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Discussion Paper No. 38 Part 2

**URBAN WATERFRONT
REDEVELOPMENT IN CANADA:
PROPOSITIONS AND
PERSPECTIVES**

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PART 2

Summary

This paper reports on a component of a research project on Canadian Dimensions of Waterfront Redevelopment based upon forty-five interviews held in Canadian port cities with port authority representatives, urban planners and developers. Interviewees were invited (a) to complete a questionnaire and (b) to respond to a series of twelve proposition sets. The findings from the second six proposition sets, dealing with problems, outcomes and evaluations, are discussed in this paper. Contrasts between planning philosophies in different professions are discussed, and some methodological problems are highlighted.

Introduction

Waterfront redevelopment is an element in the process of inner-city regeneration now widespread in many parts of the world. Academic interest in the processes involved has yielded a literature biased towards specific locations rather than towards the analysis of processes and issues (Merrens, 1980). A conference at Southampton in 1987 included papers emphasising the importance of Canada as a research field for waterfront redevelopment studies (Desfor, et al., 1988) and led to a pioneer book drawing attention to a model of forces and trends, variations in problem perception and policy formulation, and the balance between social goals and commercial interests (Hoyle, Pinder and Husain, 1988). Subsequent conferences (Washington, 1990; Venice, 1991; Manchester, 1991; Genoa, 1992) have attempted with varying degrees of success to pursue comparative, problem-orientated investigations. At the University of Southampton the Department of Geography has a long-standing interest in port studies, recently diversified into the field of port-city inter-relationships, and also a growing interest in Canadian Studies involving cooperation with Canadian universities. These two research areas provide the essential background to the project from which this paper is derived.

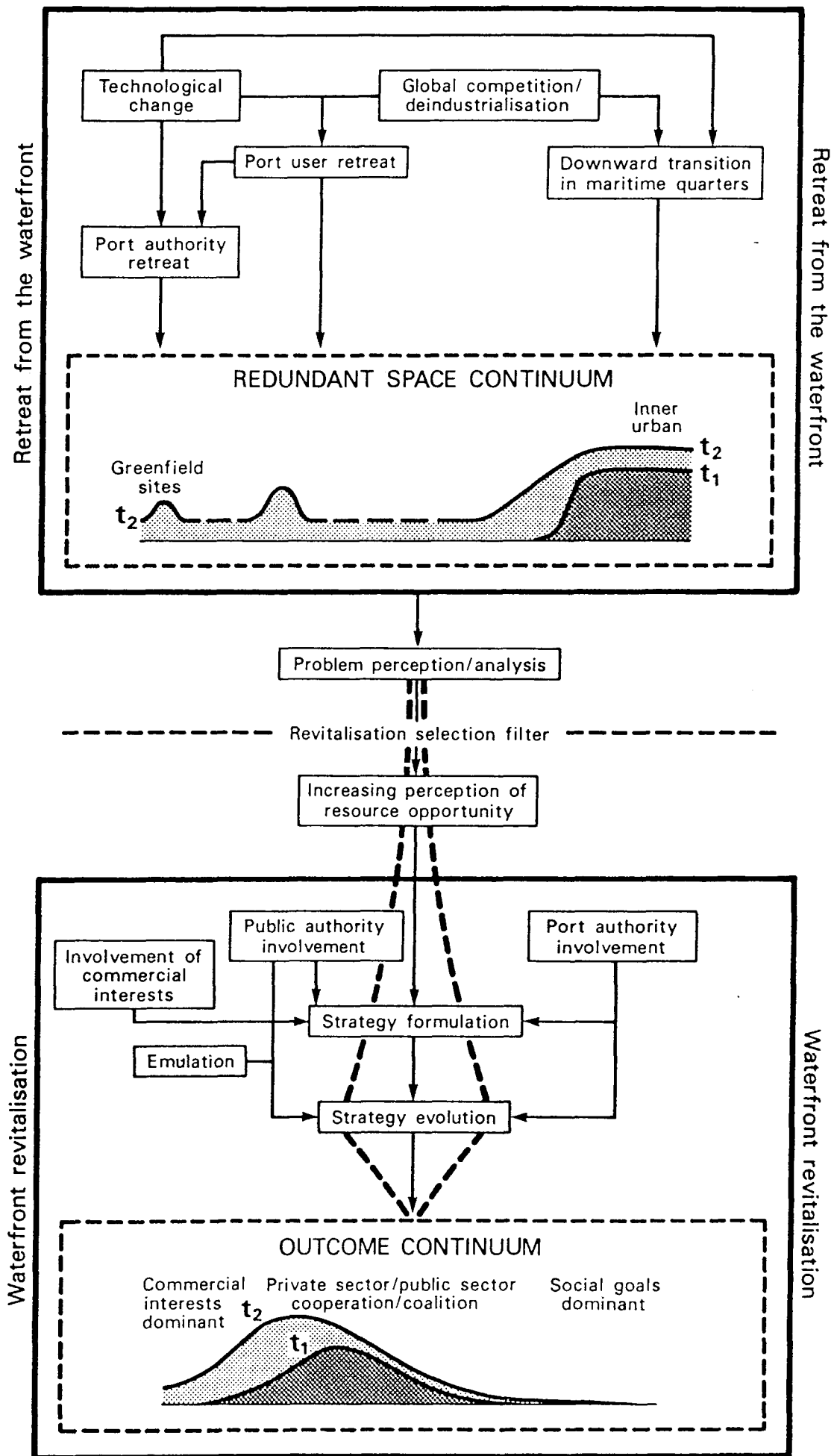


Figure 1 : Retreat, redundancy and revitalisation : a model of forces and trends (after Hoyle, Pinder and Husain, 1988, 249)

A full discussion of the context and objectives of the research project has already been set out in Part 1 of this two-part report. Discussion Paper 38 (Hoyle, 1993) outlines the background to the investigation, the research design and fieldwork methods, the use of proposition sets as an interview technique, and the ways in which the results have been analysed. There is no need to repeat these details here. It will be sufficient to remind readers that in late 1990, on the basis of the model of forces and trends in waterfront redevelopment to which reference has already been made (Hoyle, Pinder and Husain, 1988) and which is reproduced here as Figure 1, 45 interviews were conducted in Canadian port cities with port authority representatives (P), urban planners (U) and property developers (D) (Figure 2).

Each interview involved two main elements: a questionnaire form and a taperecorded, structured interview involving twelve proposition sets. Analysis of the questionnaire part of the interview has been published elsewhere (Hoyle, 1992a and b). The twelve proposition sets were arranged in four groups of three. The first two groups (nos 1-6), dealing with general or causal topics and with characteristics and processes, have been analysed in Discussion Paper 38 (Hoyle, 1993). This present paper deals with the remaining six proposition sets (nos 7-12), concerned with problems, outcomes and evaluation.

Proposition Set 7

Proposition Set 7 (PS7) sought to examine the fundamental relationship between the actors involved in waterfront revitalisation. It underlines a widely held notion that the private sector is more concerned with short term financial reward, whilst the public sector must instead consider the social objectives of redevelopment and the role of the waterfront within the

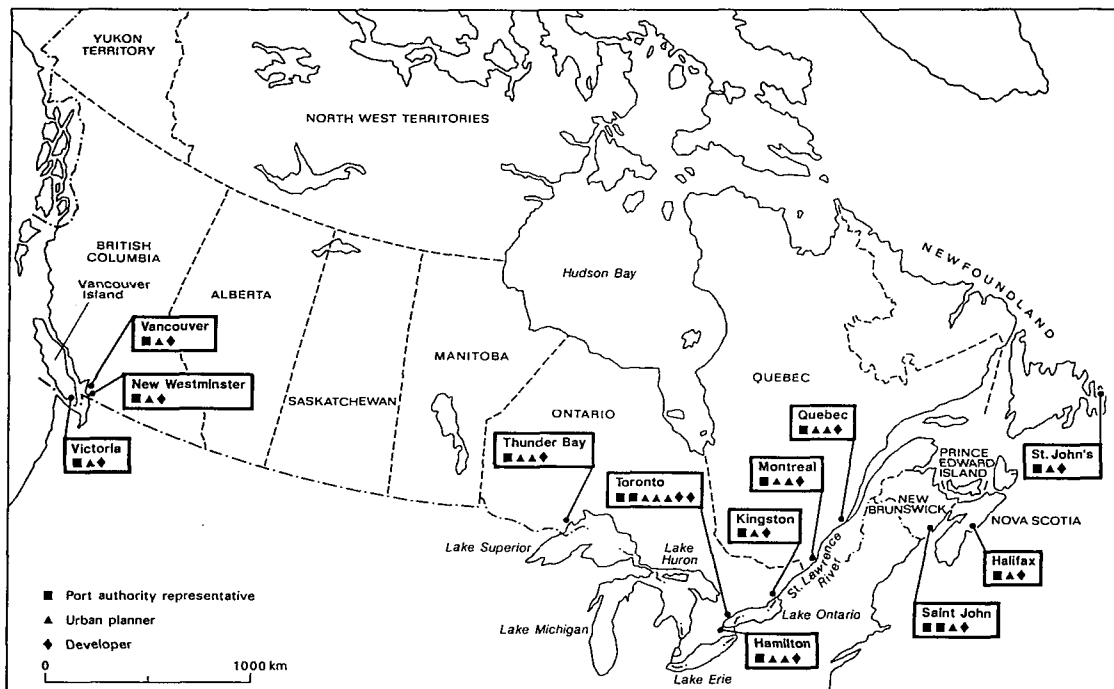


Figure 2 : Location of the 45 interviews with port authority representatives, urban planners and developers (after Hoyle, 1992, 281)

urban community. The essential idea underpinning the proposition is that linkages between the private and public sector constitute the most basic and difficult problem in waterfront redevelopment.

Proposition Set 7

Introductory statement

The public and private sectors involved in waterfront redevelopment engage in competition, conflict and cooperation.

Proposition

THE ESSENTIAL *BROAD* PROBLEM OF WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT IS HOW TO LINK PRIVATE SECTOR DYNAMISM WITH PUBLIC SECTOR NON-MONETARY OBJECTIVES.

Supplementary questions








Do you agree with this proposition, or do you see the essential problem in some other dimension?

Please give your reasons.













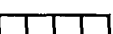


The proposition was largely accepted although a significant 9 per cent disagreed outright and a further 10 per cent refused to be drawn either way (Figure 3). Of the 81 per cent who agreed, however, few did so entirely without qualification and a variety of issues were raised. A number of introductory comments reveal this diversity:

"The very broad problem of waterfront redevelopment I would think is definitely linking the private sector and the public sector. Very often they are two entirely different views, the private sector differs greatly from the public sector objectives, and I would think that bringing the two of those together quite often entails quite a bit of conflict and very seldom, at least initially, co-operation" (P, St. John's).

Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition		12
		12
		13
Disagreement with proposition	—	0
		2
		2
Other views		2
		3
	—	0

Reasons for agreement highlighted by five or more respondents

Public sector attitudes		2
		1
		3
Private sector attitudes		3
		3
		1
Political difficulties		2
		2
		5
Objectives		7
		4
		2
Social and community attitudes		4
		5
		1

-
- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
 - Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
 - Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 3. Proposition Set 7 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

"The whole problem ... in the development of cities is exactly that - how you link in a causative way and a co-operative way the private sector dollars and business side of it with the objectives which the public sector must have" (U, New Westminster).

"The biggest problem in waterfront redevelopment ... is the coordinated planning of all bodies concerned, all agencies. Be it the port, be it the city, be it the environmental agencies, be it the developer, the landowner, whomever" (P, New Westminster).

"The reason that I agree so strongly with this statement ... is that I spent the vast bulk of my time trying to explain to the public sector why things needed to be changed in order to allow the developer to meet his objectives, and on the other hand trying to explain to the developer why the government needed things changed or need things usually maintained in the way they were in order to meet their objectives" (D, St. John's).

Furthermore, as one commentator perceptively pointed out:

"There is a way that those things can and usually do work out, but quite often to somebody's benefit and some other person's downfall in certain areas" (P, St. John's).

In this respect it is perhaps worth detailing the arguments of those who disagreed with the proposition, for these provide a particular context within which the remainder of the debate on PS7 may be considered:

"I think that in any development of the harbourfront ... the motivation and impetus would come from federal government; and a benign federal government, if there is such a thing, would encourage the participation of the developer, and be glad to have as much private development as could participate in it. I think that the problem is probably more one of a political and financial one ... " (D, St. John's).

"I don't feel there is a lack of co-operation between the private and public sector objectives. Looking at our case, we are purchasing property, upgrading it, doing our best to make it attractive for the private sector, and then enticing them to come in and develop the property. So our prime objective is to work with them" (D, Halifax).

"If there is a problem, it's the necessity for the private developer or the person that owns the land on the waterfront to understand ... that it's a public resource that he's working on, then approaching the process with all the partners from the beginning. In any development that is the key. If you start with your mind made up on what you want, without involving half the players, then you're in trouble" (U, Saint John).

A final response in this category, however, saw the public sector-private sector link not as a problem but as an opportunity.

"It's not a problem at all. It's the opportunity of harnessing the creativity of the financial and quickfootedness of private sector initiatives, with the consistent list of public objectives" (U, Toronto).

Public sector attitudes

Beyond this, the subsequent debate appears more a wary reaction to past difficulties than a blueprint for future success. Reasons for agreement with PS7 may be divided into five broad categories. Firstly, a number of respondents emphasised the role of the public sector, suggesting that it was the decisions, attitudes and objectives of public officials that held the greatest influence in waterfront redevelopment. A majority within this overall category saw the public sector as the essential element in all development projects.

"I alluded before to the problems that develop on the waterfronts being a number of community-wide mechanisms that clash: the unions, the industrial versus urban renewal, the public housing are looking for a place. All this happens, and the only way you can bring this together to create a climate of certainty for investment is through the public sector" (D, New Westminster).

"The role of the public sector can be to provide the linkage" (P, Vancouver).

A significant minority, however, alluded to the clearly increasing influence of the private sector, suggesting that whilst the public division had maintained an overall control, it now acted in guidance rather than as a developer in its own right.

"I see the government's role is to do the planning ... but then to allow a multitude of people to carry it out. It shouldn't be carried out by one developer or one government. It has to be carried out ... with the full dynamism, not even of the private sector but of a multitude of different people, but in a very strong framework" (D, Toronto).

"We prepare a favourable context, a context which is *accueillant* for the population, a context which is perceived by the population as being a place that belongs to them. This context is our business, the territory has to brace the idea that it is *accueillant*, hospitable, that it is accessible by all kinds of public ... that it is highly perceivable as belonging to each individual that comes here" (D, Montreal).

"The private sector has a lot of drive, a lot of dollars behind it, but it is under a system allowed to have a very selfish perspective. It's trying to make money, and that's allowed, contrary to a lot of opinion from time to time. The municipalities, on the other hand, or other levels of government are trying to look at what's best for the entire population over the long term" (U, Kingston).

Private sector attitudes

This latter theme gains greater credence in the second category of responses. Fifteen per cent of the respondents suggested that, due to a variety of conditions and circumstances, the inherent dynamism of the private sector now holds the upper hand, and the government authorities are reduced almost to the status of casual observers.

"Here in Canada ... the different levels of government do certainly have a lot to say about redevelopment of the waterfronts, but I think more and more the private sector is having an influence both from general development views and on specific developments" (P, St. John's).

This is not to say, of course, that the public sector has no role to play in the development process, merely that its influence is waning and is certainly not as strong as it perhaps was in the past.

"A situation that often arrives [is] where we have privately owned waterfront land ... and the government is desperately trying to get a little bit of a handle on the control of development" (U, Montreal).

Political difficulties

The third category considers this balance of power in greater detail, concentrating specifically upon the political motivations of each of the parties concerned. Two respondents in particular

refer to this multi-faceted conflict.

"The big obstacle is ... the political problem. There's all sorts of implications of that. You have a number of different actors which have to be involved because of the scope of the project and also the various jurisdictions that are involved" (D, Vancouver).

"It's still a possibility to have a joint venture between the private sector and any government level ... but the main problem is still a political one. It is too difficult for any local, provincial or federal government to put up enough money to be able to get the joint venture, to have a mixed development because the rest of the population will ask for an equivalent amount of money for all projects along the river" (P, Montreal).

Further, and in many ways connected with the following category, many considered the political objectives of waterfront redevelopment: the 'vision' to which a number of authors have alluded.

"In terms of what is the essential problem of waterfront redevelopment ... it's a matter of coming to terms ... in a shared vision for a waterfront. There's no doubt that there are private interests ... that have to be dealt with, that have to be used in order to pay for things, to make things happen ... but without a good vision of where you're going ... it's merely a matter of playing with the blocks. The essential problem is getting that vision. Once you have that there are ways to work out everything else" (U, Toronto).

"It's when the vision isn't clear that private development ... prevails, and public objectives are lost. It's when the vision is not strong that nothing happens, because nobody can get it together. Creating that vision ... is an enormously difficult task, and probably happens only rarely ... Occasionally there is a flash of brilliance and one part of an area comes together, but it's rare that there have been really true comprehensive visions that have come through" (U, Toronto).

Much of the problem in this respect is time-associated. Waterfront developments are long term, political objectives are characteristically short term (as are, in many instances, the government bodies themselves).

"As we have seen in Toronto, all of the various governments have the solution, and a new government comes in thinking that they have the solution, and want to upset the applecart, write new rules and start the whole process all over again" (D, Toronto).

"The problem with the developer is he's one thing and he's constant, but the government is not a constant, it changes" (D, Kingston).

Objectives

In terms of wider objectives, category four examines the on-going conflict over who exactly holds the balance of power, a fundamental theme and one that may be considered in a variety of forms.

"Unless you talk to everybody and get some planning and some preservation of land for other uses, and not make the push to have the whole thing urbanised, and ensure that there are industrial nodes, and port nodes, and residential nodes too on the waterfront, then everybody can live in harmony" (P, New Westminster).

"People are inclined in the public sector to be a little wary of an individual who wants to get their hands on public property, to suddenly develop it for their own aims ... There has to be a common ground somewhere, and a common trust, for two parties to sit down and actively discuss the development of an area" (P, Saint John).

"Private sector has the will. [But] they need the bureaucratic and legislative cooperation of the municipalities. The trade-off is that the municipalities will want parks, they'll want walkways. The private sector doesn't make money from parks or walks. They make money from their units ... It's a system of trade-offs" (P, Toronto).

"The private sector are much more focused in their schemes for redevelopment. They have site-specific schemes. They are not necessarily oriented to a broader context whereas the municipal authorities must be" (P, Toronto).

"The broad problem of waterfront redevelopment is getting the private sector to cooperate and develop in the same direction that public interests may be going" (U, Thunder Bay).

Social and community attitudes

Fifthly, one must also consider the role of the public at large; that is, the social and community context in which waterfront revitalisation must be set.

"We must redevelop those sectors as public spaces where we bring the public, they don't have to pay for it, it's being paid for by the public corporation and it is part of the life of the city. In order to be able to take care of those spaces, because it costs money, then we have to bring in the private sector" (D, Quebec City).

"The private sector has to recognise the public sector goals, and conversely the public sector has to recognise the private sector goals ... but at the same time there is some level of recognition that the public has a right to enjoy the waterfront for pursuits of recreation as well" (U, Hamilton).

"Harbours need to be public places" (D, Victoria).

In consequence, the essential link must surely come down to:

"... a quality of life factor, and a balance that many governments try to strike between the engine of the economy ... and the interests of the public sector where it's trying to provide low rental housing or whatever other facility may be planned ... That's what differentiates the two, and the rationale for this marrying of private sector interest and public interest as well. It's a quality of life factor and our heightened sense of the human dimension of our society" (P, Kingston).

Two further responses may perhaps be used to conclude discussion of PS7. These comments are certainly not summaries, but project a number of issues that are central to the debate.

The final comment in particular describes an ideal relationship, although, as has been suggested here, this in itself is perhaps an objective rather than reality.

"From my experience in travelling into other cities and discussing these matters with the various representatives, whether they're planning departments or provincial or commissions that have been set up specifically to deal with the problems, it seems like nothing much happens anywhere until there's some sort of a working relationship that is established between the public and private sector" (U, Vancouver).

"Progress was only made when there was a decision that the public sector would work together with the private sector, certainly taking into consideration their concerns and their resources, but at the same time setting out defined public objectives for the development of the site, and working together to make both successful, to make the development obviously economical and profitable, but at the same time one that looks after public objectives" (U, Vancouver).

Proposition Set 8 (PS8) considered in greater depth the balance of power that exists between the private commercial developers of waterfront schemes and the associated public authorities. It suggested that this fundamental balance determines specific socio-economic and

Proposition Set 8

Introductory statement

A key element in waterfront development is the balance of power between private commercial developers and public authorities.

Proposition

THE PRIVATE/PUBLIC BALANCE OF POWER DETERMINES *SPECIFIC* SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND PHYSICAL OUTCOMES OF WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT.

Supplementary questions

Do you agree or disagree with this proposition?
Please give your reasons.

physical outcomes of waterfront redevelopment, but whilst a majority of respondents claimed to agree (Figure 4) few were able to identify explicit examples. Indeed, of the 9 per cent who claimed to disagree, the accompanying explanations were ultimately very similar to the majority and were equally nebulous in this respect.

"In spite of the goals and objectives that each person may have when we first start dreaming about waterfront redevelopments of whatever scale, the actual outcome often is determined by the particular balance that has been struck between private and public powers" (U, Toronto).







"The balance of power determines the specific outcomes of waterfront redevelopment. If the balance of power were different, the outcome would be very different" (U, Quebec City).

"I feel that certainly in Canada the different levels of government would hold the balance of power at present in the outcome of waterfront redevelopment. However, the private sector is again becoming more and more vocal, and the balance of power definitely determines the specific outcomes of waterfront redevelopment" (P, St. John's).













Public sector controls

A significant number of those who agreed with the proposition sought explanation in the

Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition		11
		16
		12
Disagreement with proposition		1
		2
		1

Issues highlighted by five or more respondents

Public sector controls		2
		1
		4
Political relationships		2
		8
		3
Expectations and outcomes		5
		3
		1
Alternative influences		3
		1
		3

-
- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
 - Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
 - Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 4. Proposition Set 8 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

realm of the public sector, suggesting that, as with the previous proposition set, the public authorities would hold the greater influence over development projects.

"In most municipalities the municipality ... can exercise the most influence, because they have all the tools of the official plan statements, the zoning and the building permits, and the site development control agreement, all of which the developer must go through, and meet" (D, Kingston).

"Where the public sector has a well-balanced set of procedures that a developer must go through they can dictate or say 'You are permitted to do this, you are permitted to do that. For you to go ahead we have these requirements. You must have X number of parks etc.'" (P, Toronto).

"To make the thing work you're going to have to have a meeting of the minds again of the municipal and provincial governments along with the private sector" (D, Hamilton).

"I agree ... that the balance of power between public and private helps to reach outcome on the final solutions of waterfront development. But I see Toronto as an example of how that balance of power is a very fragile thing, and if there is a lopsided balance of power it can quickly be changed. Toronto is an example of where the balance of power has really oscillated back and forth ... Ultimately the balance of power is held by the government in that even if they own nothing big, they can blow the whistle, as they have done here in Toronto" (D, Toronto).

"You need a proper balance on types of development on a waterfront, and of course the private commercial developers have to have a return on their investment, where the public authorities don't. Therefore you need the planning by the public authorities [on] what is the best long-range use for the waterfront area; not specifically homed in on 'where is our best profit', but 'what is the best overall use'" (D, Halifax).

Overall public sector control, however, may not necessarily be the result of its own actions but rather the specific circumstances within which a development occurs and, indeed, the attitudes of the developers themselves.

"We maintain control over most of the waterfront ... and we determine through our planning criteria, specifically what does get built. We determine whether it's a hotel, a condominium or an office building ... If the market is not there it doesn't get built, but we have a large part in saying 'that's what we want to see'" (D, Halifax).

"It's not so much in the present situation that the public sector has the upper hand, it's more the fact that the private sector hasn't sufficient interest ... If the private sector continues to be disinterested you will have endless parks and displays all the way along the waterfront,

which will be nice on a sunny afternoon but as soon as there's a touch of rain no-one will go near them because there's nothing to draw people there" (P, Halifax).

Political relationships

A second group of respondents continues this theme, extending it to incorporate the twin notions of relationship and compromise. Two particular views were expressed: those who disagreed with the proposition considered that the parties must work together in order to (a) initiate the development project, and (b) satisfy their own needs and objectives.

"The public authorities understand that to induce private interest in a waterfront it has to make sense from a bottom line point of view. The private interests understand in order to invest in something like this, they have to understand the public point of view or else it won't be approved. The balance comes out in the approval process, and in the sheer economics of a waterfront. Waterfronts don't make sense for a private developer to assemble ... by himself without any public support. That's just too risky" (D, New Westminster).

"I don't believe that the balance of private and public interests would lead to diametrically different outcomes on the waterfronts. Both parties recognise the inherently public nature of the shoreline, and the range of objectives that both parties have ... The degree to which they cooperate influences the amount of accessible waterfront, and of economic activity generated by the specific commercial development. Inherently there's a consistent level of understanding that it works best for both participants ... to have the ability to express their interests" (U, Thunder Bay).

Of those who accepted the proposition, on the other hand, most emphasised the 'compromise' side of the argument, accepting that a balance exists but arguing that neither side holds overall control.

"The public/private balance of power is a balance, but the result isn't a straight line. The balance of power shifts, and goes towards the private and back towards the public, and depends a lot on the political determination at the time" (U, Kingston).

"I take the position that the government and business will achieve compromise. If they don't do that then a party that feels that it isn't gaining enough influence in the project will take its bow and go home ... I have found that there are people who are very good political players, that they're not necessarily good developers, but they are excellent at manoeuvring the political strings" (D, St. John's).

"Very often it goes back to the question of the leadership role ... and it often goes to one person, which means that someone develops a vision, and as long as the vision is not too far off the line, that's what will go" (U, Montreal).

"It boils down to a matter of whether the public authorities do have the right and authority to plan the use of land and expropriate land if they don't get what they want, balanced with how powerful those landowners are and how that would affect the politicians. If the issues are dealt with openly and fairly, we wouldn't find as many problems ... but there has to be ... a greater respect for private interests" (D, Toronto).

"Unless there is a balance, not much happens" (U, Vancouver).

Expectations and outcomes

Much of this problem revolves around what is actually expected of any redevelopment scheme: what were the objectives of waterfront revitalisation and what were the specific outcomes? A number of respondents expressed an opinion on this theme though few were coherent in their arguments. A basic response considered the role of the waterfront within the wider community, although, as another interviewee pointed out, this role depends to a great extent upon the perception one has of the development proposal.

"The social economic future of an area relies to a great extent on power that is driven by what happens in a given area. If ... you build condominiums and restaurants on that area, then it becomes a place used from 6 o'clock in the morning to midnight, and it changes people's patterns also in what they do and where they go. In that sense ... it does definitely change the social economic pattern of people, and the way of life that they have" (P, Saint John).

"The proposition is that the private-public balance of power determines specific socio-economic outcomes of waterfront redevelopment, and it depends on how it is perceived ... Those who win may not necessarily be right, or they may be right. But it depends on whatever the perception and the requirements at the time are. The socio-economic and physical outcomes will vary depending on what that perception requires" (P, Toronto).

Of far greater significance, however, is the increasing demand for public access, a theme discussed specifically elsewhere in this paper. The demand for access is a highly controversial issue although, as the example of the working port of St. John's clearly

demonstrates, the call is becoming harder to ignore and is thus shaping the expectations one has of waterfront development.

"Previously the federal government in St. John's, having identified a need for redevelopment, basically expropriated private properties without question, and redeveloped to determine exactly, or to accommodate exactly, what they have termed as being need in the city. I don't think today that would take place in the same manner as it did in the early 1960s. Certainly there would be more of an outcry from the public if something like that happened from the private domain" (P, St. John's).

"There would have to be some accommodation made today, I think more so than in the past, for things such as park areas, accommodation of maybe a fish market, a tourist attraction, that sort of thing, which just wasn't there in the 1950s and early 60s" (P, St. John's).

Alternative influences

A number of alternative influences may also be identified. The specific role of the private sector was largely overlooked in most responses although this, as the following comments demonstrate, should certainly not have been the case.

"The private and public balance is the main factor, the specific factor, which determines what will be done, and as long as maybe somebody or a big company will accept less return on his/their investment, it will be quite difficult for a big company not to be an important part of any decision on what will be developed" (P, Montreal).

"I would agree with the proposition. The evolution of a waterfront over the past relates directly to the degree at which the private sector had freedom to manage the waterfront. If the public process took a back seat then you're going to have a waterfront development that is entirely different from what you would have if you had a very active public process involved in the waterfront" (P, Thunder Bay).

"There is more and more public involvement through the municipality, through special interest groups, through environmentalists ... so that they're changing the balance of power and the private sector is having to respond to that. They're having to respond by changing their own plans and by sometimes pulling back or cleaning up or indeed taking advantage of new opportunities" (P, Thunder Bay).

To conclude the discussion on PS8, it may be suggested that whilst a balance of some dimension certainly appears to exist, its influence varies considerably over time and over

space. Perhaps, then, one should not consider a 'balance' but a 'continuum' of power, a political relationship that waxes and wanes in time with particular events.

"A balance of power may not exist at the beginning. It may develop over time, and that's a key too, because a lot of places don't know what they want to do. They have no real concept, but it develops over time" (P, Toronto).

"I do think that the private/public balance of power determines the specific social, economic and physical outcomes of waterfront redevelopment. That is the key driving force, those are the key players and it's a bit of back and forth ... It's something that evolves, and the longer the process the more involvement with the public, the more the public is going to have chance to change the scheme" (D, Vancouver).

Proposition Set 9

The question of public access forms a key element in any examination of waterfront revitalisation, both in a general sense and in the local context. The right of the public at large to have access to the water frontier is often considered a fundamental objective of any development programme, even in those locations where previously, due to industrial constraints and ownership arrangements, public access was a very minor consideration. Proposition set 9 (PS9) encompasses this essential dilemma by considering the ownership problem. The proposition suggests that development of any nature essentially involves an exchange of ownership between two or more private sector bodies whereby public access to the waterfront zone is inevitably inhibited.

These arguments were greeted with a mixed reaction: 50 per cent of respondents agreed, 38 per cent disagreed, with the remaining 12 per cent holding a more balanced view (Figure 5).

These disparities are perhaps best exemplified by the following statements.

Proposition Set 9

Introductory statement

Increased public access to the waterfront is normally an objective of waterfront redevelopment planning schemes.

Proposition

IN PRACTICE, WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT LARGELY INVOLVES EXCHANGING ONE FORM OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP FOR ANOTHER.

Supplementary questions

To what extent do you consider this proposition to be true?
Please give examples to illustrate your opinion.

Agreement with PS9

"In order for development of any kind to occur, whether it be waterfront or otherwise, somebody has to give up something, and the exchange of ownership is obviously an essential element of waterfront redevelopment" (P, St. John's).

"In most cases the development of a waterfront is done through financing private initiative in one form or another, maybe a public/private joint venture. But it's the private sector describing the system, and the public just keeping their hands in so they have some control over it" (U, Kingston).

Disagreement with PS9

"One of the founding points of waterfront development is revitalisation. It is bringing the waterfront back to the people of Halifax, and we wouldn't get away with blocking off access to the waterfront. We maintain the boardwalks, we've put in the parks. It's true that we've sold off a number of parcels to private owners ... but on the water's edge people have a lot of access" (D, Halifax).

"I don't agree with the proposition. I don't think that waterfront redevelopment, and I can think of other examples in North America too, largely involves just exchanging one form of private ownership for another. Public access is critical, and this has come about primarily in the projects that are either on the plan, on the drawing boards, or that have been developed right now" (D, Vancouver).

Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	7
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	7
	▣ ▣ ▣ ▣ ▣ ▣ ▣ ▣	7
Disagreement with proposition	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	5
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	8
	▣ ▣ ▣	3
Balanced view on proposition	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	2
	—	0
	▣ ▣ ▣	3

Issues highlighted by five or more respondents

Public access	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	5
	○ ○ ○ ○	4
	▣ ▣ ▣	3
Planning strategies and problems	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	5
	○ ○ ○	3
	▣ ▣	2
Use of public spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	○	1
	▣ ▣ ▣	3

- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
- Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
- Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 5. Proposition Set 9 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

Balanced view on PS9

"I have difficulty either agreeing or disagreeing with this particular proposition because it depends upon the area of waterfront redevelopment that you're looking at ... I've been to waterfronts around the world and I've seen different kinds of water's edges where, either through private-private exchange or public-private exchange or even in some cases it might be public-public exchanges on the water's edge ... the quality of life on that edge is not necessarily what one might have expected" (P, Toronto).

"Populations have specific expectations on their waterfront, and that is to retain waterfronts in the public domain. It's a critical principle, but unless it's in the public domain there are private land ownership rules and laws that apply that give that private owner requirements and opportunities that would deny the public the enjoyment of that water's edge" (P, Toronto).

Public access

In general terms responses may be divided into four broad themes, the first of which acts largely as a confirmation of the proposition itself.

"My experience ... in Canada is that there has always been reserved a very significant amount of public access, either through parks or even through shops. When I think of the major cities in Canada that have waterfront redevelopments, the public has enjoyed much greater access to the waterfront, and to the ambience of the whole area" (P, Thunder Bay).

"If you take an area that was a rundown area where nobody went into ... and you turned that into boutiques, and put cobblestone streets down etc., although the private sector is very much involved you are all of a sudden bringing in all kinds of people back onto the waterfront" (P, Thunder Bay).

"Waterfront development ... guarantees to a large extent that public objectives such as open space and access will be maintained in the process" (U, Thunder Bay).

"... even in the case of private ownership of waterfront land ... as a condition of development it's necessary to have public entry to that" (P, Victoria).

These responses reveal, however, a fundamental difficulty with this set of transcripts, that is, the tendency for respondents to comment upon the introductory statement rather than the proposition. The outcome in this instance is that many arguments have been directed towards the concept of public access and have dealt with ownership only as a secondary

consideration. This is, however, a common difficulty in this kind of enquiry, but the problem seems more than usually noticeable in the case of PS9.

Continuing this overall accessibility theme, it is possible to envisage a scenario where *too much* access exists (although the following justification also sees private ownership as a more positive force in the development process).

"Although I would be attracted to live in some of these projects myself, one of the things that would give me some hesitation is their public nature, and the Falls Creek waterfront in Vancouver or Westminster Quay in New Westminster are very public places, and they're very actively used by large numbers of the public. Some of those people who have paid a lot of money for their units on the waterfront may feel it's a little bit too much" (U, New Westminster).

As if in response to the preceding arguments, the subsidiary theme in this analysis places public access in a subordinate role: not as a an 'essential objective' but as a 'by-product' of the wider development, the main consequence of this being a privately-oriented waterfront region.

"If you look down there you'll see a park which we have in effect given to the city. We do it here and there where we can. We all recognise the role we have to play" (P, Vancouver).

"In many cases the person who is going to build the development on the waterfront is encouraged, blackmailed, cajoled, or whatever into providing some public form of access to the waterfront or to the promenade, or whatever it is. I often think they do it with some reluctance, but they know that if they don't they'll never get approval ... But it's a wide sidewalk or a pavement, and the rest is still very private. All has changed - it used to be warehouses and dock facilities, and now it's boutiques and condos, and they're still very private" (U, Thunder Bay).

"Certainly from my experience there are definitely areas where we've just swapped owners, swapped landowners, and haven't achieved any real net gain to the public" (D, Thunder Bay).

Planning strategies and problems

The amount of access permitted within a waterfront scheme is, as the second theme in this discussion demonstrates, ultimately controlled by a much wider range of forces, of which the ownership pattern is perhaps the most important (at least as far as the planning of the waterfront is concerned).

"Here in Saint John, it is clear there has been a move from one private owner, being the federal and municipal governments, to another set of private owners who are the property developers ... but included in that was a measure of public access and was built to that plan. In other situations such as in Toronto, it's been much more ad hoc and has restricted public access, and has caused a great deal of controversy" (P, Saint John).

"The thing that we have tried to preserve basically is public access to the waterfront. We could do the same thing even if we sold the land off, we could put a caveat in there that the public was to be guaranteed access for ever" (D, St. John's).

Increasingly, however, developers are beginning to realise that unless a public access allowance is made schemes are unlikely to proceed beyond the planning stage. It seems, therefore, that ownership is becoming less important than the political strength of the local authority and its attention to public needs, however these may be defined.

"With respect to public access, it's a concern in waterfront developments. It is becoming much more so now ... and developers realise that if you don't provide public access, you're probably not going to get the project through" (D, Vancouver).

"Where there has been an actual waterfront redevelopment strategy or plan there is normally some significant aspect of public access included in that, notwithstanding that the ownership of the property may be private" (P, Saint John).

"With the shrinking amount of attractive waterfront land, and this hyper-awareness of having public access, rules have been put in place to ensure that some aspects of the waterfront area are made accessible to the public" (P, Kingston).

Use of public spaces

A third theme reflects the ways in which public space, once created, is actually utilised.

Many respondents argued that the allowance of some form of access to the waterfront area alone is not sufficient: waterfronts need to be 'active' environments, not 'passive' landscapes where access simply exists but is not actively encouraged. This argument depends to a great extent, of course, upon public perception although the basic premise remains that "[private] ownership doesn't necessarily have to prohibit public access" (U, Kingston).

"As a private development occurs, the city is getting the waterfront access for the public. As it connects more and more, then it becomes more and more obvious to the public that there is a walkway through. In some cases it's a little wooden sloping walkway, a ramp down behind an apartment building, but it connects. People begin to know it, and with flowerbeds here and there to make it look public it works very well" (U, Kingston).

"Waterfront redevelopment largely involves exchanging one form of private ownership for another. But that need not necessarily result in no increase in public access. Public access comes in many forms. There's visual access, there's physical access and there's even ... state of mind public access. If the public thinks that it can get to see something if it wants to, when it wants to, that may actually be as good in the public's mind as doing it in fact. Access is in part a state of mind. Something can be privately owned and still be open to the public" (U, Toronto).

"The sheer mandate of having public access to the water is easily accomplished by this building by stepping back, by having public space, but they've done nothing in terms of the use of this space to encourage people to come. So this is completely accessible to the public, and as long as we sit here we won't see one person walk by it ... And yet we can walk down the waterfront here to Queen's Quay Terminal, the building where the Royal Commission Office is, and there is a building that is equally close to the water, has set back to encourage the public and is full of people. To me it's more of a land use function than the legal right of public access. Public access to me means the public wants to be there, and just giving them the physical space is not enough" (D, Toronto).

In turn, this may have implications for the planning process, a situation typified here by New Westminster.

"For a private developer it would be folly to try and do it essentially on a private basis, because these developments need some commercial heart, need some people, need some animation, or else they will fall flat on their face" (D, New Westminster).

The influence of the private sector

A final theme arising from PS9 also considers the role of the private sector, further emphasising the notion that the private ownership of waterfront lands need not necessarily inhibit public access. (This theme is not included in Figure 5 because it was specifically highlighted by fewer than five respondents.) Indeed, under certain conditions, private sector dominance may actually promote accessibility, although this clearly depends upon how accessible one would expect a private development to be.

"The whole idea of redeveloping a waterfront property would be for public use. It would be for condominiums, and/or restaurants and/or boutiques, etc. Immediately you do that it must be accessible to the general public ... If you build a series of condominiums then it is also natural that to cater for the people in those condominiums you must put in public facilities, such as restaurants, convenience stores, grocery stores, boutiques, and that automatically means that the property has to have public access, because anybody that opens a boutique or store or restaurant doesn't just want to serve a tenant of the building, he wants to serve an area" (P, Saint John).

"In the redevelopment that has occurred, even in some schemes where the access may be limited, it's certainly a big improvement over the previous land use, that the new land use is more friendly to the average citizen than the previous use and that in most cases there are opportunities to get down to the waterfront" (U, Vancouver).

Alternatively, as one interviewee pointed out, the greater the accessibility, the more likely it is that the private sector will be attracted to waterfront investment in the first place:

"... by making an area more public and enhancing its public elements private enterprise can come in as well" (U, Toronto).

These various responses suggest that the public access debate is a deep-rooted and long-running affair, and whilst many respondents appreciate that all waterfront redevelopment schemes should incorporate some form of local access, the extent to which this occurs in reality remains very much in the balance and, indeed, will undoubtedly continue to do so.

Proposition Set 10

Proposition set 10 (PS10) called on interviewees to undertake an instant assessment of their 'home' waterfront scheme. As one would perhaps expect responses varied considerably both between locations and between different respondents from the same location. Nevertheless, a number of valuable statements were obtained making for a highly interesting and revealing discussion. The introductory statement set the scene by suggesting that no waterfront redevelopment programme is ever perfect in design or development, this being complemented by the proposition itself which argued, perhaps controvertibly, that any evaluation of waterfront redevelopment and change must consider missed or foregone opportunities as well as achievements.

Proposition Set 10

Introductory statement

No waterfront development scheme is perfect in design or development.

Proposition

ANY EVALUATION OF WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE MUST EXAMINE OPPORTUNITIES MISSED OR FOREGONE, AS WELL AS ACHIEVEMENTS.

Supplementary questions

Do you agree or disagree with this proposition?

What do you consider to be the major opportunities lost in your case?

What lessons can other waterfront redevelopment locations learn from your experience?

Despite its potentially controversial nature, PS10 was overwhelmingly accepted (Figure 6) with only a single port official making a clear statement to the contrary: a statement which was highly debateable, suggesting that derelict waterfront port-owned sites should remain

entirely vacant in case or until an alternative port-related development scheme was proposed.

"I just don't like utilising property for public use such as condominiums, boutiques etc. if there is any possibility 15 years from now even of developing that property for our commercial wellbeing" (P, Saint John).

In the main, however, the proposition set was accepted though rarely without further qualification.

You have to take a holistic approach to planning and try to accommodate the past, the future and the present" (D, Thunder Bay).

"Redevelopment is never finished, we have to look at what we did, and what are the opportunities to come, and things like that" (P, Quebec City).

"If you want to look forward you must look back. History, be it short-term history of last year or a thousand years can often teach you things so you don't fall into the trap again" (U, Thunder Bay).

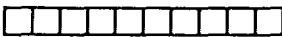



"I think we all have to learn from mistakes, or missed or foregone opportunities" (P, St. John's).

"I certainly agree that we have to learn from our experience ... The only way in which we can move ahead is re-assessing and constantly re-assessing what we've done. We have particularly in Toronto had a process of learning from mistakes and learning from successes. Unfortunately we very often focus only on the mistakes and not on the successes. There's a tendency to be harder on ourselves, on what we've done, than to be laudatory" (U, Toronto).















Major opportunities lost

This view from Toronto connects well with the next part of the analysis of PS10, derived from the supplementary question about major opportunities lost in particular development schemes. Many of the comments cited may appear more applicable to the final PS10 supplementary question, concerning lessons to be learned, but five loosely-defined 'lost opportunities' may be highlighted.










Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition		10
		17
		15
Disagreement with proposition		1
	—	0
	—	0

Major opportunities lost

Lack of overall plan		5
		6
		5
Financing and ownership		1
		3
		1
Political dispute		2
		2
		1
Public access	—	0
		2
		3
Scale of development		2
		3
		2

Lessons to be learned

Loss of historical context		1
		3
		2
Removal of economic functions		2
		1
		2
Links between downtown and waterfront		2
		3
		1

- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
- Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
- Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 6. Proposition Set 10 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

The absence of an overall plan for the waterfront zone was by far the most popular consideration, registering in 37 per cent of responses. Whilst the construction of a definitive strategy for the waterfront was clearly seen as an essential part of the development programme, the majority argued that the plan itself should not be too stringent, but should be adaptable to changing circumstances.

"One of the problems in this municipality ... is that everything was done on an ad hoc basis. Piece at a time, piece at a time. Nobody sat down and worked on a long term, that's too expensive, we can't bother doing that. That was the biggest error" (U, Kingston).

"There has to be more planning, that may take several more years in the initial stages to develop it, but there has to be a concrete plan in terms of exactly what sized projects will be where, what will be green space, what will be public space, what will be social housing?" (D, Toronto).

"There's often a call for 'Let's not do anything until we have a master plan, until we know where everything is going to fit'. By definition we're never going to achieve that kind of state. Things constantly change, and the dynamics are such that we won't get a total, comprehensive master plan for all the waterfront in place that we can then simply sit back and go to work at implementing without change over a period of time" (U, Victoria).

Within this, however, it is also considered that too much flexibility could be counterproductive, a probable consequence being the ultimate collapse of the entire programme.

"The first thing is to have a good plan ... keep it reasonably flexible, but don't stay too rigid, but on the other hand don't keep changing it every five minutes, because every change will also cost you a lot of money and a lot of time" (U, Thunder Bay).

"There has to be commitment, and that has to be a publicly-recognised scheme, so that somebody can't come along later and say 'We didn't know what was happening in this sector, and we didn't have enough information ...'. It's important to keep that overall scheme front-and-centre all during the redevelopment" (D, Toronto).

A key term in this discussion must surely be 'consensus'. The need for concordance between all respective bodies is paramount in any development project and particularly so when one

is dealing with such a politically sensitive area as the waterfront.

"If there's one success or one lesson that other jurisdictions can learn from it is that you shouldn't try and jam a particular development down the throats of people if they're not ready for it. If there is not a broadly-based consensus that this is the right thing to do, there will be developers' graveyards on various sections of the waterfront, as there have been here" (U, Victoria).

"In the original property development in St. John's, one thing that certainly did not occur was that there was no public awareness, and no accommodation of the public in the redevelopment ... I think that were such a redevelopment programme to take place today it would certainly involve the public on a greater scale ... I think that it's just a sign of the times that the public is becoming more and more involved in this sort of thing" (P, St. John's).

"Having the development go ahead without looking at the overall waterfront plan in a more cohesive mix has created some lost opportunities" (P, Hamilton).

"Any project is never final in itself. If there has been a waterfront redevelopment then it's not finished by the end of the month or the end of the year, but it is a continuing process and it has to be revalued and possibly reopened and improved if it has serious failings. In the St. John's context ... the sort of development that has happened has been individual buildings, old commercial premises being torn down, buildings have been rebuilt. But they have been small individual projects, not relating to an overall plan for the site, and this is a real failing" (D, St. John's).

A second missed opportunity reflects the factors of financing and ownership and their joint impact upon the development process. In this context many arguments continued the planning theme, suggesting that whilst initial development objectives may be met, the overall scheme may still fail, particularly where government money and other financial support is lacking.

"The hotel-condominium-retail complex that is set up in the market square has been successful to the extent that it has provided public access, attracted tourists and people back into the downtown area ... The financial aspects of that have been almost exclusively unsuccessful. The hotel is in receivership and the complex also, and they're looking for new financiers to get them re-established. So commercially it hasn't worked, but in terms of public access it's been quite successful" (P, Saint John).

"I've always felt that Thunder Bay missed out on having a much grander scheme and getting the federal government involved. When I look at all the other major port cities ... that have had waterfront redevelopment, they have involved major contributions by the federal government, and that has not happened in Thunder Bay. We missed an opportunity to get

some significant amount of financial support to do an even better job, maybe putting in some housing or a convention centre, or a hotel complex, and that was not accomplished" (P, Thunder Bay).

This issue is again raised by a third 'lost opportunity' which highlights some specific examples of where political disputes have intruded upon the development mechanism. It is unlikely, of course, that difficulties of this nature can ever be expunged entirely, but it is clear from the following that the greater the degree of consensus, the more amenable and, perhaps, appropriate, the end result will be.

"People have complained about the Toronto Harbour Commission, that there are 1000 acres down there and they really haven't been able to develop anything. People would say that's an opportunity missed" (P, Toronto).

From Thunder Bay, a city developed from two distinct urban cores, comes a hint of local competition.

"There was a big hassle when I first came here between the politicians over the location for our Arts Centre and community auditorium. To me the perfect spot [would have been] on the waterfront, with that magnificent backdrop of the Sleeping Giant. But because in those days, if you didn't put it in Port Arthur you couldn't put it in Fort William, we had to put it in the middle. So we put it on an old garbage dump" (U, Thunder Bay).

Public access too is a common political stumbling block and one that clearly deserves individual treatment. Arguments concerning public access have been dealt with, but within the PS10 context the common view is that the lack of appropriate access to the waterfront region may act as a major curb on development, at least as far as the individual success of each revitalisation scheme is concerned.

"Here in Quebec City major opportunities were lost when, in the '60s or '70s we built highways just beside the waterfront. We have lost access, we have destroyed a lot of environmental or ecological systems, and now to gain that access or to rebuild those ecological systems seems to be very difficult, and very costly" (U, Quebec City).

"The whole reason that we have the Royal Commission and the public outcry about waterfront redevelopment is that we had permitted too much exclusive high-rise development on the water's edge ... We have allowed too much high-rise development to restrict public space, to make it exclusive to a few luxury condominiums, and at a more urban scale to create a very imposing physical barrier between the waterfront and the downtown" (D, Toronto).

"Where Toronto has been most successful is the cultural programmes, which really come down to again making it a people place. Having some reason to bring you down here, other than just physically providing a walkway and so on. Harbourfront's programmes [are] one of the best examples I can think of having a major mandate and a programme to bring the people, and doing it successfully" (D, Toronto).

"If we can keep the public space reserved for the public in good shape, that would be good, but the problem is that we don't have anything in that sector that will bring life into the old port so the only people living over there are going to be the rich people" (D, Quebec City).

A final 'lost opportunity' concerns the physical scale of development, suggesting that programmes should be constructed in a manner concordant with the surrounding environment and should not follow the Toronto model where the essential nature of the waterfront region has been obscured through the heavy emphasis on large-scale 'landmark' buildings, often at the expense of the public.

"The smaller scale of the development has helped in that it's a more human scale, people feel as if they're in control rather than being visitors to some mammoth, wonderful undertaking they should be admiring. They feel that it's there for them rather than they're there for it" (P, Halifax).

"Were I ever on any advisory planning committee of the city I would be looking to developers to leave at least 40 per cent of their site for public activities such that you'll not have rows of buildings [with] no open space, no greenery, no chance for a tree to grow" (D, Victoria).

Lessons to be learned

The final element in proposition set 10 posed the question 'What lessons can other waterfront development locations learn from your experience?' In response a number of features were emphasised virtually all of which essentially relate to the physical, social and attitudinal

barriers that exist between the waterfront region and its associated urban core. For convenience, these may be divided into three broadly-based categories, of which the first stressed the loss of historical context:

"The opportunities lost in the case of Halifax are that too many of the old buildings that lined the waterfront have gone ... I think there could have been ... more opportunities for us had we been aware of them at the time. There were more opportunities to retain and reuse these buildings, but they have gone. In Halifax we should have probably made the effort at an earlier stage to retain more of the existing buildings" (U, Halifax).

"We are doing our utmost to preserve the view of the harbour at the foot of each of the streets, and yet we've already lost this in some cases, and it will never be regained. That is definitely a minus" (D, Halifax).

A second category underlined the removal of economic functions:

"At one time Halifax had a major fishing industry downtown, and that had the typical warehouses, finger piers and the activity of the fishing boats. That has virtually gone from Halifax, that was a very distinctive characteristic. Waterfronts and water means boats, and that's what you want to keep on the waterfront" (D, Halifax).

A third and final group drew attention to the linkages between the waterfront and downtown:

"At this stage of development the primary area of shortcoming as far as I'm concerned is the linking together of the city proper and the waterfront, and that means overcoming that tremendous barrier there, four main railway lines which still run through downtown New Westminster" (U, New Westminster).

"There is not a good continuum between the waterfront area and the other downtown area. There have been efforts to improve that, but for a long time Water Street which divided the waterfront from the upland up until last year was a dingy, badly paved street. It gave the perception of being the boundary of civilisation. Beyond that one didn't dare venture" (P, Halifax).

"One does not feel that you can walk through and feel completely comfortable as the open spaces have been designed to be successful for the people that live there as opposed to the residents of the city ... We have made much more of a conscious effort to incorporate those new areas into the city, both in terms of massing, architectural detailing, and roadways and

road connections through. We have also tried to be realistic about providing parking for the general public as they come into those areas, and seek to gain access to the waterfront or to the bicycle routes or to the parks" (U, Vancouver).

To complete this discussion of PS10 it may perhaps be amusing to utilise a particular comment by one urban planner in reference to the much criticised yet fascinating and intricate Toronto waterfront.

"Any evaluation should examine any opportunities missed or foregone, as well as achievements, but it is possible to get as close to perfection as one can ever do in this world if one is extraordinarily lucky" (U, Toronto).

Proof, perhaps, that when considering the pitfalls and potentialities of waterfront revitalisation, a little optimism can be a very dangerous thing.

Proposition Set 11

Proposition set 11 returns to the issue of strategic planning, suggesting that all waterfront redevelopment schemes must involve the construction of long-term plans due in part to the relatively high cost of capital development over a number of years. The statement is prefaced, however, by the assumption that both short-term and medium-term plans also play a key role in the development process, a theme repeated throughout much of the subsequent discussion.

Whilst the majority of interviewees (93 per cent) agreed with the proposition (Figure 7), most were concerned with the need to balance and coordinate the different planning spheres rather than the actual cost of development. Many also emphasised the need for 'vision' and 'flexibility', two aspects of the development process that were repeated throughout much of the discussion.

Proposition Set 11

Introductory statement

Short-term, medium-term and long-term plans all play a part in waterfront development.

Proposition

WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT MUST INVOLVE LONG-TERM PLANS BECAUSE OF THE HIGH COST OF CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS.

Supplementary questions

What problems does your organisation face in this context in connection with the future development of waterfront areas?

"Waterfront redevelopment must involve long-term plans, but these plans have to be created or have to be of a structure that permits variation. Often long-term plans are created and are very rigid and are easily put aside, because they are not flexible enough. The challenge is to build round these plans so that they can accept variation as a reorganisation but not change the overall design of it" (U, Quebec City).




"[It is] crucial to have a long-term plan in that a plan is not just a physical plan, it's the vision, it's the economic plan, it's the industrial strategy, the housing strategy ... It doesn't take long to come up with a long-term plan, and with that plan you do a far more intelligent job of deciding what the use of each property is" (D, Toronto).

"It's quite true that the high cost of capital development requires long-term plans ... Whether it's by necessity or just by preference, waterfront redevelopment should be a long-term exercise" (P, Halifax).














"We have to recognise that no long term plan will ever reach fruition because things are always changing ... That's the value of the long term plan. It's not so much that every detail will be followed in the end, but the general direction is not lost. There is a concept and the concept remains true. That's quite independent of cost or anything. It's just a way to stop these things becoming waylaid" (P, Halifax).

"I do agree that in waterfront redevelopment you have to look at long-term planning ... You must look at the long term, way down the road 10, 15, 25, 50 years from now and say 'Is that what you want to see there in the year 2040?'" (P, Saint John).

Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition		14
		16
		13
Disagreement with proposition	—	0
	○	1
	—	0

Problems highlighted by five or more respondents

Planning problems		4
		4
		4
Political problems		2
		2
		4
Financial problems	—	0
		4
		2
Co-ordination of development objectives		2
		5
	—	0
Resultant urban form		2
		2
		1

-
- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
 - Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
 - Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 7. Proposition Set 11 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

Planning problems

Six problem areas were identified, each broadly associated with the waterfront planning system. Indeed, the first simply stresses the importance of long-term planning, though significantly this was rarely for financial reasons.

"A lot of municipalities don't have a long-term concept of what they want to do with the waterfront. It's hard enough to get a land-use plan for the city, let alone a very controversial plan for the waterfront" (P, Toronto).

"I agree with that proposition ... If we had looked forward to see what the long-term plan would be, we would not have had to come back today, and reinvest and demolish some buildings" (P, Quebec City).

"I do believe that we need long-term plans ... They need to be seen as changeable ... but if they're slavishly followed we miss out on valued opportunities" (D, Victoria).

This latter point in particular reiterates the importance of flexibility in planning terms. As has been noted earlier, development plans must always incorporate an element of changeability, particularly when one's overriding concern is the availability (and amount) of financial resources.

"It's necessary to have long-term plans in order to put into proper context individual projects that might occur in the short and medium term, but it's necessary to keep those long-term plans fairly general, to go to the point of assuming what form of development might or ought to occur in 20, 25 years time, and prescribing some very detailed design guidelines ... A highly structured, urban design kind of long-term plan solution isn't the right way to go. You have to set out ... a structural context, but not a prescriptive design kind of long-term context" (U, Victoria).

"My biggest hang-up with the planning in the province of Ontario [is that] it's so inflexible. They seem to think that once something is zoned, that's it. We can't look back on our master plan and say 'Well, this makes a little more sense, maybe' ..." (D, Kingston).

"There needs to be some ability to do some mental gymnastics, and to change perspective a little bit. Remember your ideals and try to keep them going, keep true to them but also be able to react, keep this whole spectrum of planning horizons in check" (D, Thunder Bay).

"What you have is a long-term vision for recreation and open space, and in a shorter term you can develop a plan that deals with the economic, environmental and what other

conditions may prevail at that time. The key is to have a long-term plan, but to give it some flexibility and to develop in the short term" (U, Hamilton).

In many instances the planning process and its potential flexibility depend upon the realisation of an appropriate vision for the waterfront: an image of what the development should actually involve. However, as a port official from Toronto identified, vision alone is no longer sufficient; an authority must have the political will to maintain and enforce that vision regardless of what the planning mechanism dictates.

"There is always a window of opportunity, and while you can come up with long-term thinking, it's often lost in the imagination of people over time if you're no longer there to keep pushing it. So long-term plans have to be done in a way that can withstand amendments" (P, Toronto).

Political problems

In large part, of course, this view is dependent upon the political infrastructure, frequently highlighted as a second problem area; and moreover, upon the time involved in the planning (and development) process.

"You've got to keep re-selling it all the time. We've codified it, written it up, its light shows above it, so that every time we get a new batch of politicians it becomes part of an ongoing piece of strategic fabric that we work on" (P, Victoria).

"We are pressed on by the politician whose long term is four years" (D, Montreal).

"Yes of course I agree with the long-term planning ... The problem that we would have with this is we're probably only in for part of any particular project ... This just reiterates the importance of the federal government being there, that they can deal with it hopefully not in a completely political sense, but in the sense of an overseer, somebody who is going to be there for the long term. Developers will come and go" (D, St. John's).

The short-term ambitions of politicians often defeat the long-range objectives of planning authorities (although this process works equally well in reverse, particularly where the commercial sector is involved).

"Long-term plans ... need to be built with a pyramid of small successes so that the long term has to define goals, but they need to be achieving the projects within that context that can happen in one or two years, and satisfy the political requirement for visible benefit. Otherwise the funding simply dries up" (U, Thunder Bay).

"I agree that waterfront redevelopment is a long-term proposition. The problems we face are the desires of political bodies to make poor short-term decisions to get development. They will take poor land-use mixes, likely to take poor development to get something done" (U, Saint John).

Thus, whilst this overall problem is multi-faceted and whilst it is difficult to encompass it entirely within a restricted discussion, it is clear that the political situation - and its relationships with the planning mechanism - may ultimately act as a brake upon development, one outcome of which may be that:

"We're spending more time being landlords and parking lot attendants on this type of thing than we are in actually developing our waterfront" (D, Halifax).

Financial problems

The balancing of political thought and political action is returned to in a third problem set derived from PS11: financial difficulties. In this respect, many of the most apposite statements have already been utilised. However, a particular obstacle that has yet to be identified is where financial resources - and particularly public resources - have either been exhausted or withdrawn prior to a project's completion. It is unclear as to whether this is a common occurrence, but it provides an excellent example of long-term objectives being obscured by other, often short-term, changes.

"The problem that our organisation faces right now is essentially one of implementation. The overall waterfront plan was initially conceived to be implemented in a fairly short period of time, mainly during the time that the Waterfront Development Corporation had its basic fund there to build things. The reality is that the Waterfront Development Corporation has essentially spent all its money ... We conceived the implementation rather too simply in the past. We thought it was all going to go too quickly, when the public monies were there. It didn't go like that, therefore we're having to rethink our implementation strategy" (U,

Halifax).

Coordination of development objectives

The coordination of objectives acts as a similar constraint on the development process. In brief, this relates to the difficulties of fusing the different planning spheres - short-term to long-term - in a coordinated approach to waterfront revitalisation. As the following two comments indicate, the existence, and acceptance, of different objectives is not enough; these objectives must be coordinated in such a way that *all* parties are satisfied. To a great extent, of course, this remains purely suppositious, though it perhaps conveys an image of what a perfect (or as near as perfect as possible) scheme may entail.

"Waterfront redevelopment must involve long-term plans, mid-term plans, short-term plans. To make all of that work successfully, the long-term plan has to be a vision for the redevelopment of the waterfront that is based on the goals and objectives of the public, and it's difficult to get a cross-section of what's important in the city in general, as opposed to important to specific interest groups. Every effort has to be made to do that" (U, Vancouver).

"I would add to the proposition that it is not only because of the high cost of capital development, but because you need to have a consensus from the community that one can be relatively sure it's going to be fixed, so that it provides a degree of certainty for the future of the waterfront" (P, Thunder Bay).

Resultant urban form

Moving away from a purely planning perspective, two further problem sets may also be identified. The first, described here as 'resultant urban form', considers the outcomes of development: the impact the original intentions have upon the waterfront environment. In many cases the waterfront is seen as abstract from the urban environment and therefore subject to different planning, and social, controls.

"We see the waterfront being central to the city, and we take great care and extra care in anything we do ... We would want to do something from a design point of view that wasn't

too dated, and something that was capable of looking good in twenty years ... Everyone seems to know who built what building on the waterfront, so for us we would want to build very carefully to ensure that people were kindly after every building we've done" (D, Toronto).

"A lot of people are diametrically opposed to having residential and commercial, industrial activities within the same area" (P, Toronto).

Such a stance, however, may have serious future implications as the following Toronto example suggests:

"Waterfront redevelopment absolutely must involve long-term plans ... because we are putting in place patterns, roads, open space, public versus private ownership. Those patterns are the things that stay with us. The buildings come and go, spaces remain open, they get developed. I believe that the long-term plans are much longer than we recognise, that we have implications that we set in motion, and that's what we have to be very cognisant about, as we set the new patterns for ownership and redevelopment on waterfront lands" (U, Toronto).

Development momentum

In many ways this theme is also reflective of the final problem set: development momentum.

(This theme is not included in Figure 7 because it was specifically highlighted by fewer than five respondents.) Once a scheme is initiated short-term objectives often assume a greater prominence, usually at the expense of the long-term vision. This is particularly the case when the general public and its inherent desire for waterfront access are involved.

"In Montreal the area involved is large enough to organise the work over five, six, seven, maybe ten years depending on what kind of broad concept will be decided. The problem the organisation faces is [that] people will expect this whole thing once it is started to be completed, and people will want things to move rapidly" (U, Montreal).

"One of our big obstacles is trying to get people to recognise that this is a 15-year project ... We're saying 'This is something that's going to take place over 15 years. It's not going to happen tomorrow'. So the onus has been on us to try and convince other people to look at the long term" (D, Vancouver).

"The fundamental problem is containing the redevelopment once it's begun ... As the public regains access to what is normally an attractive or an interesting part of their community

there is an increasing demand for more access" (P, Saint John).

Responses to PS11 have allowed a number of problems to be identified, each of which impacts upon the development process. As has been demonstrated, however, economic cost is often *not* the primary stumbling block, but rather the coordination of interested parties, their needs and objectives. In consequence, it may be suggested that the greatest problem any organisation faces is coping with the conflicting interests of its project associates, a situation that is clearly reflective of any development scheme, waterfront or otherwise.

Proposition Set 12

The final proposition set in this series examines the notion that waterfront revitalisation in all its forms is essentially a matter of 'cleaning-up' on the water frontier, both physically/environmentally, and financially. Within this, however, a broader question is posed, one that considers the wider benefits - and disbenefits - of redevelopment, for the commercial developers, the public authorities, and the urban community.

This wider interpretation perhaps explains the somewhat mixed reaction gained from the survey (Figure 8). As was anticipated, a broad range of views were expressed, many of which considered in great detail the varying definitions of 'cleaning-up'. However, there was no clear division of opinion between the three categories of interviewee. Thus, whilst three distinct strands of thought may be discerned, these do not necessarily conform with the agreement/disagreement statistics. This mixed response is perhaps best demonstrated by the following extracts from the transcripts:

Proposition Set 12

Introductory statement

The process of waterfront redevelopment involves benefits and disbenefits of many kinds.

Proposition

WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT IS ESSENTIALLY A MATTER OF 'CLEANING-UP' ON THE WATER FRONTIER, IN BOTH SENSES OF THE TERM.

Supplementary questions

Do you regard this as a valid description of the processes involved?

Please give examples to illustrate your opinion.

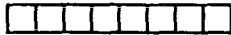








"There are two definitions of 'cleaning up'. One is that the toxic contamination of soil or water has to be cleaned up due to the green nineties ... The other is that as far as cleaning up on the waterfront is concerned, the developer makes a packet of money. Unfortunately that's not the case. It may be the public perception that the greedy developer gets his fingers on this prime waterfront land and builds something, making him rich. But it is not the case" (D, Halifax).

"Most waterfront redevelopment has occurred on former industrial land and over the last ten years there has been a growing awareness of the problems associated with this type of redevelopment ... In terms of cleaning up financially, there have been developments where that may have been the primary consideration. That occurrence is becoming less and less prevalent ... What I believe has happened in some other cities is that they have been so eager to see redevelopment on the water that ... too much consideration has been given to the financial viability of the projects, and some mistakes have been made. Over the last ten years ... there has been a growing awareness on the part of local governments that there have to be public objectives met and certainly that the cleaning up financially is going to have to be curtailed somewhat to achieve public objectives" (U, Vancouver).

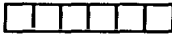


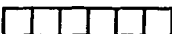





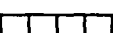


"Cleaning up the waterfront from an environmental point of view is something that has to happen in Thunder Bay every time a policy gets implemented because there are so many remnants of major industrial activity, which may not be there now. Cleaning up the waterfront in terms of development and making a dollar off the waterfront is a secondary product of a greater public awareness to what the waterfront has to offer of its lifestyle and general community amenity" (U, Thunder Bay).

"We have here a question of perception. The public perceives the developer to be greedy, a rip-off artist, who wants to make a quick buck. The developer of course perceives himself to be lucky if he makes a profit, and one in three projects makes a profit in this business. That's how bad it is" (D, New Westminster).

Agreement or disagreement with proposition

Agreement with proposition		8
		8
		5
Disagreement with proposition		1
		4
		4
Balanced view on proposition		5
		4
		5

Issues highlighted by five or more respondents

Financial considerations		6
		5
		7
Public involvement and perception		6
		1
		3
Loss of historical context		2
		4
		2
Political considerations		4
		0
		2

-
- Coded individual point raised by port authority representative
 - Coded individual point raised by urban planning authority
 - Coded individual point raised by developer

Figure 8. Proposition Set 12 : Coded individual points in responses arranged under major (5+) headings

Other respondents were more sympathetic to the commercial developers:

"I have no objection to a developer getting his pound of flesh, particularly if, while he's doing that, he's making the waterfront look better, environmentally better, and even more so if he allows me to enjoy part of it" (U, Thunder Bay).

"People are still going to make a pocketful of money on the waterfront, but they're also going to have to pay more to clean up what has been put into these properties in the past" (P, Toronto).

"You've got to marry the financial interests of the private sector with your public objectives, otherwise you're not going to get the private sector involved" (P, Thunder Bay).

A third group expressed a more balanced view, separating entirely the benefits gained via redevelopment from financial considerations:

"One of the objectives of waterfront redevelopment in an urban context is to provide new, high-amenity, urban space adjacent to a major asset, which is usually the focal point of the community ... On the financial side of it ... I'm not aware of people having made inordinate amounts of money from redeveloping waterfronts, and I've dealt with a lot of developers, and it's my observation that that's not their primary motivation" (U, New Westminster).

Financial considerations

Beyond this four explanatory themes may be identified, some of which are highly specific in their nature. The first considers the financial side of the argument being expressed largely, though not exclusively, by the commercial sector. In a general sense many pointed to the considerable risks involved in waterfront development; the sector, it was argued, was no longer guaranteed a high return due to escalating prices, the increased pressures imposed by alternative organisations and, in the specific case of Halifax, the environment in which the development scheme was set.

"The public doesn't recognise the amount of money required to be put up front to develop projects ... Most developers are very sensitive about the projects they build, what they look like, and how they're perceived afterwards" (D, Toronto).

"I don't think many developers feel that the waterfront is an economic opportunity ... it is not a haven to make money" (D, St. John's).

"You go through a process of trying to get the council to come around and agree that it is proper to put this development on this site, which quite often means getting zoning changed ... There is a large degree of risk in this. We might be left holding little parcels of land forever" (D, St. John's).

"There's no question that developers make a lot of money on these waterfront developments, so they are cleaning up in that respect. That doesn't necessarily mean that if they're going to make a lot of money they don't have to be concerned about the long term or about providing a public good or being responsible developers" (D, Vancouver).

"If you want a long-term perspective placed upon waterfront development, then it's the municipality's responsibility to say what that long term perspective is, and set the parameters. The developers will then work within those parameters" (U, Kingston).

"[The] first objective here was to give back the land to some federal organisation, to give it back to the public, but not necessarily to make money" (P, Quebec City).

"I'm not, in the Halifax sense, too sure that any of the private developers here have made a whole lot of money ... It's a very tourist-oriented environment, does very well in the summer but it's a bit of a short season in Halifax. Commercially it dies in the winter, and nobody is making a real bundle on that" (U, Halifax).

The time involved in development is also an important issue in this respect. As a developer from Quebec City indicated, if one considers only the short-term, then *no* waterfront scheme will be a success, in any sense of the term:

"If we look at the redevelopment of the old part of Quebec City, we only have to think in a long-term period, and if you look at our project for the first five years for example, we were losing money. But in that kind of development this is normal. But if you look at the redevelopment in a long-term period then after twenty years you are making a lot of money, you are proud of what you have done, and the population is also proud of what they see, and also on what they are using" (D, Quebec City).

Public involvement and perception

One must also consider the role of the general public in waterfront revitalisation. In a pure sense, the water frontier has always consisted of public property. Any scheme, therefore, merely involves the transfer of ownership between public bodies, with the private sector

acting more as an intermediary than an overall beneficiary. This greater level of public awareness and public involvement may account for some of the difficulties now being experienced in these areas; although as two comments in the following sequence also demonstrate, the needs, desires and intentions of the public *are* now being taken into consideration, often to the mutual benefit of all concerned:

"We have perhaps a more heightened awareness amongst the general public here, we have perhaps a more educated community, many of whom live in the downtown core area, and they are not going to let matters fly by lightly through this city council at least, or not allow any unscrupulous developer to come in and ruin what they think is one of the last gems on the landscape" (P, Kingston).

"The developers realise that they can't get away with what they used to get away with ... They know that they have to provide that parkland, boulevard aspect, the viewlines to the lake ..." (P, Toronto).

"Developers will still make their profit, but they have incorporated that element of common cleanness, common good. They may not make as much return, but their development will proceed" (P, Toronto).

Loss of historical context

The rise of general public awareness of the role of the waterfront in the wider urban community is necessarily a multi-faceted phenomenon. In many locations, however, it is broadly associated with what some see as the loss of history or historical context: the fear that the waterfront is becoming increasingly abstract from the remainder of the urban core.

"They're all becoming like Disneyland versions of waterfronts. There is the same treated lombard boardwalks, there's the same kind of detailing around, there's the same kind of planting, there's a kind of suburban feel about the waterfronts. You could see the same kind of detail again in a well designed regional mall if you looked hard enough" (U, Halifax).

"The waterfront, as it's being developed, is becoming nice, has a Disneyland quality to it. Certainly you could take the kids there, they're never going to get dirty, but it's lost a little bit of what made a working waterfront interesting" (U, Halifax).

In consequence, there are now attempts to preserve reality rather than encourage the

continued 'disnification' (Hopkins, 1990) of the urban environment.

"In Montreal I don't think it's a cleaning up objective of demolishing everything to build new things. They try to conserve or keep a few buildings - the small buildings that were there, and they try to find a mix of new development and restoration of other buildings, trying to have an architecture, planning that will be compatible with the building in the back" (P, Montreal).

"Most people that are in the development business are on the waterfront because it's the waterfront, and it's different from other areas of the community. It's fairly important to preserve" (D, St. John's).

"You have to be careful which buildings you tear down ... You don't want to willy nilly tear down wharves, infill waterlines if you have the opportunity" (D, Halifax).

"I want to be able to bring my grandchildren here, and I don't want to show them a plaque which says 'This is where the grain elevators once were'. I want to show them the grain elevators still there, still operating, because this is what Canada is" (U, Montreal).

Political considerations

The fourth and final theme essentially encompasses the entire debate, being concerned largely with the operations of the political infrastructure and its bureaucratic influence over everything else. In many instances public authorities actively encourage private sector involvement:

"If you've got a combination of good developers and a public agency and an elected body, who understand their role and do it well, then we've got the checks and balances that are required to build a good waterfront development" (U, Victoria).

"Developers [are] very pragmatic ... they like to have things up front. They really do like to know what the rules are, and to have a sense of the opportunities as well as the constraints" (U, Toronto).

The reverse may, however, also be true:

"Many developers are very reluctant to get too involved with the public sector because they don't trust their ability successfully, in budget terms, to undertake a project, and unless they're in control are very reluctant to do that in many cases" (P, Hamilton).

In the main, however, the problems of redevelopment essentially reduce to one single fundamental issue: the importance of planning and its position within the development process and structure.

Conclusions

This paper is one of several publications derived from an investigation of attitudes towards and perceptions of waterfront redevelopment in Canadian port cities. The study originated in discussions about attitudes to waterfront redevelopment in a variety of locations and contexts in Europe and North America and from a belief that useful perspectives on relevant issues might be derived from face-to-face interviews with some of the decision-makers involved. Applied in a Canadian context, but involving Europe-derived perspectives, the methodology was designed to allow selected decision-makers to give their views through structured questionnaires and through open-ended interviews based on proposition sets. This methodology proved successful, in that interviewees normally responded considerably more fully than was originally anticipated, and often displayed a wide range of detailed knowledge and opinion far transcending familiarity with their specific location.

The issues raised in this paper (Part 2) and in the preceding paper (Part 1) form a contribution to the continuing debate about the processes and characteristics of waterfront revitalisation. As outlined in the conclusion to Part 1 (Hoyle, 1993), the study was designed to encourage decision-makers in Canadian port authorities, urban planning organisations and development companies to express their views, both on a global or national basis and in relation to specific cases. The proposition sets which provided the framework for the interviews were arranged in four groups, dealing respectively with general or causal topics;

processes and characteristics; problems and outcomes; and with evaluation. The main ideas to emerge from the first two groups (Proposition Sets 1-6) have been discussed in the conclusion to Part 1. Some general outcomes from the two remaining groups (Proposition Sets 7-12), and from the research project as a whole, are summarized below.

The third suite of Proposition Sets (7, 8 and 9) was concerned particularly with the question of the balance between the public and the private sectors in the design and implementation of waterfront redevelopment schemes. Ideas concerning the balance of power, monetary and non-monetary objectives, and public accessibility loomed large in the discussion. Although most interviewees agreed with the idea that private sector - public sector linkages provide the essential problematic underpinning, many sought to emphasise the contrasting attitudes and perceptions of various 'actors' in redevelopment schemes. Political motivations and difficulties were also emphasised, both in relation to the 'actors' themselves and in relation to community attitudes within the public at large. A widespread concern for improving the quality of life of communities seemed as genuine as the desire to effect environmental improvements or to make financial gains.

Responses to Proposition Set 8 concerning specific socio-economic or physical outcomes of the public sector/private sector balance of power proved less positive, in that few respondents were able or willing to illustrate their broad agreement with the proposition by citing examples. Interestingly, much discussion centred on perceptions and expectations; and upon the idea that any balance of power in this context is a moveable feast, evolving with circumstances as the various participants (including the public at large) interact within the planning and redevelopment process.

The question of public access was seized upon by many respondents in dealing with Proposition Set 9, which was really concerned with the more broadly contentious issue of the way in which waterfront redevelopment can bring about an exchange of one form of private ownership for another, without necessarily enhancing public accessibility. This issue produced a much wider variety of opinion than some others, although much of the comment was only indirectly related to the core point. Some respondents, interestingly, drew attention to the varied uses of public waterfront space and to the possibility of there sometimes being too much open access. Clearly, in this as in so many other contexts, the key to successful planning and development is the achievement of a broadly acceptable balance in terms of outcomes, acceptable to most of those involved for most of the time. It is, of course, impossible to please everybody for all of the time.

The final three Proposition Sets (10, 11 and 12), concerned with the evaluation of waterfront redevelopment schemes in general and in relation to specific cases, produced widespread agreement but very varied opinions. Responses to Proposition Set 10 stressed opportunities lost including the absence of an overall plan, a lack of adequate financial support for such a plan, the intrusion of political disputes, the ever-present issue of public access, and the wider concept of appropriate scales of redevelopment in relation to the surrounding environment. Among lessons to be learned from redevelopment experience, interviewees stressed especially the loss of historical elements and contexts, and the removal of traditional waterfront functions. Virtually all respondents supported the idea of long-term planning in principle, but underlined the political and financial difficulties involved as well as the ways in which the coordination of development objectives acts as a constraint upon the redevelopment process. Beneath the surface, clearly, and occasionally breaking through it,

there remains much disagreement and some disquiet about the nature of the forms of urbanism that are emerging in waterfront zones, and some unease about the balance between the initiation of schemes and the timescales involved in design and completion.

The final Proposition Set 12, concerned with the ambiguous and deliberately provocative term 'cleaning up', produced as anticipated a wide range of opinions. Many developers, understandably but not entirely convincingly, protested that they did not in fact (as most others seemed to assume) make large financial profits from waterfront redevelopment schemes. There was more agreement about the need for environmental cleaning up, recognised as an expensive necessity and sometimes as a continuous process where large-scale waterfront redevelopment schemes evolve in a piecemeal fashion.

An attempt has been made in this paper (in both Part 1 and Part 2) to use the Canadian port-city system as a laboratory and to extract and analyse a representative range of opinions from the substantial volume of interview transcripts yielded by the research interviews. As has been indicated during the discussion, the views of respondents were sometimes predictable but often unexpected and always interesting. The most noticeable general difficulty arose from the widespread tendency of interviewees - rather like some students in examinations - to side-step the central point at issue and to discuss (often at great length) related matters. Another major problem was that respondents often preferred to base their comments on their knowledge of a specific location rather than on the questions of general principle underlying all places. Taking these two points together, the taperecorded responses to the various Proposition Sets proved to be less objective than expected, but the sheer diversity of viewpoints and ideas more than outweighed this disadvantage, although making the

subsequent analysis more difficult and time-consuming.

With hindsight, the techniques used in this research might profitably have been modified to include rather fewer Proposition Sets - perhaps nine or ten rather than twelve; to extend the range of interviewees to include local community representatives; to consider and possibly to utilise more sophisticated methods of content analysis; and perhaps to give interviewees some foresight of the Proposition Sets (and thereby time for some reflection) rather than relying on the 'instant reaction' principle. In any future extension of this work, the inclusion of representatives of community groups would appear to be the most important priority.

The overall conclusion, finally, must be that Canada provides a wealth of experience in tackling waterfront redevelopment, together with a breadth and depth of knowledge about the issues involved. This experience and knowledge is of considerable interest and relevance not only within Canada but on an international, global basis. As the port-city interface continues to evolve, and as modern cities reclaim their historic water frontiers, urban waterfronts are increasingly and rightly regarded as opportunities rather than as problems, and as rediscovered resources for the future rather than as derelict and decaying zones inherited from the past. Waterfront zones are, however, difficult and controversial areas to redevelop, *more so*, perhaps than any other type of urban area. Outcomes are never likely to satisfy everybody. Yet as redevelopment proceeds, there is widespread interest: 'everybody's looking', as one respondent remarked. Everybody is interested, too, in how diversity can be achieved and repetitive uniformity avoided. Canadian decision-makers, like those elsewhere, clearly face complex challenges, yet have a great deal to offer in helping to shape future ideas, designs and policies. Most appear to agree with students of waterfront

redevelopment that collaboration, cooperation and wide-ranging vision are essential if satisfactory outcomes are ultimately to be achieved. In the postmodern world, planning philosophy emphasises diversity rather than uniformity, and positively cultivates a sense of place and a sense of identity. Waterfront redevelopment ultimately involves a specific context in which the transformation and revitalization of shared spaces provide a clear and valuable illustration of *fin-de-siècle* postmodernist principles.

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