The Once and Future City: Conflict over Heritage Designation in Winnipeg's Crescentwood Neighbourhood

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Abstract

This case study focuses on the planning tensions arising from the designation of Winnipeg's Crescentwood-Enderton Park heritage conservation district (HCD). This research analyzes how members of the public responded to the heritage exercise, what motivated their reactions, and how the City of Winnipeg could navigate similar issues in the future. As densification and infill become increasingly prominent priorities for municipalities across Canada, how heritage conservation interfaces and can be balanced with other planning goals is crucial. This study speaks to these concerns, while also addressing the lack of research on Canadian heritage districts outside of Ontario. Furthermore, this research answers Ryberg-Websiter and Kinahan's (2014) call for more scholarly inquiry into the "politics of urban preservation" (p. 131), but uses a ground-level approach, focusing on how tensions between conservation and redevelopment are understood by community residents. Semi-structured interviews with Crescentwood community members and planning professionals, document and discourse analysis performed on the records of public hearings, and a media scan were used to gather relevant data. Circumstantial evidence suggests that most residents were in favour of the HCD designation, but the district's opponents felt just as strongly about the issue as their well-organized counterparts. Both groups were motivated by a mistrust of the City of Winnipeg, leading them to take matters into their own hands and heightening the potential for conflict. Supporters of the designation hoped the HCD would preserve their neighbourhood's character-defining elements, and in some cases prevent infill housing development. Crescentwood's built heritage was also found to connect to overarching identity narratives, helping to explain how the designation became such an emotionally charged issue. Clear communication by planning professionals to keep the focus of conservation on heritage values, instead of on distractions such as NIMBYism, and strong supportive policies were identified as key best practices for future designations to help manage conflict. Ultimately, the designation process was a missed opportunity for constructive debate about how Winnipeg can balance potentially competing planning priorities.

In memory of my father, Prasad Gowdar

1964 - 2021

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1.0 Introduction

Urban areas are constantly in flux. They grow outwards and upwards, but sometimes also shrink. The built environment becomes more or less dense over time, while individual structures are constantly torn down and replaced with new buildings. Amidst this constant change, the question of what elements of the urban fabric should be preserved and protected from change is a pertinent one for governments who regulate planning and land use. Structures and areas with historic significance are frequently the beneficiaries of such protections. Canada is a signatory to the 1964 Venice Charter, one of the foundational documents of an international organization known as the World Heritage Convention. As a charter signatory, Canada officially recognizes the threat that decay and development pressures pose to historic areas and locations, and commits to formally recognizing these sites in some capacity to protect them from these dangers. The provinces are responsible for the legal implementation of these commitments (Kovacs et al, 2008).

In Manitoba, the City of Winnipeg Charter enables the City of Winnipeg to "pass by-laws respecting buildings, parcels of land or areas that council considers to be of special architectural or historic interest" (City of Winnipeg Charter, 2002). Furthermore, the City may pass by-laws concerning "the establishment and maintenance of a list of buildings, parcels of land and areas that council considers to be of special architectural or historic interest" and "limits and conditions on construction and occupancy in respect of buildings, parcels or areas on the list" (City of Winnipeg Charter, 2002). For several decades, the City of Winnipeg has maintained a Historical Resources By-law under this legislation, which provides protection to individually designated sites. In 2018, the City enhanced its heritage conservation tools by passing the Heritage Conservation District By-law, allowing large areas comprising multiple properties to be designated for heritage protection. The alteration of any character-defining elements (CDE) within a heritage conservation district (HCD) is subject to a special review process to ensure the historic character and integrity of the district is maintained. Each HCD has its own unique CDEs, which are determined over the course of the designation process (City of Winnipeg, n.d.).

Armstrong's Point, Winnipeg's first ever heritage conservation district, was officially designated in 2019 after several years of work from a variety of interested parties, including the City of Winnipeg, private planning consultants, and local residents. When this first designation was finalized, work was also underway to designate a second HCD in Crescentwood, a wealthy

neighbourhood to the south-west of the downtown core, featuring a high concentrations of large heritage homes well over a century old. This ongoing designation process erupted into controversy, centered particularly around a single property located at 514 Wellington Crescent, which had been slated for demolition despite the protests of local heritage advocates. The night before demolition was to commence, the City of Winnipeg officially nominated Crescentwood as a potential HCD, suspending all demolition permits within the proposed HCD borders and provoking accusations of political interference within the planning process. The nomination was subject to an appeal and legal challenge, further inflaming the relationship between the development community, area residents, the City of Winnipeg, and the general public.

This research provides a case study of how the tensions between preserving an urban area's valuable built heritage and accommodating the need for development can manifest themselves in a community. Specifically, it examines the reactions of the public to the proposed designation from all sides, with a focus on the underlying motivations shaping individual actions. Additionally, this research takes lessons from Crescentwood to recommend best practices for planning professionals involved in similar heritage designations across Canada to effectively manage and navigate conflict, achieving solutions that benefit all stakeholders. In doing so, this report argues that the Crescentwood HCD nomination and designation process represented a missed opportunity to further substantive discussion on heritage conservation and values in the City of Winnipeg. Instead, the heritage exercise became bogged down by unnecessary conflict, and sidetracked by issues which, in the end, had little to do with heritage itself. Responding to Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan's (2014) call to action that "future research must question the urban politics of preservation, including [...] what heritage values are (or are not) present in urban policy making, [...] and how varying local and/or state policies effect the integration of preservation into urban revitalization" (p. 131), this study also carries discussion beyond abstract policy and governance issues, to evaluate the politics of conservation "on the ground" instead. In doing so, the present study provides valuable insights for elected officials, planners, developers, and heritage advocates alike.

Three key research questions frame this study's analysis of both statements made in the public record and interview data collected from research participants:

1. How have members of the public responded to the nomination/designation of Winnipeg's Crescentwood neighbourhood as a Heritage Conservation District?

2. What are the motivating factors which contributed to the public response to the designation of the Crescentwood HCD?
3. What are best practices for navigating public controversy when designating future HCDs?

This framework is suited to both exploring the sentiments of various stakeholders in a qualitative manner, while also generating recommendations for planning professionals.

Because of this "bottom-up" approach that prioritizes the voices of members of the public and individual planners, a detailed policy review is outside the scope of this research. The primary research methods used to collect data, document and discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews, are suited to qualitative analysis. Consequently, quantitative evaluations of policy outcomes are not considered within this report. Furthermore, time constraints and the limited source base means that some points of view and positions were likely left out of the final analysis, since the sample size was limited to those inclined to participate in interviews or leave comments in the public record.

The remainder of Chapter 1 outlines Crescentwood's history and the context of the proposed heritage exercise, explaining the chronology of the controversy, and who the key stakeholders were. Subsequently, the chapter describes how both semi-structured interviews as well as discourse and document analysis were used as research methods to gather data for analysis. Chapter 2 evaluates the existing scholarly literature focusing primarily on heritage districts, but also public controversy relating to heritage preservation in general, through social, economic, and political lenses. This chapter also addresses the limitations of the existing literature, and how the present study contributes to the field. Chapter 3 outlines the findings generated through this research, explaining what data was collected via each method. In Chapter 4, themes identified across the data are discussed, research data is synthesized, and answers to the research questions underpinning this study are presented. Finally, Chapter 5 offers concluding thoughts, including next steps for future research on the topic of Canadian HCDs. The key points of the research are also summarized.

1.1 Context and History

The Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD's nomination and designation process received significant coverage from Winnipeg's local media outlets, such as *CBC Manitoba* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, providing a record of how the public controversy developed over time

(see, for example, Hoye, 2019; Kavanagh, 2019a; McNeill, 2016; Da Silva, 2018). The proposed demolition of a historic mansion located at 514 Wellington Crescent was a central issue throughout this period, driving much of the debate surrounding the district as a whole. While recent context is most relevant to the current public controversy, the foundations of what makes the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD unique begin with the initial subdivision of the land in the early 1900s.

At the start of the 20th Century, the area now known as Winnipeg's Crescentwood neighbourhood featured a Catholic girls' school, St. Mary's Academy, and a small number of houses, owned by the rich and affluent, intermixed with unsurveyed woodlands. The catalyst for more dense development was a plan of subdivision registered by real estate investor C.H. Enderton in 1902 (Figure 1). A competition organized by Enderton bestowed the new neighbourhood with the name "Crescentwood" (City of Winnipeg & HTFC Planning & Design, 2020). Enderton also registered building restrictions called caveats on each lot within the subdivision with the Land Titles Office, meaning that they were attached to the property even if the land was sold by the owners or otherwise changed possession. The Enderton Caveats were intended to create a sense of exclusivity and uniqueness, enticing the wealthy to purchase property in the area. The caveats comprised the following restrictions:

- Only 1 building per lot (not counting a garage) and only residential structures allowed;
- Houses facing Wellington Crescent on the river side required to be valued at no less than $6,000 and set back 30.5 metres from the street;
- Houses facing Crescentwood Park must have a minimum value of $4,000 with an 18.3-metre setback; and
- All other houses to have minimum value of $3,500 with an 18.3-metre setback (corner lots to have a setback of 9.2 metres from the side line.) (City of Winnipeg & HTFC Planning & Design, 2020, p. 9)

The Enderton Caveats remained in place until 1985, when they were removed by the provincial government. Nevertheless, their impact on Crescentwood's built form is still highly visible, as the caveats are responsible for a number of the area's character-defining elements, such as the masonry, building footprints, and architectural styles, which make the neighbourhood distinct (City of Winnipeg & HTFC Planning & Design, 2020).

Figure 1: A map of the Crescentwood subdivision (1917). (Source: Library and Archives Canada)

The mansion located at 514 Wellington, which figures prominently in the nomination of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD, was an example of a historic building shaped by the caveats (Figure 2). Known as the Gordon House, the 8,000-square-foot two-storey brick dwelling was constructed in 1909 as a residence for prominent Winnipeg businessman and MLA James Thomas Gordon (McNeill, 2016; Manitoba Historical Society, n.d.a; Manitoba Historical Society, n.d.b). Until 2014, the home had been protected as part of a City of Winnipeg inventory of properties being considered for heritage status. A city by-law change scrapped this registry, stripping 514 Wellington and 313 other structures of their interim protections and transferring them to a commemorative list. In 2016, the home was sold by former Canadian senator Douglas Donald Everett, the owner since 1961, to land developers Leader Equity Partners for approximately $1.25 million. Company CEO Jeff Thompson intended to demolish the mansion and erect luxury condominiums on the empty lot, but this plan was met with significant backlash from a large group of Crescentwood residents who viewed the home as architecturally and historically valuable, forcing a temporary reversal from the developer (Hoye, 2019; Kavanagh, 2019a; McNeill, 2016; Da Silva, 2018). This first attempt at demolition rallied heritage advocates and concerned members of the community around a common cause, setting the stage for further organized activism and grassroots action for the protection of Crescentwood's urban form.

Figure 2: The Gordon House at 514 Wellington Crescent, shortly before it was demolished. (Source: George Penner/Manitoba Historical Society, Boris Minkevich/The Winnipeg Free Press)

In September of 2018, the City of Winnipeg's Heritage Conservation Districts By-law came into effect, creating a process through which historically and architecturally significant areas of the city could be protected and preserved via a neighbourhood-wide heritage designation. An HCD designation begins with a nomination, initiated by a member of the public and confirmed by the Director of the Planning, Property & Development Department. The Director may also initiate a nomination themselves. Once an HCD is nominated, demolitions within the proposed boundaries are prohibited while the City conducts processes for determining whether the proposed HCD merits official status, in order to preserve the possible district's integrity. The City will produce a detailed HCD study to determine the viability of the nomination, and identify potential "character-defining elements" of the built form to be protected within the proposed boundaries, such as setbacks or architectural features. Next, an HCD plan is created, which is voted on by City Council as part of an HCD By-law, confirming the designation of the district. Once an HCD is designated, a heritage permit is required to make any changes to the identified character-defining elements. The HCD plan will also set out infill design guidelines and other development controls, ensuring the maintenance of the district's character and feel (City of Winnipeg, n.d.).

The passing of Winnipeg's HCD By-law coincided with city councillor John Orlikow making a motion directing the Department of Planning, Property, and Development to examine whether Crescentwood would be a suitable candidate for a Heritage Conservation District. Orlikow expressed to the *Winnipeg Free Press* that he believed an HCD was an appropriate measure to mitigate the intense development pressure on the neighbourhood. Previously, he argued, the value of the land and housing in the city made demolishing historic homes illogical from an economic perspective, but changes in these markets meant redeveloping these lots was now feasible, as shown by the proposal for 514 Wellington (Da Silva, 2018).

In April of 2019, Jeff Thompson secured demolition and building permits from the City of Winnipeg, allowing him to tear down the residence at 514 Wellington and construct a two-storey, 3,500-square-foot structure in its place. When the issuance of these permits became public knowledge, local residents once again reacted swiftly. Christine Skene, spokeswoman for the newly formed community group Save 514 Wellington, claimed that Thompson was being dishonest about the state of the house's interior, and that he had refused an offer from the community to repurchase the home for the price he had originally paid for it. She also affirmed

the group's commitment to stopping the demolition through whatever legal means might be available, and their strong opposition to condominium development in the Crescentwood neighbourhood (Hoye, 2019; Thorpe, 2019).

With the interior mostly gutted and water, electrical and gas systems removed, 514 Wellington's final demolition was scheduled for the morning of June 7, 2019. In a dramatic turn of events, the developer was informed at 10:46 PM the night of June 6 that the City of Winnipeg's Director of Planning, Property & Development had nominated Crescentwood as an HCD, thereby suspending all demolition permits within the district's proposed boundaries with immediate effect. When a demolition crew attempted to access the site later that day to ostensibly move equipment, protesters, including students from St. Mary's Academy and members of Save 514 Wellington, blocked their way, causing them to depart (CBC News, 2019a; Da Silva, 2019; Hoye, 2019; Kavanaugh, 2019a).

Reaction to the nomination of the HCD was mixed. On the one hand, heritage advocates were thrilled. Christene Skene of Save 514 Wellington told the *Free Press* that "I think it's time and the City should be getting the message that heritage is important to everybody. [...] That doesn't mean saving every old building; it means saving the important ones and the ones that are important to a community, a neighbourhood" (Da Silva, 2019). Skene also acknowledged that the nomination was just the first step in a long process that would demand continued efforts from the community, but felt residents were prepared for this challenge (Da Silva, 2019). Cindy Tugwell, executive director of Heritage Winnipeg, told reporters that while intervening at the 11th hour was not ideal, she celebrated the decision by the City to step in before it was too late to save 514 Wellington. Community organizers noted that a petition to save the home had garnered over 4,500 signatures (Hoye, 2019). City Councillor John Orlikow was measured in his response. He admitted that the impending demolition accelerated the nomination process, but was clear that the HCD designation steps would have begun eventually regardless. "Before we go much farther we're just asking all property owners to just take a pause until we have the opportunity to work together [with the] neighborhood to try to find out what those [HCD development] guidelines will be" he told *CBC News* (Hoye, 2019).

Jeff Thompson strongly opposed the nomination, implying that inappropriate political interference in planning processes was the real reason why the HCD was moving forward. According to Thompson, the house was impossible to repurpose for modern uses. He claimed

that the City of Winnipeg's planners were pleased with his proposed development, and that his company had received all the necessary permits and approvals from the City in order to demolish the residence. Thompson also accused Councillor Orlikow of buckling under the pressure of what he called "a small group of wealthy people that believe that they have an opinion and their opinion is the only opinion" (Kavanagh, 2019b), and using his influence to force through the HCD designation at the last possible moment. As allowed for in the Winnipeg HCD By-law, Thompson appealed the decision to nominate the Crescentwood-Enderton Park District to the City's Standing Policy Committee on Property and Development, Heritage and Downtown Development (Kavanagh, 2019b). At the appeal hearing, presentations were made both for and against the nomination, but ultimately the appeal was defeated following a vote by the committee (CBC News, 2019a).

The owners of 514 Wellington then launched a legal challenge against the City, arguing that the standing committee lacked the statutory authority to stop the demolition, that adequate notice of the nomination had not been given, and that the suspension of the permit went against the City of Winnipeg Charter and municipal by-laws. The developers sought to quash the suspension of their demolition permit in court, and move ahead with the demolition of the residence (CBC News, 2019b; CBC News, 2019c). This proved to be unnecessary, as Winnipeg amended the HCD By-law in early 2020, permitting the reinstatement of a demolition permit suspended by an HCD nomination if the structure does not embody the heritage values of the proposed district, represents a safety hazard, or if the suspension will cause undue prejudice to the applicant (Da Silva, 2020). Subsequently, the demolition permit for 514 Wellington was reinstated, as the City determined that the gutted house had become unsafe and that the suspension had unfairly affected the owners. The residence had become a site for trespassing and drug use, but Christene Skene of 514 Wellington suggested that the home had been intentionally neglected by the owners to purposefully render the building a safety hazard. On November 25, 2020, the house was demolished, with Jeff Thompson promising to engage with the community regarding the site's redevelopment. Skene expressed great sorrow at the demolition on behalf of neighbourhood residents, but affirmed their commitment to protecting the rest of the neighbourhood through HCD designation (Durrani, 2020; Hoye, 2020).

Throughout 2020, the City of Winnipeg held online stakeholder engagement sessions and conducted background research on Crescentwood. These efforts culminated in the release of the

Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD Study in January of 2021, which featured slightly revised boundaries compared to the initial nomination (Figures 3 & 4), and suggested a wide variety of character-defining elements which could be protected. The Standing Policy Committee on Property and Development, Heritage and Downtown Development received public submissions both in support and against the study, with some suggesting the HCD would simply be NIMBYism in another form. Others pointed to the loss of 514 Wellington as an example of why the HCD designation is crucial. At the time of writing, the City is working on a plan for the district, the final step before city council is able to vote on the designation (City of Winnipeg, 2021; Kavanagh, 2021). The developers of the 514 Wellington site continued to engage with members of the community regarding their plans for the vacant lot, before applying to the city for a rezoning to enable residential multi-family development (Strachan, 2021a; Strachan, 2021b). In early 2022, the City of Winnipeg granted the project a zoning variance, to permit the construction of a condominium complex, which was subsequently appealed by members of the community (Pursaga, 2022). A full timeline of relevant events is included in Figure 3.

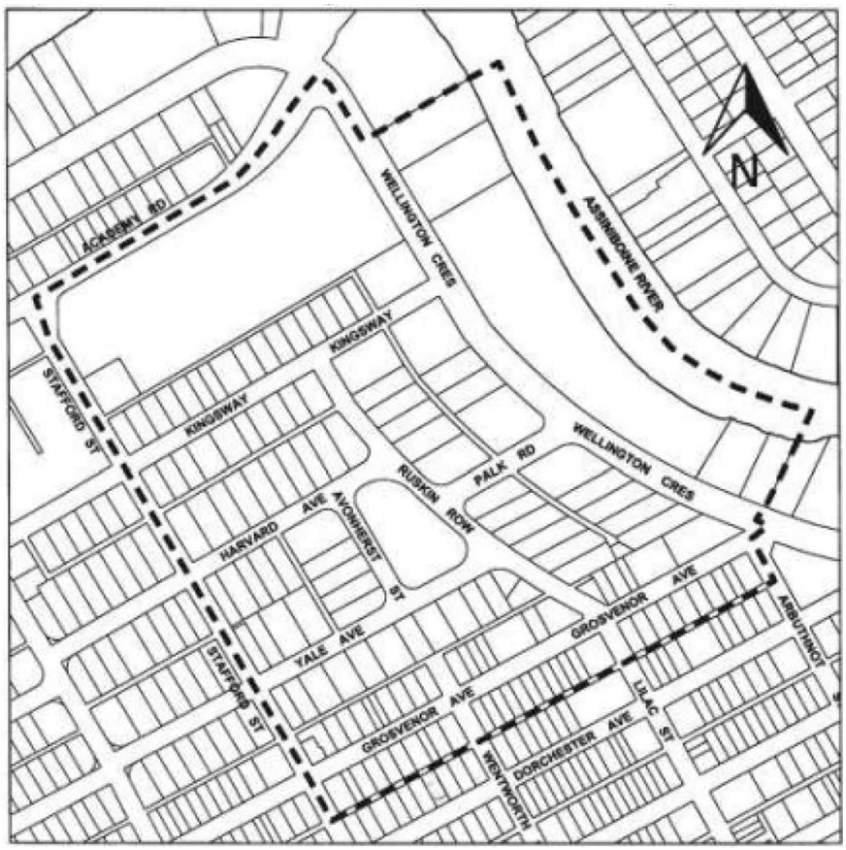

Figure 3: The boundaries for the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD originally proposed. (Source: The City of Winnipeg/CBC News)

Figure 4: The updated boundaries of the proposed Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD. (Source: City of Winnipeg)

The Crescentwood HCD: Key Dates

1902	C.H. Enderton registers a plan of subdivision for Crescentwood.
1985	The Enderton Caveats are removed by the Province of Manitoba.
2014	The City of Winnipeg changes its Historical Resources By-Law, removing interim heritage protections from 514 Wellington.
2016	514 Wellington is sold to developers.
2018	The City of Winnipeg's Heritage Conservation Districts By-Law comes into effect. Councillor John Orlikow makes a motion directing the civil service to examine whether Crescentwood would be suitable for a HCD designation.
2019	The developers receive a demolition permit from the City of Winnipeg, allowing 514 Wellington to be torn down. Crescentwood-Enderton Park is nominated as an HCD, suspending Jeff Thompson's demolition permit the night before 514 Wellington was meant to come down. The nomination is unsuccessfully appealed. A legal challenge is filed by the developers.
2020	The City of Winnipeg amends the Heritage Conservation Districts By-Law, allowing the reinstatement of a suspended demolition permit if a structure does not embody heritage values, is unsafe, or the supension will cause undue prejudice to the applicant. The demolition permit for 514 Wellington is reinstated, as it was deemed a safety hazard, and the building is demolished.
2021	The City of Winnipeg releases an HCD study for Crescentwood, featuring slightly revised district boundaries, and begins work on the HCD plan.
2022	The City of Winnipeg grants a zoning variance for the 514 Wellington property, paving the way for condominium development. The variance is appealed by members of the community.

Figure 5: A timeline of events in the HCD designation process. (Source: Author)

1.2 Methods

This research was designed as a case study, an appropriate tool when there is "no opportunity to control or manipulate variables, but when there is an interest in explanations and analysis of situations or events" (Gray, 2004, p. 149). Three research methods were used to conduct this case study. Initially, a media scan established a baseline understanding of how the designation of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD evolved over time. An internet search through materials published by local news outlets such as CBC Manitoba, the Winnipeg Free Press, and CTV News created a collection of articles and sources. The media scan enabled the creation of a comprehensive timeline of events, from the origins of the Crescentwood subdivision up until the time of writing. The results of this exercise are detailed in the "Context and History" section of Chapter 1.

The second method used to complete this research was document and discourse analysis, performed on written and oral submissions made to the City of Winnipeg's Standing Committee on Property and Development, Heritage, and Downtown Development on September 12, 2019 during an appeal hearing for the nomination of the HCD. These submissions are part of the public record, and are available for download via the City of Winnipeg website. The names of the authors were visible on the downloaded files, but all other identifying information was redacted. Seventy written submissions from members of the public were coded using a framework based on relevant scholarly literature and an initial review of the complete record of the appeal proceedings. This approach, known as inductive coding, allows "research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies" (Thomas, 2003, p.2). Important themes within the submissions were identified through careful reading and consideration of the source material, rather than relying on predetermined frameworks, leading to findings that are more exploratory in nature.

Once coded, the data was interpreted to produce findings concerning the arguments and motivations of speakers both for and against the appeal. Observations from the oral submissions, recorded and available on the City of Winnipeg YouTube channel, were used to support these findings and illustrate wider trends connecting the individual authors and speakers. Particular attention was paid to oral submissions that supported the appeal (i.e., were against the

designation), since the written submissions representing this position were often short in length and significantly fewer in number.

Finally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five homeowners residing within the proposed boundaries of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD, and with three planning professionals with experience in heritage planning employed in municipalities outside of Manitoba. All interviewees were assigned an alias based on their identity as a resident or planner to protect their privacy. This approach was influenced by Beeksma and De Cesari's (2019) ethnographic study of heritage advocates in Amsterdam, which also used semi-structured interviews to understand the social dynamics at play in heritage preservation exercises. This method allows research participants to elaborate on complicated or nuanced ideas and permits the researcher to probe further when interviewees touch on particularly relevant information. Individual points of view can then be fully understood, and the research data generated will be comprehensive.

To contact potential interviewees from the proposed district, a sample of 42 houses was selected, representing 50% of the single-family dwellings within the boundary. A letter was delivered to every second house on each street within the study area, summarizing the study and inviting the homeowner to contact the researcher should they wish to participate. A total of six residents expressed interest in being interviewed, with the first five being selected by the researcher. Interviews were conducted over the video-conferencing platform Zoom, and residents were asked about their personal opinions and experiences with regards to the designation process. Participants were asked to refrain from referencing other individuals and households specifically, in order to maintain confidentiality. An hour-long time slot was reserved for each interview, although none of the meetings lasted until the end of the allotted time.

Planning professionals were contacted via their professional email addresses, or their municipal departments. Only planners practicing in jurisdictions outside of Manitoba were recruited to participate, in order to reduce the possibility of bias relating to the Cresccentwood-Enderton Park designation. The researcher extended invitations to planners from 11 different municipalities. One rejection was received, because the planner in question was not familiar with the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD and their own municipality did not have an HCD by-law. Two municipal departments forwarded the request to relevant staff members, who did not respond. Three planning professionals agreed to be interviewed over Zoom, and were asked

questions regarding their professional experiences with controversial heritage designations. These interview slots were also an hour long, but again none of the sessions surpassed this time limit. Planner 1 is employed in a medium-sized Canadian municipality, while Planners 2 and 3 practice in major cities. All interviews were recorded, and then transcribed using the online service Sonix.AI to facilitate the analysis of research data. Transcripts were then again coded using an adapted version of the original coding framework, altered slightly to better correspond to the more nuanced data obtained through the interviews, to determine key themes, patterns, and connections to existing scholarship.

2.0 Literature Review

A significant body of scholarly literature exists on the subject of general heritage preservation in urban areas, as analyzed notably by Ryberg Webster & Kinahan (2014). This section summarizes some of the academic research that addresses the key themes and concepts of this study, using rough categories of economics, equity, and policy analysis. In doing so, Chapter 2 contextualizes this research within wider debates and areas of focus, directing the study and highlighting the unique contributions this analysis makes to the field. Throughout this section, and the rest of this study, the terms "preservation" and "conservation" are used interchangeably, as are "historic" and "heritage." A "heritage conservation district" is a policy tool used primarily in Canadian jurisdictions. Internationally, neighbourhood-wide heritage designations are referred to using a variety of terms, including "historic districts" and "preservation districts." While the exact policies related to each type of designation differ, their overall intent remains largely similar: the protection of a continuous urban area because of its heritage value. The legal frameworks in Canada and the United States allowing for these designations are unique in that efforts to officially recognize historic urban areas are not led by experts employed by the state, but rather by community members residing in these neighbourhoods (Shipley et al., 2011). For this reason, the literature reviewed for this study has been produced mostly in a North American context, although particularly relevant international sources are referenced occasionally. In similar fashion, sources focussing on neighbourhood-wide heritage designations were heavily favoured, but are supplemented with research on general heritage which makes valuable contributions and intersects with key topic areas.

2.1 Economic Impacts of Heritage Designations

Recent scholarship on conservation districts, and heritage preservation more generally, focuses heavily on the economic effects and outcomes stemming from designation as a reaction to "the bottom-line orientation of today's public policy climate" (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014, p. 123). Heritage resources can be exploited for their uniqueness and desirability to attract tourists and local visitors to commercial areas, and revitalize depressed residential neighbourhoods, while also uniting members of the community to pursue strategic goals (Amit-Cohen, 2005; Shipley & Snyder, 2013). Evaluating the changes in property values following a neighbourhood-wide heritage designation is a commonly used method for studying these types of impacts. The majority of studies on this subject have found that designation causes property

values to rise within district boundaries, and be more resistant to economic downturns (Coulson and Leichenko, 2004; Kovacs et al, 2008; Kovacs et al, 2015; Oba & Noonan, 2020; Shipley et al, 2011). Oba & Noonan (2020) offer a particularly robust analysis using a quantile regression model, considering spill-over effects on surrounding areas in their study of Atlanta's historic districts. They also differentiate between locally and federally-designated districts, and consider heterogeneity across the distribution of housing prices, leading to highly nuanced findings. Generally, prestigious nationally-designated districts in Atlanta correlate with elevated property values compared to their immediate surroundings, while "locally designated districts exhibit a greater tension between the costs of regulatory oversight and the benefits of status and preservation externalities" (Oba & Noonan, 2020, p. 352). Locally-designated districts create strong positive value effects on their surroundings, but see small negative effects within, suggesting that the associated regulatory frameworks do not carry enough upside for property owners, but benefit neighbours through their proximity to the district. A more fine-grained analysis shows that the most expensive properties see more benefits from district designation across the board, except when they are located just outside of local districts. Within local districts, the homes with the lowest values also see more positive effects.

Oba & Noonan's (2020) deconstruction of overall trends is valuable in light of other scholarship which uses a blunter approach. Coulson & Leichenko (2004) simply find that census tracts with historically designated homes had a much higher rate of property value increases than those without, while Kovacs et al. (2008) use verifiable records of sale from Kitchner, Ontario's Upper Doon HCD to demonstrate that many properties within the district are selling for above average prices. Shipley et al. (2011) and Kovacs et al. (2015) both expand upon this methodology, aggregating the records from 32 and 64 Ontario HCDs respectively. Their results show that between 42 and 45% of properties with verifiable sales records in the HCDs showed above-average sales trajectories, while only 22 to 23% showed below-average trajectories. Therefore, although not all properties experience an uptick in value following a neighbourhood-wide heritage designation, the scholarship indicates that many districts experience a net economic benefit as a result of designation. Further inquiry exploring which properties see the most benefit, similar to the work of Oba and Noonan (2020), would make designations more effective when used as a targeted tool.

2.2 Heritage Designations and Equity

The economic benefits of heritage districts can mask the tension between historic preservation and issues of social equity. Preservation as a practice has been criticized for being a costly and elitist pursuit, and a precursor to gentrification, which displaces low-income residents of older neighbourhoods (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014; Ryberg-Webster, 2016). Over the last decade, scholars have begun to pay closer attention to this friction, studying the interaction between these sometime-competing priorities (Avrami et al., 2018; Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Born, 2017; De Cesari and Dimova, 2019; Grevstad-Nordbrock & Vojnovic, 2019; McCabe & Ellen, 2016; Rodgers et al., 2018). Their findings are sometimes contradictory and lead to differing conclusions, suggesting that there is still a need to investigate tensions between heritage preservation and equity before a clear consensus on the matter can be achieved.

Quantitative methods can be effective tools for exploring the equity implications of heritage preservation. Survey data obtained by Avrami et al. (2018) demonstrates the lack of diversity within the ranks of New York City heritage advocates, leading them to argue that preservation aims and processes need to change if the results of heritage designation are to be socially beneficial. The use of statistical data to measure the relationship between gentrification and heritage designation has also yielded results that hint at important ties between these two variables, but findings have varied significantly depending on context (Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; Grevstad-Nordbrock & Vojnovic, 2019; McCabe & Ellen, 2016). A study undertaken by Coulson & Leichenko (2004) in Fort Worth, Texas found no evidence that preservation efforts had any effect on the demographic composition of neighbourhoods when analysing census tracts with high numbers of individually protected historic buildings and structures over a 10-year period. Their model indicates that while individual designations tend to increase property values, their "overriding conclusion is that historical designation does not lead to gentrification, or any other kind of neighbourhood turnover" (p. 1598), contradicting conventional knowledge.

Subsequent studies have drawn these findings into question. A study of New York historic districts by McCabe and Ellen (2016) measured change over a longer period from 1970 until 2010, determining that designation was associated with increases in socioeconomic status, "either by attracting higher-income and more educated residents, or by pricing out low-income residents" (p. 141). Findings with respect to housing characteristics follow a similar pattern, with homeownership rates substantially increasing following historic district designation. This

observation may also explain why average income was found to rise post-designation, as the number dwelling units available for rent in neighbourhoods decreased over time.

McCabe and Ellen's (2016) findings on racial change do echo those put forward by Coulson & Leichenko (2004), observing no significant patterns indicating that historic district designation contributes to changes in the racial makeup of a neighbourhood. The authors admit that while the results of their study indicate a clear relationship between gentrification and heritage districts, their analysis is not able to identify the mechanisms creating the neighbourhood changes observed. Furthermore, their study does not establish the direction in which the observed causality runs; it may be that as neighbourhoods gentrify, their new residents are more likely to advocate for historic designation. McCabe and Ellen's (2016) findings are also supported by Grevstad-Nordbrock & Vojnovic's (2019) mixed-method study looking at heritage-fueled gentrification in Chicago. Their analysis identifies Lincoln Park, where the Sheffield Historic District is located, as one of the areas in the city which experienced the most change in real capita income between 1970 and 2000 (by census tract), when the neighbourhood saw more preservation activity than anywhere else in Chicago. Using this data in conjunction with more qualitative methods, Grevstad-Nordbrock & Vojnovic (2019) argue that preservation policies need to address the displacement of marginalized residents that designation can cause.

The intersection of equity and heritage preservation has also been analyzed from a qualitative perspective, using methods such as interviews, open-ended surveys, and historical analysis (Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Born, 2017; James, 2013; Logan, 2012; Rodgers et al., 2018). Logan (2012) and Born (2017) both adopt a historical lens when engaging with historic districts, using similar approaches. Born (2017) highlights the significance of Boston's Beacon Hill historic district, designated in 1950, which paved the way for similar designations across the United States in the face of urban renewal efforts targeting many historic areas for demolition. Crucially, while surrounding neighbourhoods housing marginalized groups were cleared, the upper-class residents of Beacon Hill were able to mobilize effectively and present a strong message that enabled the district's designation. The political dimensions of this process were replicated in Washington DC during the late 1970s and early 1980s, when predominantly white preservation advocates clashed with black community organizations over the right to determine the shape and significance of the Dupont Circle historic district (Logan 2012). Accused of attempting to induce the gentrification of historically black areas by illogically incorporating

them within the boundaries of the proposed district, these advocates demonstrated their social power through their ability to dictate what was historically significant.

Scholarship focusing on modern-day heritage districts and similar initiatives reveals that the tendency for preservation discourses and activities to be dominated by upper class white heritage advocates continues to shape their implementation and governance. Beeksma and De Cesari's (2019) study of the Van Eesteren Museum in Amsterdam profiles a gentrifying neighbourhood where participatory heritage management is causing friction with many local residents. Located in the neighbourhood of Slotermeer, this "living museum" functions similarly to a historic district, and is administered by a group of volunteer residents. Through semi-structured interviews and ethnographic research, Beeksma and De Cesari (2019) found that the museum's volunteers were almost all white, and their government-supported heritage preservation activities often alienated neighbourhood residents from other diverse backgrounds, despite their "bottom up" approach. Yet, Rodgers et al. (2018) also found that "top down" heritage preservation can be equally problematic. Their interviews with Hispanic immigrants in DeKalb, Illinois suggest that the built heritage of the working-class has been ignored by the local government's heritage "experts", possibly because of racial and class biases which were influential in hierarchical decision-making processes. The study of structural inequities within the heritage designation process invokes Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city", raising deeper questions about the significance of conservation. In Australia, for example, the lack of space afforded to Aboriginal peoples within urban heritage preservation is indicative of their continued marginalization in cities. Australian Aboriginal people continued to be unfairly associated by the country's non-Indigenous residents with rural environments and the country's past, rather than urban areas. Aboriginal heritage is understood primarily on archaeological terms, barring them from adequately participating in discussions surrounding the future of cities (James, 2013).

2.3 Heritage Policy Review

Case studies and policy analysis are viable options for unpacking the effectiveness of neighbourhood-wide heritage designations, measuring desired outcomes against actualized results or setting out best practices. Siravo (2015) addresses these concepts in a theoretical manner, laying out a philosophy for the planning and management of historic urban landscapes that relies on few concrete examples, but echoes many of the previously discussed themes within

literature. He argues that while historic urban areas have been viewed traditionally as "relics of the past" (p. 161), they cannot function as pieces of the urban fabric if they are treated separately from both social and economic contexts. He then lays out a blueprint for the ideal management of a historic district, including the establishment of a nonpartisan ad hoc heritage agency and consultation with all interest groups.

This approach is atypical within the literature, with most authors instead preferring to isolate key examples and evaluate their performances and results. Kuriyama & Ochsner (2021) found the policies governing Seattle's Pine/Pike Conservation District, for example, have produced mixed results. A heavy focus on building façades, and reliance on market-based incentives, has proven to be ineffective at preventing changes in character and gentrification, despite the preservation of some important heritage elements. In contrast, Seattle's first ever preservation district, Pioneer Square, has largely been successful at balancing the need to protect heritage with the pressure to allow development. The district's volunteer preservation board, which reviews proposed changes within Pioneer's Square's boundaries, has been a key factor in the continued maintenance of its historic integrity, although increasing development pressure will be a stern test of this model (Ochsner, 2017). This tension is also studied by Renne & Listokin (2019) through the lens of transit-oriented development (TOD). Selecting six case studies where TOD and historic preservation intersect, the authors examine both challenges and opportunities associated with TOD development in historic area, and the policy tools that have enabled the preservation of heritage where TODs are being developed. Ultimately, Renne & Listokin found that there is not one single method for balancing these competing forces. Historic tax credits and designations, leveraging cultural attractions, extensive stakeholder engagement and public-private partnerships are all important tools that can be used, as "most historic projects in TODs necessitate one or more subsidies" (Renne & Listokin, 2019, p. 261).

Consultation with residents and community members about their experiences is a bottom-up approach to assessing policy performance. Ginzarly et al. (2019) contrast two heritage projects in Lebanon, both of which generated significant public controversy. Their research revealed that "institutionalized, expert-based dialogue [...] alienated the locals" (p. 4), conflicting with their own understanding of heritage and causing a swell of grassroots opposition activity in response. Groups that were able to form a coherent message and coordinate themselves in large numbers were more successful at claiming a spot at the decision-making table and influencing

political actors. The authors also observed that social media was a crucial factor in the mobilization of the community. Avrami et al. (2018) conducted an online survey of New York City residents to determine what aims and benefits of historic districts were deemed most important by the public. These results were contrasted with public ordinances and other policy documents to determine whether the priorities of government and public aligned. The authors found that while municipal-level committees and groups still focus primarily on aesthetic regulation, residents have a broader list of concerns such as the preservation of walkability and street life, and the communication of history and heritage.

Over the past 15 years, several studies have been published surveying the residents of various HCDs in Ontario, gauging their knowledge and satisfaction with the designations (Kovacs et al., 2008; Kovacs et al., 2015; Shipley & Snyder, 2013; Shipley et al., 2011). This scholarship developed in response to previous studies which focused heavily on the economic aspect of HCDs, and adopts a more holistic approach in recognition that built heritage is fundamentally a reflection of cultural values (Kovacs et al., 2008). Overwhelmingly, these studies all find that people enjoy living in HCDs, especially in residential districts. Overall, respondents also indicated that fears and skepticism they may have had initially regarding the limitation of their property rights, ability to alter buildings, or other concerns were generally unfounded. Once implemented, HCDs became more popular with residents as time went on (Kovacs et al., 2008; Kovacs et al., 2015; Shipley et al., 2011). The consistent and fair application of HCD guidelines and rules emerged as a key determinant of resident satisfaction in comparative studies. As discussed previously, designation tends to correspond with increases in property value, and the majority of residents felt that HCDs were economically beneficial (Kovacs et al, 2008; Kovacs et al, 2015; Shipley et al, 2011). When strict adherence to policies waned and rules were not consistently applied, not only did satisfaction decrease, but in certain cases economic benefits also suffered (Shipley et al., 2011). These studies are able to synthesize a number of critical observations, such as: HCDs are a successful planning tool in the Province of Ontario that should be used more frequently, formal plans are crucial to the success of a district, the real estate industry should be educated on the value of HCDs, funding for the maintenance of HCD properties would greatly improve the quality and popularity of districts, the specific needs to each HCD are unique, and public spaces and parks must be recognized as important features of HCDs (Kovacs et al., 2015; Shipley & Snyder, 2013; Shipley et al., 2011).

2.4 Gaps in the Literature and Research Contributions

Despite this large body of research, some gaps remain in the literature. Despite Sivaro's (2015) assertion that heritage cannot function when separated from the wider urban context, Renne & Listokin's (2019) work on preservation and TODs is one of few pieces of scholarship that analyzes the interface between heritage and other planning priorities in detail. More research along these lines is needed to show how heritage districts can be integrated with other policy goals for urban environments. As well, the mixed findings presented by quantitative scholarship on the relationship between heritage preservation and equity point to the need for the use of a wider lens which applies the same methodology across multiple locations, creating more general knowledge. Qualitative literature on heritage preservation and equity generally focuses on the problematic elements of the practice, but case studies of jurisdictions which have managed to overcome these issues are absent from the literature. Understanding *how* to overcome the challenges many authors have quite rightly identified, from both a policy and ground-level perspective, is crucial to improving urban heritage conservation as a discipline. Finally, more studies on Canadian HCDs outside Ontario are needed. The legal frameworks, policies, and funding mechanisms in Canada are unique, and also vary from province to province, but the current scholarship focuses exclusively on Ontario. As a result, whether HCDs are an effective planning tool across the country, or whether other jurisdictions have experienced results that differ from those detailed in the literature, is unclear.

The present study fits in with the work done by Kovacs et al. (2008), Kovacs et al. (2015), Shipley & Snyder (2013), Shipley et al. (2011), and Avrami et al. (2018), which focuses on how members of the public perceive and react to neighbourhood-wide heritage designations. This research also contributes to the work done by Ginzarly et al. (2019) examining the role of public controversy in the heritage designation process. Like these pieces of scholarship, this study takes a "bottom-up" approach to evaluating policy, while also responding to Ryberg-Websiter and Kinahan's (2014) call for future research to consider the "politics of urban preservation" (p. 131). Economic, equity, and socio-cultural concerns are all considered when analysing the public submissions to the City of Winnipeg Standing Committee on Property and Development, Heritage, and Downtown Development, incorporating key themes present in the wider literature. This study also contributes to rectifying the lack of Canadian studies on HCDs outside of Ontario by using a Manitoba case study.

2.5 Summary

Academic literature concerning neighbourhood-wide heritage designations generally adopts one of three lenses. As noted by Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan (2014), a significant amount of research is interested in the economic ramifications of heritage designations. Measuring changes in property values, both within districts themselves and also compared to similar properties outside district boundaries, is a popular method used to analyze economic impacts (Coulson and Leichenko, 2004; Kovacs et al, 2008; Kovacs et al, 2015; Oba & Noonan, 2020; Shipley et al, 2011). Oba & Noonan (2020) offer the most comprehensive study of this nature, differentiating between several types of districts, observing spill-over effects, and considering how different property classes respond to the same designation.

Heritage conservation has frequently been accused of elitism by critics, and so more recently, a number of scholars have studied the equity implications of heritage designations (Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014). The relationship between heritage conservation and gentrification as been examined in several studies, although their results have not always been conclusive. While authors such as Coulson & Leichenko (2004) did not find a causal link between heritage designations and neighbourhood turnover, others like McCabe and Ellen (2016) have conducted similar research with different results. This indicates more work is needed to better understand how conservation and gentrification interact with one another. Other scholarship considers the foundations of heritage conservation, and how systemic inequities within the discipline continue to manifest themselves in modern practices (Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Born, 2017; James, 2013; Logan, 2012; Rodgers et al., 2018).

Finally, some academics prefer to analyze heritage district through policy review, comparing goals, objectives, strategies, and outcomes. Some, including Siravo (2015), prefer a more theoretical and prescriptive approach, but most authors who favour this lens undertake case studies of one or several districts to present their arguments. Studies use a variety of metrics to measure policy success, including public satisfaction and number of heritage buildings preserved (Kovacs et al., 2008; Kovacs et al., 2015; Ochsner, 2017; Shipley et al., 2011). More research examining how conservation interfaces with other planning goals, and how equity considerations can be successfully incorporated into heritage planning policies, is needed to further develop the existing literature.

3.0 Findings

This section presents the results of the research undertaken, organized by method. Chapter 3 highlights key themes which reappeared frequently during the analysis process, along with important ideas that relate back to the literature or clearly align with this study's research questions. Written and oral submissions in the public record were reviewed to determine the extent to which the HCD was supported by authors and speakers, as well as their desired outcomes for the designation process. Data generated through interviews with area resident addressed the same questions, but also provided an opportunity to unpack the motivating factors behind public reactions in greater detail. Across these methods, the desire to preserve Crescentwood's character-defining elements, while at the same time preventing infill development, was consistently raised. Mistrust of the City of Winnipeg also emerged as a key motivator for the actions of both the supporters and opponents of the HCD. Heritage advocates also tended to connect the built form to wider narratives about their own identities as citizens of Winnipeg. On the other hand, findings connected to interviews done with planning professionals from other Canadian municipalities contextualize the research data, and provide insight into possible best practices that Winnipeg might consider adopting in the future. Planners were keen to point out the value of clear communication, and the role that values play in guiding heritage planning exercises. Additionally in this section, broad quantitative findings are discussed to establish both scope and context with regards to the qualitative data.

3.1 Document and Discourse Analysis

3.1.1 Support for the Heritage Conservation District

Of the 70 written submissions received by the City of Winnipeg's Standing Committee on Property and Development, Heritage and Downtown Development in relation to the September 2019 appeal hearing for the nomination of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD, the vast majority argued against the appeal (i.e., were in support of the HCD). In total only 8 written submissions were received in support of the appeal (11%), while a single submission did not clearly identify a position, and only sought to enter some relevant facts into the public record. The remaining 61 written submissions opposed the appeal (87%).

At the public hearing itself, 10 delegates (9%) registered to speak in support of the appeal, while 98 delegates (91%) registered to make representations against the appeal. In actuality, not every individual registered to speak did so. Some failed to present themselves,

while others "donated" time to speakers making presentations which reflected their own viewpoints. These statistics nevertheless reflect the highly one-sided nature of the appeal process and hearing. The format of the appeal itself may have played a role in the distribution of positions being taken. The in-person hearing was held during working hours on a weekday, inherently making participation easier for some demographics (retirees, etc.) compared to others. Citizens making oral submissions were required to speak in front of the standing committee and all others in attendance. The hearing was also broadcast live to the video-sharing website YouTube, where it can still be accessed. Residents concerned about publicly speaking against the HCD in front of their neighbours, especially if they felt they were in the minority, may have been discouraged from making representations.

On the other hand, the effective grassroots organizing of Save 514 Wellington may have encouraged more HCD supporters to speak, by providing them with key talking points upon which to rely on, or mobilizing members to ensure a high turnout. During the appeal hearing, one city councillor noted that during the public hearings related to Winnipeg's only previous HCD designation (Armstrong's Point), not a single delegate registered to speak against the nomination. Although a detailed consideration of the factors influencing who is most likely to speak at public hearings is beyond the scope of this research, suffice it to say that these quantitative observations should be interpreted with a degree of caution.

3.1.2 Desired Outcomes

Written submissions opposed to the appeal were analyzed to determine the author's desired outcome for the HCD designation process. This approach was influenced by the survey conducted by Avrami et al. (2018), which asked residents of New York City what outcomes of preserving historic districts they found to be most important. Five main desired outcomes were identified:

- The preservation of the mansion located at 514 Wellington Crescent
- The preservation of Crescentwood's physical character-defining elements in general
- Stronger controls on infill development within the proposed district
- Economic benefits for Crescentwood and the City of Winnipeg stemming from the designation
- The fostering of civic pride

Although some submissions hinted at other possible benefits, such as the ecological upside of reusing existing buildings rather than demolishing them and erecting new ones, the desired outcomes most clearly articulated and frequently mentioned all fell within the umbrella categories listed.

3.1.3 The Preservation of 514 Wellington

Over half of the total written submissions stated that the authors wanted Crescentwood to be designated as an HCD in order to prevent the demolition of the Gordon House at 514 Wellington Crescent. Many submissions referred to the house as a Winnipeg landmark, and expressed that building something new with as much character or aesthetic value would be impossible. Some authors felt particularly aggrieved that what they perceived as a community asset could potentially be destroyed in the name of private development. As one submission explained, "514 Wellington is in a beautiful and vibrant neighborhood and built in an architectural style which is very much sought after today; tearing it down for the financial gain of a few would be a terrible loss for this great and historic city." Others were concerned that demolition of 514 Wellington would set a precedent for the neighbourhood, creating a domino effect that would see more of the heritage homes demolished for multi-family dwellings and condominiums. The prospect of adaptive reuse was also floated as a possible solution to the issue.

3.1.4 Preservation of Character-Defining Elements

Many written submissions looked beyond the single case of 514 Wellington, and identified the conservation of key architectural elements within the neighbourhood as an important priority. This outcome aligns most closely with the policy goals of Winnipeg's HCD by-law, which regulates the altering of such elements as identified in the relevant HCD plan. A significant number of submissions commented on how Crescentwood's character-defining elements, such as large lots, heritage homes, and curved sidewalks, create a unique aesthetic experience for residents and visitors alike (Figure 6). Other argued these elements represent the spirit of the Enderton Caveats, and are an irreplaceable expression of the area's heritage significance. One submission stated that the neighbourhood has "earned the right to define its own look and feel", referencing the hard work that local residents have put into heritage conservation activities. A final theme touched on by several submissions was the potential for preserving these character-defining elements to attract investment and what they deemed as

appropriate development (i.e., large single-family homes) to the neighbourhood by allowing it to leverage its unique identity.

Figure 6: A view of some of Crescentwood's heritage homes, showing the neighbourhood's character-defining architecture and setbacks. (Source: Gary Solilak/CBC News)

3.1.5 Infill Control

Although not as common within the written submissions overall as the two themes already discussed, a strong sentiment against infill development featured prominently. Some authors suggested that new development should not be allowed to happen at all in Crescentwood, and "there are plenty of other locations and plots of land available outside of the Crescentwood District suitable for the construction of condominiums." Conversely, some submissions were less hostile to new development specifically, but wanted to ensure that construction would match the existing architectural flavour of the neighbourhood. One author suggested that developers "should show that an effort has been made to keep the style and fashion of the housing stock in this character neighbourhood if intending to modify or change an existing structure or show cause for the removal an existing structure."

A number of submissions issued fierce critiques of "modern" urban design and architecture in general. For example, one author claimed their children are "continually disappointed when they see old character homes being bulldozed down and 'ugly new modern buildings' (their words) put up instead. They often tell me how much they wish the city wasn't

ruined with ugly sterile buildings." Other submissions mentioned "ugly square boxes", "McMansions", and "junk architecture", expressing dissatisfaction with building materials used, size, and aesthetic quality of infill (Figure 7). For some authors, the land use itself appeared just as concerning as the design choices. A number of written submissions objected specifically to the prospect of condominiums being constructed, sharing sentiments such as "the last thing our city needs is more new and modern condos!" and that 514 Wellington should not be replaced with "yet more over-priced and unsightly luxury condominiums."

Figure 7: Contrasting architectural styles on display between a recent infill development, and one of Crescentwood's heritage homes. (Source: Holly Caruk/CBC News)

3.1.6 Economic Benefits

A smaller number of written submissions made the case that an HCD designation for Crescentwood would bring economic benefits to both the neighbourhood and the City of Winnipeg. Some commented on how Crescentwood is regularly used as a film set, thanks to the area's heritage homes, and the HCD would ensure that the industry continues to come to Winnipeg. Others argued that an HCD designation would result in higher property values and more investment within the district's boundaries, since the restrictions would offer more security in terms of potential surrounding land uses and urban form. One author posited that heritage preservation activities themselves could also contribute to the local economy, stating "it takes a lot more cash to maintain and preserve heritage properties than to keep up a newly constructed 3

storey, 6 unit condominium. Heritage preservation can be an economic driver as, or beyond an enlarged assessment base." Of the submissions which identified economic benefits as a desired outcome, many also touched on the value of Crescentwood as a tourist attraction, and its potential to be further enhanced to draw visitors to the city.

3.1.7. Civic Pride

Although appearing the least frequently out of the common themes identified in the written submissions, the idea that the Crescentwood HCD could foster a sense of civic pride did present itself occasionally. Submissions tended to articulate this desire in one of two ways. Some saw the Crescentwood HCD as a way to make other cities envious of Winnipeg, and improve the city's standing amongst Canadian municipalities. On the other hand, certain authors discussed their hope that the HCD could make Winnipeg residents more proud of their own city through better knowledge of local history, or admiration of the collective effort required to preserve the neighbourhood. As one author explained: "it makes me proud as a life long Winnipeg resident to see our history represented in our architecture and to see a celebration of the past by carrying it into the future."

3.1.8 Heritage Values

As outlined by Kovacs et al. (2021), the concept of heritage ultimately comes down to a question of cultural values. Written submissions expressing support for the Crescentwood HCD were analyzed to determine why their authors deemed built heritage to be valuable, and what contributions they felt heritage buildings make to urban life.

A significant number of submissions commented on the quality and/or rarity of the craftsmanship and materials displayed by many of the homes within the proposed HCD boundary. Authors described how they found the form of heritage buildings aesthetically pleasing because of these features, and emphasized how these elements cannot be replicated or replaced in modern times, since there are no craftspeople with the knowledge of how to do so. In some instances, submissions connected these features, and built heritage more widely, to the neighbourhood's sense of place and character, which they argue enrich the quality of city life in the same way as "arts and culture, museums, [and] large trees and parks."

Another common theme amongst the submissions was the characterisation of Crescentwood's built heritage as a physical representation of Winnipeg's history, or the shared identity of the city's residents. For example, one author wrote:

> This grand home was built at a time when Winnipeg was a city fast-filling with visionary entrepreneurs and pioneer dreamers. From new millionaires and old world penniless immigrants the city had swelled in population from 42,000 in 1901 to 136,000 in 1911. We must protect buildings like 514 Wellington Cres. that was part of Winnipeg's colourful urban landscape in the early 1900s that included living animals, blue collar labourers and well-heeled banking and grain traders. We must preserve buildings that reflect the ambitious and audacious architecture that symbolized the unparalleled optimism that erected in Winnipeg in the early 1900s.

This excerpt also demonstrates how a subgroup of the submissions connected the value of heritage buildings to specific identity narratives, which tended to fall within one of three categories:

- Winnipeg's built heritage is representative of the city's unique historical identity within the wider Canadian context. This identity is something that other jurisdictions are envious of.
- Crescentwood's heritage elements give the community a unique identity within Winnipeg, setting the neighbourhood apart from other areas of the city.
- Crescentwood's built heritage is symbolic of the ideals and aspirations upon which the City of Winnipeg was founded (real and imagined). The value of heritage is that it connects current residents to these narratives and myths from the past, allowing for the continuation of these ideals.

Further conceptions of heritage value tended to be derivatives of these general themes. Certain authors who believed that built heritage helps make Winnipeg stand out on the national scale, or Crescentwood feature strongly on the local scale, valued the historic houses for their ability to attract tourists to the neighbourhood and the associated economic benefits, or because they believed the buildings create a sense of uniqueness or prestige. Conversely, submissions which interpreted the buildings symbolically might also value the homes for their perceived legacy, which can be passed on to future generations, or because the buildings are understood to be the product of collective preservation efforts by local residents.

3.1.9 Concerns

Developing a thorough understanding of the concerns motivating opponents of the HCD based solely on data gathered from the written submissions for the appeal hearing was difficult, as they tended to be much shorter in length compared to those in favour of the HCD, and were also significantly fewer in number. To overcome this limitation, data from oral submissions in support of the appeal at the associated public hearing was also gathered, with a focus on the specific concerns raised by each speaker.

Opponents of the HCD expressed a wide variety of concerns through the nomination appeal process. The most frequent issue raised was the accusation that HCDs as a policy infringed upon the private property rights of homeowners, as stated by one author: "each and every property owner should have the right to do as they please with their property based on the current building codes, not based on a hand full of vocal citizens who feel it should be a heritage site." One author commented changing what kinds of development were permitted on the 514 Wellington site halfway through the process seemed unfair to the property owner. Another suggested that property owners should have the option to opt out of the proposed district. Other members of the public making oral submissions further argued that an HCD was a violation of both the rule of law and the "rules of business", and that no government should have the authority to enact a blanket designation. Furthermore, some members of the public complained that the heritage permitting process, red tape, and bureaucratic issues would make alterations and other desired development time-consuming and more difficult that necessary.

Additionally, many HCD opponents were concerned that the designation might cause a decline in property values or other economic losses, arguing the extra restrictions on building alterations and associated red tape would make homes more difficult to sell. Others further suggested that designation would discourage investment in the area, and the prevention of redevelopment would see the City of Winnipeg miss out on increased property tax revenue. Overall, these opponents suggested that an increase in restrictions on a property would always lead to a decrease in value. Adjacently, affordability was another concern shared by multiple opponents, who protested the added expenses associated with building upgrades and repairs in an HCD relating to both the cost of more specialized construction materials and permitting fees. Several citizens making oral

submissions pointed out that the City of Winnipeg does not offer tax breaks or other financial incentives and supports to the owners of heritage homes within the HCD, increasing the burden on individual homeowners. They asserted that other jurisdictions have mechanisms in place to reduce costs and make heritage preservation affordable. One individual speaking to the Standing Policy Committee claimed that the large homes in Crescentwood were already too costly for most people, and remain on the housing market for lengthy periods of time for this reason.

The actual suitability of Crescentwood for HCD designation was not accepted by all parties, with some opponents questioning whether the neighbourhood truly merited heritage protections. "The area that has been proposed to be [designated] is simply not distinctive enough or contain enough shared character-defining elements to warrant a heritage designation. There is no denying that there is a mix of old and new houses and these house are not homogenous" stated one author, whose sentiments were also reflected in some of the oral submissions. Others interpreted the circumstances surrounding the nomination of the HCD as a knee-jerk reaction to the imminent demolition of 514 Wellington, and thus an excessive and inappropriate response. "We do not want to see 514 Wellington Crescent be torn down and re-zoned to make way for multi-family dwellings, all for Jeff Thompson's financial gain," wrote one author, "however, converting the entire neighbourhood to a heritage conservation district is not the best response to address Jeff Thompson's specific development plans." Questions of safety were also raised, since many of the houses allegedly contain asbestos.

Finally, elitism and NIMBYism were cited in some submissions as the true driving factors behind the nomination of the HCD. The residents of Crescentwood campaigning for the City to move the process forward were characterized to be blocking densification efforts, the overall development of the wider community, and the intent of City of Winnipeg planning strategies. One oral presenter speculated that these residents are likely supportive of concepts such as infill and densification generally – but not on their own street. Certain written submissions referred to heritage advocates as a "vocal minority", who do not represent the true interests of the neighbourhood, and are trying to "bully the system."

3.1.10 Conflict

Written submissions in favour of the designation, along with written and oral submissions in opposition, were analyzed to determine how they characterised and understood the conflict and controversy surrounding the HCD process. A significant portion of the submissions expressed antagonistic sentiments towards their perceived opponents, mostly directed towards the developer of 514 Wellington Jeff Thompson. Some authors decried his desire to, in their eyes, erase heritage for his own economic benefit. Thompson was referred to as being "money-hungry", and having no concept of heritage value. Some submissions accused him of deliberately neglecting the property, so that the building fell into a state of disrepair, while others asserted that he had been deliberately untruthful about the condition of the house, how he acquired it, and various other related matters. Still others suggested that he had made no effort to work with the community, and had been rude and insulting to residents numerous times. Only a single submission in favour of the designation expressed any sort of sympathy for the developer. As previously noted, a number of the designation's opponents viewed the heritage advocates as a small vocal minority of NIMBY residents who believe everything should be done their way.

The majority of the submissions overall interpreted the cause of the conflict as being the actions of Jeff Thompson, and other developers, looking to redevelop sites within Crescentwood. A smaller number of submissions articulated alternative interpretations. Many opponents of the HCD placed blame on the members of Save 514 Wellington and other supportive residents, questioning why these advocates were not out protesting demolitions of heritage buildings in other locations as well. Certain opponents also criticized the City of Winnipeg for the way the HCD by-law was applied, saying the process was an example of corruption, or of decisions being made because of political pressure rather than standard operating procedures. Some supporters of the HCD also take aim at the City of Winnipeg, but for different reasons. A submission made on behalf of non-profit corporation Heritage Winnipeg argues that the true cause of the conflict is the City's confusing reorganization of the Historical Resources By-law several years prior, when several properties lost protection without adequate explanation. Another author blames the city for not reacting properly when the Enderton Caveats were stripped

from the neighbourhood by the Province of Manitoba in the 1980s, leaving the design of new properties in the neighbourhood largely unrestricted.

3.1.11 The Planning Process

To aid in the recommendation of best practices for negotiating public controversy when designating HCDs and using similar planning tools in the future, submissions were reviewed for information about how their authors felt about the planning process itself. Several of the submissions in support of the HCD indicated that they were pleased with the provisions within Winnipeg's HCD By-law, and they approved of the way the city handled the nomination process. These submissions viewed the HCD as an important step to preserving Crescentwood's valuable built heritage.

Conversely, several submissions criticized City of Winnipeg planning processes, linked to both the HCD designation itself and the wider issues which led to the situation occurring in the first place. Some residents of Crescentwood complained that not enough information about the HCD was provided to them, and therefore they could not adequately understand the implications of the nomination and possible designation for their own properties. One commercial property owner pointed out that the proposed boundary was inconsistent with what the City of Winnipeg considered to be Crescentwood in other planning documents. Lastly, a number of opponents rebuked the city for suspending the demolition permit for 514 Wellington in what they felt was a discriminatory, secretive, and arbitrary manner.

Supporters of the designation also critiqued the City of Winnipeg, but focussed on the planning process in a more general sense. Some suggested the City does not adequately involve members of the community in decision-making related to heritage conservation, while others took issue with the perceived freedoms the City gives to developers, seemingly putting profit before heritage. As one Crescentwood resident explained, "I am outraged that our City officials are letting developers pollute our most valued heritage districts with subdivided lots, condominiums and new builds that do not fit into the area in which they are built." The City was also criticized for poorly executing the review of the Historical Resources By-law, allowing 514 Wellington to lose heritage protections, and for failing to put in place appropriate planning tools after the removal of the Enderton Caveats.

Some members of the public used the appeal proceedings as an opportunity to provide suggestions which might improve the planning process, linked to some of the issues they had

identified. Certain HCD supporters indicated that the city should create more programs to prioritize the preservation and promotion of heritage resources, such as tax rebates and other incentives, or heritage plaques. Another common theme among certain submissions was the notion that the City should more stringently control the design of infill in historic areas, in the spirit of the Enderton Caveats, and find ways to direct and incentivize infill in areas with less perceived heritage value. Lastly, the commercial property owner with concerns over the proposed boundary argued that more thought needed to be put in to what the boundary of the HCD should be.

3.2 Resident Interviews

While the written and oral submissions related to the 2019 appeal hearing provided an understanding of the breadth of views held by members of the public on the prospect of an HCD in Crescentwood, interviews with residents living within the proposed HCD boundary permitted the researcher to develop a deeper and more nuanced comprehension of the factors motivating these views. The nature of the appeal hearing meant that submissions were binary – either they supported the appeal, or were against it. Conversely, interviews allowed the researcher to explore areas of uncertainty and unresolved tensions that may not have been addressed within the submissions. Interviews also represented an opportunity to see how public sentiment had evolved over time, since they occurred more than two years after the appeal hearing. In that time, 514 Wellington had been demolished and the site was rezoned, the Covid-19 pandemic began, and the HCD process progressed all the way to the HCD plan stage.

3.2.1 Reactions to the Heritage Conservation District

All five residents interviewed expressed support for the HCD, to varying degrees. Resident 1, Resident 2, and Resident 4 were all fully supportive of the HCD designation from the beginning, and continued to believe in the HCD's importance. Residents 1 and 2 were both active members in the community activism related to the campaign to save 514 Wellington and bring forward the HCD. Resident 1 mentioned that their feeling of support for the designation had continued to increase over time. Resident 3 also expressed general support for the designation. Resident 5 was fully supportive of the HCD at the beginning of the process, but had since become less enthusiastic about the prospective designation. They were concerned that the designation would penalize homeowners for being unable to afford costly repairs, and wondered how homes which had built more recently would be affected. "Yeah, I think I thought it was

awesome at the beginning," they explained, "I'm tenuous with the part about forcing people who would buy the house to have to keep a house that's beyond repair."

All residents who were interviewed remarked that they felt the HCD designation process had brought the community closer together. Residents interacted more with their neighbours, and engaged more actively with neighbourhood issues. Notably, all interviewees also felt the vast majority of neighbourhood residents supported the designation as well. Resident 1 captured both these sentiments by stating:

> "It's just made us stronger and closer. When we were picketing, you know, you maybe saw the picket, the signs that we would picket in front of 514 when they were wanting to tear it down. [...] We all stepped up and put in a lot of hours and would chit chat with each other. So people, certainly it's brought together the people that are for it. And I sort of haven't seen too many against it, except the owner.

However, Residents 1 and 2 also conveyed a sense of discouragement and cynicism stemming from how the designation had been handled, specifically with regards to the demolition and rezoning of 514 Wellington. Resident 2 explained "You know, I would have to say that people are pretty discouraged, you know, after the events of the last couple of days [i.e., the rezoning of 514 Wellington], [...] I think we're a little more cynical if you really want to know. I mean, it's like… we're even more certain we need to get that heritage conservation district because we have no tools right now."

Coincidentally, many of the interviews with area residents took place around the same time that the rezoning of 514 Wellington was approved by the City of Winnipeg's Standing Policy Committee on Property and Development, Heritage, and Downtown Development. This decision, which overturned a previous vote by the City Centre Community Committee, cleared the path for Jeff Thompson to proceed with the construction of condominiums on the empty lot. Area residents were fiercely opposed to this proposal, and the freshness and outcome of the vote may explain why cynicism and disappointment with City of Winnipeg officials figured so prominently when interviewees were asked about their reactions to the HCD process (Cash, 2022).

3.2.2 Motivating Factors

Several interviewees suggested that Crescentwood features special and unique qualities which set the area apart from other neighbourhoods, making the neighbourhood worthy of preservation and protection. Resident 1 described Crescentwood as a "gem" and a historic "enclave", arguing that "there should be parts of the city that are special places, and this is a special place." Resident 4 likened the neighbourhood to a "living museum", citing the high concentration of century-old homes, noting that their appreciation of Crescentwood's aesthetic features has only grown since they first purchased a home in the area. Crescentwood's tree canopy, central location., and "tranquil" atmosphere were praised by Resident 5, who stated "it's just the most amazing place that I've ever lived as far as health and wellbeing and peace of like, really good life quality." Without exception, all interviewees strongly expressed high levels of satisfaction with living in the neighbourhood.

Every resident interviewed for this study described Crescentwood as an extremely close-knit community, with a strong collective spirit. A previous community heritage conservation/restoration project was repeatedly cited as a source of these strong bonds. Enderton Park, also known as Peanut Park (Figure 8), is a small public greenspace located within Crescentwood, and the HCD boundary. Several interviewees explained that at some point in the past, this park became the site of regular community barbecues. Subsequently, a resident whose family had lived in the neighbourhood since the early 20th Century proposed restoring the park to

Figure 8: A view of Peanut Park. (Source: Friends of Peanut Park)

its original form and condition, since “it had gotten very rundown and it wasn't anything like what it was like when it was built in 1909.” The residents of Crescentwood devoted significant time and resources to this project, as described further by Resident 1:

> So that started a huge number of meetings and working groups. We planted trees, we worked with the city. We have spent well, that was about 10 years ago. We have raised a huge amount of money with the Winnipeg Foundation, hopefully so that it can run by itself at some point. But we still have Christmas parties in the neighborhood and we have a Peanut Park picnic in the neighborhood where we drum up money from everybody. So this is the only park, to my knowledge, in the city that funds it. We fund our own part. We have built gardens. We have really restored it back to what it looked like in 1909. Same old park, the old park benches. You know, we got new ones that looked old. We've got lighting. So that Park has been instrumental in pulling our neighborhood together. And I would say everybody knows everybody in the neighborhood, and that's why we want it to stay like this. And so we're working on this heritage designation.

Resident 5 also noted that some families have lived in Crescentwood for several consecutive generations, and thus have a particular sentimental attachment to the heritage of the neighbourhood.

Resident 1 and Resident 2 both identified previous failed attempts to preserve heritage buildings as precipitating events for the reaction to both the demolition of 514 Wellington and the push for wider heritage protections in the neighbourhood. Resident 1 mentioned that a heritage home in the neighbourhood was sold for a price they believed was much higher than market value and then immediately demolished, shortly before Jeff Thompson acquired 514 Wellington, which motivated residents to act quickly when the latter occurred. Resident 2 traced the idea for an HCD back to a 2011 meeting with a former city councillor:

> In 2011, we were fighting the rezoning of an office structure on Stafford, [...] a full time jewelry store was trying to go in there and we were fighting it. We lost that. They gave them the variance they needed to make it a commercial site. And at the end of the meeting, I was talking to [former city councillor] Jenny Gerbasi and I said "Jenny, how are we going to save our neighborhood"? And she said "Well, the City is starting to work with Armstrong's Point. We're looking at a

> heritage conservation district, follow along, and maybe that's something we can look at for you."

Resident 2 also noted that their engagement with the planning process, and failure to achieve their desired outcomes, had left residents feeling cynical about their efforts. At the same time, Resident 2 acknowledged frustration was fueling the community's push for the HCD, which they characterized as a unique opportunity to implement a tool that would shift the development paradigm dramatically.

Certain interviewees explained particular factors motivating their reactions to the HCD that did not fit in with the common themes identified within the data. Resident 3 was extremely concerned about parking and traffic in the area. They appeared to support the HCD primarily because they believed increased multi-family residential development would see the streets filled with parked cars. Additionally, they worried that multi-family development adjacent to the proposed HCD would still cause an increase in parked cars within the boundaries of the district. On a separate note, Resident 5's mixed feelings towards the designation were informed by their experience of building their own infill house in Crescentwood. While they personally took great care to ensure the design replicated the existing housing stock, they were able to look at the HCD issue from several different angles. At the same time, Resident 5 felt many prospective developers and investors did not take the time to get to know the community and engage with residents, unlike they did when constructing their new build.

3.2.3 Desired Outcomes

Since interviews took place following the demolition of the Gordon House at 514 Wellington, they represented an opportunity to probe whether the public's desired outcomes stemming from the designation had realigned in response. All five interviewees indicated that they viewed the prospective HCD as a way to preserve Crescentwood's character-defining elements, while also controlling infill development. Residents 2, 3, and 4 all commented on the unique look and feel of the neighbourhood, which the community had worked hard to preserve. They feared that without the HCD, this aesthetic experience would be lost forever. Resident 2 explained how they envisioned the HCD functioning:

> Well, our goal is to save built heritage. [...] So in Armstrong's Point [Winnipeg's only existing HCD], the things that are important are the façades of the building, the street side. If you want to do something in your backyard, probably not going

> to be any problem. Maintain the trees, maintain the setbacks. If you have a historic hedge, you keep the hedge or you have a good reason why you can't have a hedge, and you keep the ambiance and the walkability and the feel of the neighborhood. If your house burns down and somebody needs to build a new one, they're going to be allowed to build a new one. They will be encouraged to consider massing and materials and outward feel that is complementary to the neighborhood. I mean, you don't have to go back and build the same old house again.

Interviewees expressed a wide range of opinions on what infill controls they deemed appropriate. Resident 3 was not particularly concerned with houses being demolished and infill occurring specifically, but stated that "we want you to architecturally keep it within the flavor of the neighborhood. But whatever the footprint on the old place was, you know, that's sort of your boundary. You can't just keep going out and out and out. So your neighbor, you know, he looks out his window and he sees a wall four feet away from his property line." This frustration regarding the design and form of new buildings was echoed by several other interviewees. Resident 3 suggested that because there are more wealthy people now living in Winnipeg, there is a greater likelihood that lots will be purchased for redevelopment purposes. They also were concerned about the traffic and parking impact of multi-family infill specifically. Resident 5 offered a similar perspective, explaining that respect for private property rights needs to be balanced with the development controls on multi-family residential projects, which they characterized as antithetical to the overall neighbourhood character. Resident 5, along with Residents 1 and 2, also expressed concerns regarding rezoning in the area, which they suggested should not be permitted.

Residents 1 and 4 both acknowledged that infill development is necessary within the City of Winnipeg, but disagreed that Crescentwood was an appropriate site for such development. "And in terms of urban sprawl, I totally agree with [the premise that it is an issue]. However, we're talking, in this particular case, a very small part. [...] It's a small area, but it's worth saving. And still, it's not going to make that big a difference for urban sprawl," explained Resident 1. "And yeah, I agree infill's important," stated Resident 4, "but this is a unique situation where it's not about infill, it's about preserving what should be in a museum."

Residents 2 and 5 also identified possible economic benefits stemming from the designation as desired outcomes. Both touched on the potential to attract wealth and investment to the City of Winnipeg. Resident 2 mentioned the relationship between Crescentwood and the film industry, while Resident 5 argued that "we will not attract big money and big investors in the city who would also probably invest in industry and bring jobs to the city if you continue down this road of 'oh, let's just change it into an apartment'." Resident 2 also noted that the purchase of a home is the most significant investment of most people's lives, and stated that the HCD would help maintain the value of this investment by offering more certainty with regards to surrounding land uses.

3.2.4 Concerns

Resident 5 was the only interviewee to express their own misgivings about the potential HCD. As discussed, they worried the HCD could be used to force people to maintain homes with serious problems, which would require significant financial resources to address. They expressed concern that a homeowner might be punished for making the decision to demolish a house under these circumstances. Residents 1 and 3 both explained why they think some other members of the neighbourhood might be opposed to designation, while clarifying that they did not share these concerns. Resident 1 commented that initially, some residents believed that the HCD would diminish their property values and that obtaining a heritage permit would be a lengthy process, but had since been convinced otherwise. Resident 3 mentioned that they suspected opponents of the HCD feared that the extra restrictions on property alterations would make the homes more difficult to sell.

3.2.5 The Planning Process

Three of the interviewees identified positive aspects of City of Winnipeg planning processes with respect to the Crescentwood HCD. Resident 2 described the process as "well thought out", and Resident 3 indicated that the beginnings of the designation have appeared promising, while Resident 4 appreciated the level of consultation that has been ongoing since the nomination:

> Well, I think it's important that there is a lot of consultation, because not everybody in the neighborhood may agree to this, and I'm sure there are… actually, I know some people that probably don't. But you need to have a full examination and consideration of everybody's points of view. So I like the idea

> where they do have several phases of consultation. I think it's been it's been ongoing for probably four years.

Resident 4 also noted that the experience of contributing to the identification of official character-defining elements for the HCD plan had increased their appreciation of the neighbourhood as a whole, and had been a positive learning experience.

Nevertheless, all of the interviewees highlighted problems and issues with the HCD planning process. Residents 2 and 4 both mentioned that the designation has dragged out for too long, although they acknowledged the role played by the pandemic in delaying proceedings. Resident 4 also brought up the Heritage Resources By-Law review:

> And apparently [...] it was an oversight that that building [514 Wellington] was even allowed to get a demolition permit, because that building was on a list of heritage buildings and then somebody dropped the ball. Or when they when they reorganized their conservation lists, they went from three lists to two lists and somehow that building got dropped, and that caused an in for someone to demolish a building, which was a mistake when that happened.

Some interviewees elaborated upon what they considered to be systemic issues affecting planning in Winnipeg. Resident 3 argued that because the City of Winnipeg has planned poorly and allowed sprawl to increase out of control, City officials are now desperate to infill quickly and making rushed decisions, so they do not have time to carefully consider issues such as Crescentwood. Residents 2 and 5 described the HCD as a kind of last resort to get politicians and planners to listen to the concerns of residents. They suggested that developers hold significant power to influence planning in the City of Winnipeg, leading to decisions being made in a secretive manner. Furthermore, Resident 2 claimed that developers can mislead the public and civil service, and the politicians do nothing to stop this because of their close relationship, saying "we have consistently ended up dealing with developers who fudge and squeeze and, you know, pull the facts this way in that way and get their own way and, you know, lobby and pull back. And it really does cast an unfavorable look on the city planning process."

Residents 1, 2, and 5 all felt the City of Winnipeg needs to engage more with citizens to get their input on planning issues. They did not feel the City acts transparently, and suggested the system was not built to consider all points of view. Resident 5 stated that the City does not look to successful precedents from other jurisdictions for inspiration, and does not have the trust of

local residents. Resident 1 criticized elected officials for lacking knowledge about their constituents and their neighbourhoods:

> I feel that sometimes city councillors, and I'm generalizing here, but I don't see, I don't think that they can realize how important these little special places are. So I wish that they would spend some time in some of these places when they're going to be making a decision. You know, I think if it's like if the councillors came and spent a few days coming over to the park and walking around, they'd get a feel for it and talk to the people here.

Lastly, interviewees provided a number of suggestions which they believed would improve City of Winnipeg planning processes. Resident 2 argued that public consultation should generally occur sooner in the development process:

> This whole planning fiasco would be better improved if the City held public consultations with the neighbourhood first. You know, if a builder wants to build something and goes, instead of being assigned to a planner, somebody does a study of the neighborhood so they can say, you know what, right off the hop, this isn't going to fly. But as it is now, the developer spends all this time and reworks his plans and hires architects and works with the planner.

With respect to the HCD specifically, both Residents 3 and 4 called for heightened transparency in the planning process. The former suggested the City of Winnipeg should inform residents of the feedback they are receiving from other members of the public, including objections, so that everyone's positions on the matter can be better understood. Resident 4 speculated whether more transparency might reduce the level of controversy associated with the designation, saying "the controversy, I think, arises when there's when some people feel they're either not listened to or there's some hidden agenda." Resident 3 also called for a more holistic approach to HCD planning, especially with regards to the relationship between the HCD and adjacent areas. Resident 5 suggested that the City approve rezonings much less frequently, and communicate this to developers to dissuade them from trying to purchase single family homes to redevelop into multi-family residential housing.

3.3 Planning Professional Interviews

Three professional planners specializing in heritage issues and employed in other Canadian municipalities were interviewed to gather data related to best practices for managing

controversial heritage projects. Through these interviews, it became apparent that their knowledge was highly contextual; the unique planning climates of their individual municipalities caused them to answer the same questions in very different ways. Even so, there were certain areas of overlap noted, and similarities between the various municipalities and Winnipeg, leading to the collection of useful research data.

3.3.1 Controversial Heritage Projects

There was some consensus between the three planners when answering whether certain types of heritage conservation projects generate higher amounts of controversy than others. Planner 1 identified two types of projects which were more difficult to manage in their jurisdiction: larger heritage conservation projects (referred to as heritage conservation areas in their municipality) and anything to do with the downtown. Planner 1 explained that their downtown, which features a high concentration of heritage buildings, is highly valued by the local community. They explained that any proposal involving a downtown heritage building can "really get people riled up on both sides of the debate. People who think, 'Oh, no housing is way more important than heritage, we should tear it all down and build massive buildings because we need housing'. And then people are like, 'I don't want it to change. It needs to still be, you know, pedestrian friendly and human scaled and all those things'." Planner 2 reported that residential heritage projects tend to be more controversial than ones in commercial areas, explaining that "in our commercial heritage areas, most people in the broader public accept that there is a common benefit that serves the public through the establishment of these [protected] areas." Planner 3 also suggested that downtown heritage conservation projects drew the most attention and created the most conflict, because residents felt some kind of attachment to it, no matter where they lived within the municipality.

3.3.2 Common Arguments and Motivations

Planners were asked to identify some of the common arguments and motivations, both in support and in opposition to heritage designations, that they encounter when engaging with the public. Planners 1 and 2 both explained that many opponents of heritage designations fear that they will not be able to make any changes to their property. Planner 1 labeled this argument a "common misconception", while Planner 2 associated the desire to own a property unencumbered by any sort of restriction to wider cultural values. Planner 2 also mentioned a potential decline in property values as another common argument made against heritage

designation. They pointed out that “if you speak to an assessor, they're going to tell you any level of additional regulation above and beyond what other properties are subjected to is going to result in a decrease in property values. But that's an oversimplification. And that's not always going to be the case.” Furthermore, Planner 2 also described how their municipality’s progressive infill lobby group views heritage designations as a threat to their interests, and the municipality’s overall infill goals. Planner 2 explained how heritage districts in particular are coming to be viewed as “exclusive exercises”, and there was controversy within their own department regarding whether excluding certain neighbourhoods from wider policy objectives was best practice. Planner 3 recounted that the most common argument against heritage designations they encounter is that the heritage resources in question are undeserving of status, and have no actual historical value.

On the opposite side of the debate, Planner 1 commented that some proponents of heritage districts in particular believe that it is a tool which will stop their neighbourhood from ever changing. Planner 2 linked this motivation to property owners’ desire to protect their investments in their homes, based on perceptions of how changes in surrounding land use might diminish property values:

> In residential areas, these are the prime, oftentimes, the prime investment that these property owners have, their number one investment. And as such, they either want to protect it from heritage conservation, kind of requirements being imposed upon it, or they want to protect it from infill development that may potentially undermine the value of their property or that they perceive will undermine the value of the property. And a lot of it is potentially based on perceptions, right? There is a certain element of, you know, people have deep roots in these communities. People don't like change.

Planner 3 also noted that having higher concentrations of heritage buildings can create a sense of character within an area and allow neighbourhoods to “brand” themselves. This identity can be leveraged for economic growth, in both residential and commercial districts.

All three planners discussed the role NIMBYism plays in motivating proponents of heritage designations. When asked about the influence of NIMBYism in heritage planning, Planner 1 described it as an “ever-present”, not only when engaging with heritage issues, but across planning as a whole. Planner 1 explained that their municipality has been pushing to

densify and make housing more affordable. They explained that “most of the people making those [NIMBY] arguments are people who have owned their home for decades and are definitely not part of the affordability and housing crisis. So they kind of have sometimes misconceptions about who will actually be living in apartment buildings or converted homes or garden suites.” However, they noted that distinguishing between valid heritage concerns and discreet NIMBYism can at times be difficult. Planner 2 described NIMBYism as “one of the potential biggest threats” to heritage conservation exercises, because when people attempt to hide NIMBY perspectives behind heritage concerns, designations can be placed at odds with wider planning goals and the entire project can be derailed. Planner 3 presented an alternative viewpoint, suggesting NIMBYism can often be very complicated, and not simply a resistance to perceived outsiders being attracted to a neighbourhood. They pointed out that some heritage buildings can be more affordable to rent or own than new builds, and that a NIMBY perspective may be motivated by concerns over being priced out of a once-affordable neighbourhood.

The reality of heritage planning often sits between the two most extreme sides of the debate, noted Planner 1:

> You kind of get those two sides where someone's like, “I really want to change everything and you're stopping me from doing anything.” Another one's like, “I want to stop any change.” But it's kind of actually the realities in the middle, which is just a huge misconception we come up against all the time.

They also commented that the media coverage of a topic can inflame tensions, depending on the journalistic slant taken.

Planner 2 had observed that positions on heritage conservation efforts can sometimes be split down generational lines, with older residents campaigning for restrictions while younger ones “looking for opportunities for that secondary suite or garage suite, to kind of help them be able to afford to live in the neighborhood.” They also pointed out that generally, on a high level, the public can usually agree on the heritage value of a unique area. Even so, “when you get into the nitty gritty of the controls and people start to see the implication for their own property [...] they start to object to individual considerations.” Controversy also develops when “there's a real tension between the city's broader city building objectives and heritage management [...], there's a tension between that and particularly the infill objective.”

Planner 3 recounted that in their experience, the types of arguments presented for and against designation are highly context-specific, depending on whether the property in question is located in a commercial or residential area. They also found the common arguments to be slightly paradoxical:

> Homeowners in lower density neighborhoods, they don't want any heritage restrictions, but they also don't want anything to change. They want all the heritage buildings to be preserved, but they don't want any encumbrance on their property, even if they own heritage. Like they want homeowners to have all the freedom they want, but also for nothing to change at the same time and they'll fully come out and voice that.

While planning context clearly influences how residents will respond to heritage designations, the broad patterns which emerged through this line of questioning indicate that certain solutions can help to mitigate some aspects of public controversy, regardless of jurisdiction.

3.3.3 Proven Best Practices

Planners were asked to elaborate on successful strategies used in their professional practices to navigate controversial heritage projects. Planner 1 explained that they try to counter some of the common arguments and misconceptions with facts, so the public can develop a concrete understanding of what policies actually entail. Generally, they felt that open communication and engagement with all stakeholders was paramount, and that public consultation needs to occur early in the planning process. They also noted that moving to online engagement formats has opened up the process to a wider range of people, who are sharing unique perspectives.

Planner 2 echoed the value of open and honest communication, saying that establishing realistic expectations is a necessity, along with explaining the need to compromise with other city planning priorities: “You know, for me, as a heritage planner, I really do try and keep it focused on the heritage, but also communicating to the community throughout and sometimes very forcefully that we will need to compromise and meet broader city policy objectives, [distinct from goals for individual neighbourhoods or poperties], in order to see this area through to completion.” Communication also helps the wider public understand why heritage areas may have value to the entire municipality as a whole, helping to reconcile exemptions from other

policies surrounding infill, for example. In planners are unable to keep control of narratives surrounding a project, the potential for conflict increases.

Planners 1 and 2 both agreed that controversy is unavoidable when planning for heritage conservation, but it is not always a negative force. Planner 1 explained:

> But I think sometimes controversy and stuff can be a good thing, it might bring to light information we didn't have or we didn't know or we didn't have access to, things like that. It really is a flashpoint for the articulation of community heritage values. It's definitely when it comes out sometimes. And yeah, it has a place. It can be frustrating to be in it, for sure. And sometimes you feel like you can't win. But yeah, we can't get away from it. So we might as well work with it because it's going to happen regardless.

Planner 2 also acknowledged the importance of values in successful heritage planning, explaining that "trying to come to some kind of consensus about shared value and protecting shared value is really what these exercises are about." Identifying these values early on, and consistently referring back to them throughout the process to show how they are influencing decision-making, helps to manage controversy. This approach also helps mitigate the influence of NIMBYism, which in reality has little to do with heritage or heritage values.

Strong policies were also identified as effective tools for helping manage controversy. Planner 3 explained that their municipality had changed the political narrative around heritage completely by implementing strong incentives for developers to retain heritage buildings for adaptive reuse. Consequently, they did not even consider the priorities of redevelopment and heritage conservation to be in opposition to one another. Planner 1 mentioned citizen-led processes and proactive design guidelines as two strategies used by their municipality to create a strong heritage policy base.

3.3.4 Unsuccessful Strategies

Some planners also shared strategies that had not gone according to plan when implemented in their jurisdictions to help manage heritage projects. Planner 2 explained how previously, a heritage area within their municipality had guidelines which were very vague, and adherence was voluntary. This created a number of difficulties when attempting to administer these policies. The same planner also recounted how the message of "everyone must do their part" had been used to sell the idea of infill development to residents, which may not have been

the best approach: “because of that, it almost becomes a dogma that isn't, I don't feel like, necessarily informed by evidence-based decision making.” As a result of this strategy, heritage areas garnered resentment from the wider community, because of the impression that certain neighbourhoods were being permitted to shirk their responsibility to the collective city. Planner 3 also shared how a heritage district in their jurisdiction has backfired, because instead of adaptively reusing buildings, massive additions were built that sometimes dwarfed the heritage buildings themselves. They also cautioned against forcing designations onto communities that do not desire them, which will only enflame tensions and provoke opposition from local residents.

3.4 Summary of Findings

Each research method used produced a distinct set of findings. The review of public statements associated with the HCD appeal hearing revealed that members of the public who were willing to openly express their views were overwhelmingly in favour of the designation. This distribution may reflect the coordinated efforts made by the Save 514 Wellington organization to mobilize community members. Appeal submissions also revealed several common desired outcomes for the HCD. Principal among these were the preservation of 514 Wellington, the protection of Crescentwood’s character defining elements, and strict controls on infill development, while economic uplift, and the fostering of civic pride appeared somewhat frequently as secondary objectives. Supporters of the HCD tended to value the neighbourhood’s built heritage not only for its aesthetic qualities, but also for its connections to narratives about Winnipeg’s identity as a city, and their own place within this identity. Opponents of the district were more concerned with possible losses in property value and infringement on their rights as homeowners, characterizing heritage advocates as a vocal minority. Antagonism towards opponents was common on both sides of the issue, but anger and mistrust felt towards the City of Winnipeg united both sides, albeit for differing reasons. Opponents of the HCD criticized the suspension of Jeff Thompson’s demolition permit, while supporters felt the City’s relationship with developers was too cozy.

Resident interviews allowed the researcher to delve into the motivations behind public reactions to the HCD in greater detail. All five Crescentwood residents who agreed to be interviewed were broadly supportive of the designation, although one expressed some misgivings about the potential costs homeowners might incur as a result of the HCD. Residents noted that the designation process had brought the community closer together, but also made them more

cynical about working with the City of Winnipeg, in light of the demolition and rezoning of 514 Wellington. Several residents outlined what they perceived as systemic issues within the City of Winnipeg, including a lack of community consultation and transparency in decision making, and the influence wielded by land developers. Some interviewees suggested this collective frustration was also fuelling their efforts to see the designation through to completion, along with their strong community spirit. This closeness was the result, in part, of previous successful heritage conservation projects undertaken by residents, which empowered the community and gave them the confidence to advocate for their vision for the neighbourhood. Following the demolition of 514 Wellington, the preservation of character-defining elements and infill control emerged as the most prominent desired outcomes for the HCD, with some interviewees also touting potential economic benefits.

Planning professionals were interviewed to contextualize Crescentwood within wider heritage conservation trends, and to gain insights on how associated controversy can be successfully managed. Although each planner answered from a unique perspective, some common ideas were laid out. Heritage projects tend to be most controversial when they affect large numbers of people, are located in a residential area, or concern a heritage asset that many in the public feel strongly connected to. The public often interprets heritage designations in extreme ways, believing restrictions will either stop homeowners from being able to change any aspect of their properties, or preserve all heritage assets in perpetuity. The reality of urban heritage districts sits in between these poles. Planners also cited NIMBYism as a serious threat to heritage exercises, explaining how it can shift the focus away from heritage values and distract from the core goals for the projects. Specific arguments for and against conservation are situational, but the common themes of declining property values and violation of property rights frequently are present. Planners pointed to strong, clear communication about goals, and expectations as essential to the heritage planning process, and explained the need to articulate a shared set of values that can be consistently referred back to when justifying decisions. Strong supportive policy also plays a key role in shaping narratives. Finally, when managed appropriately, controversy can support the heritage planning process if it can be used to define a community's heritage values more explicitly or clearly.

4.0 Discussion

Ultimately, the purpose of this case study is to both explore the effect that competing planning priorities and values can have on communities, and generate a series of high-level best practices, which planners can rely on to navigate controversial heritage planning projects like HCDs. The various participants in this study conceptualized this conflict between priorities differently. At the neighbourhood level, a number of written submissions associated with the 2019 appeal hearing for the nomination of the HCD interpreted this case as a single developer fighting against a community of heritage advocates, while others characterized the issue as a municipal policy failure that betrayed the desires and expectations of citizens. From the perspective of a neutral professional, Planner 2 referred to these kinds of controversies as" real tension[s] between the city's broader city building objectives and heritage management, which is also a city building objective", while the literature treats these conflicts as a symptom of metaphorical negotiations between the interests of various stakeholders, a struggle for cultural authority, or a reaction to protect a sense of community and identity (Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Ginzarly et al., 2019; Logan, 2012). To put these different understandings in dialogue with one another, the discussion of this study's findings is structured around the three key research questions which underpinned the entire research process, linking practice to theory and local circumstances to global knowledge to demonstrate the significance of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD.

4.1 Public Reaction to the Nomination of the Heritage Conservation District

The first goal for this study was simply to determine how the public responded to the nomination of Crescentwood HCD in a general sense, gauging the level of support for the application of the bylaw, and whether or not these reactions have evolved over time.

4.1.1 An Unbalanced Polarization

When considering all the data collected across both resident interviews and analysis of public submissions, there is evidence to suggest that the majority of Crescentwood residents supported the nomination, and possible designation, of their neighbourhood as a heritage conservation district. The public submissions offer somewhat circumstantial evidence supporting this interpretation. Some authors refer to themselves clearly as residents of the prospective HCD, while others identify themselves as "neighbourhood residents" or use otherwise vague language, making it difficult to discern whether or not they reside within the proposed boundary. Of the 12

written submissions which directly identify their authors as HCD residents, all expressed support for the HCD except for one. Of the other seven written submissions in opposition to the HCD, one was written by a commercial property owner whose land was excluded when the original boundary was altered, and the others either identified themselves as owning properties in areas adjacent to the proposed boundaries, or did not provide any indication as to their location. Of the oral submissions against the HCD, one was a former neighbourhood resident (who had also submitted a written statement), while two lived in nearby locations, and a final owned a rental property within the district.

The data collected during interviews provides stronger evidence suggesting that the majority of Crescentwood residents supported, and continue to support, the HCD. Without exception, all residents spoke about how the designation process had brought them and their neighbours closer together, beginning with the demolition threat to 514 Wellington and continuing forwards. "I would say, I'm just guessing here, but the vast majority of people in this neighborhood did not want that house torn down," explained Resident 1, who also noted that they did not get the impression that there were many people "dead set" against the HCD, based on their experiences attending public engagement sessions. Resident 4 held a similar point of view, stating that "maybe [the designation process] has turned some people away, but for the majority, I think it's brought us closer together." Resident 3 relayed that he had yet to meet a Crescentwood resident that didn't agree with the HCD being implemented. Overall, while determining the popularity of the possible HCD designation across the general public is beyond the capabilities of his research based on the available data, there is some evidence to suggest that the residents of Crescentwood were generally in favour of the HCD. This phenomenon, where heritage conservation unites a subsection of the population, has been previously identified by Shipley & Snyder (2013), who documented the "important role in social formation and community development" (p. 314) such designations can play.

Alternatively, the supporters of the HCD may have simply been better organized and more vocal than other members of the neighbourhood, creating an inflated perception of widespread support. The large presence of supporters at the appeal hearing may have been a sign of extremely effective grassroots activism on the part of Save 514 Wellington, who mobilized to speak against Jeff Thompson's plans for the site. Consequently, the hearing may have become an intimidating venue for residents with concerns about the heritage preservation exercise to air

their views. Interviewees were also unlikely to be completely impartial in their assessment of how many of their neighbours supported the designation, since they all approach the issue with a certain bias one way or the other. Therefore, while supporters of the HCD were undoubtedly most comfortable stating their positions publicly, this research cannot definitively state that the majority of Crescentwood residents support the HCD designation.

Although the distribution of support for the HCD within the neighbourhood does appear more heavily weighted in one direction, both those in support and opposed to the district clearly felt very strongly about the issue, which goes some way to explaining the degree of controversy generated by the process. To begin with, the Crescentwood HCD matches several of the criteria identified by the planning professionals as most likely to inflame tensions. As a large blanket designation, the HCD directly implicates a large number of people. Additionally, the designation would affect a residential neighbourhood, which tends to produce stronger reactions than designations in commercial areas. The frequent use of antagonistic language on the part of both supporters and detractors of the HCD throughout the written submissions further speaks to the strength of emotions that were provoked. Pejoratives such as “money-hungry” and “bullies” indicate how passions and emotions were inflamed on both sides of the debate. As Resident 2 explained: “Well, if you care about something, there’s going to appear to be conflict, right? If this wasn’t that important, nobody be doing it. If there wasn’t any reason, if we didn’t feel so strongly about saving our neighborhood, once it’s gone, it’s gone.” This reaction corelates with what Planner 2 has experienced in their own municipality: “heritage is always an emotional issue. And, you know, it brings out the best and worst in people in many regards.”

Furthermore, interview data suggests that these positions with respect to the potential district have remained relatively stable over a multi-year period, with four out of the five interviewees reporting they remained committed to the cause. Resident 1 even suggested their support for the HCD had increased since the designation process began, while Resident 4 noted they had developed a greater appreciation for built heritage as a result of participating in the process. In the case of Resident 5, they still remained generally supportive, despite having developed some concerns about the affordability and ethics of homeowners being potentially forced to maintain deteriorating properties. These findings are similar to those previously presented by Kovacs et al. (2008), who found that the majority of residents living in Kitchener, Ontario’s Upper Doon HCD were supportive of the district when designation first occurred, and

continued to be satisfied with living in a protected area 20 years after the area received heritage status.

4.1.2 Community Organization

Both in a historical and geographical sense, examples from other contexts have shown the importance for grassroots organizing to be structured and cohesive if heritage advocates are to be successful in pushing for significant heritage designations. Unified and coherent messaging, cooperation with external organizations, and a strong structure helps groups to raise wider awareness of the issue and pressure politicians (Born, 2017; Ginzarly et al., 2019). Although community organizing in Crescentwood around heritage issues did not begin with the nomination of the HCD, the continuation of this activism can nonetheless be considered a reaction to the possible designation.

The previous experience of restoring Peanut Park was mentioned by all five interviewees, who credited this collective effort as a key factor in the strong sense of community felt by the residents. This previous project also gave some residents practice at engaging with municipal government on planning matters, and empowered them to feel they had the authority to articulate a vision to the City for the community. Without this prior work, it is unlikely that the residents would have been able to coordinate the "Save 514 Wellington" campaign so effectively. Resident 2 shared that a large, organized committee of residents continues to work on preserving neighbourhood heritage, with specific roles such as spokesperson being formally designated. Members of the community have also coordinated with Heritage Winnipeg, and consulted with residents who spearheaded the designation of Winnipeg's first HCD Armstrong's Point. The degree to which the community mobilized to successfully pursue their heritage goals correlates with the existing literature.

4.2 Motivations and Arguments

Siravo (2015) argues that "an understanding of the views and expectations of residents and users is indispensable in appreciating the underlying causes of what does and does not work. It is also essential in charting any future course of action for the historic area" (p. 183). With this in mind, deconstructing the motivating factors behind the reactions of both those in favour and opposed to the HCD is a necessary step before best practices can be recommended. These underlying reasons will impact the way Winnipeggers continue to respond to the Crescentwood HCD, as well as potential future protected areas.

4.2.1 Key Desired Outcomes and Concerns

The majority of desired outcomes articulated by supporters of the HCD, as well as concerns raised by opponents of the designation, correspond to those identified in the literature as commonplace. Obviously, the preservation of the Gordon House at 514 Wellington, which was a top priority for many authors of written appeal hearing submissions, was a context-specific desired outcome. The fight to save the mansion became a flashpoint issue, drawing significant attention, and was a driver for the wider conservation effort. Generally, rationales for heritage conservation policies can be divided into the distinct categories of social, economic, environmental and urban planning, and aesthetic justification (Avrami et al., 2018). The principal groupings of desired outcomes for the Crescentwood HCD (civic pride, economic benefits, preservation of character-defining elements, and infill control) laid out by members of the public all contain elements which correspond either partially or completely with these justifications.

Drilling down into the specific reasons why individuals chose to the support the HCD reveals a narrowed focus when compared to Avrami et al.'s (2018) survey of New York City residents. Although Avrami et al.'s (2018) framework is broader than the one used in this study (they simply asked survey respondents to rank benefits of historic districts by importance, rather than desired outcomes for a specific location), there are some notable areas of overlap. Respondents to Avrami et al.'s (2018) survey ranked "protecting historic architecture and features" and "maintaining the aesthetic character of neighbourhoods" as most and third-most important respectively. These benefits correspond to the preservation of character-defining elements, the most common desired outcome identified across this study. New Yorkers also prioritized the "fostering of civic pride" and the "creation of a shared history or identity for NYC residents" moderately highly, in a similar fashion to Crescentwood HCD supporters, who saw this as a secondary benefit of the district.

Economic benefits such as "promoting tourism", "attracting new businesses or industries", and "increasing property values and/or rental rates" were rated amongst the lowest priorities for residents of New York, while supporters of the Crescentwood HCD cited economic benefits as a prominent desired outcome, though not as important as the preservation of character-defining elements (including 514 Wellington) or the control of infill development. In this regard, New York is perhaps more of an outlier than Crescentwood, since the study of the economic impacts of large heritage designations, particularly on property values, has frequently

been undertaken (Coulson and Leichenko, 2004; Kovacs et al, 2008; Kovacs et al, 2015; Oba & Noonan, 2020; Ryberg-Webster & Kinahan, 2014; Shipley et al, 2011). The depth of scholarship on this topic suggests some interest beyond academic circles, and the overall prominence of economic uplift as a planning priority is likely higher than Avrami et al.'s findings suggest. This assumption is supported by Planner 3's observation that heritage designations are often supporting for their capacity to help an area leverage its unique "brand' to promote economic growth. Additionally, "managing change of the built environment" was a moderate priority for Avrami et al.'s (2018) survey respondents, yet was a key desired outcome in the Crescentwood case, where many supporters sought to control infill development. Planner 1 also identified the prevention of neighbourhood change as a motivator which they encounter regularly in their own professional practice.

Another key difference concerns the supposed environmental/sustainable development benefits that can accompany a neighbourhood-wide heritage designation. New Yorkers ranked the "promotion of sustainable development" 12th out of 28 priorities, while in Crescentwood, this was not a priority at all. Only a single written submission mentioned how preserving old homes reduces waste and resource consumption, and this point was an aside to their main arguments. Unfortunately, there is relatively little other scholarship that examines how the public prioritizes heritage conservation goals, and so the comparison between the desired outcomes for Crescentwood and those for other designations is limited. Overall, Crescentwood aligns with New York City with respect to the highest priorities for the designation of historic districts, the preservation of character-defining elements. However, supporters of the HCD did not articulate as broad a range of desired outcomes, and placed much greater importance on infill control and economic outcomes. This, perhaps, indicates the effectiveness of the resident-led community organization at coordinating their messaging and identifying key talking points or issues. These findings also speak to Planner 3's point that to a certain degree, arguments for and against heritage preservation vary by context, and that over-generalization is not necessarily a suitable way to analyze the positions of affected individuals.

The literature suggests that critics of heritage districts view them as one of the most extreme possible land use policies, which infringe upon private property rights (Avrami, 2018; Coulson & Leichenko, 2004). Kovacs et al. (2008) suggest this point of view is much more common in North America, where heritage professionals are given less power to designate

structures for protection, and individuals are less inclined to interpret a designation as a community asset. Instead, heritage recognition is viewed as excessive bureaucratic restriction that limits the freedoms enjoyed by homeowners. Ochsner (2017) also notes the longstanding tension between infill and heritage conservation, with districts facing increasing pressure to accommodate growth. All planners interviewed reported encountering these same types of arguments in their own jurisdictions, with residents fearful that they will be barred from making any changes to their homes, and that restrictions will cause property values to plummet because of their newfound undesirability. Planner 2 explained that in their municipality, where infill developers have significant political influence, heritage is seen as a threat to infill goals, while Planner 3 noted that opponents also sometimes suggest that structures are undeserving of heritage status for a variety of reasons.

These concerns were clearly reflected in the findings generated from the analysis of written and oral submissions, showing that the Crescentwood HCD provoked fairly typical opposition. Multiple submissions decried the perceived loss of rights for homeowners to decide what happens on their property, and expressed fear that homes would both become difficult to sell and lose value because of the HCD. Interestingly, business owners made up a significant portion of the authors whose submissions opposed the district. Furthermore, most of them owned rental properties or condominium complexes in and around the district. These individuals were particularly concerned about the delays and extra costs the HCD might add to the process of developing land, and argued that restrictions against property rights in this way were unlawful, correlating with common sentiments identified in the literature. Only a small number of opponents made a strong case for infill as a policy goal, or explained why they felt densification was an important goal for the City of Winnipeg. Instead many chose to malign the project's backers as elitists, bullies, or a vocal minority of NIMBYs who were trying to impose their will on others.

4.2.2 NIMBYism

Although there is a substantial body of literature that considers the social implications of designating a historic district, most adopt a gentrification-based lens, examining how designation might force vulnerable residents out of their neighbourhoods by raising property values and rents (Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Born, 2017; Coulson & Leichenko, 2004; De Cesari & Dimova, 2019; Grevstad-Nordbrock & Vojnovic, 2019; Logan, 2012; Oba & Noonan, 2020). This may be

because, as identified by Ryberg-Webster (2016), conservation advocates have turned their focus towards working-class, low-income, and minority/immigrant neighbourhoods to counter previous accusations of elitism and exclusionary practices. Avrami et al. (2018) studied how conservation movements can become more diverse and speak to a wider audience, while Planner 2 also noted that more and more, heritage conservation is being viewed as somewhat of an undesirable exclusive practice within their own planning department. These approaches are not particularly useful in understanding the Crescentwood HCD because, simply put, Crescentwood was already an extremely wealthy neighbourhood before any discussion of designating the area as a HCD began. Featuring extremely large lot sizes, and multi-million-dollar homes, there is no conceivable way the area could be gentrified. Although the proposed development at the site of 514 Wellington was multi-family, these were high-end condominiums meant for wealthy occupants.

Despite many of the submissions and residents' interviews expressing valid and relevant sentiments about heritage preservation, the number of authors opposing the demolition of 514 Wellington, either completely or partially, because they do not want condominiums in their neighbourhood does suggest that a certain degree of NIMBYism informed the reactions of some individuals. The potential for veiled NIMBYism to disrupt heritage conservation efforts has been well- documented through this research, particularly by Planner 2, who stated:

> Certainly NIMBYism informs these exercises. And you know, in my experience, it's also one of the potential biggest threats to these exercises. I don't know what your council is like in Winnipeg, but here there is a huge focus on building inclusive communities: mixed income, mixed in every way and providing the opportunity for that. And when you have people that are kind of trying to hide a NIMBY perspective behind the heritage conservation perspective, it really risks derailing the exercise. So as a project manager, a lot of your time is spent trying to undermine the NIMBY perspective while keeping it firmly focused on, you know, heritage considerations, you know. Oftentimes, it can be quite contentious.

Although not touched upon at great length, Avrami et al. (2018) do speak to this same concept, acknowledging how conservation laws can be co-opted to serve NIMBY goals, particularly as infill and heritage are often at odds (Oschner, 2017). In Crescentwood, elements of NIMBYism have become so intertwined with heritage considerations that separating them in

almost impossible. NIMBYism can take many forms, and is sometimes motivated by racial or class tensions. In the case of Crescentwood, the NIMBYism was rooted in emotional connections to identity narratives which led some members of the public to be resistant to change, rather than race or socioeconomic factors. Members of the public did not express concerns about the disruptive effects of "renters", a term often used to disguise discriminatory views towards potential new neighbourhood residents, or otherwise use language that might suggest prejudicial attitudes. The sentiments of the public were instead expressed through disdain for "modern architecture" and condominiums. The discourse around the designation has evolved in such a way that the preservation of the neighbourhood's character-defining elements and the control or even banning of infill development are treated as a singular issue in many cases, rather than two separate priorities. For example, the following submission implies a dichotomy that suggests the only way to preserve the neighbourhood's character-defining elements is through strong infill controls:

> Crescentwood needs to be protected against further development that will destroy it's charm as a heritage neighbourhood. I watch with sorrow as more and more of these beautiful old houses are torn down and replaced by condominiums and concrete "compounds" that have already taken over the majority of the city.

In reality, examples such as Seattle's Pioneer Square Historic District, and the insights provided by planning professionals prove that preserving important character elements is possible, while also allowing for a certain amount of growth to respond to a city's modern needs. As will be addressed in subsequent sections, the opportunity to make this distinction in Crescentwood was largely lost.

4.2.3 Identity Narratives and Cultural Values

Heritage, and its worth to a city, is ultimately decided by cultural values (Kovacs et al., 2008). What is deemed worthy of conservation is often a function of a society's "demands, values, and interpretations" (Shipley & Snyder, 2013, p. 307). The ability to influence these determinations denotes a certain kind of social power, especially since the sites being chosen for conservation inevitably convey a certain historical perspective, telling a particular story with a clearly defined scope (Logan, 2012; Rodgers et al., 2018). Conservation movements have been criticized for promoting elitist identity narratives that erase the experiences of more marginalized groups, and their capacity to accidently produce or reproduce social divisions within a

community based around these narratives has been documented by other researchers (Beeksma & De Cesari, 2019; Rodgers at al., 2018). James (2013) explains how in Australia, indigenous groups have historically been excluded from conversations and policy decisions regarding urban heritage because they are stereotypically associated with the outback and the country's past, rather than with urban areas and the future. The decisions being made through the urban planning process reinforced these identity narratives. Narratives attached to heritage conservation can also be more general in nature, as suggested by De Cesari and Dimova (2019) when they commented that governments "espouse that heritage can cure a multitude of social ills and produce 'good citizens' who are rooted, civilised, and respectful of the public good" (p. 864).

The findings generated from this research identified multiple identity narratives at play within Crescentwood, which were foundational to why many members of the public valued built heritage and supported the HCD designation, each telling a particular story. Some members of the public wanted to preserve Crescentwood because of the prominence the neighbourhood affords the City on the national stage, reinforcing the narrative that other major Canadian cities do not respect Winnipeg. For the residents of Crescentwood, the heritage elements within their community have come to symbolize the strong bonds between neighbours, and the collective efforts they have made to shape the neighbourhood to reflect their collective vision. For them, heritage is the physical embodiment of the intangibles that make Crescentwood such an enjoyable place to live. As Resident 5 explained:

> [I] never thought I would get here, to be able to live in the neighborhood and [I] left and lived in Montreal and Toronto and chose to come back to Manitoba. And in that choice, was this still the dream of living in Crescentwood near Peanut Park. [...] It's just the most amazing place that I've ever lived as far as health and wellbeing and peace of like, really good life quality.

The other major narrative at play connects Crescentwood's built heritage to a romanticized notion of Winnipeg's past, as exemplified in the following submission:

> In the early part of the last century there was a major push to make Winnipeg one of the great cities of Canada. People came to the city, at great risk to themselves, their fortunes and their families, to relocate and invest in Winnipeg. Crescentwood was the original "field of dreams." They built magnificent homes. They hired the best architects, used the best materials and employed the finest

> craftsmen. They built glorious monuments of architecture that were made to last, surrounded by farmland. The homeowners of Crescentwood were captains of industry, politicians, educators and business people. These grand homes were meant to entertain and court future business, world leaders and even royalty in an effort to showcase Winnipeg, bringing our city to the world stage. Along with the privilege of success, the founding families of Crescentwood also understood the responsibility of wealth, shaping the future Winnipeg through their commitment to charity and generous philanthropy. Without their faith, bravery and belief in what Winnipeg could become, this city, our city, would not be what it is today.

This narrative, and the cultural values attached, argues for preservation based on the veneration of previous societal elites, the kind of logic which has been heavily criticized in the past (Rodgers at al., 2018). Furthermore, the narrative presents an extremely limited understanding of the past, which is more or less inaccurate from a historical perspective. The narrative whitewashes Winnipeg's colonial origins, the role of Indigenous people in the area, and the role these elites played in the Winnipeg General Strike, for example. In an effort to present a palatable myth that provides sufficient justification for the preservation of Crescentwood's built heritage, this submission, and others like it, erase history as much as they preserve it. In this respect, the Crescentwood HCD replicates some of the more problematic elements associated with the designation of historic districts identified in the literature.

This is not to discount the value of being able to connect to the past through built heritage, and the importance of leaving a legacy for future generations. Heritage does enrich the quality of urban life, and provide benefits to all residents of a city. To a degree, these elements do in fact point to a collective history that citizens of Winnipeg are all part of, but this history is complex and multi-faceted, and continues to evolve. These considerations provide partial answers as to why the Crescentwood HCD process proved to be so controversial, evoking such a passionate response from all stakeholders. The preservation of built heritage is a deeply personal subject, connecting to how individuals fundamentally understand the identities of their neighbourhoods and their cities, and their own identities within these places.

4.2.4 Lack of Faith in Institutions

Both supporters and opponents of the Crescentwood HCD did not have confidence in the City of Winnipeg to act properly in the situation, and still do not, leading to increased tension

and controversy throughout the process. Several scholars note the key role that governments play in mediating heritage designations. Siravo (2015) states that:

> It is important that the institution in charge be perceived as a non-partisan organisation capable of acting in the general interest and giving fair consideration to the needs and expectations of all the different parties concerned. A public institution is in the best position to subordinate short-term or individual interests to superior considerations, such as the preservation of open areas – a scarce commodity in urban centres – or structures of architectural significance.

Statements made in both appeal submissions and interviews suggest the City of Winnipeg fell short in this regard. Opponents of the designation took issue with the way Jeff Thompson's demolition permit was suspended hours before 514 Wellington was scheduled to come down, characterizing the decision as secretive and arbitrary. Some submissions described the situation as an example of political pressure influencing decisions that should be based solely on policy, while one member of the public who spoke before the standing committee implied that the circumstances surrounding the suspension were evidence of corruption. Some homeowners also criticized the City for not providing sufficient information as to how the designation would affect their properties, demonstrating how a perceived lack of transparency influenced public reactions to the HCD.

On the other hand, similar criticisms were expressed by supporters of the HCD, many of whom accused the city of giving developers carte blanche, neglecting their duty to protect heritage and instead prioritizing financial concerns only. One submission, for example, complained that "many errors have been made in the history of Winnipeg, in allowing fast-talking developers, touting progress, only focused on their own financial gains, to bulldoze prime examples of historic buildings that should have remained standing." Resident 2 also expressed anger about how city officials dealt with developers, in this case regarding the rezoning of the 514 Wellington site:

> But as it is now, the developer spends all this time and reworks his plans and hires architects and works with the planner. And they're there like this [fingers crossed]. They're totally on the same page by the end of it. We saw that in our meeting yesterday. The city planner, was selling the project using the developer's

> own words, not talking about the fact that, you know, 90 percent or 95 percent of the neighborhood totally disagreed with it.

Interviewees were also distressed with how, in their view, developers were permitted to lie or bend the truth regarding certain projects without any punishment, because of the relationship between them and the City. Resident 5 suggested, similarly to the opponents of the designation, that the City operates in an intentionally secretive manner. Furthermore, several written submissions argued that the city does not adequately involve the community when making decisions on heritage, a position that was echoed by certain interviewees. “If these other people are going to be making decisions, they should be listening to us. They don't listen to us. They don't know much about us. I feel in this case, most of them likely don't really care about this little area or know enough about it,” explained Resident 1. Interviewees also criticized City of Winnipeg planning processes for lacking transparency and not being user-friendly, saying the push for the HCD felt like the last resort to get politicians to take their concerns seriously. Several residents reported that engaging with the City of Winnipeg had made them cynical about planning, and they no longer trust the City to make planning decisions. In some cases, the lack of clarity provided by the City with regards to the review of the Heritage Resources By-law further exacerbated these negative views.

This sense of frustration and mistrust on both sides raised tensions and made meaningful dialogue about the key issues difficult. Exasperation also pushed members of the public to take a more active role in advocating for their own positions, bringing them into conflict with one another. As observed by Ginzarly et al. (2019), “when the regulatory framework fails to legitimate and protect many aspects of the urban heritage, and the local community is alienated by the government's approach to urban development [...] civil society starts to enforce its engagement in decision-making and heritage governance at the neighborhood and other local levels to protect their sense of community and identity.” Because both sides felt that the local government was either biased or incompetent and could not be trusted. they articulated strong positions that contributed to the polarized, and therefore controversial, nature of the discourse. Tensions also increase when legally protected heritage does not align with heritage recognized by the community, where citizens feel their voices are not being heard (Ginzarly, 2019).

4.3 Best Practices for Navigating Controversy

Controversy, as explained by the planning professionals who participated in the interviews, is inevitable in heritage planning. “You just can't avoid it because it's just the way you know people are, especially in cities when we all live on top of each other, it's just going to happen. There's going to be competing priorities and things like that,” explained Planner 1, while Planner 2 argued that political processes, such as heritage designations, inherently carry conflict no matter the context. Likely, future heritage district designations, whether in Winnipeg or elsewhere, will generate levels of controversy similar to Crescentwood. The value in understanding both how people reacted to the designation, and why they behaved in the ways they did, is that this knowledge can be used to suggest ways that planners can navigate these tensions more effectively. Controversy is not necessarily a negative. Ginzarly (2019) argues that controversies are an opportunity to build deeper knowledge of local heritage values, a point of view shared by Planner 1:

> But I think sometimes controversy and stuff can be a good thing, it might bring to light information we didn't have or we didn't know or we didn't have access to, things like that. It really is a flashpoint for the articulation of community heritage values. It's definitely when it comes out sometimes. And yeah, it has a place. It can be frustrating to be in it, for sure. And sometimes you feel like you can't win. But we can't get away from it. So we might as well work with it because it's going to happen regardless.

Rather than attempting to minimize controversy, planners would be better served to manage local tensions so that passions can be channeled in a productive manner that ends up benefiting all stakeholders. Crescentwood was an example of a heritage designation that allowed tensions to get out of hand, instead of using them to spur positive change. In analyzing where mistakes were made, the following best practices can be proposed, for the benefit of Winnipeg and other municipalities in Canada.

4.3.1 Keep the Focus on Heritage Values

In their interview, Planner 2 explained their strategy for undercutting NIMBYism when working on heritage designations. Because values are ultimately at the root of why built heritage is preserved, Planner 2 recommended coming to a consensus about shared values with all stakeholders early in the process, and centering these values throughout the exercise. While

conflict may still emerge when parties disagree about how these values should be protected, setting these priorities provides common ground that helps keep the focus on strictly heritage priorities. Planner 2 emphasized that when ulterior motives such as NIMBYism co-opt the heritage planning process, success becomes more difficult to achieve.

The Crescentwood HCD represented an opportunity for members of the public, politicians, and civil servants to engage in a dialogue about how heritage can fit in with other city building objectives such as densification and increased infill housing. Instead, the discourse became unnecessarily adversarial, with stakeholders becoming sidetracked by issues beyond heritage. Using HCDs to stop the proliferation of condominiums in the city, irrespective of their aesthetic qualities or other downsides, would be an inappropriate use of a valuable heritage policy tool. Yet many written submissions noted this as one of their desired outcomes of the Crescentwood designation. Elements of NIMBYism became impossible to separate from legitimate concerns about built heritage, because the public was not clear on the values motivating the project. An inordinate amount of focus was also placed on a single property, 514 Wellington, with some supporters not seeming to understand the wider implications of what an HCD would mean for Crescentwood. The amount of animosity between the developer and residents of the neighbourhood, while understandable, made the issue a personal one for many individuals. Because of these distractions, Crescentwood failed to move the conversation in Winnipeg about heritage conservation forward in a meaningful way, despite the district itself nearing full designation.

4.3.2 Communicate Effectively and Avoid Losing Control of the Narrative

Planners 1 and 2 both explained that open communication with stakeholders and strong public engagement are vital to successfully navigating controversial designation. The former explained their approach by saying:

> Good community engagement is really, really key. I know some of my colleagues who are dealing with the housing stuff have lately been doing a lot of “lunch and learns” and community outreach programs to try and help people feel like they've been heard, but also to kind of explain why we're doing what we're doing and what it actually means for our neighborhood, as opposed to what people assume it means for a neighborhood. [...] So just really open communication and dialog and

> really making sure that anything we're putting out that's publicly available is really clear of what is going to happen and why.

Many Winnipeg residents did not seem to have a clear understanding of what a HCD designation actually entailed, which points to a breakdown in communication. Two opponents wrote in their appeal submissions that they not been given enough information about how the designation would affect their properties, making supporting the nomination difficult. Several other opponents stated how they believed the designation would lower property levels, despite the presence of several studies demonstrating that the opposite is true (Coulson and Leichenko, 2004; Kovacs et al, 2008; Kovacs et al, 2015; Oba & Noonan, 2020; Shipley et al, 2011). The City was also criticized for a general lack of transparency from all sides of the HCD debate. The perception that business is conducted under the table at City Hall extends far beyond the matter of the HCD, with roots in other scandals. In early 2022, for example, former City of Winnipeg chief administrative officer Phil Sheegl was found guilty of accepting a bribe of over $300,000 relating to the development of Winnipeg's new police headquarters (Kives et al., 2022). This case study demonstrates how this general impression, created by a series of high-profile incidents, can be detrimental to the success of individual projects. Better dialogue with stakeholders may have improved trust in the City of Winnipeg, and countered instinctive assumptions which were taken as fact without evidence-based information.

Planner 2 also noted that communicating clearly can help set boundaries for the project and define the exercise's scope, keeping the focus on heritage values:

> What I mean by that is communication that [explains], "No, this is not an anti in-fill exercise. This is a heritage exercise. We will be seeking to preserve heritage value while allowing for development opportunity, redevelopment, because that's just part of the broader process in the evolution of these places", right? This isn't about, you know, this place isn't static. It's dynamic. It needs to change through time. It needs to adapt to new challenges, new opportunities. And so we're going to reflect that.

Creating an understanding amongst stakeholders of why conservation must compromise with wider planning goals is another communications goal identified by Planner 2. Proper

communication can also help opponents of heritage conservation comprehend how the protection of unique areas within a city can provide value to all residents, not just those living within the neighbourhood. By controlling the narrative through the sharing of pertinent information with all parties, planners can set the tone for the designation process and effectively manage conflict. In Crescentwood, a lack of information led to an unhelpful polarization, which played out in the media. The stakeholders themselves were in control of the narratives surrounding the project, reinforcing information that was not always accurate and complicating the entire process.

4.3.3 Build on Strong Policy

Of all the planning professionals interviewed, Planner 3 was the only one who felt that there was no tension in their municipality between heritage conservation and development goals. They attributed this planning climate to the strong policies enacted in their municipality, which incentivized developers to adaptively reuse heritage buildings rather than demolish them, changing the political narrative around the issue. The findings from this research demonstrate that supportive policy has the unique ability to reframe heritage issues and manage controversy effectively. Several of the HCD's opponents at the appeal hearing expressed surprise that Winnipeg was not offering any tax credits or other incentives to homeowners in order to help cover the extra costs associated with maintaining an older heritage building.

Many other jurisdictions have used financial incentives to ensure their heritage policies are implemented successfully and goals are met. As Shipley & Snyder (2013) point out, the survival of built heritage is ultimately dependant on its economic viability. The literature provides several examples of successful policies that accomplish this objective. Grevstad-Nordbrock& Vojnovic's (2019) case study of Chicago's Lincoln Park neighbourhood demonstrates the how rehabilitation tax credits and low-income housing tax credits can be implemented simultaneously to protect heritage while avoiding gentrification. Renne & Listokin (2019) present a variety of examples from across the United States of how subsidies and tax credits, such as tax-increment financing, are used to encourage the synergistic coupling of transit-oriented development and heritage conservation.

Although economic policies are used here as an example, supportive policy can take a variety of forms, and may depend on what certain groups of stakeholders value most. Planner 1 mentioned that in their municipality, implementing proactive design guidelines helped to decrease the amount of controversy over heritage conservation and reduce the occurrence of

conflicts. These guidelines apply across heritage districts in Planner 1's jurisdiction, and are public-facing, helping developers to understand what design elements specifically must be present in new builds before they even begin their application. Planner 1 explained that having these clear policies to fall back on helps to counter the concerns of all stakeholders, whether they are looking to develop land or preserve heritage buildings. Enacting stronger policies and governance frameworks based on the results of public engagement, or in recognition of common issues that create conflict over heritage designations, may have helped the City of Winnipeg manage the controversy more effectively, or reshape the narrative all together.

5.0 Conclusions

The ongoing process of designating Winnipeg's Crescentwood-Enderton Park Heritage Conservation District encapsulates the unique characteristics that make heritage planning a challenging yet worthwhile pursuit. The management of built heritage is not simply an exercise in regulating development and land use, but also represents the stewardship of a community's own identity. Dismissing the controversy surrounding the HCD as simply the sign of an entitled minority making their voices heard, or a greedy developer looking to turn a quick profit, would be both overly simplistic and incorrect. Rather, the contention is indicative of a conflict of values and goals for the city which has yet to be resolved. The need to move forward and the desire to be able to look back, the fight to preserve and the push to develop, are forces playing out across every urban area in the world. Both are valid and necessary. A city with no heritage is one without an identity, while a city without renewal and redevelopment is a city that is decaying. Balancing these forces is therefore necessary, achieving a measure of harmony that reconciles heritage conservation with wider planning goals in a reasonable way. Tensions and controversy offer opportunities to assess, reassess, and change this balance in response to current paradigms. Although in the case of Crescentwood, the controversy was not effectively managed to generate discussion based on heritage values and planning priorities, analysing how the public conflict played out shows what can be done in the future to encourage a more productive debate. Ultimately, the overly antagonistic atmosphere between opponents, amplified by frustrations with the City of Winnipeg and the influence of NIMBYism, prevented this heritage exercise from fulfilling its potential.

This study began by posing three key research questions, creating a framework for the subsequent analysis of research data. The first of these asked *how have members of the public responded to the nomination/designation of Winnipeg's Crescentwood neighbourhood as a Heritage Conservation District*? In analysing public records and conducting interviews with residents of the neighbourhood, some research data suggested that the majority of the residents were supportive of the designation and have remained so since the process began in 2019, although these findings were not conclusive. The strong grassroots campaign to protect 514 Wellington and Crescentwood's other heritage homes likely played a part in the amount of public support the HCD received. Although many HCD supporters have become more cynical about the planning process over time, especially since the demolition and rezoning of 514

Wellington, their resolve to see the neighbourhood's character-defining elements protected has not diminished. The supporters of the designation have, over the course of the past several years, demonstrated a high degree of organization and coordination, allowing them to better advocate for their position. The mobilization has also brought the community closer together.

On the other hand, despite seemingly much fewer in number, the members of the public opposed to the HCD felt equally strongly that the designation should not go ahead. Although a significant portion of those expressing opposition in the public record had business interests in and around the proposed district, other were simply residents within the community who had procedural or material concerns about the possible designation. At times, the two groups acted antagonistically towards one another, a symptom of the HCD's polarizing nature.

Secondly, this study asked *what are the motivating factors which contributed to the public response to the designation of the Crescentwood HCD*?. A variety of desired outcomes for the HCD were identified through an evaluation of statements made by the district's supporters. Among these, the desire to save the Gordon House at 514 Wellington from demolition, the preservation of the neighbourhood' s character defining elements, and the control of infill housing in the area featured most prominently. The HCD's opponents made arguments against the designation that both academic literature and planning professionals found to be fairly common, expressing concern over infringement on private property rights, potential declines in property values, extra costs being imposed on homeowners, and unnecessary bureaucracy. Some opponents criticized the supporters of the HCD for giving in to NIMBYism, an accusation that was not completely baseless, since some members of the public seemed more concerned about the potential for condominium development than the articulation of heritage values.

Heritage is a profoundly emotional subject. For many people, historic buildings connect directly to their understanding of their own personal identities as urban citizens. Many members of the public connected the character-defining elements of Crescentwood to their interpretations of Winnipeg's foundational myths, or the neighbourhood's identity on the national scale. This contributed to their investment in the outcome of the designation process, and, in doing so, they fed into some of the most pertinent criticism of preservation raised by the literature, namely that the pursuit focuses on an elitist and narrow interpretation of the past that obscures marginalized groups.

Another factor contributing to the controversy surrounding the HCD was a perception from all sides that the City of Winnipeg could not be trusted to manage the situation properly. Both supporters and opponents of the designation argued the City was engaged in dubious procedural practices, did not consult enough with stakeholders, was not transparent enough in their decision-making, and was biased towards their opponents. Some went as far to suggest there were elements of corruption at play, accusing their opponents of unscrupulously exerting influence over politicians and civil servants. Because they felt alienated by decision-makers, the public sought to enforce their interpretation of heritage on their own terms, increasing controversy across the board.

The final research question driving this study forward asked *what are best practices for navigating public controversy when designating future HCDs* (whether in Winnipeg or elsewhere in Canada)? The data generated through interviews with planning professionals was used to identify areas where the Crescentwood designation process fell short in this regard, and suggest best practices which could prevent the same situations from developing again. Best practices that emerged from this process include keeping the focus of these exercises firmly on heritage values, and avoiding the distractions caused by NIMBYism. Defining these shared values through stakeholder dialogue early in the process is vital, demonstrating the importance of effective communication. Explaining to stakeholders the realities of what an HCD is, and why the designation needs to compromise with other planning objectives using an evidence-based approach, can help planners control the narrative. In doing so, controversy becomes a way for community heritage values to be articulated, instead of a drag on the process itself. Finally, strong responsive policies should be used as a base to build on, because they have the capacity to reframe debates and codify the balance between competing priorities.

5.1 Next Steps

The Crescentwood-Enderton Park Heritage Conservation District case unites several strands of planning theory and literature, and has the potential to be studied from several different angles. For example, approaching this same case study from a quantitative perspective, and using surveys or similar methods to determine the actual rates of public support for the HCD amongst both Crescentwood residents and the general public, would lead to a different set of findings. This study chose to focus specifically on the perceptions and views of the prospective district's residents in a qualitative manner which prioritized sounding out as many points of view

as possible. The best practices prescribed through an analysis of these opinions, supported by the insights of a small number of planning professionals, are extremely high-level and generalized, because they are not based on any substantive policy research and do not have a quantitative grounding. In their current form, they would be difficult to implement as any sort of concrete policy or guideline. There is a gap between these overarching principles and the desired on-the-ground outcomes which they are designed to achieve.

More research on Canadian heritage districts is needed from a policy perspective to help bridge this divide. The existing scholarship on Canadian HCDs focuses exclusively on Ontario, and more crucially, is heavily focused on outcomes, without sufficient attention given to how these results were achieved in the first place (Kovacs et al., 2008; Kovacs et al., 2015; Shipley et al., 2011; Shipley & Snyder, 2013). The interviews conducted with planning professionals indicate that heritage planning environments vary vastly among provinces and municipalities. For Planner 3, the tension between conservation and development was a non-issue, while for Planner 2 this conflict was central to their work. The legal frameworks for conservation in Canada and the United States are very different, making research being undertaken internationally of limited value to Canadian municipalities looking for specific policy-based solutions to heritage conservation dilemmas. Simply put, more research on Canadian heritage districts from across the country, particularly from a policy perspective, is needed to help the City of Winnipeg implement the best practices identified and ultimately improve the way designations of HCDs are managed in the future. Further studies should consider the implications of heritage districts holistically, looking at the interactions among social, economic, and political factors, rather than considering them in isolation. This case study has demonstrated the interconnectedness and complexity of heritage conservation, and future research should reflect these findings.

5.2 Final Thoughts

As densification continues to be a priority for cities across Canada, questions about how this goal can be achieved while also protecting heritage buildings and neighbourhoods will inevitably become more frequently posed. Although planners are required to balance competing values frequently in their day-to-day practice, heritage planning in the current moment presents a particularly complex challenge. The capacity for threats to heritage structures to evoke strong emotional responses means that a well-developed, coherent approach to conservation exercises is

essential. Navigating and managing public controversy regarding these sensitive issues is crucial to creating the best urban environments possible, ones planned in a coordinated manner, while also ensuring citizens have the opportunity to participate in the processes shaping their neighbourhoods.

Examples such as Crescentwood allow both practitioners and academics to learn how to address these complicated issues more effectively, by studying how the situation went astray. A one-size-fits-all solution to heritage planning controversy is not practical or desirable, as each conflict is a product of local dynamics. The role of planners within these situations is to apply their expertise where needed, helping to negotiate a balance between competing goals by setting strategies and guiding the application of policy. Listening to public sentiment, and consulting meaningfully with local residents, is a fundamental part of this process. However, simply acquiescing in the face of public resistance is not an acceptable solution, and would create chaos. Policy should be based on a coherent vision for what a city can achieve and become in the future, integrating planning knowledge and public input. This vision, in turn, can serve as a guide for creating compromise between conflicting planning values when issues arise. When managed correctly, controversy can help to define this vision for all stakeholders, including planners and the public alike.

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Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Interview Questions (Crescentwood Residents):

1) May I have your permission to record this interview?
2) How long have you been a resident in the neighbourhood, and how would you describe it?
    - Possible follow-up: do you enjoy living in Crescentwood?
3) How did you first come to be aware of the possibility of Crescentwood being designated as a Heritage Conservation District?
    - Possible follow up: How involved were you with the designation effort?
4) What are your personal views on the process of designating of Crescentwood as a Heritage Conservation District?
    - Possible follow-up: Why do you feel this way about the designation?
5) Have your views on the designation changed over time, and if so, what caused them to change?
6) What has been your impression of the way the designation has been portrayed in the media? How do you feel it has influenced the designation process?
    - Possible follow-up: do you feel like your own position on the HCD has been given a voice in the media coverage?
7) Do you think the designation process has had a significant effect on the community? If so, can you describe these effects?
8) The designation has generated significant controversy. What is your view on this controversy overall, and its role in the planning process, following your experiences as a Crescentwood resident?
    - Possible follow-up: What lessons do you hope have been taken by government from this experience? What about by the members of the community?

Interview Questions (Planning Professionals):

1) May I have your permission to record this interview?
2) Tell me a bit about your job?
3) What sort of arguments do you frequently encounter in support of and in objection to heritage conservation measures?
    - Possible follow-up: how do you respond to these arguments, and are they to be taken at face value, or do you believe there are potentially ulterior motives behind them?
4) Based on your experience why do certain heritage conservation projects draw strong reactions from the public?
5) How has NIMBYism shaped your professional experiences with heritage planning?
    - Possible follow-up: what other ways have you seen tensions regarding heritage conservation manifest itself at the neighbourhood level?

6) What are some strategies you employ when working on sensitive projects to help navigate public controversy?
7) Is there a role for public controversy within the planning process, especially with regards to heritage?
8) How does the media influence public controversy in heritage planning?
9) How can cities balance heritage conservation and current development needs?
    - Possible follow-up: how do you think planners can help to negotiate this balance?
10) Are you familiar with the Crescentwood HCD in Winnipeg? If so, what is your professional opinion on the situation which has developed surrounding its designation?

Appendix B: Research Information Sheet

INFO SHEET

CITY 7050 CITY PLANNING CAPSTONE PROJECT
Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture
(Course Instructor: Dr. Rae Bridgman)

Name of Student: Matthew Gowdar

Title of Project: The Once and Future City: Conflicts over Heritage Conservation District Designation in Winnipeg's Crescentwood Neighbourhood

Summary of Project: This research features a case study of how the tensions between preserving an urban area's valuable built heritage, and responding to its current needs for development, can manifest themselves at the community level. The designation of Winnipeg's Crescentwood neighbourhood as a Heritage Conservation District (HCD) has been an extremely controversial process thus far. Through an analysis of written and oral submissions presented to the City of Winnipeg on this topic (appeal hearings, etc.), supplemented by interviews with key informants, this research will demonstrate the polarizing potential of heritage conservation, and illuminate best practices to reduce conflict when a HCD is designated in the future. For more information on the Crescentwood-Enderton Park HCD, visit the following link: https://engage.winnipeg.ca/chcd.

Description of Course Assignment
City Planning graduate students must complete a Capstone Project as part of their Master's degree. The goal of the project is for students to conduct in-depth research on an issue of importance for planning practice. The students' information-gathering projects will be presented in class and will form the basis for a written report at the end of term.

The projects are undertaken under the supervision of the Course Instructor, Dr. Rae Bridgman (see contact information below), in accordance with the protocols of the Human Ethics Secretariat of the University of Manitoba for research involving human subjects. This research has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry campus.

Specific Activities to be Completed by Project Participant and Time Frame: Project participants will be interviewed by the researcher. All participants must be over the age of 18 and must either currently be employed as a planning professional in another Canadian jurisdiction outside Winnipeg or must reside within the boundaries of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park Heritage Conservation District (HCD) as most recently defined by the City of Winnipeg (https://engage.winnipeg.ca/14255/widgets/55213/documents/44167). They will be given the opportunity to respond to a series of 8-10 questions regarding their personal and/or professional

views on the designation of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park Heritage Conservation District. Interviewees may be asked follow-up questions based on the answers they provide. Interview questions can be forwarded to participants prior to the interview upon request. Interviews will last no longer than one hour, and will be conducted via a licensed version of the video-conferencing software Zoom. With permission, activities, interviews, or other kinds of sessions may be video and audio-recorded and transcribed at a later date, so that analyzing the material will be completed with greater ease and efficiency.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

Student Name: Matthew Gowdar

Student's University Contact Information: gowdarm3@myumanitoba.ca

Course Instructor: Dr. Rae Bridgman, Professor
Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba
Telephone: 204-474-7179 e-mail: rae.bridgman@umanitoba.ca

Appendix C: Research Consent Form

University of Manitoba

Consent Form

CITY 7050 CITY PLANNING CAPSTONE PROJECT
Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture
(Course Instructor: Dr. Rae Bridgman)

This Consent Form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Name of Student: Mathew Gowdar

Title of Project: The Once and Future City: Conflicts over Heritage Conservation District Designation in Winnipeg's Crescentwood Neighbourhood

Specific Activities to be Completed by Project Participant and Time Frame: Project participants will be interviewed by the researcher. They will be given the opportunity to respond to a series of 8-10 questions regarding their personal and/or professional views on the designation of the Crescentwood-Enderton Park Heritage Conservation District. Interviews will last no longer than one hour, and will be conducted via a licensed version of the video conferencing software Zoom.

Description of Course Assignment
City Planning graduate students must complete a Capstone Project as part of their Master's degree. The goal of the project is for students to conduct in-depth research on an issue of importance for planning practice. The students' information-gathering projects will be presented in class and will form the basis for a written report at the end of term. In this case, my objective is to explore how the tensions between preserving valuable urban heritage and responding to current development needs manifest themselves at community level.

The projects are undertaken under the supervision of the Course Instructor, Dr. Rae Bridgman (see contact information below), in accordance with the protocols of the Human Ethics Secretariat of the University of Manitoba for research involving human subjects. This research has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry campus. A copy of this Consent Form has also been reviewed and approved. Consent Forms listing Project Title and the specific activities to be completed by participants will be submitted

to the Instructor and kept on file for information purposes only for two years (or until the next City Planning program accreditation), in accordance with University ethics policies.

Benefits
Direct benefits may include the opportunity for participants to share their perspective on a planning issue or challenge. Indirect benefits are that the final Capstone Projects will contribute to planning knowledge and may result in new strategies or policy directions to address planning issues and challenges. Students will also benefit by learning about conducting ethical research.

Risks
The risk of participating in interviews is no greater than risks encountered in everyday life. One potential risk is a breach of confidentiality: that information may be shared in ways that enable you to be identified. To minimize the risk of this occurring, the following procedures will be undertaken.

Confidentiality
Information collected from participants will be used as part of the Capstone Project. Unless explicitly permitted, all names and other identifying details will be obscured/anonymized. Direct quotes may be published within the project report. Participants will be referred to by their role (resident, planner) and number (1,2,3, etc.). Names of interview participants will not be disclosed.

The data collected through this research is confidential. This means that participants' names or any other personal or identifiable information will not be included in presentations or reports arising from the study.

Conflict of Interest Disclosure
The researcher conducting this study is currently employed by the Government of Manitoba at the Community Planning Branch of the Department of Municipal Relations. The researcher has worked on heritage-related projects in the past, and may do so again in the future. This position does not involve making any decisions on the designation or management of specific heritage resources or conservation districts. No confidential information related to this project will be shared with the researcher's employer. Should the employer ask for confidential information related to this research, their request will be refused and reported to the course instructor.

Audio and Video Recording
With your permission, this interview will be both audio and video-recorded. The video recording will not be included in the data analysis. If you do not wish to have your video captured, you will be given the option to turn off your camera before the interview begins.
When transcription is complete, the video recording will be destroyed. The audio recording will be retained with all other data until the date of destruction as indicated in this consent form.
If you choose not to be recorded, handwritten notes will be taken.

Feedback
The results from this project, including anonymized details, may be used for conference presentations and/or publication in journals and other academic and professional resources. Students' completed Capstone Projects will be publicly available through the University of Manitoba's website (https://umanitoba.ca/architecture/ department-city-planning).

Use of Data, Secure Storage and Destruction of Research Data
All information will be treated as confidential and securely stored in encrypted files and on the University of Manitoba-provided Individual File Storage system OneDrive under the researcher's personal University account, and subsequently destroyed at the end of the course (by the end of May 2022).

Copies of consent forms will be securely kept on file by the Course Instructor for information purposes only for two years and then destroyed, in accordance with University ethics policies. If consent is obtained verbally, transcriptions will be produced and stored in the same manner.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at anytime, request that any data provided be omitted from the study (prior to February 28, 2022), refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, or request to stop the audio-video recording at any time, without prejudice or consequence. If you would like to withdraw, you must notify the researcher or the course instructor (below) by email prior to February 28, 2022. If you choose to withdraw, all files related to your participation will be destroyed. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry campus. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at humanethics@umanitoba.ca; or 204-474-7122. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

Student Name: Matthew Gowdar

Student's University Contact Information: gowdarm3@myumanitoba.ca

Course Instructor: Dr. Rae Bridgman, Professor
Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba
Telephone: 204-474-7179 e-mail: rae.bridgman@umanitoba.ca

Thank you for participating in this project. Your cooperation and insights are very valuable, and are greatly appreciated!

I, _____, consent to the dissemination of material
[Name of Participant: please print]
provided to the student for use in their Capstone Project and in course materials. I understand that the information I provide will be incorporated in a presentation and report. I understand also that all research data will be treated as confidential, stored in a private and secure place, and subsequently destroyed at the end of the course by the student.

I agree to be audio-video recorded. Please note that if "No" is selected, handwritten notes will be taken by the interviewer.

Yes ☐ No ☐

I give permission for the results of this project, including anonymized details, to be used for conference presentations and/or publication in journals and other academic and professional resources

Yes ☐ No ☐

I would like to receive a summary of the results from this project. If yes, please provide your email address or mailing address below.

Yes ☐ No ☐

I would like to receive a copy of the final report (available May 2022). If yes, please provide your email address or mailing address below.

Yes ☐ No ☐

_____ _____
Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____
Mailing Address E-mail

Participant's contact information (in order to receive a summary of the results from this project):