural environment, and cultural capital (i.e. cultural institutions) are components of a network of socio-spatial arrangements that are beneficial to the revitalization of the downtown. The common feature that defines these socio-spatial arrangements as assets is that they can be leveraged by either the City or private sector to facilitate the revitalization of the downtown. That is, assets are particularly important as they are public goods that can be used by, drawn upon, marketed, and exploited in various ways (Throsby, 2010, p. 19). Furthermore, these assets are public goods that have a non-market, symbolic value; a value that cannot be evaluated using capitalist metrics alone (v. Scott, 2008; Throsby, 2008). Rather, the symbolic value of assets/public goods is created through place-specific social practices (v. Zukin, 1995; Throsby, 2008; Gilmore, 2008). This cultural value – otherwise known as “social capital” (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 106) – adds value to goods and services, particularly those produced by creative/cultural workers (Scott, 2010, p. 127). In addition the social capital created by public goods gives cities their own distinct identity. This identity, some argue, can be harnessed to attract a skilled labour force and grow urban economies (v. Florida, 2002; Florida et al. 2012). Finally, others have argued that the place-based identity of a city can be used to package and brand for the purpose of attracting visitors (v. Hayes & MacLeod, 2006).

In summary, the literature indicates that public goods (e.g. cultural heritage buildings) with symbolic or cultural capital can and should be exploited to facilitate the growth of a competitive urban economy. As such they are defined in the DCCMP as assets. In addition to these place-specific assets the DCCMP also identifies more general features of the downtown that either do or do not contribute to the establishment of

developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements.

The *statement* box (below) provides an example of what elements of the downtown are recognized as assets in relation to the development of an urban economy driven by boutique retail and tourism.

Assets	
<i>Statement 11</i>	<u>"The Downtown should capitalize on its current niche of small shops, cafes and restaurants"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. ii)
<i>Statement 12</i>	<u>"The relocation of Brock University's School of Fine and Performing Arts and the Niagara Centre for the Arts is a prime example of a jointly funded civic/academic/cultural institution that can have spinoff/synergistic effects..."</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. iii)
<i>Statement 13</i>	<u>"government offices (e.g., the MTO facility), court buildings, hospitals or college or university facilities. These types of facilities can be very advantageous to a downtown area since generally they bring with them new employment and significant numbers of visitors...this traffic generates additional demand for services and new retail spending...institutions are valuable to an area because they tend to provide greater stability than private sector organizations"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 42)
<i>Statement 14</i>	<u>"Downtown needs to capitalize on its eclectic retail base, cultural heritage, built form, and community and civic stock to lend itself a competitive edge over the typical mall"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 47)
<i>Statement 15</i>	<u>"St. Catharines tourism strength lies in its diverse agricultural, industrial and cultural history; its relationship with the Wine Industry and its location between Lake Ontario and the Niagara Escarpment"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2004, p. 14)

The assets *statement* box above highlights the presence of a key theme/argument that defines what elements the downtown contribute to the establishment of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. This key theme/argument is made more evident by the explicit definition of which socio-spatial arrangements, either existing or present, are barriers to downtown revitalization (see the barriers *statement* box on the next page).

Barriers	
<i>Statement 16</i>	<u>"the Downtown demonstrates weaknesses ...Few retail chains...Vacant stores... Significant number of lower end operations (e.g. dollar stores, thrift stores, tattoo parlours)"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 39)
<i>Statement 17</i>	<u>"lack of diversity in entertainment and cultural facilities...little visibility of entertainment and cultural facilities...arts facilities that do exist Downtown are almost hidden"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 46)
<i>Statement 18</i>	<u>"Lack of parking has been cited as one of the key issues related to future investment and redevelopment of the Downtown...greatest drawback was lack of parking"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 47)
<i>Statement 19</i>	<u>"The perception of lack of safety affects the Downtown as an evening destination"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 43)
<i>Statement 20</i>	<u>"Travelers are, again currently required to use one-way street connections to reach the majority of destinations within the downtown and may find it difficult finding their way"</u> (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 57)

The *statement* box above outlines that the common feature of socio-spatial arrangements defined as barriers in the DCCMP is their lack of contribution to, or erosion of, the establishment of a developer/investor-friendly environment. This is evident in the repeated focus on elements of the urban landscape that do not attract, or worse, repel potential residents and visitors, and therefore do not contribute to the success of downtown businesses. As illustrated in the context analysis (Chapter 3: section 3.1.1), concerns around the commercial viability of the downtown, or lack thereof, had motivated the City to implement incentive based planning policy to simulate redevelopment (v. City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2002: Item 34). As illustrated by the *statements* above, the DCCMP echoes previous concerns about the need for incentive-based planning. The document not only explicitly calls for the exploitation of various assets, but also the need to address barriers to developers/investors.

This focus on the need to assist developers/investors in exploiting local assets and overcome barriers is underpinned by the need to enable and liberate market forces using

public resources. This reflects a competitive city approach to urban planning. As argued in the literature review, freeing market forces is at the heart of neoliberal economics (v. Lerner, 2000; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005). The liberation of market forces is based on the principle that the government is politically motivated and therefore inherently biased. Given this, it has no business regulating the economy (Harvey, 2005). Rather, only market forces, considered truly a-political by neoliberal scholars, should be left unregulated (Harvey, 2005). The liberation of market forces is used to facilitate and accelerate the circulation and accumulation of capital and resources (v. Peck & Tickell, 2002). The implementing of neoliberal economic development practices/theory in Ontario began during Mike Harris Common Sense Revolution (CSR) (v. Graham & Phillips, 1997). The goal of the CSR was not only to make the Provincial government more efficient, but also to make the Province more economically competitive (Keil, 2002; Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Not much has changed since the CSR. On the contrary, Keil (2009) argues that neoliberal policy is so deeply embedded that it no longer needs to be enforced through policy. Rather, neoliberal policy is accepted as the status quo. As a result, the need to keep Ontario competitive by reducing government involvement and facilitating growth remains a cornerstone of Provincial planning policy (v. Hackworth & Moria, 2006; Keil, 2009; Boudreau et al. 2009). It is therefore no surprise that the urban revitalization strategy outlined in the DCCMP recommends implementing policy changes, and, more importantly, creating a network of socio-spatial arrangements that are to assist developers/investors with capitalizing on local assets and overcoming barriers. Finally, the way in which these assets and barriers are presented and discussed reflects that a competitive city approach to planning is to be adopted by the City. As illustrated in

the literature review, competitive city planning incorporates entrepreneurial city planning, city of difference planning, and revanchist city planning. The use of public resources in an entrepreneurial manner, combined with an interest in leveraging the City's cultural assets, reflects the first two components of competitive city planning. This competitive city approach to planning is also evident in the use of economic development and urban revitalization techniques that will establish a network of socio-spatial arrangements, and ultimately re-shape both the urban economy and the urban landscape.

4.2 – Creating a developer/investor-friendly downtown using flagship projects and infrastructure improvements

The QCA results indicate that the DCCMPs urban revitalization strategy is designed to create a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements through: (a) flagship projects and (b) public infrastructure improvements. The flagship catalyst projects are overt public-private partnerships designed to facilitate the development of a competitive urban economy and achieve *Growth Plan* urban density targets. Concomitantly, the public infrastructure improvements address both physical and social barriers to access and mobility to compliment the flagship projects. Furthermore, the public infrastructure improvements are also the result of a public-private partnership. This partnership, however, is implied, diffuse, and unofficial, and is evident in the City's attempts to lubricate the process of economic development and urban revitalization. I contend that the use of flagship projects and public infrastructure improvements illustrates that the DCCMP is a typically neoliberal and entrepreneurial an economic development and urban revitalization strategy (v. Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Atkinson, 2003; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Boyle & Haggerty, 2011; Biddulph, 2011). Furthermore, I illustrates that the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in

the DCCMP will not have a universally beneficial impact on all business. Rather, I argue that these initiatives may threaten the economic viability of existing businesses and rent stability for tenants.

4.2.1 – Flagship Catalysts

The *statement* box below illustrates the presence of a key theme/argument, one which identifies the flagship projects proposed in the DCCMP as urban revitalization catalysts. The flagship projects are defined as catalysts as they will be used to help the downtown achieve the critical mass needed to support downtown businesses/industries, and push the urban economy towards the creative/cultural industries and wine/arts-based tourism (see *statement* box below).

Statement 21

"St. Catharines is one of these Signature Destinations and the Report recommends locating Wine Country Embassy in Downtown St. Catharines...to assist in the revitalization of the Downtown and...support further investment in...companion uses."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 50)

Statement 22

"The relocation of Brock University's School of Fine and Performing Arts is a prime example of an academic/cultural institution that would produce the type of spin-off/synergistic effects... Cultural facilities and the activities that they house are also particularly effective catalysts for urban rejuvenation"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 42)

Statement 23

"The IMAC [Interactive Media Arts Cluster]...will help promote the Niagara region as an industry leader in interactive new media development...[and attract] the culture of youth that such development brings [and]...is a key component to Downtown revitalization"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 61)

Statement 24

"The Arena is the home of the Niagara Ice Dogs hockey team and draws a large fan-base. There is potential for these arenas to be redeveloped the arena complex is an important component to bringing activity and a diverse group of tourists and residents into the Downtown"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 23)

Statement 25

"redevelopment of the Carlisle Street Parking Garage is a major catalyst for change in the Downtown. Its location within the core economic centre of the City makes it an ideal site for a "flag ship" project. The opportunity of transforming this project from a simple parking garage replacement into a significant redevelopment and revitalization initiative could translate into an economic boost for the City."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 31)

The *statements* above illustrate that each of the five catalysts proposed in the DCCMP are effectively a partnership with either a major public/private institution, such as Brock University or the Niagara Ice Dogs OHL team, or an industry, like tourism, interactive media, real estate, and retail. Each of the flagship catalysts is therefore an example of how public resources are used in an entrepreneurial to partner with and attract private sector investment. Furthermore, it is clear that these partnerships are mutually beneficial as each catalyst will lubricate the restructuring the downtown and create the socio-spatial arrangements that are attractive to various consumer groups and new residents. Figure 7 (next page), which illustrates the location of each flagship catalysts, re-affirms this argument.

That is, Figure 7 illustrates that the revitalisation of the downtown is to be driven by a symbiotic relationship or "synergy" between the flagship catalysts (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 5; Sternberg, 2002). This synergy is created by the economic benefits that businesses will see with the construction of the Carlisle Parking Garage, the Wine Embassy, Interactive Media Arts Cluster (IMAC), the PAC/SFPA, and the Spectator Facility (now called the Meridian Centre), as well as the added life these catalysts will bring to the downtown. Creating this synergy using public resources provides further evidence that the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP is shaped by neoliberal and entrepreneurial discourses.

Scholars recognize that flagship redevelopment projects are one of the most frequently used and typically neoliberal strategies used to attract capital, people, and industry in order to revitalize decaying neighborhoods or districts (v. Swyngedouw et al.

2002; Orueta & Fainstien, 2008; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Biddulph, 2011). Each of these catalysts has a specific purpose.

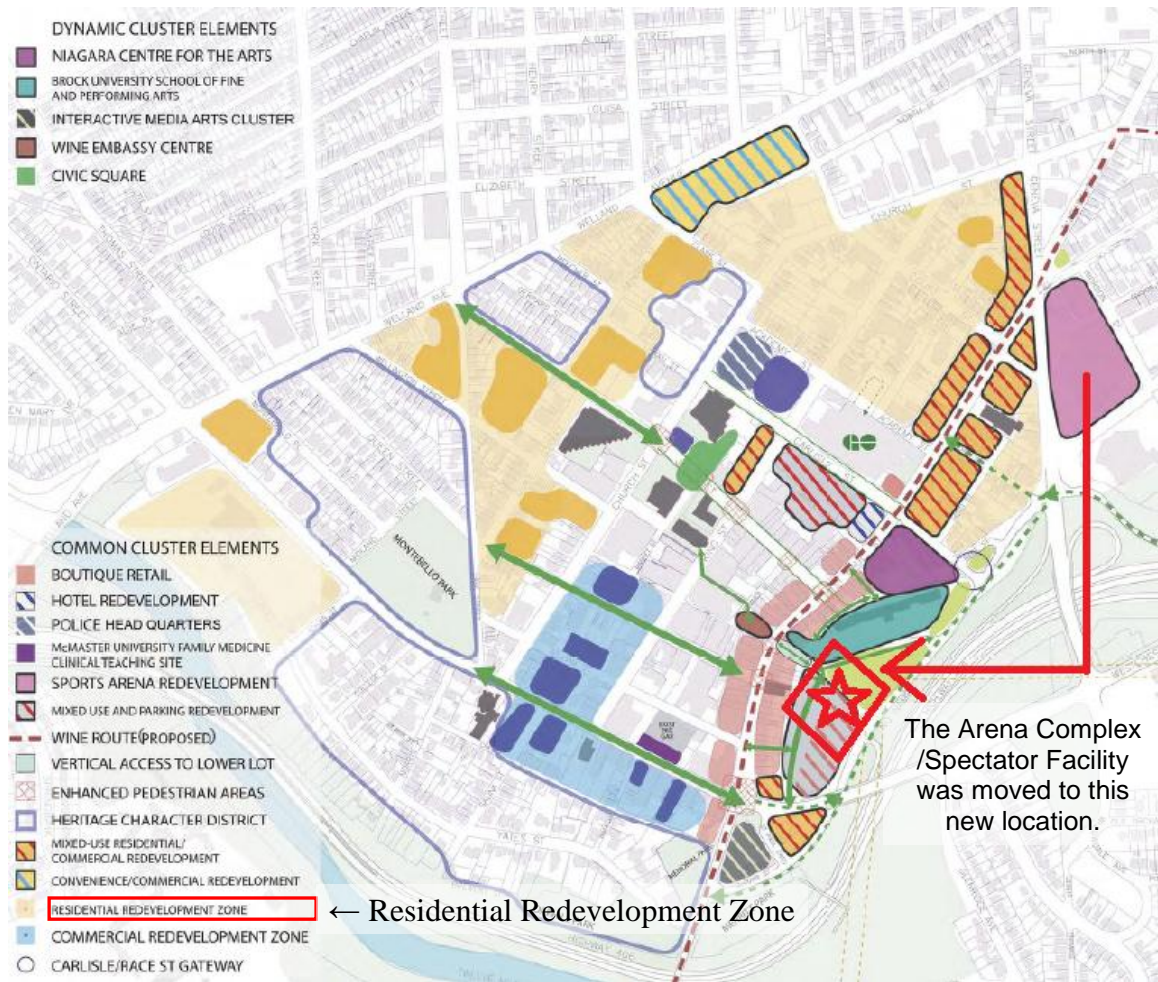


Figure 7 - The Proposed Layout of the Downtown Creative Cluster.

This figure identifies proposed locations of the flagship projects. Also, large parts to the north and north-east (upper-left) parts of the downtown, which are in close proximity to the flagship projects, are identified as to be used for boutique retail, mixed-retail/residential, and single-use residential redevelopment. Note that the new location of the Arena Complex/Spectator Facility is now adjacent to the PAC/SFPA. This new location is discussed below (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p.65).

As illustrated in Figure 7, the Carlisle Street Parking Garage, referred to as a mixed use and parking redevelopment, is located in the heart of the downtown. The purpose of the new parking garage is to address the lack of convenient and accessible parking; this is identified in the DCCMP as *the* primary reason why more people do not come downtown to shop (see *statement 18* above). The Carlisle Street Parking Garage in

other words, should make it easier for people to get in/to the downtown. By so doing, it helps downtown businesses, particularly boutique retailers and tourism operations, to compete with suburban shopping destinations.

The literature on the role of parking garages as catalysts of economic development is sparse. However, parking redevelopment has been recognized as a strategy to address parking infrastructure deficits – or more accurately shoppers unwillingness to walk more than a few minutes to their destinations – that negatively impact businesses (Faulk, 2006). The positive impact of new parking facilities, however, is limited to businesses in the immediate vicinity of the new development (Faulk, 2006). The literature also indicates that stacked parking redevelopment, which is up to five times more expensive than surface parking lot development, has a big impact on raising property values (v. Cutter & DeWoody, 2010). The Carlisle Street Parking Garage is therefore not just a solution to a parking deficit in order to support local businesses, but a key element in a network of new socio-spatial arrangements intended to boost property values in the downtown, fuel speculation, attract developer/investors, and stimulate retail and residential redevelopment (v. Swyngedouw et al. 2009; Immergluck, 2009; Wang, 2009). The Carlisle Parking Garage is one of two catalysts that does not necessarily support one industry/partner in particular, but still contributes to all downtown businesses, property owners, and developers/investors. The second is the Spectator facility referred to as the Meridian Centre.

The Meridian Centre is a \$50+ million investment spectator facility. The Meridian Center is home of the Niagara Ice Dogs, an Ontario Hockey League team, as well as a concert and performance facility. As shown in Figure 7 the Meridian Centre is now

located adjacent to the PAC/SFPA. The DCCMP does not propose the Meridian Centre in this location. Rather, as illustrated in Figure 7, the Meridian Centre is a dynamic creative cluster element (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 65). As such, the location of the Meridian Centre changes depending of the version of the creative cluster proposed in the DCCMP. Figure 7, therefore, shows a version of the creative cluster as modified by the City's decision to move the Meridian Centre to the new location indicated. The decision to move the Meridian Centre to a new location is nonetheless true to the intent of the DCCMP. That is, the Meridian Centre will certainly still contribute to the revitalization of the downtown as it will attracting/generate traffic and increase property values. However, it will not have a significant impact as multi-use facilities anchored by sports franchises have not been shown to have a significant effect on regional imports/exports or the creation of recreation/leisure-based employment (Baade, 1996). Furthermore, others (Florida, 2002; Chapin, 2004) argue that multi-use/sports facilities are a continuous drain on public resources because they are not only costly to build, but also to maintain. Rather, multi-use/sports facilities have and continue to be used to help build the critical mass needed to support restaurants and retailers in the downtown districts (Sternberg, 2002; Chapin, 2004).

The Meridian Centre will contribute to this critical mass by spilling venue attendees onto the streets of the downtown. The pedestrian movement is to be accomplished using a series of vertical links to/from the Meridian Centre and the lower level, to St. Paul St; these links are illustrated in Figure 8 (on the next page).

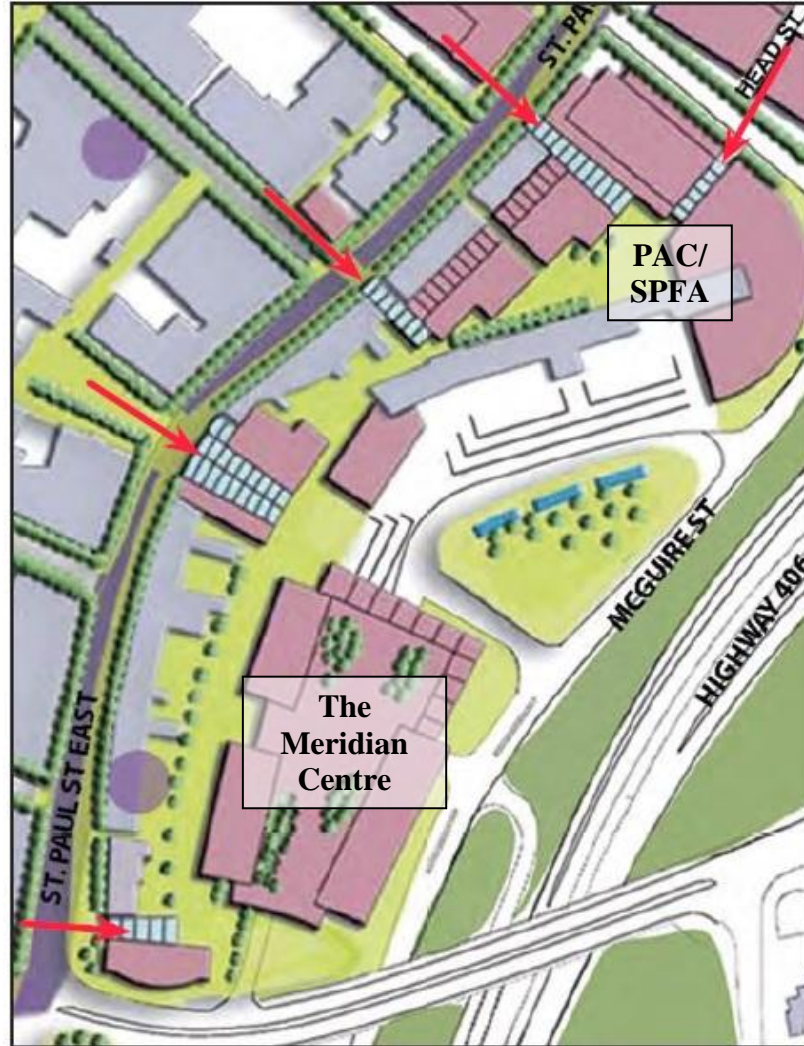


Figure 8 - Location of Vertical links, the Meridian Centre, and the PAC/SFPA. This figure illustrates the only two bridges that connect the lower level/the Meridian Centre to the upper level/St. Paul St., as indicated by the red arrows (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 70).

The vertical links provide, from the Meridian Centre to St. Paul St., a main downtown thoroughfare that connects the PAC/SFPA, Carlisle St. (the location of the new parking Garage), and the proposed location of the Wine Embassy. Important here is that these links are the only egress from the facility; venue attendees will have no choice but to exit through downtown. In other words, these vertical links are critical to the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP as they provide the vital, but missing, connection between pedestrians exiting/entering the Meridian Centre and the shops,

restaurants, attractions located along St. Paul St.. Creating this link is also designed to contribute to the critical mass of pedestrian traffic that downtown businesses need to be economically viable (v. Sternberg, 2002).

In addition to this, local governments sometimes use multi-use/sports facilities to redevelop areas that would otherwise not see private sector investment (Chapin, 2004). The Meridian Centre seems to fulfil this function as it is located in an area of the downtown that has been underutilized for decades. In addition to using this space, the Meridian Centre will also raise property values of surrounding real estate (v. Chapin, 2004; Immergluck, 2009). The Meridian Centre, therefore, makes the combined contribution of drawing people downtown while simultaneously raising property values. The next two flagship projects, the PAC/SFPA and the Wine Embassy, are also catalysts which have a have a similar function to the Meridian Centre and the Carlisle Parking Garage. They are, however, unique as they are also intended to be signature destinations that will cater to and attract a particular clientele to the downtown.

When completed, the PAC/SPFA, although smaller than the Meridian Centre, also is to contribute to the downtown critical mass as well as raise property values. However, the PAC/SFPAC is intended to attract "sophisticated," "affluent," and "well educated" visitors and residents that would patronize the various retail boutiques, restaurants, as well as the Wine Embassy (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. iv, 49). The PAC/SFPA is, therefore, not only intended to create pedestrian traffic like the Meridian Centre, but also to attract the right type of visitors needed to support the wine and art-based cultural tourism industry.

The PAC/SPFA, and to a lesser extent the Wine Embassy, are flagship catalysts

that are to facilitate the development of a wine and arts-based cultural tourism industry in the downtown. Entertainment/arts-based cultural facilities like the PAC/SPFA have been used by local government to catalyze redevelopment in order to rebrand and revitalize decentralized and neglected urban centres (v. Strom, 1999; Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Gilmore, 2008; Doucet, 2013). Planners generally propose entertainment/arts-based cultural facilities over other types of facilities as they can not only host a wider range of events, but they also have superior signification. In other words, they fix cultural capital onto the landscape (v. Sternberg, 2002). Furthermore, Sternberg (2002) argues that people, without intending to, will patronize local businesses when they go downtown. The role of the PAC/SPFA therefore is more likely to help the City secure a foothold in niche retail and tourism, which is to be fixed onto the landscape in the form of the Wine Embassy, by attracting the clientele who patronize these operations (v. Schlichtman, 2009).

This instrumental use of culture and the incorporation of middle-class consumption habits in documents like the DCCMP reflects a competitive city approach to planning. That is, the PAC/SFPA is an attempt to exploit the social practices of the middle-class in order to secure a competitive advantage, build a sustainable urban economy, as well as stimulate redevelopment (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Rousseau, 2009). The task of attracting particular demographic groups in an effort to support the development of a niche industries is not only left up to the PAC/SPFA or the Wine Embassy. Like the PAC/SFPA, the IMAC is also a catalyst facility that planners hope will attract the new residents and employees who will drive the growth of the creative/cultural industries, and stimulate office and residential redevelopment.

The QCA results indicate that the IMAC is to bring together entrepreneurs and students from Brock University and Niagara College in order to push knowledge innovation into the “sphere of commercialization” and to facilitate the development of the creative/cultural industries (City of St. Catharines, 2008b; Appendix, p. 1). However, in addition to economic growth via the creative/cultural industries, DCCMP authors argue that the IMAC will also “revitalize the economic, social and built environments of the downtown” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b; Appendix, p. 2). The literature shows that redevelopment typically occurs within approximately 1.2 kilometers of proposed locations of catalyst facilities, regardless of whether they actually materialize on the landscape (Immergluck, 2009). This type of redevelopment is driven by mere speculation and the subsequent rise in property values, rather than growth of an industry or arrival of new employees (v. Immergluck, 2009). Therefore, if the IMAC fails to produce a single new creative/cultural firm it will nonetheless stimulate redevelopment as a result of an increase in property values.

This points to a contradiction in the DCCMP. That is, if the catalysts increase property values and stimulate redevelopment that sanitizes the gritty feel of the downtown (v. Strom, 1999; Chapin, 2004), then the downtown will no longer be a place that appeals to creatives (Keil & Wilson, 2008). More specifically, the catalysts may actually displace artists and the urban poor that give the downtown the edgy feel creatives seek out (v. Peck, 2005), and replace them with middle-class gentrifiers and consumers looking to build their social capital and take advantage of cheap real-estate (v. Zukin, 1987; Rousseau, 2009; Zukin et al. 2009). Furthermore, scholars have also pointed out that entertainment/arts-based cultural facilities like the PAC/SFPA do not contribute

significantly to economic growth unless they directly support, and are sensitive to, the needs of local creative/cultural firms (v. Scott, 2008, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010). It is therefore, at the very least, unclear as to what impacts the catalysts may have other than increased property values and redevelopment. What is clear, however, is that they will contribute to a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements.

The catalyst facilities proposed in the DCCMP are fundamental components of an urban revitalization strategy focused around the needs for businesses and developers/investors. Most importantly, City Council's putative agreement to use public funds to finance over \$130+ million in flagship catalyst projects signals confidence and effective leadership (v. Sternberg, 2002). This type of competitive city planning, which involves the entrepreneurial use of public funds to create a network of socio-spatial arrangements that will reduce investment risk, increase property values, and subsequently attract developers/investors, is a hallmark of neoliberal economic development (Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Hackworth, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008). It is also clear that the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP incorporates and seeks to help developers/investors exploit the social-practices of the middle-class. It is also clear that this approach to planning will lead to increased property values which may lead to the displacement of the very groups that make the downtown an interesting place. This not only questions the social sustainability of the urban revitalisation strategy proposed in the DCCMP, but also its efficacy given the possible negative impacts of creating this network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. However, the flagship catalysts are not the only way the DCCMP

proposes to cater to investor/developers. My analysis of the QCA results illustrate that another key theme/argument of the urban revitalization strategy revolves around the use of public infrastructure improvements to complement, link, and amplify the effects of the flagship catalyst projects.

4.2.2 – *Public Infrastructure Improvements*

The QCA results indicate the synergy between the catalysts is to be created through public infrastructure improvements. That is, the public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP are to improve interconnectivity between the flagship catalysts. In this sense they help create a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements (v. Sternberg, 2002; Chapin, 2004). However, the public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP are much more than an attempt to simply interconnect the flagship catalysts. Instead, the public infrastructure improvements are used to address access and mobility issues as a means to attract capital investment, and subsequently, people and firms. This key theme/argument is evident in a series of *statements* that focus on the need for high quality/aesthetically pleasing streets/streetscapes, easy way-finding, and a downtown that looks safe and secure (see the *statement* box on the next page). As made clear by these *statements*, the most significant of these public infrastructure improvements are those to the pedestrian network.

Improvements to the pedestrian network, however, go beyond simply connecting people to downtown businesses. As the *statement* box above indicates, improvements to the pedestrian network are also to improve the aesthetic quality and appearance of the downtown. The purpose of these aesthetically-oriented public infrastructure improvements is to remove negative cues that disturb an individual's experience of a

Statement 26

“Downtown parking facilities should be accessible from the primary approach routes into the Downtown and located in direct contact with major vehicle entry points...[to] provide readily accessible parking to all Downtown patrons, including shoppers, special event patrons, and employees...” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 106-107)

Statement 27

“Creating strong pedestrian and vehicular connections was seen as the critical means to achieving the synergy potential of the Creative Cluster elements and bringing pedestrian activity back to the Downtown” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 5)

Statement 28

“Continued streetscape improvements that integrate the planting, lighting and pavement treatments [to create] more pedestrian-friendly streetscape” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 64)

Statement 29

“... better way finding for tourists and will encourage traffic calming which supports a better business environment for shops, pedestrians and cyclists” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. v)

Statement 30

“As mentioned throughout this report, the provision of an attractive and safe Downtown for all users is a high priority objective. The Downtowns existing streetscaping features need to be reinforced, enhanced and connected with other parts of the Downtown as supporting infrastructure to the Master Plan.” (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p.

place (v. Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Hayes & MacLeod, 2006). Furthermore, others argue that public infrastructure improvements are now used to re-brand, sanitize, and even regulate urban spaces in order to attract patrons and new (middle-class) residents to neglected downtowns (v. Atkinson, 2003; Rousseau, 2009; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007; Bolye & Haggerty, 2011). Others argue that the regulation of environments is important for tourism operations, particularly those that are wine-based (v. Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Hayes & MacLeod, 2006; Charters, Fountain, & Fish, 2009; Quadri-Felitti & Fiore, 2012). Wine based tourism operations not only sell wine products, but also the experience of wine culture. Negative cues, like a noisy environment, intrude on such experiences. This intrusion erodes the connection between the client and the product/service offered, making the experience less personal, and therefore less memorable and impactful. Others argue that cities with well-developed tourism and experience economies can attract the creative class; small cities that leverage and package their assets, such as small, attractive,

and walkable downtowns, can become experience destinations for the creative class (v. Lorentsen, 2009; Lorentsen & Hansen, 2009; Sorensen, Fuglsang, & Sundbo, 2010; Lewis & Donald, 2010). To transform the downtown into a place that supports the establishment of experience-based tourism operations the DCCMP proposes a number of streetscape and signage improvements.

To facilitate the transformation of the downtown into a signature tourism destination the DCCMP proposed that the City lobby the Ontario Wine Council to re-orient the *Wine Route* through the downtown. If the *Wine Route* is re-directed through the downtown then ostensibly more visitors, particularly those that are *affluent*, *sophisticated*, and *well educated* would visit St. Catharines (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. iv, 49). Furthermore, if the *Wine Route* is re-oriented through the downtown the Wine Embassy would become a more effective catalyst. However, before the *Wine Route* can be re-oriented the downtown must meet the *Ontario Wine Council's* urban design guidelines. This means that, as recommended in the DCCMP, the downtown must take on a new look through a number of aesthetically-oriented public infrastructure improvements. This process of beautification, as proposed in the DCCMP, indicates that an entrepreneurial urban design regime is to be imposed on the downtown (v. Biddulph, 2011). That is, planners are now implementing an urban design regime that dictates how the city is to look and feel in order to create environments that support economic growth and contribute to a particular public good (Biddulph, 2011). The repetition of the need for the City to invest in aesthetic improvements suggest that an entrepreneurial urban design regime is an integral part of creating developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. The influence of this entrepreneurial urban design regime is also evident in

the focus on safety and security.

The emphasis placed on the need to create spaces that are safe for consumers, businesses, or simply commerce in general, is not new. Rather the regulation of urban spaces for the purposes of economic growth has only intensified with the emergence of neoliberal economics (v. Keil, 2002; Atkinson, 2003). In this case, the public improvement initiatives seem to be designed to help aestheticize and transform the downtown into a middle-class “utopian space” that is free of political conflict, and is regulated by an unspoken ethical code of consumption (Zukin, 1995, p. 55; v. Atkinson, 2003). Zukin argues that these utopian spaces are produced by a combination of manipulating the physical environment to create a safe space that is free of the other, and by regulating admission/entry using economic controls to produce an environment in which goods, services, and ideas can be consumed without the intrusion of the real world (1995). Creating these utopian spaces not only supports downtown businesses, but can help lead to retail and residential gentrification.

The literature indicates that retail gentrification may result through the displacement of existing retail operations because of increasing rents, the erosion of their customer base due, or both (Zukin et al. 2009; Wang, 2011). The displacement of low end retailers, however, fits with the authors’ overall strategy to transform the downtown into a place that caters to, and reflects, the values and aesthetics of wealthy tourists, the creative class, and empty nesters. In other words, the downtown is planned to be a utopian place for particular socio-economic groups. Similarly, as illustrated in the literature review, the streetscape beautification initiatives proposed in the DCCMP are a marked attempt to exert control over public property so that private property owners benefit (v. Staeheli &

Mitchell, 2007). That is, the aesthetic quality of publically owned property has an impact on the value of private property. Publically owned property is, as the DCCMP illustrates, increasingly managed and regulated so that it does not have a negative impact on privately owned property. This management of publically owned property not only reflects the implementation of an entrepreneurial urban design regime, but also touches on elements of revanchist city planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002).

The public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP, particularly those that focus on safety and aesthetic quality, may also be viewed as a disciplining of public space in order to protect and facilitate market-led growth (v. Samara, 2010), or also the disciplining of those who do not contribute to economic growth through consumption (v. Atkinson, 2003; Boyle & Haggerty, 2011). While there are competing views on the role of entrepreneurial urban design regimes, particularly if they include elements that are not purely market-oriented, it is clear that the public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP focus more on disciplining urban spaces rather than urban space users. This, as stated earlier, reflects the revanchist elements of competitive city planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Furthermore, the literature also supports my claim that the public infrastructure improvements proposed in the DCCMP are intended to attract the clientele that boutique retail and tourism operations need. Seen in this light, these improvements are part of a broader strategy to create, or at least support, a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements.

4.3 – Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the strategy to revitalize and transform the downtown into a creative cluster involves the use of flagship catalyst projects, and public

infrastructure improvements, to help developers take advantage of local assets and overcome barriers. I contend this approach to urban revitalization reflects competitive city planning in three key ways: (a) the entrepreneurial use of planning policy and public resources to engage in partnerships, both official and implied; (b) the instrumental use of cultural/entertainment institutions to brand the downtown, stimulate consumption, and raise property values; and (c) the improvement and management of public property to facilitate conspicuous consumption. This competitive city approach to urban planning and revitalization is clearly driven by economic goals, specifically attracting developers/investors as to facilitate the growth of new markets. Implementing the DCCMP has certainly marked the introduction of a new planning paradigm for St. Catharines, one that will see the restructuring of the downtown into a creative cluster. Furthermore, it is clear that this restructuring will have a disproportionately positive impact on certain groups. That is, the restructuring of the downtown will create social gains and economic opportunities primarily for developers/ investors (v. Harvey, 1989; Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Immergluck, 2009), middle-class consumers (Zukin *et al.*, 2009), gentrifiers (Rousseau, 2009), and the creative class (v. Florida, 2002; 2005).

It is unclear what these massive public expenditures will bring to, for example, business referred to as a "lower end" operation, such as tattoo parlours, and businesses whose presence is regarded as a "weakness" (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 39). Furthermore, it is unclear how the DCCMP will benefit tenants pressured by increasing rents as land owners capitalize in rising property values (v. Wang, 2011; Slater, 2012). In other words, the competitive city approach to urban planning and revitalization displayed in the DCCMP is not intended to benefit the public at large, but particular groups that

have the means to use the restructuring of the downtown to extract higher rents or build their social capital. However, as the findings of the next chapter suggest, this market-oriented approach to the revitalization of the downtown seems to have been inevitable due to global proliferation of neoliberal discourses and the development of what has been described as a neoliberal governmentality (v. Harvey, 1989, 2005; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Keil, 2009).

Chapter 5 – Knowledges, Actions, and Outcomes

5.0 – Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the ideas/knowledge that underpin the transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster. In particular, I focus on agency, emphasis, and silence to understand which voices, ideas, and knowledges shaped the initiatives proposed in the DCCMP. As discussed in the literature review, competitive city planning policies are strategic and entrepreneurial, and typically incorporate the interest of middle class consumers, experts, and private sector partners (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). This chapter therefore explores the voices, ideas, and knowledges that are used to justify the use of public resources to create a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements.

Creating this network is presented in the DCCMP as a necessary step in the revitalization and transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster. According to the authors of the DCCMP the transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster will not only make the city more economically competitive, but also a place that offers the services/amenities that cater to young professionals/the creative class, students, empty nesters, as well as wine and arts tourists/visitors. Transforming the downtown into a creative cluster is also presented as necessary in order to implement the policies of the Province's *Growth Plan*. However, as I illustrate below, the *Growth Plan* did not have as big an impact on the DCCMP, or how the downtown will, look, feel and function. Rather, there are a number of prominent voices that the socio-spatial arrangements of the downtown as inscribed in the DCCMP.

The TDA results illustrate that the initiatives proposed in the DCCMP have been

shaped by, and based on, the testimonies of the city's business elite and the recommendations of policy experts/consultants. Furthermore, these testimonies and recommendations are framed by Richard Florida's Creative Class Theory (CCT), an economic development model now linked to retail and residential gentrification and displacement (v. Zimmerman, 2008; Atkinson & Easthope, 2009; OConnor & Gu, 2010; Wang, 2011). Reliance upon the input of the voices, in combination with the rapid development and deployment of the DCCMP and the absence of other voices, particularly the public-at-large, indicates that the DCCMP is constrained by, and a product of, a fast-policy regime (v. Peck, 2011a; Prince, 2012). The use of public resources to trigger a process of socio-spatial restructuring and the almost certain displacement of certain groups from the downtown is troubling. It is, however, an outcome of deeply embedded neoliberal discourses that define the knowledges that guide which economic development and urban revitalization initiatives are to be implemented (v. Mills, 2004; Zukin et al. 2009; Rousseau, 2009; Slater, 2012).

5.1 – Stakeholders, policy experts/consultants, and the serial reproduction of ideas

The QCA results indicate that the urban revitalization and economic development initiatives proposed in the DCCMP are based on the ideas/knowledge and input of specific groups. One of these groups, as illustrated in the *statement* box below, is referred to in the DCCMP as stakeholders:

Statement 31

"The primary objectives of the Master Plan, as identified by staff and **stakeholder** groups are: ...attract investment and tourists"

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. i - emphasis added)

Statement 32

"Throughout all **stakeholder** consultations, safety and security for pedestrians were noted as major priorities to success for any St. Paul Street revitalization.

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 61 - emphasis added)

Statement 33

"stakeholders stressed that residential redevelopment and revitalization would open St. Catharines to a broader demographic: not only "creating a positive climate for retirees," but to "create the right climate for the emerging knowledge-based economy to flourish in all its diversity: students, employees of new business and institutions and other creative industries coming to invest St. Catharines. (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 63 - emphasis added)

Statement 34

"Stakeholders registered concern that, with large capital investments in a downtown, property values increase and result in the "pushing out" of the grass roots culture, youth and entrepreneurial activities. These are the very activities that bring authentic animation and street life to the Downtown. (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 99 - emphasis)

The category "stakeholders" is rather broad and includes, but is not limited to, the wine industry (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. iv), the St. Catharines/Niagara Chamber of Commerce and Downtown Association (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 61), to post-secondary education institutions (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 1), various public sector agencies and government agencies (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 112), as well as property owners, developers, real-estate brokers, and the development industry in general (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 114). This list suggests that the ideas/knowledge of numerous private sector stakeholder groups will shape how the revitalization of the downtown will unfold and what goals the DCCMP is to achieve.

In addition to these private sector stakeholders, a number of City-led stakeholder groups were also consulted in the development of the DCCMP. These include: the *Downtown Development and Revitalization Task Force*, the *Cultural Committee*, and the *Master Plan Steering Committee* (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 7). However, the *Downtown Development and Revitalization Task Force* and the *Master Plan Steering Committee*, both bureaucratic bodies made-up of City Councillors, local business owners, City staff, and several influential citizens (City of St. Catharines, 2013b), are credited in the DCCMP for their valuable input (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 66). This suggests that DCCMP, and therefore the social and economic outcomes it is designed to achieve,

is based on the inputs of private sector stakeholders and the City's own stakeholder groups.

What is missing, however, is any indication as to how much public input gathered through consultation was used in the development of the DCCMP. That is, there are no references to public interest groups or if any aspect of the DCCMP is based on information/ideas drawn from public consultation. In contrast to frequent references to a diverse group of stakeholders, some of which are explicitly identified, there is only one mention of "public consultation" in the whole text (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 7). There are, however, references to *residents* in the document. It is unclear whether these references to residents speak to those who currently reside in the downtown, or those that may. Taking into account the overall goals of the DCCMP it is likely that references to residents pertain to future resident groups. This silence or absence of a voice which stands up for the interest of the public-at-large suggests a lack of public agency (v. Tonkiss, 2010). Several authors note that this inattention to public input has been associated with long term or visioning documents that constitute the competitive city and entrepreneurial city planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Peck, 2005; 2011a). However, others have argued that additional reforms to contemporary governance are needed to allow for more entrepreneurial approaches to planning; such policy environments have been shown to facilitate the growth of experience and creative economy sectors that cater to and attract the creative class (Therkildsen et al. 2008). Further evidence of competitive city planning practices can be observed in the very ideas that underpin the DCCMP.

The QCA results illustrate that the social and economic outcomes of the DCCMP can be linked to the 2007 *Creating A Vibrant Downtown* report. The report identifies the

elements needed for a vibrant downtown; these elements are: *Ease of Access, Community Safety, Business Support and Development, Civic Attractions, Centralization of Services, Residential Development, Visual Quality*; see Chapter 3 for a summary. The economic development and urban revitalization initiatives (i.e. flagship catalysts & public infrastructure improvements) are discussed in Chapter 4 mirror these elements. For example, elements such as *Ease of Access* and *Visual Quality* are clearly the focus of the DCCMP. The Carlisle Parking Street Parking Garage and public infrastructure/streetscape improvements are key material evidence of this. This inter-textual association, however, is problematic as the 2007 *Creating A Vibrant Downtown* report was not only written by City staff, and without public input, but was also the product of a strategic planning session that was closed to the public (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2007, p. 10). This suggests that the development of the DCCMP is, at least partially, a product and a reflection of competitive city planning practices as authority to restructure urban spaces is placed in the hands of private sector groups (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Catungal & Leslie, 2013). This approach to public policy development and implementation is problematic for several reasons.

First, a disenfranchised public-at-large may not recognize these types of exclusive policy development practices as legitimate, and therefore may not support them (Wallner, 2008). This means that if the concerns and tacit knowledge of local residents have been omitted – which my analysis suggests is the case with the DCCMP – not only do local residents have limited or no influence over the make-up of the downtown, but they will also be less likely to support the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives implemented by the City (v. Wallner, 2008). Second, scholarship suggests that

cultural or culture-oriented economic development policies that do not place any value on, or recognize culture as understood by the local population, will be ineffective due to low levels of local participation (v. Zukin, 1995; Gilmore, 2013). Finally, Stern and Seifert (2010) demonstrate that local inability or desire to participate in cultural events has a negative impact on perceived quality of life (v. Stern & Seifert, 2010). That is, it is unclear how the PAC/SFPA – an institution that represents and celebrates only one of many ways to conceptualize culture (v. Mitchell, 1995; Gilmore, 2013) – will attract local residents to the downtown, and create the vibrant atmosphere needed to attract more people. Furthermore, it is unclear how the arts-based cultural events held at the PAC/SPFA will contribute to a higher quality of life for local residents if these residents do not feel as though they can participate in these events. The Niagara Wine Festival, formerly the Niagara Grape and Wine Festival, has shown how changes to cultural events can limit the participation of local residents (v. Mackintosh, 2013). In sum, the lack of public agency or the public's voice poses several questions about the effectiveness of competitive city planning policies such as the DCCMP. While the voice/agency of the public is conspicuously missing from the DCCMP, the QCA results indicate that the voices of policy experts are active and present.

The economic development and urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP are crafted by experts and policy consultants. *Joseph Bogdan and Associates*, the lead consulting firm in charge of the development of the DCCMP, contracted out parts of the document to other consulting firms. As stated in Chapter 3, each firm had a specific task: *Sorenson Gravely Lowes Planning Associates Inc.* - Planning, Implementation, Public Consultation; *Hemson Consulting Limited* - Economic

Development, Growth Potential and Real Estate; *Dillon Consulting Limited* - Transportation, Parking and Municipal Service Infrastructure; *ENVision/The Hough Group* - Pedestrian Connectivity/ Streetscape Hierarchy, Public Consultation; and *George Friedman, Architect* - Performing Arts and Arts-Related Academic Facilities Consultation. The number of firms involved in the development of the DCCMP undoubtedly helped deliver the final draft to City Council in just eight months.

The rapid development and implementation of the DCCMP was also facilitated the consultants ability to draw on previous research completed by City staff, and private sector experts/consultants. Examples of previous research include: a parking study conducted in 2006 (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. ii), a *Downtown Street System Conversion Study* conducted in 2005 (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 24), a *Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis* conducted in 2002 (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 47), *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities*, conducted in 2007 (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 47). Furthermore, the authors of the DCCMP also cite demographers/economists like David K. Foot (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 51) as well as policy/economic development experts like Richard Florida (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 8). The number of expert studies referenced by the authors is symptomatic of an increased reliance on expert knowledge as a result of the neoliberalization of public policy.

The growth of public policy consulting in Canada has been linked to the implementation of a new "business-like" (read neoliberal) public governance paradigm at the upper tier levels of government (Perl & White, 2002, p. 50). The introduction of neoliberal public governance models at the Federal and Provincial levels has not only led

to the reduction in the size of each respective government, but has also led to a greater dependency on private sector consultants and subject matter experts (v. Graham & Phillips, 1997; Keil, 2002; Perl & White, 2002; Boudreau et al. 2009; Mormani & Khirfan, 2013; Scanton, 2013). Government downsizing, cost saving, and improved efficiency underpin this governance model (v. Perl & White, 2002). Furthermore, consultant-based planning is an attempt to remove in-house policy analysis resources and create an opportunity to use ostensibly objective, non-politicized advice of private sector experts. This new governance model not only illustrates a typically neoliberal approach to public sector management, but also coincides with the consolidation of the neoliberal policy bloc in Canada (v. Larner, 2000; Harvey, 2005; Carroll & Shaw, 2001).

Like the Federal government municipalities in Ontario now heavily rely on policy consultants (Mormani & Khirfan, 2013). They also do so for similar reasons. That is, municipalities in Ontario use consultants as they believe that these consultants possess advanced and non-partisan expertise that will ultimately shield staff from political issues, and help reduce workload (Mormani & Khirfan, 2013). Furthermore, municipalities trust that consultants will be able to advise decision makers on *best practices* adopted by other municipalities, again, in an effort to ensure the effective use of public resources (Mormani & Khirfan, 2013). These moves indicate that the need for improved efficiency, competitiveness, and the reduction in the size of government, is directly linked to the introduction of business-like/neoliberal public management agendas (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Furthermore, it is apparent that this pattern is unlikely to change in the near future.

The use of consultants in Ontario, as in Europe and the United States, continues to increase (v. Mormani & Khirfan, 2013; Howlett & Migone, 2013). This is problematic for

several reasons. First, Lehrer & Laidley (2008) state that expert consultants frequently over-estimate the positive impacts/spill-overs of revitalization initiatives, such as flagship megaprojects, while underestimating costs. Also, the use of expert testimony can lead to less than democratic policy development practices because the testimony of non-experts is not sought. This diminishes the evolution of innovative ideas on how to use urban spaces (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Howlett & Migone, 2013). Second, urban managers can use the ostensibly neutral positioned consultants, combined with their expert testimony, to manage impressions/perceptions, create controversy, settle disputes, or downplay concerns to ensure a particular course of action (Howlett & Migone, 2013). In other words, consultants and experts have been, and can be, used to influence the political economy of a particular initiative or policy. Finally, critics have shown that seeking out and implementing best practices can reduce costs and ensure the efficient use of public resources. It also leads to the serial reproduction of economic development/urban revitalization practices like those that underpin the DCCMP (v. Mormani & Khirfan, 2013; Howlett & Migone, 2013).

The pervasiveness of neoliberalism has disciplined cities governments/policy makers to endlessly seek out ways to gain an economic/competitive advantage, as well as to improve on competitiveness and attractiveness rankings (v Peck, 2005, 2011a; Boudreau et al. 2009; Evans, 2009). Demand for such ideas and policies has led to the development of a fast-policy regime (v. Peck, 2005, 2011a; Prince, 2012). That is, as policy solutions can be delivered anywhere through a global world of policy consultants and experts, no city is left without options. As such decision makers are compelled by the fact that they can, and therefore must, act or suffer the consequences of inaction (v. Peck,

2005; Prince, 2012). One of the most popular vehicular ideas that now dominates the economic development and urban revitalization policy landscape on a global level is Richard Florida's CCT (Peck, 2005, 2011a; Scott, 2006; Evans, 2009, Kratke, 2010).

5.2 – *The CCT and the intended social and economic outcomes of the DCCMP*

My analysis of the QCA results indicates that the CCT is used by the authors of the DCCMP to brand and justify the transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster. In this case, the CCT, is modified, or to borrow Peck's phrase, “domesticated,” to fit within the urban context of St. Catharines (2011a, p. 3). This transformation of vehicular ideas like the CCT is also due to their journey through fast-policy circuits; a global network of policy consultants that modify theories to fit particular contexts (Peck, 2011b). As I illustrate below the domestication of Florida's CCT is evident in the DCCMP. The CCT is domesticated so that it can be used to justify the municipally-led restructuring of a downtown, into a place that caters primarily to middle class residents, visitors, and employees.

In the opening pages of the DCCMP Florida's CCT is identified as an economic development paradigm that offers cities like St. Catharines a way out from a manufacturing-dependent economy to a booming creative economy. The DCCMP states that according to Florida's criteria St. Catharines has all the necessary components to become a creative cluster; (see *statement* box below).

Statement 35

"Richard Florida's theory of the Creative Class posits that a new creative economy has emerged, as a result of decline in the manufacturing sector and the increase in knowledge-based labour... St. Catharines...a city with a declining auto industry base, yet with growing post secondary institutions, media and agricultural research, has the potential to define itself as a creative economy." (City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p.i)

Statement 36

"Decline in the manufacturing sector places pressure to shift Southern Ontarios economic focus away from a manufacturing economy towards knowledge-intensive labour. This new economic use has been termed a "creative economy"...St. Catharines has many of the essential elements needed to be a Creative Cluster [such as] a highly educated and skilled pool of people from Brock University and Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology...[both of which] naturally foster and attract intellectual and cultural diversity, including underground and alternative culture and lifestyles."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 8)

Statement 37

"The Creative Class looks for communities... [with] elements that attract the talent pool...[such as:] opportunities for good health and easily accessible activities to enjoy outside of work, including entertainment options suitable to their lifestyle, and an environment in which they, as newcomers would feel comfortable and welcomed – a population and local culture which is heterogeneous, not singular or homogenous."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 8)

Statement 38

"Richard Florida contends that...physical attractions such as sports stadiums, freeways, urban malls, and tourism and entertainment districts are less relevant to the Creative Class than they were traditionally...[Rather], the Creative Class looks... for smaller, less prestigious venues that rank high on the "cool factor" [are] more effective attractors to the young creative work force."

(City of St. Catharines, 2008b, p. 8)

These *statements* illustrate an emphasis of Florida's expertise and the CCT. The emphasis of the CCT early on in the DCCMP, I contend, is used to dispatch any doubt as to why the downtown needs to be transformed into a creative cluster. In addition, the emphasis of the CCT also imbues the DCCMP with authority. This is a tactic referred to as inter-textual or inter-discursive association (v. Fairclough, 2003). The use of emphasis is clear as the demise of manufacturing is misplaced; manufacturing in Niagara continues to outpace all other sources of revenue in the Region combined (v. Niagara Workforce Planning Board, 2010). Furthermore, the DCCMP seems to only incorporate certain aspects of the CCT.

The CCT is based on the premise that if cities are to succeed in the creative economy they must attract the creative class by following the "3Ts" of economic development. The 3T model calls for cities to engage in partnerships with Technology and Talent generators like universities, as well as address barriers to entry for minorities,

like gays and immigrants, in order to make cities more Tolerant (Florida, 2002; 2005). The 3T model is underpinned by the truth-claim that "creative people are attracted to, and high-tech industry takes root in, places that score high on... basic indicators of diversity [and tolerance]" (Florida, 2002, p. 250). Therefore, cities that offer the 3Ts will attract the creative class and prosper in the creative economy, while those that do not, Florida warns, "will fall farther behind" (2002, p. 266). The DCCMP partially subscribes to Florida's notion of a creative class and creative economy. However, as I illustrate below, the authors of the DCCMP have massaged CCT so that it can be used to justify the social and economic outcomes of the DCCMP. As a result, the DCCMP seems to contradict the CCT on several occasions.

The DCCMP seems to incorporate at least two of the three Ts by assisting developers/investors, by way of flagship projects (e.g PAC/SFPA & the IMAC), and public infrastructure improvements (parking, recreational trails/heritage links), to attract and retain talent (the creatives) and technology (creative/knowledge-based firms). This is in line with Florida's claim that post-secondary institutions, particularly universities, embody the 3Ts of successful economic development. In other words, universities are centres of social *Tolerance*, and *Technological* advancement that attract the *Talent* needed to grow the creative economy (2002, p. 292). Florida urges policy makers to "strengthen a university's ability to attract the smartest people from around the world – the true wellspring of the creative economy" (2005, p.144). However, the last T, *Tolerance*, does not seem to be incorporated or at least addressed in the DCCMP; the word tolerance does not appear in the DCCMP, with only one reference to the need for low barriers in order to encourage ethno-cultural diversity. In addition to a lack of

references to *Tolerance* the authors of the DCCMP did not seem to heed Florida's explicit warnings against investing in large, flagship projects like the Meridian Centre:

“[decision makers] pay lip service to the need to attract talent, but continue to pour resource into underwriting big-box retailers, subsidizing downtown malls, recruiting call centres, and squandering precious taxpayer dollars on extravagant stadium complexes. (Florida, 2002, p. 302).”

Florida also presents evidence to illustrate that stadiums have little or no economic impact, and become an economic burden and sap regional wages over the long term (2002). The urban catalyst literature similarly suggests that sport complexes like the Meridian Centre will not help the growth of the urban economy, but will drive up property values, contribute to the critical mass needed to support downtown businesses, and help create a vibrant downtown and signal confidence and strong leadership to developers/investors (v. Sternberg, 2002; Chapin, 2004). While this is beneficial to certain private sector interest, and expands the City's tax base, it may result in the displacement of those cool individual, trendy cafes and stores, and edgy neighbourhoods that creatives find so appealing (Wilson & Keil, 2008). In other words, the success of the DCCMP may initiate processes of gentrification and displacement that will see the downtown revert into a underutilized and neglected place (v. Zukin et al. 2009)

Curiously, the authors of the DCCMP recognize Florida's position (see statement 38), but despite this almost verbatim recognition that sports stadiums and cultural facilities are not effective at attracting the creative class, the PAC/SFPA, and the Meridian Centre are the centrepiece of the DCCMP.

This contradiction, or perhaps simply ignorance towards aspects of the CCT, suggest that the DCCMP is not based on the CCT-proper, but a vehicular version. This modified version suits the transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster by

facilitating gentrification and redevelopment through a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. This is in line with Peck's (2005, 2011a) argument that Florida's CCT is a useful tool to justify new rounds of creative restructuring of socio-spatial arrangements in order to realign urban space(s) with new and growing economies. The restructuring of socio-spatial arrangements to secure economic competitiveness is a hallmark of neoliberal urbanism and dominant form of competitive city planning (v. Peck & Tickell, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck, 2005, 2011a; Hackworth, 2006; Hackworth & Moria, 2006; Slater, 2006; Boudreau et al. 2009). The CCT, therefore, fits well within this neoliberal fast-policy regime as it can be used to justify the restructuring of socio-spatial arrangements. Furthermore, CCT-related socio-spatial restructuring has been well documented and has shown to result in retail and residential gentrification as well as displacement (v. Keil & Wilson, 2008; Zimmerman, 2008; Evan, 2009; Atkinson & Easthope, 2009; Kratke, 2010; Peck, 2005, 2011).

5.3 – Conclusion

The influence of neoliberal and entrepreneurial discourses is evident in the ideas and knowledges that shaped the socio-spatial arrangements imposed on the downtown through the DCCMP. My analysis shows that private sector interests have had the biggest influence on the DCCMP; this is a mark of what has been labelled as competitive city planning and neoliberal governance (v. Keil, 2002; Catungal & Leslie, 2013). Moreover, the DCCMP was developed in a rather short time frame and relies heavily on the knowledge of experts. The speed at which the DCCMP was developed and implemented is telling as it suggests that it is a product of a fast-policy regime (v. Prince, 2012). Taken in this light, the global demand for fast-policies has led to the popularization of Florida's

CCT. Thus, its appearance in the DCCMP is not surprising (v. Peck, 2005). The widespread implementation of the CCT, however, has transformed it into a vehicular idea. As illustrated above my analysis suggest that the DCCMP is indeed based on a vehicular CCT model. However, the CCT brand applied to the DCCMP seems to be more of “gold plating” (Sennett, 2006: 144) intended to renew established municipally-led downtown redevelopment and gentrification projects intended to attract developers/investors, as well as middle-class creatives (v. Peck, 2005; Rousseau, 2009). As illustrated throughout this thesis this form of competitive city planning and revitalization is result of the neoliberal and entrepreneurial discourses that constrain city governments to well-rehearsed repertoire market-oriented strategies and policy development practices.

Chapter 6 – Asking and Answering Questions

"In an era of intensifying neoliberalism and globalization, when national governments are less and less able or willing to cater to every regional or sectional interest within their jurisdictions, cities must now either take the initiative in building the bases of their own competitiveness and social stability or face the negative consequences of inaction" (Scott, 2008: 15-16).

6.0 – Answers and Chapter Summaries

My analysis of the DCCMP is driven by two research questions designed to explore the relationship between discourses, economic development and urban planning, and how this relationships fosters particular socio-spatial arrangements. The questions are:

1. How do neoliberal discourses define the economic development and urban revitalization initiatives that unfold in the DCCMP?
2. What do these initiatives indicate about the relationship among urban planning and economic development, and how this led to the use of planning policy to foster particular socio-spatial arrangements in St. Catharines?

The research questions are underpinned by an understanding of discourses as a series of ideas and practices that shape how we come to know and interact with the material world (v. Foucault, 1980; Mills, 2004). However, discourses also regulate and therefore filter what ideas and practices are legitimate or true. The purpose of my analysis was therefore to understand how dominant discourses have shaped the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP, and what this can tell me about how policy can be used to reshape the downtown of a medium-sized, Canadian city.

My analysis indicates that the DCCMP proposes a radical transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster using what are distinctly competitive city urban planning practices (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). This is evident in the implementation of economic development and urban revitalization initiatives that focus on creating a

network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. This network of socio-spatial arrangements is designed to help developers/investors exploit local assets, and overcome/remove barriers, in order to make the downtown an ostensibly attractive place to invest, work, and live. This requires the entrepreneurial use of public resources to engage in partnerships with various private sector actors and industries. These partnerships will ostensibly transform the downtown into a place, or a creative cluster, that caters to middle-class and creative class residents, tourists, employees and creative/cultural firms. The transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster will therefore impose a new set socio-spatial arrangements onto the downtown, dramatically altering the urban landscapes so that it provides the amenities, services, and attractions that middle-class creatives come to expect from their cities. My understanding of the DCCMP, and how it has been shaped by neoliberal discourses, impact, has been shaped by a wealth of geographic literature.

The literature suggests that the implementation of competitive city urban revitalization strategies like the DCCMP may have polarizing results. That is, the socio-spatial restructuring competitive city urban planning policies facilitate seem to be positive for those who can contribute to/take advantage of the restructuring process, and negative for those cannot do either. This restructuring of the downtown, as showing in my analysis of the DCCMP, is intended to increase property values in various ways (e.g. flagship projects) (v. Chapin, 2004; Immergluck, 2009). This in turn creates opportunities for better return on investment through the extraction of higher rents, real estate sales, while improving the stock of retail and housing options (v. Swyngedouw et al. 2002). This means that competitive city planning policies can be, and are, used by urban managers to

revitalize neglected downtowns and to strengthen the urban economy. However, the literature illustrates that the implementation of competitive city planning practices has several drawbacks.

Scholars argue that increased property values have been shown to result in the displacement of retailers and residents that cannot afford the increased rents (v. Keil & Wilson, 2008; Zimmerman, 2008; Rousseau, 2009; Zukin et al. 2009). Furthermore, others have shown that planning regulation has been used to prevent businesses from entering neighborhoods which are planned to have a niche economy function (Schlichtman, 2009; Catungal & Leslie, 2013). Concomitantly, the establishment of industry clusters using generic models has shown to result in dependency on public funding (v. Stern & Seifert, 2010). In summary, the implementation of competitive city urban planning policies produces a distinct set of winners and losers. While this poses questions about the sustainability of such polarizing planning policies, it is clear that urban manager will have little choice but continue their implementation.

My analysis illustrates that the implementation of competitive city urban revitalization strategies such as the DCCMP is shaped by and reproduces neoliberal discourses. As a result, the globalization of neoliberal discourses has induced what Hackworth (2006) refers to as *There Is No Alternative* (TINA) syndrome, a symptom of which is the implementation of only market-oriented urban revitalization strategies.

Geographers have critically analyzed how the globalization of neoliberalism has disciplined city governments to continually seek a competitive advantage, and doing so using only market-oriented strategies. In the first half of Chapter 2 I conduct a literature review to support this claim. I demonstrate that neoliberal economic theory was instituted

by Federal and Provincial levels of government in Canada, as well as in the UK and the US, as a solution to the rapid economic decline caused, although not completely, by large scale deindustrialization (v. Harvey, 1989; Carroll & Shaw, 2001). The foundation of neoliberal economic theory is the notion that large governments, plagued by bureaucratic inefficiency and redundancy, should not regulate a rapidly evolving global economy (v. Harvey, 2005). Another component of neoliberal economic theory is that democratic governments represent the interest of their constituents (i.e. the general public), and, as political entities, should not regulate the apolitical market (v. Harvey, 2005). Rather, the government should do all it can to create an environment in which market forces can take hold and drive economic growth (v. Brenner & Theodore & Peck, 2002). The Federal government in Canada was lobbied by an influential network of private sector consulting firms (v. Carroll & Shaw, 2001), on which it increasingly relied for policy analysis and advice (v. Perl & White, 2002), to implement neoliberal reforms. Such reforms also took place at the Provincial level and resulted in sweeping changes to public sector services such as education, health care, and, social housing (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002, Young & Keil, 2005; Moria & Hackworth, 2006; Wallner, 2008). In Ontario the roll-out of neoliberal policy reform resulted in the downloading of responsibility from the Provincial to the local level without providing additional support (Keil, 2002). Furthermore, the Provincial government imposed a “competitiveness agenda,” one designed to reduce government interference in the economy, by shrinking the size of the provincial Government, and show to the private sector that Ontario was "open for business" (Graham & Phillips, 1997, p. 178).

It is within this policy environment that Ontario's municipalities, with increased

responsibility, fewer resources, and the competitiveness mandate issued by the Province, began to experiment with and implement entrepreneurial or competitive city policies (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Keil, 2002; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Catungal & Leslie, 2009). However, as shown in the literature review, as well as in the previous chapter, cities around the world now seek to implement policies which will ostensibly provide them with a competitive advantage. This has led, some argue, to the establishment of a fast-policy regime that is not only driven by demand for competitiveness, but also results in the proliferation of neoliberal policies and ideas (v. Prince, 2012). As a result, a number of vehicular ideas, particularly Richard Florida's Creative Class Theory (CCT), have become popular on a global scale (Peck, 2005; 2011a).

The implementation of competitiveness-building strategies based on vehicular ideas such as the CCT, however, has been associated with retail and residential gentrification. That is, competitive city planning practices have been shown to result in the displacement and replacement of underprivileged groups with middle-class yuppies and gentrifiers seeking to experience edgy downtowns, new restaurants, boutiques, cultural events, and all the social capital such experiences bestow (v. Zukin, 1987, 2009; Peck, 2005; Zimmerman, 2008; Atkinson & Easthope, 2008). This literature underpins the research questions that guide my inquiry of the DCCMP. In answering the research questions my thesis can provide insight into how the globalization of neoliberal discourses has shaped the DCCMP, and therefore the downtown of a seemingly unremarkable medium-sized city. In the second half of Chapter 2 I explained the methods used to analyze the DCCMP.

To answer the research questions I conduct a discourse analysis of the DCCMP.

The discourse analysis itself is composed of two parts, a Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and a Textual Discourse Analysis (TDA). The analysis involves coding the DCCMP using data-driven coding frames (v. Schreier, 2012), and then analysing the coded content for key themes and arguments, patterns of variation and association, character and agency, and emphasis and silences (v. Tonkiss, 2012). The methodology and subsequent analysis of the DCCMP is unique to this project as there is no one standard approach to discourse analysis (v. Davis, 2008; Dittmer, 2010; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Rose, 2001; Tonkiss, 2012). In addition to the QCA and the TDA, I also review over 10 years of General Committee minutes to understand where the development of the DCCMP began, and the state of the policy environment in which its development occurred. I refer to this part of my background research as a context analysis.

The results of the context analysis, presented in Chapter 3, illustrate that the slow turn towards what can be described as entrepreneurial planning (v. Harvey, 1989; Biddulph, 2013) began in 2001. The need to implement recommendations from a *2001 Comprehensive Development Strategy*, which was presented as having "the potential to transform the downtown in exciting and positive ways" (City of St. Catharines, Feb. 2002: Item 34, para. 14), precipitated the implementation that was described by City planners as a "shift from regulatory planning to incentive based planning policy" (City of St. Catharines, Dec. 5, 2002: Item 638). This shift came in the form of an Official Plan Amendment, approved in January 2003, which provided direction on what financial incentives can be offered to developers in order to stimulate redevelopment in the downtown.

The release of the *Growth Plan* in June 2005 helped to reinforce the City's planning approach. That is, the *Growth Plan* identifies Downtown St. Catharines as an *Urban Growth Centre* (UGC), and as such the City is required to increase the urban density of the downtown to 150 persons and jobs per hectare. The policies and the mandate of the *Growth Plan* was found to be consistent with the City's approach to planning (City of St. Catharines, Jan. 23, 2006:, p. 4). However, it was not until early 2007 that the City began to experiment with how to implement the policies of the *Growth Plan* and revitalize the downtown at the same time. As shown in the previous chapter the direction on how to implement the *Growth Plan* and revitalize the downtown came from a strategic planning meeting. The meeting resulted in a series of reports prepared by City staff. The most influential of these reports, due to its influence on the DCCMP, was *Creating a Vibrant Downtown*. The recommendations for the report were incorporated into a *Growth Plan* implementation policy referred to as the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 21).

The intent of the *2007 Comprehensive Plan* was to support the function of the downtown, the Region's only *UGC*, through the development and implementation of "made-in-Niagara solutions [that] enhance economic stability [and] regional competitiveness" by mobilizing local resources (City of St. Catharines, Jul. 2007, p. 28). The solution came in the form of the DCCMP. The context analysis, therefore, not only provides insight into the events that led to the development of the DCCMP, but also that planning policy at the local and Provincial level were becoming increasingly entrepreneurial. This is evident in both the City's own transition towards incentive-based planning, but also the imposition of a Provincial policy which requires that municipalities

be competitive and self-sufficient while at the same time facilitating and managing growth. In many ways the context analysis echoes the literature. That is, the context analysis illustrates how decision makers in St. Catharines, like in the US and Europe, are willing to embrace entrepreneurial planning practices and use public sector recourses as well as establish public-private partnerships – both well-established neoliberal economic development tactics – to attract private capital investment and facilitate redevelopment (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Keil, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Hackworth, 2006; Catungal & Leslie, 2009; Keil, 2009). My analysis therefore sheds light on how neoliberal discourses have shaped the economic development and urban revitalization techniques proposed in the DCCMP, and what this says about how planning policy is used to create particular socio-spatial arrangements of the downtown.

I present the results of the analysis in two ways. First, I introduced and summarize the QCA and TDA results in the latter half of Chapter 3. I then critically analyzed the QCA and TDA results to answer the research questions in Chapters 4 and 5. Key to my analysis of the DCCMP is the QCA and TDA, results which could be found in the Appendix; the QCA and TDA coding results are very lengthy and therefore not included in the body of this thesis. The Appendix displays the QCA coding units as underlined text. The TDA coding results are differentiated using a colour based typology. Each colour used identifies a particular coding unit as either a key theme and argument, a pattern of variation and association, character and agency, or an emphasis and silence. Despite my best efforts to design a rigorous methodology I nonetheless encountered challenges during the data extraction phase. These challenges arose as a result of weaknesses inherent to the data collection methods used.

The first of these challenges arose due to the restrictions imposed onto my methodology by a rigid coding frame. Due to the narrow focus of my research the coding frame I developed only consists of only one *main* category. This presented a challenge as was difficult to define a *main* category that strikes a balance between reducing content to particular topics while remaining open to the possibility to uncover data-driven topics. In addition, my understanding of the relationship between urban planning, economic development and revitalization has been shaped by a particular set of ideas and theories as illustrated in the literature review. The categories of the coding frame used to analyze the DCCMP reflect and are shaped by this subjective understanding. In this sense the coding frame is essentially limited to knowledge that shaped my understanding of the relationship between urban planning, economic development and revitalization. This is a weakness that is inherent to both the QCA and TDA methods (v. Schreier, 2012; Tonkiss, 2012).

Finally, the QCA produced an overwhelming amount of data despite attempts to reduce the DCCMP to content that pertains to the research questions. As a result the TDA coding process was difficult as there are a number of themes that emerged in the QCA results that were not discussed in this thesis as they did not fit within the research scope.. Making the decision to exclude pieces of the DCCMP from the discussion was very difficult as I only had my research questions to guide my decision as to whether or not a particular theme was important to the overall discussion. This experience showed me how data can not only alter/expand the research focus, but also enrich the discussion by illuminating themes/concepts not previously covered in the literature. However, it is equally important, but also very difficult, to recognize when the themes in the data do not

necessarily fit within the research scope. It is this step in the data collection and analysis with which I struggled most. I presented and critically analyzed these themes and topics in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 4 introduces the key themes and arguments regarding the use of urban spaces to stimulate economic development and urban revitalization. The TDA results illustrate that the revitalization and transformation of the downtown into a creative cluster is to be accomplished by spending vast amounts of public money – \$30 million for the Carlisle St. Parking Garage, \$50 million the PAC/SFPA, and \$54 million for the Meridian Centre alone (City of St. Catharines, 2013c) – to create a network of socio-spatial arrangements that will attract developers/ investors, and subsequently visitors, shoppers, new residents, and industries. Creating this network involves building on existing assets and overcoming barriers through changes to planning policy, flagship catalyst projects, and public infrastructure improvements.

The DCCMP identifies a number of assets and barriers that either facilitate or hinder creating this network of developer/investor friendly socio-spatial arrangements. For example, the historic buildings of the downtown are assets as they help create a unique shopping environment that will help downtown businesses, particularly retailers, compete with suburban shopping destinations (see *statement 13*). Alternatively, a barrier, such as the lack of convenient parking, hinders attracting developers/investors as it makes it difficult for customers to get to businesses located downtown (see *statement 18*). The DCCMP is designed to exploit these assets and overcome barriers to make the downtown an attractive place to invest. To do this the DCCMP relies on flagship catalyst projects, such as the Carlisle Parking Garage, and public infrastructure investments, such as

streetscape beautification. The flagship catalysts and public infrastructure constitute what I refer to as a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. Creating this network reflects a competitive city approach to urban planning (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002).

The flagship catalyst projects represent what was illustrated to be a neoliberal approach to urban revitalization and economic development (v. Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Hackworth, 2006; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008; Biddulph, 2013). The literature indicates that the type of flagship catalyst projects proposed in the DCCMP do not have a significant impact on the growth of new high-paying and secure jobs (v. Florida, 2002; Chapin, 2004). Rather, they have a number of spin-off/spill-over effects. Parking garages, for example, support downtown businesses by connecting them to their customers (Faulk, 2006; Cutter & DeWoody, 2010). Furthermore, entertainment-based catalysts, such as the PAC/SFPA and the Meridian Centre, contribute the development of the critical mass of clients/customers needed to support downtown business (v. Sternberg, 2002). The increased pedestrian traffic can generate a sense of vibrancy (v. Sternberg, 2002). This vibrancy not only contributes to increased patronage for businesses, but helps create an appealing atmosphere (v. Sternber, 2002). A vibrant and positive urban environment, one which can be experienced without disruption by negative cues, is critical to tourism operations in which the experience makes up for half of the product/service (v. Hayes & MacLeod, 2006; Lorentzen, 2009; Charters et al. 2009, Quandri-Felitti & Fiore, 2012). The entrepreneurial use of public resources to build on assets while overcoming barriers to facilitate the growth of downtown businesses reflects a competitive city approach to urban planning that is shaped by neoliberal discourses (v. Kipfer & Keil, 2002). This is

underpinned by literature which suggests that large-scale public projects, such as the flagship catalysts projects proposed in the DCCMP, have been shown to raise property values, fuel speculation, and attract developers/investors seeking to exploit a good investment opportunity (v. Swyngedouw et al., 2002, Immergluck, 2009). The flagship catalysts, as illustrated in Chapter 4, are combined with public infrastructure improvements.

The proposed public infrastructure improvements reflect an entrepreneurial urban design regime that is underpinned by the need to create urban spaces which contribute to and facilitate consumption (v. Biddulph, 2013). This entrepreneurial design regime is reflected in the in the network of streets, sidewalks, parkettes, bike lanes, and signage that are intended to make shopping or visiting the downtown not only easier, but an experience in itself. The engineering of urban spaces to facilitate consumption is, of course, not new to geographers. For example Atkinson (2003) provides two ways to understand the management of urban spaces to create consumption; the revanchist city approach (Neil Smith) and the cappuccino approach (Sharon Zukin). The initiatives proposed in the DCCMP are more in line with the latter in that they are intended to create an urban environment which is seamlessly connected, manicured, and sanitized to present a distinctly middle-class aesthetic, one which appeals to and attracts middle-class consumers (v. Zukin, 1987,1995; Rousseau, 2009). In other words, the downtown is disciplined by an urban design which removes negative cues (e.g. lack of sufficient lighting) which are stated in the DCCMP as barriers to economic growth. The public infrastructure improvements reflect an attempt to manage public property so that there are no negative, but only positive impacts on businesses and private property owners (v.

Staehele & Mitchell, 2007). In summary, the public infrastructure improvements not only support the flagship catalysts, but are themselves an attempt to manage urban spaces as to create an environment which supports businesses and positively impacts private property (i.e. through increased property valued). This is in order to attract investment and facilitate redevelopment. I contend that this approach to urban revitalization is indicative of competitive city planning. More broadly, I see the flagship catalysts and public infrastructure improvements as a loose or unofficial partnership between the City and local business owners.

Chapter 5 illustrates that the revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP are informed and justified using ideas/knowledge which are framed by and products of neoliberal discourses. The TDA results indicate that the interests of private sector stakeholders are the driving force behind the urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP. This is evident in the agency and emphasis of private stakeholder interests, expert knowledge, and the conspicuous absence or lack of public agency; the terms agency and emphasis are used in the context of Tonkiss (2012) approach to TDA. The agency and emphasis of private sector input and expert knowledge illustrates how city governments have been disciplined by a fast-policy regime on how to use public policy to stimulate economic growth (v. Peck, 2011a, Prince, 2012). This fast-policy regime is, however, driven by a demand for a competitive advantage (v. Prince, 2012). The DCCMP not only exhibits influence of this fast-policy regime, but also contributes to its reproduction by relying on a popular vehicular idea, Richard Florida's CCT, to legitimize a typically neoliberal urban revitalization strategy that uses public resources to create a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements. The implementation

of the DCCMP has initiated a process through which the City's policy framework will become more competitive city oriented.

The DCCMP now frames the City's planning and economic development policies, namely the Official Plan and the Economic Development Strategy. Therefore, the City's policies will need to be, as some already have, modified to incorporate the recommendations and intent of the DCCMP. The City's new Official Plan is the primary legislative tool for the implementation of the DCCMP. The new Official Plan, echoing the DCCMP, explicitly states that the Downtown land-use policies (Section 11) are to ensure that the downtown fulfills its role as a catalyst for regional growth, and is a vibrant and attractive place to be (City of St. Catharines, 2012c, p. 52). To achieve this the City now provides "incentive programs to support residential development, redevelopment, and intensification" in combination with public infrastructure improvements to encourage "business enterprise in the Downtown" (City of St. Catharines, 2012c, p. 55).

Furthermore, the City has revised its Downtown Community Improvement Program (City of St. Catharines, 2012c), and implemented a new *Residential Conversion and Intensification Grant Program* and a *Residential Construction Grant Program* (City of St. Catharines, 2012d). The OP also explicitly states that the City is may use public funds to buy property, rehabilitate buildings, waive fees, and complete studies in order to achieve the goals of a CIP (City of St. Catharines, 2012c). These policy initiatives, as indicated above, are to catalyze growth. This suggests that the City's planning policies will become increasingly entrepreneurial over time as the City seeks to establish a network of developer/investor-friendly socio-spatial arrangements that will transform the

downtown into a creative cluster. In addition to the Official Plan, the Economic Development Strategy was also updated after the DCCMP was approved.

The Economic Development Strategy (EDS) details various initiatives to support the growth of emerging sectors, particularly health & bioscience, green industry, and interactive media, among providing continuing support to the manufacturing industry. The EDS, however, stresses the need to create an attractive environment for creative entrepreneurs and building up Niagara's talent pool to catalyze community revitalization (v. City of St.Catharines, 2012b). Furthermore, the EDS outlines that the City will continue to fund *nGen* – an initiative referred to as the IMAC in the DCCMP – which is to attract the creative class and fuel the growth of the Niagara's interactive media industries and creative economy. In other words, the establishment of the IMAC as part of the urban landscape, as recommended in the DCCMP, is reflected in the City's economic development policies. The City also developed a Tourism Strategy to support the development of an arts and wine-based cultural tourism and experience economy (v. City of St. Catharines, 2009). The focus on attracting the creative industries, talent/the creative class, combined with a tourism strategy which emphasizes wine and the performing arts, is a clear indication of an inter-discursive link between the City's economic development policies and the DCCMP. This inter-discursive link, as suggested above, is also evident in the policies of the Official Plan. This suggests that the City's planning and economic development policies are beginning to converge on the implementation of the DCCMP.

These policy shifts suggest that the DCCMP has, and will continue to have, a profound impact on the City's policies. As a result future planning and economic

development policies will become increasingly entrepreneurial, and perhaps even more revanchist and focused on planning for the production of differences through cultural consumption. Furthermore, as my literature review suggest, this path towards the competitive city will likely continue until there is another dramatic shift in planning discourse at the Provincial, National, and global level.

6.1 – Conclusion

My analysis of the DCCMP indicates that the revitalization of the downtown is to be initiated and facilitated by the expenditure of millions of public dollars to create a network of socio-spatial arrangements that will attract developers/investors and/entrepreneurs. This network will be created using: a) flagship projects intended to support downtown businesses/fuel consumption, as well as imbed culture into the urban landscape to brand the city; and b) public infrastructure improvements that impose an urban design regime onto the downtown as to reflect middle class aesthetics/sensibilities and create a downtown environment that can be experienced by residents and tourists alike. It is clear that creating this network is necessary to transform or restructure the downtown into a creative cluster. However, as illustrated in the literature review as well as Chapters 4 & 5, the various initiatives that make up the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP are not unique to St. Catharines. Rather, the DCCMP seems to be an assemblage of competitive city best-practices that are now applied at a global scale. These practices, however, have been associated with retail and residential gentrification, and subsequently retail and residential displacement due to increasing rents, the loss of a customer base, or the loss of service providers (v. Peck, 2005; Zimmerman, 2008, Keil &

Wilson, 2008; Zukin et al. 2009; Atkinson & Easthope, 2009; Wang, 2011). It is these findings that now pose more questions about the DCCMP.

While my analysis of the DCCMP answered the research questions, it simultaneously led to more questions that need answering. That is, I now have more questions about the material impacts of the DCCMP; how can these impacts be measured? what can these impacts tell us about the effectiveness of competitive city planning practices? In other words, my research shows that the relationship between the application of competitive city planning practices, urban spaces, citizenship, sense of community, and economic development need to be better understood. Further explorations of these relationships would not only would help contextualize the impacts of competitive city practices on medium sized Canadian cities like St. Catharines, but also contribute to a larger body of geographical knowledge that can be leveraged to destabilize the hegemony of neoliberal discourses.

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Main Category

Name: Urban Revitalization Strategy

Definition: This concept driven category refers to content that describes the urban revitalization strategy proposed in the DCCMP. This main category is intentionally broad as to allow the text to define the sub categories. The literature suggest that indicators for urban revitalization strategies include, but are not limited to: any new initiatives, policy recommendations, and land-use practices intended to improve the attractiveness, livability, and economic competitiveness of the downtown. These strategies are typically implemented through use of public resources to support development of particular industry sectors, investment in public infrastructure improvement, branding initiatives, and establishment of public-private partnerships.

Example: The use of public policy, planning or otherwise, to implement initiatives that the development of socio-spatial arrangement which are attractive to particular types of businesses and social groups (v. Zukin, 1995; Florida, 2002; Scott, 2008; Wang, 2011).

Decision Rules: As this Main category is intentionally broad, as well as the only Main category in this coding frame, decision rules are not needed (v. Schreier, 2012).

Sub Category 1

Name: Assets and Barriers to the revitalization/ transformation of the Downtown into a Creative Cluster.

Definition: This data-driven sub-category refers to content that describes existing assets that can be leveraged, and existing barriers that need to be overcome/addressed, in order to revitalize/transform the downtown into a Creative Cluster. Indicators include, but are not limited to, the categorization of certain industries, land-users, land-use patterns as either beneficial or detrimental to the revitalization/ transformation of the downtown in to a Creative Cluster.

Example: The identification and use of assets, such as an entrepreneurial city council (v. Therkildsen et al., 2008), or the presence of established industries (v. Florida et al. 2012), to spur economic growth and revitalize struggling urban and regional economies.

Decision Rules: As this sub-category captures only content that describes assets and barriers to the revitalization and transformation of the downtown into a Creative Cluster, and is not similar to other sub-categories, decision rules are not required (v. Schreier, 2012).

Sub Category 1 Elements & Content: Underlined Content = Coding Units All other content = Context Units

- A: Assets -

- A1: Development Friendly Context + Development Friendly Policy -

Pg iii

The Creative Cluster and St. Catharines Potential...St. Catharines, as an **Urban Growth Centre**, and a city with a declining auto industry

base, yet with growing post secondary **institutions**, media and agricultural research, has the potential to define itself as a creative economy.

Pg ii

Provincial planning policy supports intensification of the Downtown. Specifically, Downtown St. Catharines is identified in **Places to Grow as an Urban Growth Centre** with a density target of 150 residents and jobs combined per hectare

Pg ii

The current **Official Plan** is generally development and intensification supportive.

Pg iii

There are several broad areas with the potential for intensification throughout the Downtown

Pg viii

7.0 Strategies and Policies to Guide Development

Simplify the Secondary Plan... Create a more investor-friendly planning context, by broadening the permitted uses,

...Develop a user-friendly set of Urban Design and Façade Improvement Guidelines to allow property owners to make effective use of the CIP.

Pg ix

Steps for Economic Development Implementation... The **City must take the lead and enlist support from all departments, public and government agencies and the private sector.**

Pg 1

Provincial Policy Supports a Downtown Creative Cluster... Places to Grow and the Greenbelt Plan ... This policy bolsters St. Catharines potential for urban intensification, as illustrated by the Master Plan.

Pg 2

Update planning and zoning to fully leverage the **Provinces growth targets:**

Pg 8

St. Catharines Potential

St. Catharines has many of the essential elements needed to be a Creative Cluster. Already, St. **Catharines has a highly educated and skilled pool of people from Brock University and Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology.** As education institutions, the **University and College**

naturally foster and attract intellectual and cultural diversity, including underground and alternative culture and lifestyles...PG 9... Another advantage is that St. Catharines already **hosts major employers** of the Creative Class in addition to **Brock University and Niagara College**. The Downtown has a concentration of financial and insurance institutions and interactive media companies. One of these is an **established video game development studio**, which hires graduates and therefore, is already establishing an employment base for these graduates.

St. Catharines offers easy access to major urban centres of the **Greater Golden Horseshoe**, to the United States, and to airports

Downtown St. Catharines has all the essential elements to create a powerful package by combining commitment to diversity, **progressive civic culture, commitment to the environmental and natural amenities**, and a **supportive entrepreneurial environment**

Pg 14

St. Catharines tourism strength lies in its diverse agricultural, industrial and cultural history; its relationship with the Wine Industry and its location between Lake Ontario and the Niagara Escarpment

...The majority of the Regions cultural facilities, festivals, organizations and culture related businesses are clustered in St. Catharines; **St Catharines benefits from the cultural, academic and technology influences of Brock University and Niagara College and affiliations with McMaster University**;

...St. Catharines enjoys a strong **employment base of governmental and headquarter offices**

Pg 18

2.3 Diversity of Urban Precincts

The accompanying diagram illustrates this pattern of land use and built form character and reveals a fabric composed of cores, pockets, zones and corridors

- Transition zones (FIGURE 7)

Pg 33

Promoting Economic Development and Competitiveness

The **PPS promotes economic development competitiveness** by **requiring municipalities to provide for an appropriate mix and range of employment to meet long-term needs**; and also to **provide opportunities for a diversified economic base, including maintaining a range and choice of suitable sites for employment uses.**

Pg 33

Enhancing the Vitality and Viability of Downtowns

The PPS requires that municipalities support long-term economic prosperity by maintaining and, where possible, enhancing the vitality and viability of downtowns..

Pg 36

3.1.3 Niagara Region Official Plan

The Region requires local municipalities to identify means to increase the supply of housing, partly through the provision for infilling, redevelopment, and increased densities in existing residential areas (policy 5.32)

Pg 39

...there are some positive elements in the form of **new independent specialty retailers, and café/restaurants**, in addition to a number of successful long-established businesses.

...There is a very strong entertainment/bar business that...brings “traffic” to the Downtown and occupies spaces that might otherwise be vacant.

Pg 40

3.2.3 Approximately 10 Hectares of Land Will Be Required to Construct 1,000 Residential Units Downtown

Pg 42

3.2.6 Institutional, Cultural and Tourism Development Will Play an Important Role...for example, government offices (e.g. the MTO facility), court buildings, hospitals or college or university facilities. These types of facilities can be **very advantageous to a downtown area** since generally **they bring with them new employment and significant numbers of visitors.** In turn, this traffic generates additional demand for services and new retail spending. Finally, **institutions are valuable to an area because they tend to provide greater stability than private sector organizations**

Pg 43-46

3.3 Opportunities, Constraints and Issues Affecting Intensification

A. Retail, Commercial and Cultural Uses

...The built form along St. Paul Street has potential for a vibrant Main Street

...Many of the merchants **sell specialty items, which creates a unique shopping experience:**

...James Street has a healthy main street commercial mix and functions as a good link between St. Paul Street and the Civic and Office Precincts;

...There is a **healthy sponsor relationship between community arts and local restaurants that have proven to be effective at driving business to those establishments**

...The bar scene provides **a fair bit of live entertainment, and is an important source of entertainment for youth.**

...Areas north and south of St. Paul Street, east of Carlisle Street, offer opportunity for intensification because of the following factors:

...Much of the building stock does not have heritage character, unlike west of Carlisle Street; o Buildings and properties are underutilized

...Type of tenants are more disparate and do not create a sense of connection or character with one another, unlike west of Carlisle Street

...Walking distance to bus terminal and existing high rise apartments offer opportunity for compatible intensification and greater mix of uses;

...The combination of these existing uses provides greater population to **support new employment, retail, and future cultural and entertainment venues**

...There are many lots with a small building footprint, but the remainder of the property is used for parking. These sites offer **good potential for intensification.**

...offices are concentrated along King and Church Streets between Ontario and Carlisle Streets, creating a “node” of employment area;

...Some office buildings are single storey and therefore offer **opportunity for intensification**

...Montebello Park, Farmers Market, City Hall and Civic Precinct, and nearby Library offer good pedestrian connectivity and public meeting places

...**Twelve Mile Creek offers an excellent tourism amenity** which would be well integrated with **cultural and commercial revitalization of St. Paul Street.**

Pg.62

Niagara Regional Police Headquarters

As the Regions only Urban Growth Centre, retaining the Niagara Regional Police in St. Catharines is critical to managing the City's growth and promoting its promise as a safe and attractive place to live, work and do business. **Expansion and redevelopment of the Regional Police**

Headquarters existing site, at Church and Carlisle Streets, is the preferred location in the context of the Master Plan... The future of keeping the

Police in the Downtown is unclear, but it is seen as a key component to a variety of success factors for St. Catharines.

Pg 63

Residential Intensification and Community Improvement Plan (CIP)

the **Community Improvement Plan** was adopted in 2006 resulting in **City partnership with the private sector to stimulate residential development of the Downtown**. Financial incentives approved in 2005 resulted in the creation of 652 new residential units in the Downtown and approximately 100 additional units were approved in 2006. Section 7.0 suggests modifications to the CIP that could make it even more effective to shape the Creative Cluster vision of the Downtown.

Pg 77

...Based on the existing land use pattern **general areas for mixed-use and residential intensification opportunity exist**.

The Midtown Plaza – 104 Welland Avenue

The property presents a good opportunity for redevelopment without causing negative impacts on its surrounding environment

Pg 96

...**For the investor a simplified flexible land use approach is desirable.**

- A2: Cultural + Heritage

Pg ii

...There is a bar scene nightlife, **which brings activity to the Downtown** after regular business hours.

Pg iii

...There is good existing supply of retail space **The relocation of Brock Universitys School of Fine and Performing Arts and the Niagara Centre for the Arts is a prime example of a jointly funded civic/academic/cultural institution that can have spinoff/synergistic effects.**

Pg. iv

...St. Catharines is the home of the largest **concentration of arts and culture-related activity in the Niagara Region.**

Pg iii

...The topography and curve of the Twelve Mile Creek valley is St. Catharines principal defining natural and cultural heritage landscape...**This edge provides an opportunity for improvement and revitalization as a unique City'scape...The remnants of the first and second Welland Canal in the valley have remnants of St. Catharines industrial heritage and development...Canal revitalization has been taken on by cities worldwide.**

ranging from full tourist lock systems to segmented urban waterways Lachine Canal in Montreal is an example.

Pg ix

...Ensure that the rehabilitation potential for the Canada Hair Cloth building becomes an asset to the image of St. Catharines

• Urban Design and Heritage Guidelines have been commissioned. These should enable property owners to easily take advantage of the CIP; ... clearly identify heritage buildings and approved alteration strategies for them.

Pg 8

...In terms of sense of place, the Downtown offers many of the essential building blocks thanks to the rich heritage building stock, a relatively large downtown, civic culture, and healthy mix of uses...

Pg 23

The City should support the Regions proposal to Parks Canada to recognize the old Welland Canals as a natural historic corridor.

Pg 48

...St. Catharines has the greatest concentration of arts and culture-related activity in the Niagara Region.

Pg 54

...The confluence of many cultural and natural heritage features at the west end of the Downtown begin to reveal some of the historical narrative of St. Catharines:

- the intersection of St. Paul and Ontario Streets
- the “Rock Pile”
- the cenotaph
- the former home of Hon. William H. Merritt
- the Yates Heritage Conservation District
- the Historic Lower Bridge

Pg 62

A National Heritage Corridor for the Old Welland Canals

Uncovering a portion of them or “re-watering” them would reinforce development of the Canada Hair Cloth building and provide a captivating “start” to rediscovering this unique cultural heritage resource.

- A3: Recreational Spaces + Unique Historic and Natural Environments

Pg 1

...Attractive and well-maintained historic buildings... Significant natural and cultural heritage resources:

Pg 8

...Proximity to natural amenities are positives too, such as Twelve Mile Creek, urban parks (Montebello, Oakhill, and Merritt parks), and the surrounding Wine Region

Pg 14

...The City has a system of open space trails surrounding it, with a great potential for the Downtown to connect to them:

Pg 27

...Natural and cultural heritage features that give Downtown St. Catharines its unique sense of place...A series of formal hard and soft open spaces around the City Hall and Library create view corridors through the Civic blocks, creating a sense of centrality to the area.

Pg 55

...The Niagara Region is regarded as having the best bike path system in Ontario... all woven through a dense fabric of natural and built cultural landscapes, heritage sites and cultural attractions

Pg 87

...There is also a wealth of cultural heritage sites within the Twelve Mile Creek valley lands requiring protection. The watershed is rich with sites dealing with 18th and 19th Century water-based commerce and industrialization. The 1st and 2nd Welland Canal pathways, their associated locks and piers, all travel along the edge of St. Catharines Downtown... the area provides a vast educational resource of settlement history, economic development and land formation...

...Significant landmarks and built heritage features such as Rodman Hall, the Walker Botanical Garden, the Canada Hair Cloth building, and old sections of the Second Welland Canal and spillway are also contained in the Twelve Mile Creek Valley zone. Scenic vistas open up across the valley south and east of St. Paul Street at Ontario Street at its west end and at its east end at Carlisle and McGuire Streets, reinforcing the sense of gateway and arrival at these locations.

Pg 89

...The compact nature of Downtown St. Catharines, supported with an appropriate residential density is well placed to support a livelier, more animated public realm.

Pg 93

...the compact fabric of the Downtown is also ideally suited to support commuter cycling

- A4: Presence of Niche Markets/Employment -

Pg ii

...there is a niche for specialty retailers, cafes and restaurants and long-established businesses.

Pg iii

...The Downtown should capitalize on its current niche of small shops, cafes and restaurants, as opposed to competing with the suburban mall offerings.

Pg iii

...The 2007 Report, *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities* (Peter J. Smith & Company Inc.) identifies Downtown St. Catharines as a "Signature Destination" and the proposed location for a Wine Embassy, or headquarters for the Wine Council and affiliated enterprises

Pg 1

...A strong regional office employment base: ...Strong relationships with Brock University and Niagara College

Pg 47

...the Downtown needs to capitalize on its eclectic retail base, cultural heritage, built form, and community and civic stock to lend itself a competitive edge over the typical mall.

...The function of Downtown retailers were identified to perform either: A convenience function for office workers, and/or a specialty function offering unique products for which people are willing to make special trips.

...the Downtown can be a thriving economic centre by building upon its current character

Pg 49

...According to *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities*, Niagara Wine Country has been destination of younger visitors in recent years.

- B: Barriers/Challenges -

- B1: Suburban Competition/Lack of Attractive Retail & Amenities -

Pg ii

There is an office base in the Downtown, but new office investment faces competition from suburban sites

Pg iii

Downtown retail is challenged by the lack of retail chains, numerous vacancies and dollar store-type operations...

Pg 10

Population, Employment and Land Use

...major retail centres have drawn shopping away from the Downtown...Compared with suburban development, there is limited new residential development in and near the Downtown.

Pg 39

3.2.1 Downtown Area is not Meeting its Potential

As in other urban centres, office building projects in St. Catharines Downtown face strong competition from “suburban” projects. This competition stems from a number of factors: • Many prospective space users have limited need to locate Downtown; • Inexpensive and abundant surface parking can be provided in suburban locations; and, • Employees often prefer the superior accessibility of suburban locations.

The retail and service sector in the Downtown demonstrate weaknesses commonly found in older downtown areas: Few retail chains...Vacant stores... Significant number of lower end operations (e.g. dollar stores, thrift stores, tattoo parlours).

Pg 40

the limited size and number of vacant sites restricts the potential for major new developments particularly of a low-density form.

Pg 46

...There is a lack of retail services to meet the daily needs of residents

...There is a lack of diversity in entertainment and cultural facilities for evening, day, and weekend activities, i.e. movie theatre, galleries, book stores, and cafes. Such uses could support existing stores, bars, and restaurants and broaden the evening patron base

...There is little visibility of entertainment and cultural facilities; there are not enough cultural facilities – either in number or significance - to support and promote the activity that is already taking place

...The book stores and galleries that are in Downtown are not recognized retail chains and are dispersed along St. Paul Street to such a degree that their existence as a collective grouping is not obvious

...The arts facilities that do exist Downtown are almost hidden

...There are also no long-established arts facilities that can provide the combination of more popular entertainment while nurturing local artists to develop original programming that is distinctive to St. Catharines...

...There is no film house, which often generates cafe and bookstore uses.

There is a lack of community amenities such as community centres within walking distance for the existing and future residential population...

There is a lack of other daily amenities such as a medium sized food store, to accommodate existing and future population:

- B2: Lack of Parking -

Pg ii

...The *Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis* (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002) recommended that more office employees and residents are needed to support the Downtown economy. However, lack of parking was cited as a primary drawback and the study recommended that the City remove parking charges for retail trips

Pg v

...Despite interest of future employers in the amenities that the Downtown has to offer, lack of parking has been cited as a key issue / deterrent to investment in the Downtown.

Pg 30

...increased parking charges is seen by many Downtown residents and business owners as a deterrent to attracting shoppers, visitors and investment to the Downtown.

...The “core demand” area of the City is typically operating above 85 percent parking capacity which makes it extremely difficult for users to find convenient parking in a timely manner.

Pg 31

...The Carlisle Street Parking Garage is currently in poor condition and continues to deteriorate. A reduction in parking supply will put a tremendous strain on the economic viability of the Downtown... the Downtown parking system will not be able to accommodate future parking demand unless the existing supply is maintained or preferably increased

Pg 43-46

...Lack of parking has been cited as one of the key issues related to future investment and redevelopment of the Downtown...However, access to parking is a key amenity for employers and its apparent lack in this remains a deterrent.

...There is limited convenient parking to serve the office population

Pg. 47

to increase employment and residential populations within the Downtown, the greatest drawback was lack of parking

- B3: Strict/Prescriptive/Restrictive Policy -

Pg ix

but do not prohibit innovative and/or contemporary architectural alongside heritage structures.

Pg 95

In the Central Area Secondary Plan, major cultural and public facilities are restricted to the Civic Square (CS) designated area. The CS... does not allow opportunities for future uses to build upon the existing character of the area.

- B4: Lack of Connectivity/Poor Transportation Infrastructure -

Pg 14

Lack of a GO Transit connection to/from Hamilton is an obstacle.

Pg 17

Due to the nature of the built out area of the Downtown, there will be little opportunity to increase roadway capacity and levels of service in the future without the removal of building stock.

Pg 24

A patchwork of shorter, discontinuous streets, laneways and smaller parking lots running to the north and south of King Street create interior situations and ambiguous realms of varying quality where the separations between pedestrian and vehicular rights-of-ways are indistinct

Pg 26

Some sections are intermittent and unmarked, requiring a map and the surface is generally stone-dust... Bruce Trail, Twelve Trails surface is uneven and inconsistent, made up of large 2" stone sections and "dirt" sections.

Pg 46

...Existing coffee shops are found around King and Church Streets, and James Street which cater to employees, but are not obvious for visitors. St. Paul Street cafes and restaurants are much more visible but are concentrated in the western section...

Pg 57

Travelers are, again currently required to use one-way street connections to reach the majority of destinations within the downtown and may find it difficult finding their way.

Pg 93

As described in earlier sections, provisions for on-road cyclists are poor

Pg 43-46

The "20 minute-walk length" of St. Paul Street presents a challenge to develop a continuous, consistent and vibrant Main Street.

Pg 46

There are not enough public meeting places across Downtown. There is a lack of parks/parkettes and open-space within the Downtown ... The "Rock Pile" and nearby Memorial Park at St. Paul and Ontario Streets are not located in an area that fosters casual public gathering; and ... Twelve Mile Creek is a valued and well-used natural, recreational open space but has difficult connections to the Downtown.

- B5: Social Barriers/Negative Cues -

Pg ii

There is a bar scene nightlife, which brings activity to the Downtown after regular business hours, but, recently, has been associated with vandalism and violence. This is a significant deterrent to residents and business owners, yet these businesses are important for economic activity.

Pg iii

Smaller, informal gathering open spaces are lacking in the Downtown, and could be implemented as part of future developments

Pg 8

For St. Catharines, the challenge is to retain the graduates, and tap into this resource of fresh creativity and energy

Pg 39

3.2.1 Downtown Area is not Meeting its Potential

There is a very strong entertainment/bar business that ...At the same time, most bars are closed during the day thus reducing the level of street animation. Some are closed all summer. At night, antisocial behaviour by some patrons discourages others from coming Downtown.

Pg 43-46

...Some types of tenants affect vibrancy of the street during the day. For example, an abundance of bars operating only during the evening offer no daytime activity on the sidewalk...

...The perception of lack of safety affects the Downtown as an evening destination... Besides the Farmers Market and other institutional uses surrounding the Farmers Market, there is a lack of meeting places especially during the day; for example, there are few public square

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Sub Category 2

Name: Key Physical/material components for a revitalized downtown Creative Cluster.

Definition: This data-driven sub-category refers to content which describes the any *new* material/ physical components introduced in the DCCMP, such as land-uses, land-users, and land-use arrangements, that are needed to revitalize and transform the downtown into a Creative Cluster. Reasoning for the addition of these new components to the downtown is also included.

Indicators include, but are not limited to: infrastructure improvements intended to improve connectivity/flow of people and goods between downtown destinations, investment in flagship projects create synergy and vibrancy, and fostering socio-spatial arrangements that contribute to a positive downtown experience.

Example: The use of policy to implement initiatives which reduce barriers to entry or contribute to the development of industry clusters (v. Florida, 2002; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010).

Decision Rules: As this sub-category captures only content that describes the material make-up of a revitalized (creative cluster) downtown, and is not similar to other sub-categories, decision rules are not required (v. Schreier, 2012).

Sub Category 2 Elements & Content: Underlined Content = Coding Units All other content = Context Units

- A: Flagship Projects –

Pg 65

Fig 25: Common Cluster Elements

Pg 70

Fig 29: Downtown St. Catharines Creative Cluster Master Plan

- A1: IMAC –

Pg v

...key initiatives that could contribute to Downtown revitalization as a Creative Cluster:

- Recent creation of the **Niagara Interactive Media Arts Cluster through a provincial grant of \$200,000;**

Pg vi

...The **Interactive Media Arts Cluster Development** could be developed in the St. Paul Crescent/ McGuire block; within the Office Precinct; as a prime tenant for a mixed-use Carlisle Garage development; or, as an office use / adaptive re-use of the Canada Hair Cloth building

61

The IMAC...help promote the Niagara region as an industry leader in interactive new media development...[and attract] the culture of youth that such development brings...is a key component to Downtown revitalization

Pg 64

The Interactive Arts Cluster Development could develop in several locations:

- St. Paul Crescent redevelopment sites, **Office Precinct redevelopment sites**, Prime tenant for Carlisle Garage mixed-use redevelopment; or,
- St. Paul Street or **Canada Hair Cloth building – pending location of the SFPA/NCFA development**.

Appendix: Pg 2

[The IMAC will]...drive local job creation, economic renewal and entrepreneurial opportunity...[that shall] assist with and drive efforts to renew and revitalize the economic, social and built environments of the downtown.

- A2: Wine Embassy + Wine Route -

Pg. iv

...The Wine Route is under the jurisdiction of the Wine Council of Ontario; their criteria will need to be met. Similarly, the **components of a Wine Embassy will require further consultation with key stakeholders of the wine industry**

Pg v

...**Re-direction of the Niagara Wine Route through Downtown St. Catharines and establishing a Wine Embassy**, or facility for **Wine Council and industry administration**, possible retail and public events;

Pg vi

The specific features of the Plan are;

- The proposed Wine Route is directed along Ontario Street, along St. Paul Street to Niagara Street, towards Niagara-on-the-Lake
- The Wine Country Embassy is envisioned in two phases: an LCBO/ VQA store on St. Paul Street

Pg 1

...**Wine Route to be re-routed through St. Catharines Downtown; designate Downtown St. Catharines as a “Signature Destination”**... development of a “Wine Embassy”... Recognition of the Welland Canal as a National Heritage Corridor

Pg 50

...In support of this demographic shift and Regional policy goals to “enhance Wine Country Communities,” the Report proposes re-orientation of the Wine Route into Downtown St. Catharines...

...**The Master Plan presents a framework for areas of enhancement and intensification along Ontario Street and St. Paul Street.**

...A second major proposal of the Report, is the definition of a series of “Signature Destinations”. ...St. Catharines is one of these Signature Destinations and the Report recommends locating Wine Country Embassy in Downtown St. Catharines with the potential to develop the complex as the Headquarters” of Wine Country. The Report also notes that a Wine Embassy also could assist in the revitalization of the Downtown and could support further investment in supportive companion uses

Pg 60

...The Wine Country Embassy, proposed for Downtown St. Catharines, is an element that crosses all interests – retail, business, cultural, tourism, recreational and transit...identifying the proposed route in the Master Plan is important to demonstrate the City's commitment to the bringing Wine Route Downtown...In the short term, it is envisioned as an enhanced LCBO and in the long term, as a VQA Centre and Wine Embassy, focusing on all the regions VQA wines, with support by the Wine Council, Tourism, Chamber of Commerce and Downtown Association office locations..the Embassy itself, *Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities* proposes a very important element of the Wine Route for the Downtown location, namely enhanced streetscaping and infrastructure improvements.

Pg 73

The **Wine Country Embassy** could be developed in several locations:

...The redevelopment sites on St. Paul Crescent at Ontario Street; Redevelopment of the parking lot on the western end of St. Paul Street on the south side, a highly visible location with strong street and open space connections...As part of a mixed-use redevelopment with a ground floor retail / visitors location along the eastern section of St. Paul Street; or...A two-phased development, with a St. Paul Street LCBO/VQA location and a second, larger development in one of the locations noted above.

Pg 73

FIGURE: No Number

Pg 86

...Identifying St. Paul Street as the new Wine Route for St. Catharines...The increased vehicular, pedestrian and bicycle traffic along St. Paul Street presents clear potential for new wine-related retail and commercial development.

- A3: Carlisle Parking Garage -

Pg v

initiatives that could contribute to Downtown revitalization as a Creative Cluster:

...Possible reconstruction of the Carlisle Garage and Lower Level Parking Lot as mixed-use/structured parking developments;

Pg ix

...replace the Carlisle Garage, plus provide more parking in the Lower Level, which could be part of a mixed-use development

Pg vi

...reconstruction of the Carlisle Garage, as noted previously, the City should consider construction or control of smaller parking lots or spaces distributed across the Downtown.

Pg 31

...the redevelopment of the Carlisle Street Parking Garage is a major catalyst for change in the Downtown. Its location within the core economic centre of the City makes it an ideal site for a “flag ship” project. The opportunity of transforming this project from a simple parking garage replacement into a significant redevelopment and revitalization initiative could translate into an economic boost for the City

Pg 58

...the city may need to provide multiple parking solutions to attract new development. Reconstruction of the Carlisle Garage is one primary initiative which has already been recommended by the Downtown Parking Strategy

Pg 62

Carlisle Garage Redevelopment and Lower Level Parking Lot Mixed-Use Parking Redevelopment

Its central location, across from the bus terminal and MTO office building makes it an excellent high density, parking solution.

Pg 60

5.1 Common Cluster Elements

- Mixed Use Parking Redevelopment at current Carlisle Garage Site;

Pg 82

...The Carlisle Street Garage redevelopment is envisioned as: High density residential or combined commercial / office development **Structured** parking with ground floor retail uses to serve the high pedestrian traffic ...

Fig 38: The Carlisle Street Garage and Leonard Hotel redeveloped as a comprehensive mixed-use/structured parking complex

- A4: SPFA/NCFA -

Pg i

...The opportunities point to the potential for a redevelopment of St. Catharines that has a creative, cultural focus:

Various joint Academic / Community Development Projects (Brock University, Niagara College);

Pg v

...Proposed relocation of Brock University's School of Fine and ...Performing Arts (SFPA) to the Downtown, in conjunction with a civic cultural facility, proposed as a new Niagara Centre for the Arts (NCFA);

...the SFPA / NCFA allows the City to participate in its redevelopment as a flagship symbol of the City's commitment to Downtown revitalization.

Pg vi

...The areas south of St. Paul Street and to the west and east of Carlisle Street are identified for the SFPA / NCFA development; Two options are located west of Carlisle Street which incorporate the Canada Hair Cloth building. One option is to the east of Carlisle Street, as a redeveloped block, extending from St. Paul Street south to Race Street

Pg viii

...permit major cultural and public facilities as "arts/culture/community mixed-uses" to locate in the areas identified in the Master Plan. This will, in particular, provide the planning framework for major investment such as the SFPA and NCFA developments.

Pg 2

...Pursue the SFPA / NCFA Development...

Pg 4

The specific elements that have been described by EDTS as having the potential to "collectively...forever change the fabric of the city and downtown St. Catharines" are:

- The relocation of the Brock University's Centre for the Performing Arts to the Downtown with an expansion to include community users;

Fig 30: Potential SFPA and NCFA development sites west of Carlisle Street

Pg 42

3.2.6 Institutional, Cultural and Tourism Development Will Play an Important Role

The relocation of Brock University's School of Fine and Performing Arts is a prime example of an academic/cultural institution that would produce

the type of spin-off/synergistic effects... Cultural facilities and the activities that they house are also particularly effective catalysts for urban

rejuvenation. Combining an arts centre with Brock Universitys School of Fine and Performing Arts and locating it Downtown, as has been suggested, would give the area a significant cultural presence. This type of joint venture could also involve the private sector, thereby establishing a new Creative Cluster of some substance. (The Creative Cluster is described in Section 3.9).

Pg 60

Brock University School of Fine and Performing Arts and Niagara Centre for the Arts

The facility would encourage use of the Downtown both within and outside regular business hours and evening activity would be expanded... a merging of Brock Universitys existing Centre for the Arts with much needed arts facilities for the local arts sector. Together, the two new developments create a multi-use, multifunctional complex....stakeholders expressed strong opinion that the SFPA/NCFA would have a critical, symbiotic relationship, with the power to capture current and future synergies and capitalize on shared resources. ... the relationship needed to be a strong visible connection and adjacency. ... the two primary arts uses to function as “anchors”, the arts centres must have major visibility on St. Paul Street to best impact revitalization of the street as well as preservation of the Downtowns heritage buildings

Pg 71

The SFPA/NCFA development as envisioned would occur on one of two major areas:

Pg 72

Site C (the chosen site)

• St. Paul Street, east of Carlisle, including the entire block extending to Bond Street down to Race Street. Potential for consolidated property ownership, facilitating a comprehensive development; Excellent new frontage along St. Paul Street; Excellent visibility and access from Geneva Street and Hwy 406;Close proximity to the Carlisle Garage and St. Paul street parking.

- A5: Garden Arena Complex -

Pg vii

...The Garden City Arena Complex is shown as an expanded facility, encompassing the block to the north. The future of such an expansion is undetermined, but the continuation of a recreational/spectator use close to the Downtown would be a complementary use to the Downtown.

Pg 23

...To the east of the Downtown on Geneva Street, the Jack Gatecliff and Rex Stimers Arenas share a block with a single storey commercial centre. The Arena is the home of the Niagara Ice Dogs hockey team and draws a large fan-base. There is potential for these arenas to be redeveloped as a 5,000-plus seat complex. • Although located on the Downtowns periphery, the arena complex is an important component to bringing activity and a diverse group of tourists and residents into the Downtown.

4.0 Key Components of the Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan

key initiatives that could contribute to Downtown revitalization as a Creative Cluster:

- Possible expansion of the Garden City Arena to house a new 5,000- plus seat venue

Pg 62

...**The venue**, although located on the eastern periphery of the Downtown provides **an important public draw to the Downtown area and street life activity in the evening hours.**

Pg 64

...Sports Arena Redevelopment – expands to north block to accommodate new larger arena, possible 5,000-plus seat complex;

Pg 85

...The site is also flanked by a large apartment complex to the south, with large setbacks from the street. The site has a direct access to Highway 406 and good visibility. The Master Plan supports the potential expansion and envisions...

- B: General (Pedestrian) transportation Infrastructure Improvements –

Pg vi

6.0 The Master Plan and its Supporting Networks

The St. Catharines Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan presents:

- **Enhanced and interconnected streetscapes and open spaces; New vertical connections between St. Paul Street and the Lower Level.**

Pg vi

5.0 Master Plan Framework Options

A prominent glazed, vertical link connecting St. Paul Street and the Lower Level is proposed at 136 St. Paul Street; minor connections are proposed at St. Paul Street and Ontario Street and along St. Paul Street at the intersections of James Street and Academy Street.

Pg ix

Pedestrian, Cycling and Streetscaping Recommendations

...Create a Pedestrian and Trails Master Plan to identify a **hierarchy of routes, pedestrian connections** ...Create a Streetscape Master Plan to review the Downtowns existing streetscape features, **identify improvements and establish phasing priorities for streetscape improvements**...Pursue the **development of gateways into the Downtown** that is already underway, to further **reinforce the improved wayfinding and orientation**

Pg 2

...**Undertake Initial Streetscape Improvements**: Build the Civic Square along St. Paul Street; o Build the major Vertical Link from St. Paul Street

to the Lower Level – either as an integral part of new development or as a stand-alone project;

Pg 5

...Creating strong pedestrian and vehicular connections was seen as the critical means to achieving the synergy potential of the Creative Cluster elements and bringing pedestrian activity back to the Downtown.

Pg 24

...Pedestrian linkages to St. Paul Street from the Lower Level need improvement and will figure prominently in any redevelopment scenario at this location... PG 25 While most of the consideration in improving access to the Lower Level has been focused near the intersection of Helliwell Lane and St. Paul Street another existing connection, where James and St. Paul Streets meet, where the historic façade of the Canada Hair Cloth Company peeks through to face James Street, flanked by the historic bank façade at 194 St. Paul, is another opportunity...accesses at Westchester Avenue/St. Paul to the west and the Parkway and the McGuire/Carlisle node to the east will provide a variety of opportunities to reconnect the Lower Level with St. Paul Street.

Pg 61

...Improved streetscaping, pedestrian crossings, consistent signage and pedestrian scaled lighting must accompany the first phases of the Wine Embassy

Pg 64

Vertical Access to Lower Level – redevelopment of the city-owned properties at 136 St. Paul Street into a glazed, 24 hour stair and elevator access between St. Paul Street and Canada Hair Cloth building redevelopment;

...Continued streetscape improvements that integrate the planting, lighting and pavement treatments of the western section of St. Paul Street ...

..A more pedestrian-friendly streetscape with frequent crosswalks; possible “sidewalk bump-outs”.

Pg 85

Improved pedestrian crossing to St. Paul Street;

Pg 90

Vertical Connections

These occur at James/St. Paul Streets, and Helliwell Lane and St. Paul Street. These links should be developed as major gateways with... Prominent, glazed, built form that announces their function as key connectors...Elevated site controls for accessibility, such as escalators or elevators...High quality open space or streetscape treatments; and,...Adjacent mixed use development along St. Paul Street or behind the St. Paul

Street facades, potentially related to the Brock University SFPA and NCFA development

Fig 45: Major and Minor vertical glazed connections.

Pg 97

...an improved pedestrian environment and connection to the Downtowns cultural and recreational assets..Establish special interest pedestrian routes between key destination areas such as art galleries, theatres, coffee shops, parking, shopping, the bus terminal, civic hub (City Hall, Farmers Market, and Library), and residential areas..Provide policies that require widened sidewalks where possible, and permit and encourage restaurant outdoor patios on the sidewalk through site plan control;

- C: Parking and Vehicular Infrastructure Improvements –

- C1: General Parking Improvements -

Pg. iv

Coordinated development of gateways – entry points in and out of the Downtown – should be pursued as part of a streetscape and open space strategy. These are important points of orientation and identity for residents and visitors and should be attractive and themed.

Pg 47

The Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002)... The report recommended that the greatest potential for boost to the Downtown economy lies in municipal hands; specifically, the removal of parking charges

Pg iii

... parking charges and supply will need to be addressed.

Pg vii

...Structured parking lots are envisioned as opportunities for mixed-use development: o Reconstruction of the Carlisle Garage as a mixed-use complex; and, A new structured parking / residential/commercial complex at the Lower Level, pending geotechnical and environmental constraints.

Pg ix

Parking Recommendations

consider establishing incentives to be applied for shared spaces or for additional dedicated public spaces... Establish private-public partnering to permit public parking on existing private off-street parking lots...

Pg 5

Objectives of the Master Plan

The objectives are

- Convenient and economical parking amenities; and,

a set of necessary physical components that would create a broad infrastructure network was identified. These physical components underscored another fundamental objective: **Move people through the Downtown**

Pg 59

Parking Implications for Future Redevelopment of the Downtown

Stakeholders have indicated that these potential Downtown businesses are, indeed, attracted to a Downtown environment – for its walking convenience to local amenities and visual and physical diversity... The City should consider construction or control of other smaller parking lots or spaces distributed across the Downtown, to provide a range of parking options that are within easy walking distance of St. Paul Street.

Pg 60

...Lower Level Lot development of a mixed-use, integrated parking structure with east-west pedestrian access along the roof of the parking structure;

Pg 76

...New development with integrated structured parking or combined rear surface parking with underground parking;

Pg 78

Interior blocks bound by Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Bond Street, Academy and Clark Streets

The majority of the properties have small building footprints with the remainder of the site used for surface parking;

...A number of underutilized private and publicly owned parking lots exist throughout the Downtown that present opportunity for redevelopment... The two largest city-owned parking lots - the Carlisle Street Garage and the Lower Level Parking Lot also present excellent mixed use/parking development potential...any redevelopment of structured or surface parking should ensure that, at a minimum, the existing amount of parking is retained.

Pg 83

Lower Level Parking Lot

this property can afford to be redeveloped into high density mixed-use with less concern for adjacency and compatibility impacts to surrounding built form... Combined underground and above-ground structured parking at the lower elevation along McGuire Street... Mixed use office /

commercial or residential development with Westchester Avenue and Hwy. 406 exposure...2-3 storey residential development, possibly student residences, at the upper elevation, backing onto the rear facades of St. Paul Street... A planted, green parking deck, as outdoor amenity space for the residences...A tree-lined, public walkway between the residences and the St. Paul Street rear facades; and...High quality architectural design, representative of its highly visible and public location.

Pg 85

Garden City Complex

Parking for the venue to be located in a centralized Downtown location, such as the re-construction of the Carlisle Garage.

Fig 41: Potential expansion of existing arena to include adjacent block northwards to Queenston Street

Pg 106-107

7.5 Recommendations for Parking

the following principles as they relate to parking needs within the Downtown should be kept in mind as the Downtown revitalization continues:

Downtown parking facilities should be accessible from the primary approach routes into the Downtown and located in direct contact with major vehicle entry points...Downtown parking facilities should be distributed in relation to the directional distribution of vehicular approach to the area...The parking system should provide space for explicit use of long-term, visitor, and short-term parking...Where feasible, Downtown parking should accommodate dual or shared usage of facilities..Facilities should be provided to accommodate the needs of service and delivery vehicles; and...Provide readily accessible parking to all Downtown patrons, including shoppers, special event patrons, and employees.

- D2: Two-way street conversion –

Pg v

...The conversion of the one-way/two-way street network system to a two way system will have benefits for the Master Plan in terms of better wayfinding for tourists and will encourage traffic calming which supports a better business environment for shops, pedestrians and cyclists.

Pg 47

...The Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002)... The report recommended that the greatest potential for boost to the Downtown economy lies in municipal hands; specifically, elimination of one-way streets

Pg 56

...The technically preferred option included the conversion of a significant portion of the Downtown street network to two-way traffic. In summary, the entire section of Ontario Street, King Street, St. Paul Street and Niagara Street will be converted to two-way traffic operations along with the majority of Queenston Street and Church Street.

Pg 57

3.7.2 Benefits of the Two-Way Conversion

will provide improved ...better way finding for travelers, and increase business exposure and accessibility... streets connect with the current one-way streets and may be confusing for travelers not familiar with the street layout... A two-way street system will provide improved opportunities for way finding, particularly in the case of travelers seeking downtown destinations who may not be familiar with downtown area....

Pg 58

The implementation of the two-way street network will provide improved opportunities for modifications to current transit routes.

Pg 101

7.2.1 Two-way Traffic Conversion

The Master Plan capitalizes from the increased connectivity, potentially calmer traffic and greater exposure of street related retail that two-way traffic brings

- E: Recreation/Leisure/Open spaces –

Pg iv

Natural and Recreational Links

The Master Plan proposes improvements to the Downtowns pedestrian network and linkages to parks, naturalized areas and trails in support of these policies.

Natural and Cultural Heritage Opportunities

The Master Plan recognizes the Regions initiative by proposing improved trail connections

Pg vii

5.0 Master Plan Framework Options

An Open Space System is an integral component of the Master Plan. In addition to the vertical pedestrian connections to the Lower Level and the new urban open spaces, the Open Space Concept proposes:

- o An eastern gateway in the vicinity of the Garden City Arena Complex; An on-street cycling route that links the Lake Ontario shoreline, Port Dalhousie and the Waterfront Trail; A dedicated, multi-use trail connecting Brock University to the Downtown along Twelve Mile Creek; Potential for an east-west cycle path at the Lower Level, through a new series of open spaces and pathways that could be incorporated into new development; and, Enhanced streetscapes throughout the Downtown, with connections to Montebello Park.

o A new Civic Square as a redevelopment of the existing parking lot at 123 St. Paul Street; o A gateway at St. Paul and Geneva Streets...New sidewalk and road pavements in the Civic Precinct...A parkette at the base of the proposed 136 St. Paul Street glazed connection...A terrace at the Canada Hair Cloth building façade, as part of its new use; and, o A continuous east-west green walkway across the Lower Level, from Carlisle to McGuire Streets.

Pg viii

Improve Public Amenities for a Diverse Downtown

- Establish and publicize a Recreational Trails Master Plan to **establish link between the Downtown and recreational and tourist activities.**
- **Prioritize the creation of high quality outdoor spaces,** such as the Civic Square and Vertical Link to the Lower Level, informal and attractive seating areas and restaurant patio areas on sidewalks.

Pg ix

...and on-road cycle lanes with visible and safe connections to the existing recreational trail routes.

Pg 51

...**Through well-considered, practical place-making improvements, the stories of wine and tender fruit farming, the Old Welland Canal, and the largely extant mercantile history of Downtown St. Catharines can be experientially knitted together.** Increasing too, is interest in commuter cycling, especially among a **creative class of twenty-somethings.** **Cycling is seen as a viable green alternative, having both personal and environmental benefits such as a healthier heart and a reduced carbon footprint.**

Pg 53

...Downtown St. Catharines was built along an old Native trail on the banks of the 1st and 2nd Welland canals. **Twelve Mile Creek, running the length of the City and providing a major open space corridor, along with other heritage features, provides the City with tremendous potential to create an attractive, memorable and livable city**

Pg 54

...Following the lead of cities and regions around the world and in Canada, celebrating old canal routes and structures are opportunities for creating unexpected urban open spaces ...The City should support the Regions proposal to Parks Canada to recognize the old Welland Canals as a natural historic corridor, a designation that would boost...redevelopment and restoration

Pg 55

Cycling Opportunities

To reinforce this network, the Master Plan has the opportunity to **provide better connections to the off-road Merritt and Club Trails running through the Twelve Mile Creek and Old Welland Canal Valley Corridors,** located just below but surrounding the Downtown on three sides.

Pg 78

Interior blocks bound by Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Bond Street, Academy and Clark Streets

Public gathering places such as coffee shops and parkettes; Parkettes may be part of a residential redevelopment site, or conversion one of the many surface parking areas.

Pg 86

A parkette at the Geneva / Niagara / Queenston and St. Paul Streets intersection / gateway to integrate wine related events and themes at this terminus of St. Paul Street and function as a gateway of the Wine Route.

Fig 42: Proposed Wine Route reorientation along St. Paul Street

Pg 87

...An on-street cycling route that links the Lake Ontario shoreline, Port Dalhousie and the Waterfront Trail as a city wide looped trail configuration;

Pg 88

Fig 43: Proposed open space system

Pg 91

Urban Open Spaces

Fig 46: New and enhanced public open spaces of the Master Plan

Pg 92

...The Open Space Concept recommends:

generally east-west bike route through the Downtown...along King Street (moving east) and Church Street (moving west) to connect commercial and civic uses and destinations such as Market Square, City Hall, the Library, Garden City Arena and Montebello Park...the proposed on-road routes connect with the off-road Merritt Trail (via Welland Vale Road), and the Canal Valley and Terry Fox Trails (via Geneva).

...These opportunities provide two different, mutually supportive circuits - an upper, street-based route and a lower natural heritage route along the Twelve Mile Creek valley...

Pg 93

...The Master Plan recommends that a cycle lane be seriously investigated and perhaps tested along St. Paul Street, before determining that the pavement width is too narrow to accommodate all Downtown users.

PICTURES - No numbers; 4 images with cycling infrastructure is accompanied by the above description.

Pg 98

...Establish a Trails Schedule in the Official Plan, or a Recreational Trails Master Plan to improve the opportunity trails have to contribute to the lives of Downtown residents and visitors...High quality public open space is essential for high density residents who do not own their own private outdoor amenity space. Improve outdoor amenities by providing public outdoor gathering places such as parkettes, and outdoor furniture; and,

Pg 102

...The main purpose of the walkway system is to connect pedestrian generators to major activity nodes so as to provide easy and direct pedestrian access between major centres.

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Sub Category 3

Name: Social Outcomes of Transformation/Urban Revitalization

Definition: This data-driven sub-category captures content that describes the desired and intended social outcomes of the urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP and how to achieve them.

Indicators includes, but are not limited to, content that describes how urban revitalization shall lead to: initiatives and recommendations which focus on improvements in quality of life, attractiveness of the downtown to social groups, a larger downtown resident population, a renewed sense of place and identify for residents.

Example: The use of flagship developments and initiatives/partnerships to rebrand the downtown.

Decision Rules: As this sub-category captures only content that describes the desired and intended social outcomes of the urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP, and is not similar to other sub-categories, decision rules are not required (v. Schreier, d2012).

Sub Category 3 Elements & Content: Underlined Content = Coding Units All other content = Context Units

- A: Buzz/Vibrancy/Movement of people -

Pg 5

Objectives of the Master Plan

The objectives are:

• A vibrant and active downtown at all hours; Diversity and Dynamic Character -- A culturally active and diverse place to shop, live, work, play and be entertained for people both near and far... a pedestrian friendly Downtown – convenient and walkable; A vibrant Downtown that offers a variety of artistic, retail, dining and entertainment options; Transit oriented and convenient for all modes of transit (local transit, regional transit, bicycle) ; Provision of amenities for residents and visitors alike;

Pg 31

Office, government, retail and service employment are key elements of a vibrant downtown.

Pg 60

KEY COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF A REVITALIZED DOWNTOWN CREATIVE CLUSTER

Brock University School of Fine and Performing Arts and Niagara Centre for the Arts

to draw the public along St. Paul Street, to enliven the Downtown before, during and after performances and events...

Pg 92

...Providing generous bike parking, especially around the City Hall, the Civic Precinct, and key future destinations such as the SFPA, the NCFA, the Wine Embassy, and in front of restaurants or coffee houses...cycle activity along St. Paul Street would contribute to revitalization through...Adding to the desired increased pedestrian activity along St. Paul Street and “moving pedestrians” along the streets...

- B: Attractiveness/Appeal of the downtown -

Pg i

The primary objectives of the Master Plan, as identified by **staff and stakeholder groups** are:

- ...to redefine the Downtown as a desirable place to live, shop and do business; and, to encourage people to walk through the Downtown, day and night.

Pg iv

... attractive routes into and entry points to the Downtown and quality Downtown streetscapes

Pg 37

...improve the amenity and attractiveness of the Downtown and to promote its use both in the daytime and evening hours. The Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan shares these fundamental goals.

Pg 41

However, as with **singles and younger couples, the Downtown area will need to provide a more extensive breadth and depth of services if it is to become a more desirable location for growth from this **empty nester** market segment.**

Pg 42

If initiatives to bring more people Downtown are successful, the appeal of the Downtown to visitors will be improved.

Pg 43

A key element **to revitalization is bringing people back to Downtown**

Pg 55

...complete and connected open space system would support the expectations and growing demand for life-**smart, authentic, regionally-based cultural experiences**... pedestrian and cycling routes ...pleasurable alternative routes for non-motorized transportation and potentially reduce automobile use.... These routes provide local and inter-community circles, with the added benefits of exercise, closer connection with natural surroundings and encourage practical conservation

Pg 50

3.5.3 The Wine Embassy

The Report also notes that a Wine Embassy also could assist in ...the appeal of Downtown historic districts and heritage buildings

Pg 61

The report [*Energizing Niagara's Wine Country Communities* (prepared by Peter J. Smith & Company Inc, 2007),] illustrates potential enhancements to create more comfortable, attractive sidewalks which offer greater street visibility and accessibility.

Pg 89

...A strong public realm makes significant contributions to quality of life concerns;

Pg 92

...cycle activity along St. Paul Street would contribute to revitalization through...functioning as natural traffic calming; and,

- C: Aesthetics/Appearance -

Pg i

Objectives

The primary objectives of the Master Plan, as identified by staff and stakeholder groups are:

- to create a attractive Downtown

Pg viii

...built form and façade treatments that fit a street-related retail image

Pg 50

3.5.2 The Wine Route

...before the Route will succeed or be implemented in the Downtown...Attractive streetscape improvements and gateways into the Downtown are critical.

...With streetscape improvements, new investment and upgrading to existing properties, the potential for the Wine Route through the Downtown becomes more viable

Pg 71

6.1.1 The Creative Cluster Elements

They have attractive...streetscapes

Pg 79

St. Paul Crescent and McGuire Street Block

High quality architectural design to reflect its prominent location;

Pg 86

Improved streetscaping with improved connections to the surrounding trail system;

Pg 87

...An eastern Downtown gateway opportunity is proposed within the vicinity of the Garden City Arena, Geneva Street and the Creek Valley;

Pg 91

...Opportunities for public art can be incorporated as part of the civic improvements along streetscapes and urban open spaces.

Pg 104

...There will be opportunities to improve streetscaping in conjunction with the oneway/ two-way street conversion that support the Secondary Plans goal of improving pedestrian access and connectivity.

Streetscape Master Plan

As mentioned throughout this report, the provision of an attractive and safe Downtown for all users is a high priority objective. The Downtowns existing streetscaping features need to be reinforced, enhanced and connected with other parts of the Downtown as supporting infrastructure to the Master Plan.

Pg 105

...The Master Plan Open Space Concept identifies primary gateway opportunities and these should be included in a Streetscape Master Plan...Currently, there is a potential greening opportunity at the corner of Louth Street and St. Paul Street West that is being pursued by the Green Committee just outside the downtown area. The gore at the west end of the Burgogyne Bridge may also be a potential location for a future gateway feature.

- D: Safety/Security -

Pg i

The primary objectives of the Master Plan, as identified by staff and stakeholder groups are:

- to create a safe Downtown**

Pg 5

Objectives of the Master Plan

The objectives are

• A safe and secure environment - at all hours;

Pg 25

2.4.1 Existing Pedestrian Realm

safe, secure, well-lit pedestrian access to St. Paul is required

Pg 31

In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for:
a walkable, pedestrian friendly urban environment that is safe, comfortable and attractive

Pg 55

Cycling Opportunities

...A safe... pedestrian and cycling routes can provide safe...

Pg 61

...Throughout all stakeholder consultations, safety and security for pedestrians were noted as major priorities to success for any St. Paul Street revitalization.

Pg 84

PICTURES - No Numbers : Existing stair access up to St. Paul Street + Existing stair connecting St. Paul Street and Lower Level Parking Lot

Pg 92

...Dedicated bike lanes to provide natural traffic calming effects and an enhanced sense of safety

- E: Creating an Identity/Brand/culture –

Pg ix

Pedestrian, Cycling and Streetscaping Recommendations

a themed identity of the Downtown

Pg 1

Strong Regional Links

Niagara Regional Police headquarters in the Downtown, to support St. Catharines new Urban Growth Centre identity and role;

Pg 2

Promote the Downtown

- Re-brand the City

Pg 5

Objectives of the Master Plan

The objectives are:

A sustainable Downtown – fostering efficient use of resources and amenities;

Pg 31

In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for:

a framework to support the redevelopment and restoration of major cultural heritage assets of the Canada Hair Cloth building and the early Welland Canal Corridor; the reuse, protection and preservation of the historically significant buildings which are a key element in the character of Downtown st. Catharines.

Pg 47

...The current land use pattern and building stock in the Downtown creates a basic framework for a destination for a unique shopping and entertainment experience.

Pg 73

The Master Plan builds on the existing character of each precinct to establish the foundation for the type and focus of envisioned mixed use development

Pg 75

...The type of intensification and redevelopment that would be encouraged would:

- Preserve or support the character of heritage facades and the scale and rhythm of traditional, narrower storefronts; Preserve the streets heritage scale by setting a maximum building height to match the highest existing building; Preserve views to the Lower Level; and, Continue improvement of streetscaping.

Pg 89

Pedestrian Network

public spaces provide a forum for the possibilities of direct interaction and a rebuilding a sense of community.

Accenting the Civic Precinct

The Civic Precinct or campus should be distinguished within the Downtown through: ... refined, articulated paving that crosses sidewalks and roadways, allowing the potential for street closures... Plantings, street tree canopies and site furnishings such as a generosity of benches...Bike parking, bus shelters...Branding or thematic signage...Articulated paving continuing down James Street as the main pedestrian spine that connects the heritage

landscapes of the lower creek floodplain with the upper contemporary civic landscape; and, ...Tree planting along Queen and Ontario Streets to tie Montebello Park (one of the most prominent and cherished Downtown open spaces and a significant cultural heritage landscape) to St. Paul Street and the valley land beyond.

Pg 96

...One of the keys to attracting the residential intensification is the perceived character of an area...That character relates to a large extent, to the types of shops, services and amenities in the Downtown.

Pg 98

Create a sense of place that embraces creativity, and allows the creative class to validate their creative identities

- F: Presence of certain groups creative people –

Pg. i

The opportunities point to the potential for a redevelopment of St. Catharines that has a creative, cultural focus:
Increased cultural presence in the Downtown and artist residents; and,

Pg viii

...Promote rental and condominium housing and live/work arrangements, to allow young people, newcomers and existing residents to live and work affordably Downtown.

Pg 8

...However in the creative economy, -companies are following the people [the creative class].

Pg 48

...Finally, the Plan proposes changes to planning policy to ensure that artists are included in intensification and redevelopment, so they can continue to live and work, affordably, in the Downtown.

Pg 61

...Stakeholders stressed that, beyond the economic benefits of the infusion of new office space, the culture of youth that such development brings with it is a key component to Downtown revitalization

Pg 87

Natural and Cultural Heritage

If maintained and protected, it can provide a sustainable signature landscape and a significant link to the past.

Pg 99

Quality of Life - Cultural Diversity and Youth

A diverse population is essential for a vibrant Downtown... Retaining St. Catharines youth population is also a fundamental factor in building to create a diverse population, but also, a growing population. A wider range of convenience opportunities and providing a full range of daily life amenities may be a means to capture this group to stay in the Downtown... Stakeholders registered concern that, with large capital investments in a downtown, property values increase and result in the “pushing out” of the grass roots culture, youth and entrepreneurial activities. These are the very activities that bring authentic animation and street life to the Downtown.

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Sub Category 4

Name: Economic Outcomes of Transformation/Urban Revitalization

Definition: This data driven category captures content that describes the desired and intended outcomes of the urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP and how to achieve them. Indicators include, but are not limited to initiatives and recommendations that: expand/diversify the economic function of the downtown, improve economic competitiveness, support growth of particular industry sectors (e.g. boutique retail), and propose public-partnerships.

Example: The use of zoning and planning policy to establish Liberty Village, a historic neighborhood in Toronto, Ontario, into a creative hub (v. Catungal & Leslie, 2009), or the use of policy to help establish a city as a *Niche City* (v. Schlichtman, 2009).

Decision Rules: As this sub-category captures only content that describes the desired and intended economic outcomes of the urban revitalization initiatives proposed in the DCCMP, and is not similar to other sub-categories, decision rules are not required (v. Schreier, 2012).

Sub Category 4 Elements & Content: Underlined Content = Coding Units All other content = Context Units

- A1: Attract Investors/Investment -

Pg i

Objectives

The **primary objectives** of the Master Plan, as identified by **staff** and **stakeholder groups** are:

- **...attract investment and tourists**

Pg.ii

...to attract market activity, improvements to the Downtown will depend on public **policy and investment initiatives to signal confidence in the Downtown**

Pg 23

Transition zones:

- *Lower Level:* the Canada Hair Cloth building and environs present a realistic redevelopment opportunity;
- *Ontario Street:* a combination of landmark, heritage structures, opens lots and nondescript, low-rise buildings create a business area with **potential for intensification**;
- Welland / Geneva Street intersection and corridor: low-rise residential mixed with highway commercial-type development presents a less urban edge to the Downtown with **potential for redevelopment**;
- Redevelopment of the Hotel Dieu Hospital site at the Welland Ave./ Ontario Street intersection is underway and in planning approvals.

Pg 5

Objectives of the Master Plan

The objectives are:

- Economically viable Downtown development.

Pg 39

..The ability of the Downtown area to achieve long-term success as a creative centre both for St. Catharines and the broader Niagara Region depends on being able to attract ...and employees, as well as additional spending and capital investment.

Pg 71

...the single-use elements that are projected to come to the Downtown will act as catalysts for new development. They are located at or near St. Paul Street with direct street exposure and frontage... They have strong adjacent pedestrian connections and, They are in convenient walking proximity to parking.

Pg 94

...Attract office and professional service uses away from suburban areas

- A2: Attract the Creative Class/grow creative economy

Pg i

Richard Florida's theory of the Creative Class posits that a new creative economy has emerged, as a result of decline in the manufacturing sector and the increase in knowledge-based labour... St. Catharines...a city with a declining auto industry base, yet with growing post secondary institutions, media and agricultural research, has the potential to define itself as a creative economy.

Pg 8

Decline in the manufacturing sector places pressure to shift Southern Ontarios economic focus away from a manufacturing economy towards knowledge-intensive labour. This new economic use has been termed a "creative economy"...St. Catharines has many of the essential elements needed to be a Creative Cluster [such as] a highly educated and skilled pool of people from Brock University and Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology...[both of which] naturally foster and attract intellectual and cultural diversity, including underground and alternative culture and lifestyles

The Creative Class looks for communities... [with] elements that attract the talent pool...[such as:] opportunities for good health and easily accessible activities to enjoy outside of work, including entertainment options suitable to their lifestyle, and an environment in which they, as newcomers would feel comfortable and welcomed – a population and local culture which is heterogeneous, not singular or homogenous.

- B: Employment intensification + Retail redevelopment -

Pgiii

...For the retail environment to improve, **the quality and attractiveness of the stores needs to improve...**

...More services and shopping amenities will be needed to serve residents and employees... Retail revitalization and mixed-use development could occur along St. Paul Street... planning policy should also facilitate the entry of retail chains into the Downtown

g v

...key initiatives that could contribute to Downtown revitalization as a Creative Cluster:

- Commitment by City Council to pursue retaining the Niagara Regional Police Headquarters in Downtown St. Catharines;

Pg vi

The St. Catharines Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan presents ...Focused development along and near St. Paul Street;

Pg vii

5.0 Master Plan Framework Options

Broad areas for long term intensification and redevelopment are identified:

o Main street mixed-use retail/residential along St. Paul Street; The Mid-Town Plaza block; Interior blocks bound by Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Bond street and Academy and Clark Streets; “Triangular” island blocks at St. Paul Crescent and McGuire Street; and, Interior blocks bound by St. Paul Street, Geneva Street, Race and Carlisle Streets.

Pg viii

...Do not prohibit chain retailers from locating in the Downtown. Encourage a “main street” mode

Pg 4

The specific elements that have been described by **EDTS** as having the potential to **“collectively...forever change the fabric of the city and downtown**

St. Catharines” are:

Attracting residential intensification and redevelopment to the Downtown; and, Attracting new employment / office development to the Downtown

Pg 31

...The Master Plan supports the PPS by seeking to maintain and, where possible, expand existing office employment, expanding employment in cultural and entertainment facilities with a resulting spin off in retail and service commercial jobs.

Pg 32

In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for:

- regional public services, civic, major office uses and as a centre of the service and

Pg 37

...to improve... continued significance of the Downtown, ... direct retail and commercial uses into strategic locations...Specifically... Retail functions, especially comparison goods shopping facilities, are encouraged to locate in the retail core to maintain and reinforce the viability and attraction of this core. Commercial uses are limited in the transition and civic-square related zones, Convention and related facilities and services, including hotels and restaurants are encouraged

...The Secondary Plan also strongly encourages intensification with some guidance for focused areas of intensification which reflected in the basic planning framework for the Master Plan.

Pg 40

3.2.2 Provincial Plan Requires St. Catharines Downtown to Achieve a Combined 150 Persons/Jobs per Hectare

The target [of 150 persons and jobs per hectare] represents a 50% increase over current density or approximately an additional 5,750 persons and jobs. Subtracting the employment projection for the Downtown of 400 jobs an additional 2,550 new residential units would be needed to fulfill the MPIR boundary.

Pg 41

3.2.4 The Projected 400 Jobs Will Require a Relatively Modest Amount of Land

To accommodate the additional 400 employees, approximately 120,000 sq. ft. of new space will be required. ... a site or sites totaling about 1.4 acres (0.6 hectares) would be required. The anticipated additional demand to 2026 is considered relatively small and could easily be surpassed should either an existing business expand substantially or if one or more major space users are attracted to the Downtown.

Pg 42

3.2.5 Retail Likely to Improve in Quality, Not Amount

there is no evident need for additional retail space in the Downtown area.

...If initiatives to bring more people Downtown are successful, the area has the potential to increase retail sales, thus improving property values and attracting higher-value retailers... With increased retail sales there will also be the potential for additional retail employment.

Pg 43

...efforts need to be made to increase employee... populations in conformity with Places to Grow, and in attempt to stimulate revitalization of the Downtown.

Pg 47

...The Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002) did ...recommend **more office workers**

Pg 64

5.1 Common Cluster Elements

...Niagara Regional Police Headquarters expansion – preferred on current site; McMaster University Family Medicine Clinical Teaching Site at ground floor of Ontario/William St. parking garage

Pg 74

6.2.1 Main Street Retail Mixed-Use Revitalization and the Impact of Cultural/ Commercial Development

The two primary areas of ground floor mixed use intensification and revitalization are the western and eastern sections of St. Paul Street. Their revitalization is strongly linked to the effect of the SFPA/NCFA potential location along or near St. Paul Street. This cultural/arts development has the potential to attract shops, restaurants, cafes and other amenities along St. Paul Street...These uses contribute to the basis for a cultural/arts commercial main street and are located in close proximity to the bus transit terminal.

Pg 76

St. Paul Street, Eastern Section – Carlisle Street to Geneva Street

street related retail, office and/or... broader range of mixed use retail, commercial and ...development... A Downtown location for larger retail tenants

Fig 33: St. Paul Street, eastern section

Pg 84

6.2.5 Proposed Employment Intensification

The single storey buildings, surface parking, and the areas location along St. Catharines major entry corridor to the Downtown with relatively good access to Highway 406, present excellent opportunities for office intensification...

Fig 40: Office-focused intensification area

Pg 92

...cycle activity along St. Paul Street would contribute to revitalization through...Increasing exposure of shops, restaurants and businesses

Pg 94

...there is an opportunity for the Downtown to enhance its commercial, recreational, cultural and entertainment amenities...It **is recommended that the Downtown be marketed as the focal area in the City for office and professional service uses**...“Major Institutional” type uses (ie permits health, welfare and educational establishments, government offices and activities and similar uses)...Maintain the current flexibility in height and density.

Pg 95

...In the Central Area Secondary Plan... should be appropriately designated to allow for these uses to evolve and in particular to provide the opportunity for major attraction venues such as the SFPA/NCFA development.

- B2: Development of a boutique retail cluster (i.e. retail diversity) -

Pg. iv

...the Downtown needs to “set the stage” to attract...**unique retail ...offerings.**

Pg 44

...There is opportunity to expand the product diversity, and specialty/boutique character of Downtown. That is the type of experience necessary to attract the creative class

Pg 47

...The role of Downtown need not be a singular use destination such as purely shopping, like that of the mall...The Downtown can be envisioned as a place with special ambience that appeals to many by combining a variety of special and diverse entertainment... the unique character and experience offered by the Downtown can be a destination reason in itself... The Downtown can be a place that specializes in unique, specialty, and local retail, local restaurants, outdoor cafes, cultural institutions, galleries, and the unique experience offered by the heritage built form and the outdoor shopping and strolling environment that the suburban mall cant offer. This character must be enhanced as part of Downtown becoming a Creative Cluster.

Pg 64

5.1 Common Cluster Elements

Boutique Retail – extends between Ontario and Carlisle Streets;

- C: Development of a (wine, heritage, arts-base cultural) tourism cluster -

Pg. iv

... the Downtown needs to “set the stage” to attract the sophisticated and educated wine enthusiast market...and cultural offerings.

Pg 5

...The role of culture is a defining element of the Master Plan, primarily because of the significance that the proposed Brock University SFPA and NCFAs developments could have on the Downtown in combination with the variety of other cultural heritage and tourism-related initiatives.

Pg 31

...In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for:
cultural and entertainment facilities

Pg 36

The Master Plan responds to the Regims goals by identifying areas for:
...in support of a Creative Cluster...of which tourism is an important component

Pg 42

...Institutional development can be a key element that can aid in rejuvenation of a downtown area... Tourism investment would provide a final complementary element to this mix. The addition to the Downtown of new tourism-oriented facilities, such as hotels as well as new events and other activities that draw visitors, would foster new spending in the city which, in turn, would support additional jobs. The Master Plan plans the framework for and encourages investment of the various types noted above.

Pg 47

...The role of Downtown need not be a singular use destination such as purely shopping, like that of the mall...and cultural amenities with the potential for downtown living.

Pg 48

...Strengthening St. Catharines cultural sector is one of the fundamental principles of developing a Creative Cluster Master Plan, an aspect which sets this Plan somewhat apart from other more economically driven master plans... The Master Plan recognizes the local importance of individual cultural organizations, by noting them as Creative Cluster elements that should be retained and supported in their current locations across the Downtown...

Pg 49

...Today, Niagara's core and supporting attractions include the wine industry which has made the Region an international destination for affluent

and
educated visitors.

Pg 50

...before the Route will succeed or be implemented in the Downtown, quality attractions and services need to be in place. The proposed SFPA and NCFA are key elements of this package of attractions, as well as the overall quality and experiences of the Route as it leads visitors before, during and after it enters the Downtown.... **Tourism is a key component of the Master Plan**

Pg 54

...Following the lead of cities and regions around the world and in Canada, celebrating old canal routes and structures are opportunities for opportunities for tourist development...a designation that would boost tourism... Similarly there is potential for urban design place-making moves...with an articulation that can further reinforce the distinct qualities and character of St. Catharines

Pg 55

...As mentioned earlier, group-based or self-guided touring can be seasonally adjusted to reflect a whole calendar of events and interests such as viticulture, gastronomy, live theatre, birding, cycling, kayaking, and hiking and specific regional festivals.

Pg 57

...as new **tourist destinations** can now be drawn to the downtown such as the Wine Route or other features which rely on slower traffic conditions through the downtown to attract visitors.

Pg 86

The Wine Route

The increased vehicular, pedestrian and bicycle traffic along St. Paul Street presents clear potential for new wine-related retail and commercial development... The potential for an LCBO/VQA store along St. Paul Street as the first phase of the Wine Embassy;

Pg 97

...The Master Plan presents a scenario of...opportunity areas for cultural investment...

Pg 98

Cultural and Artistic Vibrancy

Investigate the provision of incentives for private development to include arts, civic and cultural community space in new developments, or

contribute to a publicly developed and managed cultural infrastructure and/or public art fund.

- D: Development of a creative/knowledge economy cluster -

Pg x

Continue to promote St. Catharines as a distinct place for **interactive media research and development, such as the Niagara Interactive Media Arts Cluster; Expand the Niagara Interactive Media Arts Cluster;**

Pg v

4.0 Key Components of the Downtown Creative Cluster Master Plan

New McMaster University Family Medicine Clinical Teaching Site as a walk-in, clinic, at the ground floor of the Ontario Parking Garage

Pg 8

The Creative Cluster

As an Urban Growth Centre, if St. Catharines is to be a focal point of employment and population growth within the Region of Niagara, efforts are needed to gain regional competitive **advantage in attracting creative talent and entrepreneurship as essential elements for economic growth.**

Pg 32

In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for knowledge-based industries

Pg 61

Niagara Interactive Media Cluster

On January 28, 2008, a press release announced the Provincial governments funding contribution to nGen – the Niagara Interactive Media Generator – a collaboration of Brock University, Niagara College, Silicon Knights, the City of St. Catharines, Region of Niagara, Niagara Enterprise Agency and Interactive Ontario to “help promote the Niagara region as an industry leader in interactive new media development.”...**nGen and other new media businesses will attract a unique demographic of young, entrepreneurial professionals to live in the Downtown and will be a vehicle to retain Brock University and Niagara College graduates in St. Catharines**

Pg 62

McMaster Family Medicine Clinical Teaching Site

This site will be a first phase location, with the potential for it to expand to other office intensification areas or take up a St. Paul Street location with good street-related access for Downtown residents.

Pg 73

The Interactive Arts Cluster Development could develop in several locations:

- St. Paul Crescent redevelopment sites... Office Precinct redevelopment sites...Prime tenant for Carlisle Garage mixed-use redevelopment....

Pg 112

The City recently received a \$200,000 grant for the Interactive Media Arts Cluster through funding from the Ontario Media Development Corporation (OMDC) which is the Ontario Ministry of Cultures catalyst agency for cultural media cluster development.

- E: (Mixed-use) Residential redevelopment/intensification –

Pg iii

...To achieve the new provincial growth targets, 1,000 new residential units, in the form of apartments and townhouses, will be required to be built by 2026. The potential markets for this housing would be singles, childless couples and older residents who want to be within walking distance of shopping. The projected job requirement for 2026 is 400 jobs, resulting in approximately 120,000 sq.ft of new space. This area can be easily accommodated in the Downtown. There are vacancies in existing space. Cultural facilities are also effective catalysts for urban rejuvenation by encouraging increased pedestrian activity, spin off patronage for restaurants and retail and, first phase gentrification or neighbourhood improvement by artists.

...The *Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis* (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002) recommended that more office employees and residents are needed to support the Downtown economy....Higher density residential intensification could occur towards the north-east, between St. Paul and Geneva Streets, as well as south of St. Paul Street, east of Bond Street; Office development could occur along Ontario Street, where some single storey or underutilized sites could be intensified;

Pg v

...Areas for mixed-use intensification and updates to the Community Improvement Plan... Potential for a new hotel use either as a redevelopment of the Leonard Hotel or as part of other possible redevelopment / intensification

Pg vi

...infill development at the parking lot at the western end of St. Paul Street at Ontario Street; or as part of general mixed-use redevelopment along St. Paul Street.

Pg viii

Planning policy should take advantage of the central location of the Bus Terminal. Higher employment and residential densities and major developments should be encouraged within 400m (5 minute) of the Bus Terminal.

... community and art spaces as part of the public-private initiatives listed in the CIP as well as include conversion of upper floors to live/work spaces.

Pg 31

In support of the Growth Plan, the proposed Master Plan will enhance the Downtown as a focal point for

- residential intensification and mixed use developments;

Pg 36

...The Master Plan responds to the Regims goals by identifying areas for residential intensification and redevelopment in support of a Creative Cluster,

Pg 39

The ability of the Downtown area to achieve long-term success ... depends on being able attract additional residents

Fig 39: Potential residential/commercial mixed-use/parking development +

Pg 40

...To make up the difference between the projected 133 pj/pha and the 150 pj/pha required by the Provincial target, approximately 1,000 new residential units will have to be built in the Downtown core.

Pg 41

...very limited supply of new development land to accommodate single-detached units. This level of medium and higher-density development leads to the conclusion that there is a potential market for this form of housing in the Downtown core.

There are a number of potential markets for this new Downtown residential development:

Singles and Childless Couples: A prime market for condominium apartments is singles and childless couples.

Empty-nesters: The Niagara Region has a high percentage of older residents which represents a natural market for apartments.

Pg 42

...efforts need to be made to increase ...residential populations in conformity with Places to Grow, and in attempt to stimulate revitalization of the Downtown.

Pg 47

...The Commercial Land Use Review and Market Analysis (Winter Associates Ltd., 2002) did ...recommend **more residents** to support the economy.

Pg 62

Hotel Development Potential

As a component to residential intensification, stakeholders commented that the Downtown would need a new hotel, both for the performance attending public, but also, parents and guests of the SFPA and Niagara College students related to the interactive media cluster.

Pg 64

5.1 Common Cluster Elements

Hotel Redevelopment of Leonard Hotel as higher end hotel...

Pg 63

stakeholders stressed that residential redevelopment and revitalization would open St. Catharines to a broader demographic: not only “creating a positive climate for retirees”, but to “create the right climate for the emerging knowledge-based economy to flourish in all its diversity: students, employees of new business and institutions and other creative industries coming to invest St. Catharines.

Pg 71

The SFPA/NCPA has...Potential to initiate revitalization of the eastern section of St. Paul Street

Pg 73

...Mixed use development is the fundamental principle of the Master Plan Concept and is the key factor in creating vibrant streetscapes that are active day and night.

Pg 75

St. Paul Street, Western Section – Ontario Street to Carlisle Street – “The Curve”

The type of intensification and redevelopment that would be encouraged would:

Encourage redevelopment and intensification to create higher quality yet affordable livable units on upper floors; Support contemporary renovation and infill developments that reflect the scale and major patterns of the facades.

Fig 32: St. Paul Street, western section.

Pg 76

St. Paul Street, Eastern Section – Carlisle Street to Geneva Street

Increased building heights of 6 to 8 storeys, with ... residential on upper floors;... broader range of residential

Pg 77

6.2.2 Proposed Mixed-Use, Residential and Commercial Intensification Areas

The second floor and residential above...

Fig 34: **Potential redevelopment of the Plaza** site + Aerial view of the Plaza site + Example of a strip mall before and after its hypothetical transformation as an illustration of intensification opportunity for existing and new developments in major urban areas. (Source: “A Place to Grow”, Canadian Architect, April 2007, text by John van Nostrand; Images by Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renewal).

Pg 78

Interior blocks bound by Welland Avenue, Geneva Street, Bond Street, Academy and Clark Streets

Solely residential buildings up to 10 to 12 storeys, and high density residential buildings with either retail/ commercial and professional services on the lower levels

Fig 35: Potential area for mixed-use redevelopment + Aerial view of area

Pg 79

St. Paul Crescent and McGuire Street Block

Small footprint, taller mixed use or residential towers with non-residential uses on the lower levels, but not necessarily restricted to only the ground level

Fig 36: **Intensification opportunity** at St. Paul Crescent and McGuire Street + Aerial view

Pg 80

St. Paul Street to Head & Race Streets – between Carlisle and Geneva Streets

Residential intensification would occur in the form of mixed-use high density buildings or live-work buildings...

Fig 37: Intensification opportunity between St. Paul Street and Race Street+ Aerial view

Pg 81

6.2.3 Residential Intensification

The areas identified in the previous section are the most appropriate places for high density residential intensification. Low density single family homes are not proposed as part of the residential intensification plan of the Master Plan. However, renovations and minor additions will likely

occur in the established low density, heritage residential areas...At areas adjacent to these neighbourhoods, natural infilling that is compatible with the character of the stable residential areas south of Ontario Street and the area between Montebello Park, Duke and Raymond Streets and Welland Avenue would be supported. Higher density residential intensification should not occur in these general areas.

Pg 96

...The focus should be placed on stimulating the market to provide housing products to meet the desire and needs of a more diverse demographic profile...People will be attracted to live in high-density apartments adjacent to desirable neighbourhoods. Encourage a full range of housing form, tenure, and affordability in the Downtown...Encourage affordable rent, and flexible office/studio space such as live-work opportunities...Undertake streetscape improvements to create an attractive and coordinated image for the Downtown and adjacent neighbourhoods...Provide incentives through the CIP to renovate upper levels of commercial buildings along St. Paul St. and above other retail stores for residential live/work studio space; and...Consider extended business hours to create a balanced and diverse street activity level for day and evening hours.

Pg 99

ensure that ...Downtown residents, that most benefit from the “low rent” opportunities of existing building stock can continue to function and shape the Downtown.

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Sub Category 5

Name: Miscellaneous

Definition: This concept driven category captures content that was coded *relevant* but is repeated only once and therefore does not fit within any other sub-categories above.

Example: None

Decisions Rules: Only content that is coded relevant, but does not fit into the sub-categories above, may be coded as miscellaneous. If content appears more than twice, and does not fit into the category above, a new sub-category must be created to capture this content.

Sub Category 5 Elements & Content: Underlined Content = Coding Units All other content = Context Units

None